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CONTENTS.

	PAGES
LIST OF GIFTS TO LIBRARY	17, 199
BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS ...	19, 202
SPECIAL GIFTS TO FUNDS	20, 203
REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CLUB, JANUARY, 1906 TO DECEMBER, 1907 ...	21, 204
ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE COUNCIL, 1906, 1907 ...	30, 211
VISIT TO BRIDGWATER, JUNE, 1906 (<i>Illustrated</i>) ...	37
REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES—	
ENGLAND.—EAST ANGLIA. Rev. W. C. Green, M.A.	44
LAKE DISTRICT. Prof. W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.	230
NORFOLK. Mr. H. Lowerison. (<i>Illustrated</i>)	231
SOMERSET. Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S. (<i>Illustrated</i>)... ..	47, 237
YORK. Dr. G. A. Auden, M.A. (<i>Illustrated</i>)	53, 247
ORKNEY.—DEERNESS. Mr. Magnus Spence. (<i>Illustrated</i>)	60, 252
SHETLAND.—Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby	65
WESTERN NORWAY.—Dr. Haakon Schetelig. (<i>Illustrated</i>)	69, 266
ICELAND.—Dr. Jón Stefánsson. (<i>Illustrated</i>)	75, 262
DENMARK.—H. A. Kjær, M.A.	79
NOTES BY HON. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS—	
ON DANES' SKINS. By H. St. George Gray (<i>With plate</i>)	218
ON CRYPT RUNES AT BRODGAR. By Magnus Olsen ...	256
THE ROYAL VISIT TO ICELAND. By Sveinbjörn Sveinbjörnsson	262
THE LIFE OF BISHOP GUDMUND ARASON. By Professor W. P. Ker, M.A.	86

	PAGES
GRINGOLET, GAWAIN'S HORSE. By Professor Israel Gollancz, Litt.D.	104
SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ARCHEOLOGY OF THE VIKING AGE IN ENGLAND. By W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A., President, 1905. (<i>Illustrated</i>) ...	111
TRADITION AND FOLKLORE OF THE QUANTOCKS. By Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S.	142
NORTHERN FOLKSONGS: DANISH, ICELANDIC, NORWEGIAN, AND SWEDISH. (<i>With Musical Illustrations</i>). By Sveinbjörn Sveinbjörnsson	151
SHIP-BURIAL AT KILORAN BAY, COLONSAY, SCOTLAND. By Haakon Schetelig	172
A SHETLAND LEGEND FROM FLJÓTSÐÆLA SAGA. By Professor W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A., President, 1905-7	272
WESTERN INFLUENCE ON THE EARLIEST VIKING SETTLERS. By Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D., Vice-President	288
NOTES ON A DECORATED BUCKET FROM THE OSEBERG FIND. By Professor Gabriel Gustafson, Hon. Life Member. (<i>With two Plates</i>)	297
THE LAST OF THE ICELANDIC COMMONWEALTH. Part I. By Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Vice-President ...	308
ICELAND AND THE HUMANITIES. INAUGURAL ADDRESS. By Professor W. P. Ker, M.A., President ...	341
THE VIKING RAFT OR PONTOON BRIDGE, DISCOVERED AT GLAMFORD-BRIGG, N. Lincs. By the Rev. Alfred Hunt, M.A. (<i>Illustrated</i>)	355
THE GAEL AND THE GALL. NOTES ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF IRELAND DURING THE NORSE PERIOD. By Eleanor Hull, Hon. Sec., Irish Texts Society	363
VIKING NOTES	175, 393

Contents.

v.

	PAGES
DEATH ROLL	183, 400

REVIEWS	185, 406
----------------	----------

Monumenta Orcadica (L. Dietrichson and John Meyer).
 Vesterlandenes Indflydelse paa Nordboernes og særlig Nord-
 mændenes ydre Kultur (Alexander Bugge). The Cruciform
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 and Shetland Old-lore (*The Viking Club*). The Church in
 Orkney (John Smith). The Young Norseman (Wm. Brighty
 Rands). Bury St. Edmunds (Rev. H. Dukinfield Astley).
 Popular Tales from the Norse (Sir G. W. Dasent).



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
MONUMENT AT ATHELNEY	37
CHEDDAR CLIFFS AND WATERFALL	39
CROSSES AT STOKE COURCY	41
FIFTEENTH CENTURY CROSS AT STRINGSTON	43
WINDOW REPRESENTATIONS OF ST. OLAF AT YORK AND BARTON TURF	56
CARVED FIGURE OF ST. OLAF AT THRONDHJEM	57
STENNESS, THE SMALLER CIRCLE	62
STONE NEWLY DISCOVERED AT STENNESS...	63
SKARPHEDIN'S AXE	76
THE ORMSIDE CUP	110
VIKING SWORDS FROM ORMSIDE AND WITHERSLACK	112
THE KIRKOSWALD FIBULA	114
FIBULAE FROM BRAYTON AND ORTON SCAR	115
STONE AT CROFT, AND CROSS AT NORTHALLERTON	118
BEWCASTLE AND RUTHWELL CROSSES	120
CROSS-HEAD AT CARLISLE ABBEY...	121
THE "FISHING STONE," GOSFORTH	123
STANWICK CROSS	124
HART AND HOUND ON STONE, KIRKLEVINGTON	125
THE "KENETH" CROSS, DEARHAM	126
HOGBACK STONE AT LOWTHER	127

	PAGES
VIKING AGE CROSS, DEARHAM	129
CROSS AT MIDDLETON	130
THE PUNISHMENT OF LOKI, GOSFORTH CROSS	131
HEADS OF CROSSES FROM PENRITH	132
FIGURES ON CROSS AT KIRKLEVINGTON, AND CROSSHEAD AT BRIGHAM	134
PART OF CROSS-SHAFT, GREAT CLIFTON, CUMB.	135
THE GOSFORTH CROSS	137
HEIMDAL ON GOSFORTH CROSS	138
HOGBACK STONE FROM HEYSHAM	139
THE STORY OF SIGURD, HALTON, LANCS.	140
PIECE OF "DANE'S SKIN" FROM COPFORD	223
BRONZE MOUNT FROM CROXTON, NORFOLK	232
BATTLE BURIALS AT CANNINGTON, SOMERSET	238-239
OAK DOOR FROM STILLINGFLEET CHURCH, YORKS	247
UPPER PART OF DOOR WITH VIKING SHIPS, ETC.	248
RUNED STONE IN BRODGAR CIRCLE, STENNESS	252
RUNIC INSCRIPTION FROM BRODGAR CIRCLE, STENNESS	254-255
THE AUSTREIM STONE, NORDFJORD, NORWAY	269
SHIP FIGURE ON THE AUSTREIM STONE	270
WOODEN BUCKET FROM THE OSEBERG FIND	297
HANDLE MOUNT OF WOODEN BUCKET	300
THE VIKING PONTOON BRIDGE, OR RAFT, BRIGG	354
THE BRITISH DUG-OUT BOAT, CASTLETHORPE	356

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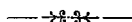
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- "Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs-og Dagböger, 1282-1384." Edited by P. A. Munch. Christiania, 1864.
- "Norges Gamle Love indtil 1387." Edited by R. Keyser and P. A. Munch, with Glossary by C. Storm and E. Hertzberg. Vols. I.—V. Christiania, 1846-95.
- "Norges Gamle Love, 1388-1604." Edited by A. Taranger. Vol. I. Christiania, 1904.
- "Norske Rigsregistranter tildels i Uddrag, A.D. 1523-1660." 12 Vols. Christiania, 1861-91.
- "Regesta Norvegica." Vol. I., 991-1263. Edited by Gustav Storm. Christiania, 1898.

THE AUTHOR.

- "Vesterlandenes Inflydelse paa Nordboernes og særlig Nordmændenes ydre Kultur, Levesæt og Samfundsforhold i Vikingetiden." By Alexander Bugge. Christiania, 1905.

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- "Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English." Part I. By Erik Björkmann. Halle a.S., 1900.

E. SWAIN.

- "Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands et de leur Etablissement en France au Xème Siècle. By M. Depping. Paris, 1845.

REV. THOS. MATHEWSON.

- "Gleanings from Ibsen." Selected and edited by E. A. Keddell and P. C. Standing. London, 1897.
- "Mareel." By T. Ollason. (Tirval.) Lerwick, n.d.

FRANCIS EDWARDS.

- "Weird Tales from Northern Seas." Translated from the Danish of Jonas Lie by R. N. Bain. With Illustrations by Laurence Housman. London, 1903.
- "Brief Description of an Ancient Vessel found near Sandefjord in Norway." Christiania, 1883.

THE AUTHOR.

"Norges Oldtid, Mindesmærker og Oldsager." With 606 Illustrations and 4 maps. By Gabriel Gustafson. Christiania.

THE AUTHOR.

"The Cruciform Brooches of Norway." With 194 Illustrations. By Haakon Schetelig. From *Bergens Museums Aarbog*, 1906.

THE AUTHOR.

"Fortegnelse over de til Bergens Museum i 1906 indkomne Sager ældre end Reformationen." By Haakon Schetelig og A. W. Brøgger. From *Bergens Museums Aarbog*, 1906.

DR. G. AUDEN.

"A Handbook to York and District." Prepared for the 75th Meeting of the British Association. Edited by G. A. Auden, M.D., Cantab.

THE AUTHOR.

"The Fisherman's Nautical Times Almanac, 1906." By O. T. Olsen.

"Chart of the North Sea." By O. T. Olsen.

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"Celtic Religion." By Edward Anwyl, M.A. London, 1906.

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"A Text Book of Irish Literature." By Miss Eleanor Hull, London and Dublin, 1906.

"Scottish Kings, a Revised Chronology of Scottish History, 1005-1625, with notices of the principal events, Tables of Regnal years, Pedigrees, Tables, Calendars, &c." With 4 maps. By Sir Archibald A. Dunbar, Bart. Second Edition. Edinburgh, 1906.

"Sturla the Historian." By William Paton Ker, M.A. (The Romanes Lecture, 1906.) Oxford and London, 1906.

OTHER GIFTS.

A. W. JOHNSTON.

Tingwall (Þingvölr) Loch, Shetland, looking S. by W., showing the Holm which was the site of the Lawting of Shetland. Painted by Sir Henry Dryden.

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Packets of Picture Postcards. Shetland Views.

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By DR. KARL BLIND.

"Homeric Knowledge of the High North: The Tale of Kirkê and Holda-Kirkê. In *The Monthly Review* of August, 1906.

This has also appeared in German in an amplified form in the *Deutsche Revue*, Stuttgart, not in the *Vossische Zeitung* as stated in *Saga-Book*, Vol. IV., p. 265.

"Yule-tide in England." In the *Wiener Deutsches Tagblatt* of January, 1907.

By REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.

A Group of Norman Fonts in North-west Norfolk." In the *Transactions* of "The Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society."

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

"The Saga of Gunnlaug the Worm-tongue and Rafn the Skald." In *The Guide* for August and September, 1906.

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"A Sea-Queen's Sailing." London, 1906.

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By REV. C. W. WHISTLER, M.A., M.R.C.S.

"A Prince Errant." In the Press. (Nelson.)

The story is based on the old English romance of "King Horn," which it follows as closely as practicable. As in the "Havelok the Dane" of the same author, the scene of the story has been carefully localised with reference to possible indications given in the original, with resulting introduction of the Irish and Welsh Vikings of the 7th Century.

By HARRY LOWERISON.

"Odin or Christ." A story describing the conflict between Odinism and Christianity in Norway from the time of Haakon the Good to Stiklestad.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

By A. W. MOORE.

"The Connexion between Scotland and Man." In the *Scottish Historical Review* for July, 1906.

GIFTS TO THE FUNDS, 1906.

<i>From Honorary Members—</i>				£	s.	d.
Dr. Karl Blind	..	..	..	0	10	0
Gilbert Goudie	..	..	..	0	10	0
Mrs. Newmarch	..	..	..	0	10	0
J. Cathcart Wason, M.P.	..	..	..	0	10	0
<i>From Subscribing Members—</i>						
Mrs. Bannon	..	..	..	1	0	0
Miss Olive Bray	..	..	..	0	10	0
W. G. Collingwood	..	..	..	18	0	0
J. P. Emslie	..	..	..	0	10	0
Colonel Hobart	..	..	..	2	10	0
Dr. J. M. Laughton	..	..	..	0	10	6
A. F. Major	..	..	..	2	0	0
A. Shaw Mellor	..	..	..	0	10	0
A. Henry Patterson	..	..	..	0	11	0
Mrs. Pocklington-Coltman	..	..	..	1	0	0
Miss S. C. Rücker	..	..	..	1	1	0
F. G. Smart	..	..	..	1	0	0
The Hon. Sir Robert Stout	..	..	..	1	1	0
Ernest Swain and Miss A. Swain	..	..	..	1	0	0
Rev. C. W. Whistler	..	..	..	0	7	0

NOTE.—We regret to say that to the death-roll, which appears on a later page, must be added the name of Dr. KARL BLIND, Past President of the Club, who died in London on May 31st, 1907. A detailed notice must be held over till the next SAGA-BOOK.

*REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.*

FOURTEENTH SESSION, 1906.

MEETING, JANUARY 19TH.

Mr. W. G. COLLINGWOOD, F.S.A. (President) in the Chair.

THE President gave his Inaugural Address for the year 1905-6 on "Some Characteristics of the Archæology of the Viking Age in England," illustrated by lantern slides, which is printed on pages 110-141.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 16TH.

Mr. W. G. COLLINGWOOD, F.S.A. (President) in the Chair.

Professor I. Gollancz, Secretary to the British Academy, gave a lecture on "Gringolet, Gawain's Horse," a summary of which is printed on pages 104-109.

MEETING, MARCH 16TH.

Mr. W. G. COLLINGWOOD, F.S.A. (President) in the Chair.

Professor W. P. Ker read a paper on "The Life of Bishop Gudmund Arason," which is printed on pages 86-103.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 27TH.

Mr. W. G. COLLINGWOOD, F.S.A. (President) in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 27th, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year were presented to the

meeting and unanimously adopted, and are printed on pages 30-36. The Officers of the Club for the ensuing year were also elected.

It was reported that the following address to the King of Denmark, on the occasion of his accession to the throne, had been presented to the King on behalf of the Club by Pastor A. V. Storm, Hon. Vice-President:—

TO HIS MAJESTY KING FREDERICK VIII. OF
DENMARK :

May it please Your Majesty :

The members of the Viking Club desire me to express to Your Majesty the sympathy which they have felt for you and your Royal House and the people over whom you now reign in the grievous loss of His Late Majesty, KING CHRISTIAN IX., a monarch revered and venerated, not by his own subjects alone, but by all the nations of the civilized world.

The members of the Viking Club have been moved by this sad event in an especial degree, as the Club has been founded by natives of the British Isles to study and preserve the memories of the olden time, when the Vikings of the North were helping to build up the British race, and the kingdoms of Denmark and England were for a time united under one crown.

Mindful of those days, and of the kinship and fellowship which bind together the Danish and the British peoples, the Viking Club trusts that under Your Majesty's rule the kingdom of Denmark may flourish, that its friendship with this country may broaden and grow, and that the close ties of marriage which now unite the Royal Houses of the Scandinavian kingdoms with that of Great Britain and Ireland may be reflected in the friendship of the peoples of those various lands.

And that Your Majesty may enjoy lifelong happiness, prosperity and peace is the prayer of

Your Majesty's obedient servant,

(Signed) W. G. COLLINGWOOD,

President of the Viking Club.

Lanehead,

Coniston,

Lancashire.

April, 1906.

A letter from Pastor Storm was read, reporting that he had presented the address to the King personally, and that His Majesty had very graciously expressed the pleasure with which he received it.

A series of water-colour drawings and sketches of Orkney, Shetland, Scotland, and Wisby, Sweden, by the late Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., of Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, was then exhibited by Mr. A. W. Johnston, Chairman of the Council and Hon. Treasurer, who, in describing the drawings, said :—

Sir Henry Dryden was born 1818, and died 1899. He was an Honorary Life Member of the Viking Club, an energetic and vigorous man, and an ardent antiquary and archæologist all his life. During his later years he brought the records of his researches up to date from the subsequent labours of his younger successors in the same field of work. He was especially painstaking and accurate in his measurements and observations.

Sir Henry's principal works are measured drawings and sketches in various parts, which may be classified as follows :—

Orkney and Shetland—Ruined churches, St. Magnus Cathedral, castles, broughs, stone circles, etc.

Scotland—Iona, broughs, stone circles, etc.

England—Camps, megalithic remains, now in the Dryden collection, Northampton Museum.

Isle of Man—Crosses, etc., in possession of Manx Society.

Ireland—Crosses, chapels, etc., in possession of his daughter, Miss Dryden.

France—Megalithic monuments in Brittany, in the Ashmolean Museum.

Holland—Miscellaneous.

Sweden—Ruined churches, etc., of Wisby, Gottland, in possession of Miss Dryden.

The collections whose distribution is not specified above are dispersed as follows :—

Orkney and Shetland churches, etc., and miscellaneous

Scottish sketches, in the possession of Mr. A. W. Johnston.

St. Magnus Cathedral, in the possession of Mr. H. J. Blanc, R.S.A., Edinburgh.

Scottish, Orkney and Shetland broughs, stone circles, etc., in the British Museum.

Iona collection, with the Society of Scottish Antiquaries.

Sir Henry was also interested in music and old sport. He brought out a translation from the Norman French of one of the oldest hunting treatises written by an Englishman, William Tuici, huntsman to King Edward II. Miss Dryden is bringing out a second edition with corrections by her father.

Sir Henry dated the Orkney and Shetland churches (excepting St. Magnus) from the twelfth century. There is no cross church in Orkney, and only one in Shetland.

The following are the chief features of these churches : No aisles. No plinths. Doors chiefly in west end with square and round heads, several have no rebates. Three have no chancels, but all the rest have decided chancels. No chancel doors. Seven have chancel arches full width of chancel ; some have very narrow chancel arches. Two have windows with circular heads, all the others have flat heads. There are no mullions, or transomes, or triangular heads. Three churches have windows without grooves for glass, and without external chamfers. Of the six churches which retain the East ends, four have no East windows. Orphir alone has a chancel step. In some the chancel windows are very low. No piscina remains, and only one sedile, but several aumbries. In four cases only do we know the pitch of the roof : one in Shetland, 85° ; two in Orkney, 88° ; and another 95°. There are four kinds of grave stones : (1) Keel-shaped slabs ; (2) rectangular upright stones, with crosses cut into them ; (3) the same, but without ornament ; (4) upright stones cut into the form of crosses.

The speaker then gave a detailed description of the sketches. It was announced at the close of his address that

one of the drawings, "Tingwall (Þingvöllr) Loch, Shetland, looking S. by W., showing the holm which was the site of the Lawting of Shetland," had been presented to the Club by Mr. Johnston; and a unanimous vote of thanks was accorded to him for his generous gift and for exhibiting and describing this very interesting collection.

MEETING, MAY 18TH

Mr. W. G. COLLINGWOOD, F.S.A. (President) in the Chair.

Miss F. M. Butlin gave a lecture on "Modern Denmark," with lantern illustrations.

ANNUAL DINNER, JUNE 12TH.

The Annual Dinner was held at the Hotel Dieudonné, Ryder Street, St. James's, on Tuesday, June 12th, at 7.45 p.m., Mr. W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., President, occupying the chair. The Vice-Chairmen were Mr. H. Brækstad, Colonel Hobart, and Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Vice-Presidents. The guest of the evening was the Norwegian Minister, Professor Fridthjof Nansen, and about sixty were present, including Professor W. P. Ker, Professor Israel Gollancz, Dr. Karl Blind, Miss Eleanor Hull, all the principal officers of the Club, and many other members and friends.

The following toasts were given:—"King Edward VII. of England," by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, who also proposed the toast of the King and Queen of Norway; Dr. Nansen proposed the toast of the Viking Club, to which Mr. Major replied.

Dr. Nansen, in responding to the toast of the King and Queen of Norway, expressed his pleasure at being the guest of the Viking Club on this occasion, and in seeing the interest which was taken by English people in Norway and in all matters connected with his country, its people, and its history. For ages past there had been the closest relations, commercial and otherwise, between

the two nations, and he was proud to know that the blood that had flowed into this country from over-sea in days of yore was appreciated as it was, for he found that people here were proud of their descent if they could trace it back to the Vikings of old. It was a great pleasure to him also to remember that people in England had interested themselves in Norway in 1814, when Norway was separated from Denmark, and was handed over by the Danish King to the Swedish King, as if it were only a province, a thing which Denmark had no right to do. It was a great honour and pleasure to Norwegians to see how strong the British sympathy was with Norway, and it was Norway's hope that the feeling would grow, if possible, stronger in the future. There would soon be another link between the countries, because in a few days an English Princess was going to be crowned Norway's Queen. In conclusion, he had to thank the President and the Club for their kind expression of appreciation with regard to his own work in the far North. If he had been able to do anything in this—the work of his life—it was mainly due to the influence of English explorers, on whose lines he had followed. They had, he might say, created Polar exploration, and it was the English explorers that he and others were trying to copy. These Polar explorations were one of the many leaves in the laurels of this great nation, and for him it was the pursuit of such work which connected him most closely with the English race.

The dinner was followed by a musical entertainment, at which Frøken T. Salicath and Mr. Motte sang a selection of songs, Norwegian and English, accompanied by Mr. Mansell Stevens.

JOINT MEETING WITH THE "SOMERSET MEN IN LONDON," OCTOBER 26TH.

By the courtesy of the "Somerset Men in London," the members of the Viking Club were invited to a joint

meeting of the two Societies in the Crown Room, Holborn Restaurant, when the Rev. C. W. Whistler, Hon. District Secretary for Somerset, read a paper on "Legends and Traditions of the Quantock District (with special reference to, possibly Scandinavian, Odinic Survivals)." Mr. J. Harris Stone, Chairman of the Committee of the "Somerset Men in London," was in the chair. The more important points in Mr. Whistler's paper from the Viking Club point of view have been communicated to the Club in his District Reports in this and previous SAGA-BOOKS, but an abstract of the paper will be found on pages 142-150.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 23RD.

Mr. W. G. COLLINGWOOD, F.S.A. (President) in the Chair.

The Hon. Secretary reported that on Tuesday, November 20th, a deputation from the Viking Club had the honour of being received at Buckingham Palace, in order to present an address of welcome to His Majesty King Haakon. The deputation was composed of the following officers and members, comprising representatives of Orkney and Shetland, England, Scotland, and Norway: Mr. A. W. Johnston, Chairman of the Council; Mrs. Johnston, Hon. Secretary; Mr. A. Shaw Mellor, Treasurer elect; Mr. Albany F. Major, Hon. Editor; Mrs. Major, and Mr. O. T. Olsen. Lord Hamilton, of Dalzell, introduced Mr. A. W. Johnston, who then presented the other members of the deputation to the King. Mrs. Johnston then presented the address with a few words of greeting, to which His Majesty graciously replied. The address, which was designed and illuminated by the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, and enclosed in an artistic leather case, embossed with a design of a carved Scandinavian doorway surmounted by a Viking ship, also the work of the President, was as follows:—

TO THEIR MAJESTIES THE KING AND QUEEN OF
NORWAY.

May it please Your Majesties:

The members of the Viking Club beg most respectfully to offer their greeting and welcome to Your Majesties on this your first visit to Great Britain since your accession to the ancient throne of the Yngling Kings.

We claim an especial interest in this event, because our Club exists to study and preserve the records of that age, when Norway and the Norse took so important a share in the making of the British race.

Counting among our members natives of Your Majesties' Kingdom, we trust, in studying past history, to strengthen the present bond which links us to Norway by many ancestral memories and natural sympathies.

It is our earnest hope and wish that Your Majesties' reign may be long and prosperous, to the furtherance of friendship between Norway and Great Britain.

(Signed) On behalf of the Viking Club,

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, President.

AMY JOHNSTON, Hon. Secretary.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Vice-President, then read the following papers:—"Notes on the Danish Moat at Fulham," which we hope to print in a future issue, and "Runes Amongst Ogam Illustrations in old Irish MSS."

Mr. Atkinson commenced the latter paper with a brief account of the Ogam characters and their use, illustrated by sketches on the blackboard and rubbings from various inscribed stones. He then described how the Runic futhork, under the titles of "Ogam Lochlandach" and "Gall Ogam," occurs on tables of various kinds of Ogams adapted for use in secret or cryptic writings, which illustrations are given in the "Book of Ballymote," an Irish codex, dated 1391, now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. Runic alphabets are also given in similar lists under the same titles in another Irish MS. now in the British Museum. The lecturer pointed out that the title Ogam of the Lochlandach, or Gall (foreigners), would be applicable not only to the Norwegians coming

from the land of fjords, but also to the Danish dwellers on the landlocked waters of the Baltic. An account of these characters was communicated by Mr. Atkinson to the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, and is printed with facsimiles in the *Journal of the Association* for July, 1874.

Some flint implements were also exhibited which had been found by Mr. Harry Lowerison, Hon. District Secretary, Norfolk, at the so-called "Danish Camp" near Holkham. These included some twenty neolithic flakes, cores, etc., one very beautiful little saw, and one probable eolith. The camp in question is about one mile from Holkham Station, and threequarters of a mile from the sea, from which it is separated by marsh and sand-hills. It is 700 yards round the inner mound, and within it is a circular depression, very like a dew-pond, about 23 yards in diameter and 6 feet deep. The flakes were all surface finds, so give no positive evidence as to the camp.

MEETING, DECEMBER 14TH.

MR. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A. (Hon. Vice-President) in the Chair.

Mr. Sveinbjörn Sveinbjörnsson read a paper on "Northern Folk-Songs: Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish" (with Vocal Illustrations). The paper, with some of the melodies, is printed on pages 151-171.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL.

METHODS OF WORK.

During the year 1905 the work of the Club included :—The holding of seven meetings for the reading and discussion of Papers on Northern subjects; visits to Bedford and the Exhibition of Water Colour Drawings of Icelandic Scenery by W. G. Collingwood, the President; the social function of the Annual Dinner; adding to the Library and Museum; the survey of Orkney Place-Names; and the continuation of the Book Agency.

The Council recommend that the work of the Club should be continued on similar lines during the forthcoming year, with the exception of the Book Agency.

MEETINGS.

January 20th.—Presidential Address with lantern illustrations, of life and scenery in Orkney. J. G. Garson, M.D., President.

February 17th.—“Homer and Beowulf.” Professor J. Wight Duff, M.A.

March 17th.—“Old Icelandic Churches.” Mrs. Disney Leith.
“A Visit to the Danework.” H. A. Kjær, M.A., Hon. District Secretary for Denmark.

“The Ship Find in Norway.” Albany F. Major.

April 14th.—The Oldest Known List of Scandinavian Names.” Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D.

May 9th.—Annual Dinner.

May 12th.—“Some Notes on the Supernatural Element in Icelandic Literature.” Miss S. C. Rücker.

November 17th.—“Faröe and the Faröese,” illustrated by lantern slides. Pastor Axel Bergh.

December 15th.—“Ship Burials.” Haakon Schetelig, Hon. District Secretary for Norway (Bergen and West Coast).

In addition to the above meetings the members of the Club were invited by the Folk-Lore Society to the society's meeting on February 15th, when a paper on “The Ragnarök and Valhalla Myths and Evidence as to the period from which they date” was read by Albany F. Major; and on May 20th, Dr. Jón Stefánsson, representing the Viking Club at the invitation of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, read his paper on “The Oldest Known List of Scandinavian Names, with their Bearing on Yorkshire Place-Names,” at a meeting of that Society at Holmfirth.

EXCURSIONS.

June 3rd.—Visit to the Exhibition of Water Colour Drawings of Icelandic Scenery, &c., by W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., President of the Viking Club, at the Bruton Gallery. Notes on events connected with the subjects by Albany F. Major.

July 1st.—Visit to Bedford to visit Willington Camp, and other sites connected with the Anglo-Danish Campaign of A.D. 921, described by Mr. A. R. Goddard in his paper on "The Danish Camp on the Ouse, near Bedford," in *Saga-Book*, Vol. III., pages 326-337.

ANNUAL DINNER.

The Annual Dinner, attended by 80 members and guests, was held on May 9th, at the Bruton Galleries, on the eve of the opening of the Exhibition of Water Colour Drawings of Icelandic Scenery, by W. G. Collingwood, the President. The chair was occupied by the President, and the following were entertained as guests of the Club—the Right Hon. J. Bryce, M.P., and Mrs. Bryce, Baron de Bildt (the Swedish Minister), Professor W. P. Ker, and Professor I. Gollancz.

SAGA-BOOK AND PUBLICATIONS.

The *Saga-Book* for 1904 has been issued to all Members for 1904, and to Members elected in 1905.

The *Saga-Book* for 1905 is now in the printer's hands, and will be issued in April to Members who have paid their subscription.

The following Publications will be issued to subscribers during the next twelve months, of which special prospectuses will be issued:—

Translation Series. Vol. II. *Sæmundar Edda* (first portion, excluding the *Völsunga lays*). By Olive Bray, illustrated by W. G. Collingwood.

Bibliography of Northern Literature. By Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D.

Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore Series, a quarterly issue of Miscellany and Diplomatarium Orcadense et Hjaltlandense. Edited by A. W. Johnston and A. Leslie.

The following Members have been appointed a Publications Committee: G. M. Atkinson, W. G. Collingwood, A. F. Major.

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

The collection of books and antiquities remains in the temporary charge of Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., as Hon. Librarian. A catalogue has been printed and may be had for 6d. The Hon. Librarian will be glad to receive gifts of books and antiquities to the Library and Museum, and cases for books and exhibits.

BOOK AGENCY.

The Book Agency will hereafter be conducted independently by the Hon. Librarian.

MEMBERSHIP.

During the year 1905 the Club lost five members by death and twelve by withdrawal, while nineteen Subscribing Members and one Honorary Member have been added to the roll, and the exchange of *Proceedings* arranged with two Societies.

At the close of the year the Membership consisted of 56 Honorary and 203 Subscribing Members, of which 20 have compounded and are compounding by instalments for their subscriptions, and the *Proceedings* exchanged with twelve Societies.

STATEMENTS OF ACCOUNTS.

The Honorary Treasurer's Balance Sheet and Accounts for the year ending December 31st, 1905, are appended.

The Book Agency shows a profit of £5 15s. 11d.

Adopted by the Council,

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Chairman.*

April 7th, 1906.

Adopted by the Annual General Meeting,

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, *President.*

April 27th, 1906.

VIKING CLUB.

BALANCE SHEET, 31st December, 1905.

LIABILITIES.				ASSETS.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
I. BALANCES OF THE FOLLOWING FUNDS:—				Members owing for Reprints of <i>Saga Book</i> , Vol. IV.,			
<i>Horsford Fund</i> for "Thing-Steads," by F. T.				Part I.		0	13 8
Norris	47	6	0	<i>Subscriptions</i> in Arrears		8	10 0
<i>Major Fund</i> for "Saga Studies," by A. F. Major	5	0	0	<i>Investments</i> —			
<i>Endowment Fund</i>	113	7	0	Consols	44	0	8
<i>Publications Fund</i>	2	16	6	South Australian Stock	51	17	6
<i>General Fund</i>	3	0	0				95 18 2
				<i>Book Agency</i> —			
II. SUNDRY LIABILITIES:—			171 10 2	Members owing for Books	1	2	9
<i>General Fund</i> —				Stock in hand	4	0	8
<i>Saga Book</i> , Vol. IV., Part II., Reprints and							5 3 5
Illustrations	1	13	8	<i>Cash</i> in Bank	83	1	6
Printing Circulars, etc.	2	9	9	" hands of Hon. Treasurer	6	11	8
Rent of Rooms, 1905	1	11	6	" , Assistant Secretary	1	7	0
Hire of Lantern at Lecture	1	1	0				91 0 2
			6 15 11				
<i>Book Agency Account</i> —							
Due to Booksellers	7	11	10				
Printing	1	18	0				
Icelandic Literary Society Subscriptions	2	12	0				
			12 1 10				
<i>Publications Fund</i> —							
Printing	0	15	6				
Bibliography of Northern Literature	4	15	0				
			5 10 6				
III. SUBSCRIPTIONS (1906) paid in advance ..			5 7 0				
			£201 5 5				

NOTE—The above mentioned Assets do not include the value of back numbers of the *Saga Book*, nor the value of the Club Library.

We have compared the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers produced to us, and find the same to be in accordance therewith.

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

ROBERTSON LAWSON, }
W. V. M. POPHAM, } *Hon. Auditors.*

London, April 5th, 1906.

VIKING CLUB.

GENERAL FUND for the Year ending 31st December, 1905.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance from last year	57 5 6		By Working Expenses :—		
1905 Annual Subscriptions paid in 1904 ... 10 11 0			Bank Charges	0 4 0	
" " 1905 ... 74 15 8			Commission to Trade	0 10 6	
in Arrear	<u>5 10 0</u>		Printing and Stationery	13 4 7	
		91 16 8	Fire Insurance Premium	0 18 0	
Donations	5 12 6		Rent of Rooms	1 11 6	
" Dividends received	2 4 0		Hire of Lantern at Meetings	2 12 6	
" Subscriptions to Wedding Present to T.R.H. Prince			Refreshments at Meetings	1 19 7	
and Princess Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden	50 8 6		Assistant Secretary's Honorarium	8 5 0	
" Sale of Tickets—Bedford Excursion	15 4 0		Postages "	<u>17 2 11</u>	
" Annual Dinner	50 6 0				46 8 7
" Reprints of <i>Saga-Book</i> , Vol. IV., Part I.	2 13 2		Annual Dinner Expenses		50 5 6
" Sale of Back Works	6 19 6		" Bedford Excursion Expenses		14 18 6
" Profit on Book Agency Account	5 15 11		<i>Saga-Book</i> , Vol. III., Part III., Illustrations	0 16 6	
			IV., I.,	83 10 4	
			IV., I., Reprints	9 6 6	
			IV., II., Illustrations,		
			etc.	<u>3 5 8</u>	
					96 19 0
			Prospectus, Printing	11 11 6	
			, Postage	<u>15 2 c</u>	
					26 13 6
			Purchase of Picture for Wedding Present	50 0 0	
			Balance of Balance Sheet... ..	3 0 8	
					<u>288 5 9</u>
		<u>£288 5 9</u>			<u>£288 5 9</u>

BOOK AGENCY ACCOUNT for the Year ended 31st December, 1905.

[illegible]

PUBLICATION FUND for the Year ended 31st December, 1905.

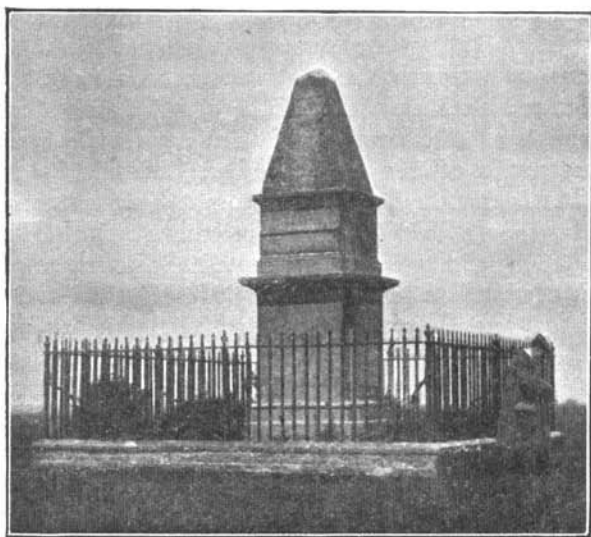
To 1905 Subscriptions	£	s.	d.
... ..	13	12	0
	£	13	12 0
By Payment to Account of Bibliography of Northern Literature	£	s.	d.
Liabilities to Balance Sheet	5	5	0
" Balance to Balance Sheet	5	10	6
	2	16	6
	£	13	12 0

ENDOWMENT FUND for the Year ended 31st December, 1905.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance from last year	34	0	0	By Balance to Balance Sheet . . .	113	7	0
1905 Life Subscriptions	67	10	0				
„ „ Entrance Fees	7	14	0				
„ „ Donations	1	0	0				
1906 Life Subscriptions	1	10	0				
„ „ Entrance Fees	1	13	0				
	<u>£113</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>				
					<u>£113</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>

VISIT TO BRIDGWATER, JUNE 2ND TO 4TH.

A small party of members, and friends interested in their researches, assembled at Bridgwater on Friday, June 1st, 1906, in order to visit the actual country of King Alfred's campaign from Athelney in 878, to inspect the local sites assigned to various incidents in the operations according to the identifications of the late Bishop Clifford, and to discuss generally in the light of these investigations the claims of the various sites given for the field of the king's decisive victory at Ethandune over the Danes



MONUMENT ON ATHELNEY.

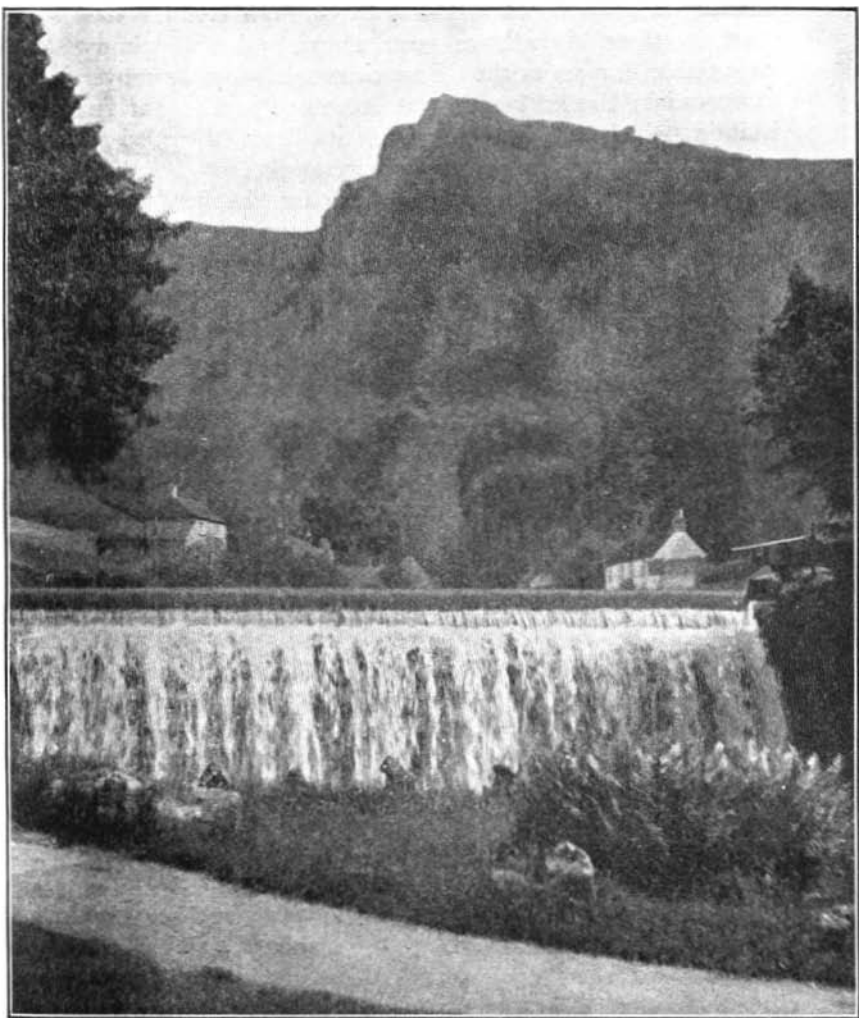
From a photograph by J. Harris Stone.

under Guthrum. Besides local members of the Club, Somerset was represented by the Chairman of the Committee of the Somerset Men in London, Mr. J. Harris Stone, and others. The party, which was under the general conduct of Mr. A. F. Major, Hon. Editor, found very comfortable headquarters at the Bristol Arms, Bridgwater.

Early on Saturday morning they were met by the Rev. Charles W. Whistler, Hon. District Secretary for Somerset, who has made the problems connected with this campaign his special study.¹ Under his guidance, and reinforced by local recruits, the party drove by North Petherton and Lyng, with brief halts at the respective churches, to Athelney and Borough Bridge, Alfred's fen fortress just below the junction of the rivers Tone and Parrett. The site of Athelney, so evidently once an island in the marshes, was closely examined, and the causeway, Alfred's original work, connecting it with the steep "burh" of Borough Bridge, observed. From the latter point, after scaling the steep hill of the "burh" and inspecting the church, the party drove on after lunch by the former marsh-islands of Othery, Middlezoy, Weston Zoyland and Chedzoy, with their remarkable churches and memories of Sedgemoor. These islands extend in a chain from Athelney almost to the foot of the commanding height of Edington, on the Polden Hills, at which latter point the members halted to discuss the probabilities of that site as the battlefield of Ethandune. The claims of an alternative position much further up the valley of the Parrett, where a vast camp, originally Roman, exists on the ridge of the Hamdon Hills near Montacute, were put forward by one of the party, Mr. W. L. Radford, who read a paper suggesting this site before the Somersetshire Archæological Society in 1905. The general opinion of the party was in favour of the Edington site as most likely from a strategical point of view, though it was agreed that Mr. Radford's theory had its own claims to recognition.

Col. Hobart, Vice-President, who was one of the party, has since informed us that, in his view, if we grant the assumption that Guthrum wanted to join hands with Hubba, and expected him to land near the mouth of the Parrett, he must almost of necessity have marched

¹ See his paper, "Ethandune, A.D. 878: King Alfred's Campaign from Athelney." *SAGA-BOOK*, vol. ii., and various District Reports.

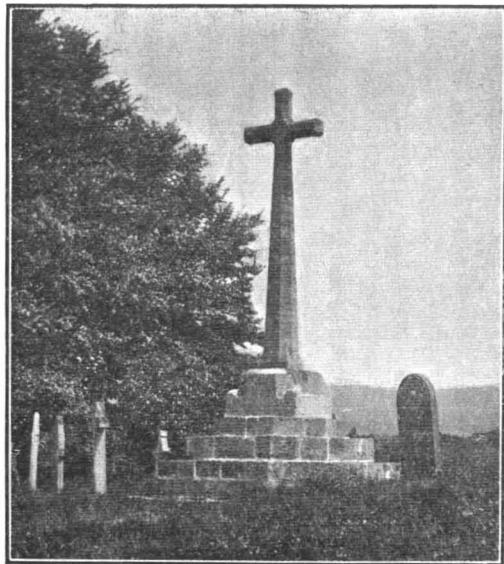


CHEDDAR CLIFFS AND WATERFALL.

From a photograph by J. Harris Stone.

along the ridge of the Poldens, which runs like a promontory nearly to the river-mouth through country that must in those days have been marshland and almost impassable for an army. The ridge of hills, moreover, commands Alfred's position at Athelney and in the fen islands, which the Danes could not have afforded to neglect. In any case it was very strongly felt by those present that the most probable place for the final battle of the campaign on strategical and topographical grounds was in the Athelney district, near Aller, where Guthrum was baptized shortly after his defeat, and Wedmore, where he was confirmed and where the treaty of peace was signed. On these grounds the party were generally inclined to reject Camden's identification of sites in Wiltshire, near Chippenham, which most historians have followed without further investigation. These sites have, however, on philological grounds been supported by Mr. W. H. Stevenson, in his recent edition of Asser's "Life of Alfred," where he endeavours to identify Edington near Chippenham with the Ethandune of Alfred's will, and shows that in Domesday the Somersetshire Edington appears as Edwinetune, no doubt originally Eadwines-tun. This latter argument is not, however necessarily conclusive. Edington Hill, which to-day is called locally Eddendon or Eddandun, is above the village of Edington, which is on the level "moor." There is no apparent reason why the hill should have given its name to the village, or the village to the hill, and the names may be of independent origin. There for the present the question must remain.

No plans were made for Whit Sunday, when some of the party visited Cheddar to see the famous "gap" in the Mendips, with its cliffs, caves and waterfall. Others drove to church at Aller, being anxious particularly to see the font, which is said to be the very one in which Guthrum was baptized. This is not impossible, though a writer in *The Church Times* of March 15th, 1907, in a review of "Memorials of Old Somerset," scoffs at the



CHURCHYARD CROSS, STOKE COURCY.
From a photograph by J. Harris Stone.

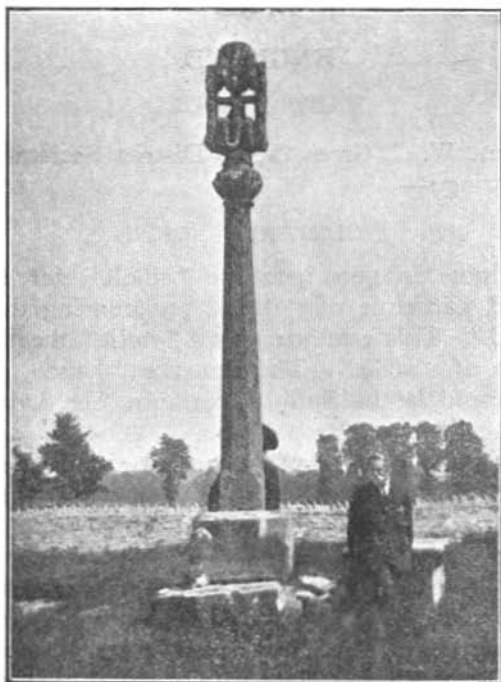


REMAINS OF MARKET CROSS, STOKE COURCY, NEAR THE HOLY WELL.
From a photograph by J. Harris Stone.

idea of its being anything but "a Norman font of a common-place and not very early type." The bowl alone is in existence, a massive circular bowl of unornamented stone, which was found in a pond in the vicarage garden when the church was being restored during last century.

The gathering place on Monday was Cannington, where the party first inspected the fine church, and then visited Cannington Park, near Combeich on the Parrett. Here there is an ancient stone-walled fort, with an evident battle-burial hard by and strong local traditions, which the late Bishop Clifford imagined was the site of Hubba's landing and defeat. No excavations could be made, but fragments of human bones from the burial-place and shore pebbles, evidently sling-stones, from the fort on the hill-top were found by several members. The next halt was at Stoke Courcy, with its magnificent Norman church and churchyard cross. The latter is modern, but on the old base and site, which, contrary to custom, is on the north side of the church. The cross no doubt preceded the church, and in this instance it stood so near the brook that no room was left to build the church in the usual position north of the cross. Another result from this is that the church has no south porch. Of the old market cross, which stood at the end of a lane leading to a "holy well," only the base, showing traces of rich ornamentation, remains. Being Whit Monday, the Stoke Courcy club festival was in progress, and the members of the party were much interested in the procession, which passed down the street, as they were about to drive off, on its way to service at the church, with bands, banners and club staves bearing ornamented heads. These latter are becoming valuable relics of the past, for these festivals, unhappily, are dying out, as the old benefit clubs vanish. At Stringston another churchyard cross was inspected. This dates from the fifteenth century, is elaborate in pattern and has never been defaced, though the sculpture has suffered from weathering. The shaft is a monolith of conglomerate grit. Finally Danesborough Camp, on

the Quantocks, was reached, where the Rev. W. Gresswell, the well-known authority on West Somerset, met the party. The inspection of the camp concluded the programme. Mr. Stone's great archæological knowledge, and Mr. Radford's intimate acquaintance with the records and



FIFTEENTH CENTURY CROSS, STRINGSTON.

From a photograph by J. Harris Stone.

archæology of the county, were of very great value to the other members of the party during the excursion.

We have to thank *Health Resort* for kindly allowing us the use of the blocks illustrating this article, from photographs by Mr. J. Harris Stone.

REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

ENGLAND.

EAST ANGLIA.

The Rev. W. C. Green, M.A., District Secretary, sends the following:—

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

THE Suffolk villagers here use “stoolt” for the past tense and participle of “steal,” pronouncing the *oo* as in “wood.” This reminds us of “stolit,” the Icelandic participle of “stela.” The sentence “hann hefir þat stolit” would be in Suffolk parlance “he have stoolt that.”

Not long ago I came upon the expression in the Waterdalesmen’s Saga “fám góðum mönnum lík,” “like few good folk”; used of a wicked old witch, as an ironical expression for “unmatched in badness.” The phrase seems to have been proverbial; and it rather reminded me of an old Essex saying current among my relatives there, about any one *sui generis* and cantankerous. “He is like Hackett’s bull,” they said. But if you enquired what that animal was like, you were told, “Like nobody but himself.”

TADPOLE, POLLYWIGGLE, TANTIDDLE.

In this note there is nothing strictly Vikingian. Indeed I doubt if Vikings cared for such very little things as tadpoles. But I was led to search into the names for them by hearing a saga, told me by a woman in the parish, about a friend of hers who had a swarm of tadpoles inside her, which consumed all her “victuals” and caused

her death. And she called the creatures "tantiddles." Of "tadpole" one guesses "toad" to be probably the first part. And Skeat explains the word, "A toad which is nearly all 'poll' or 'head.'" Only one might have expected rather "poll-toad" than "toad-poll." Also it is odd that "frog" has not come into the name; for the well-known tadpoles are mostly the young of frogs.

With regard to the country name "polly-wiggle," "wiggle" may express the wagging motion, and "polly" again be from "poll," head: only "tail-wagger" would seem more correct. A neighbour of mine, a good naturalist, set some of his village boys to spell the word. Without exception they spelt it with a *d* for *ll*, "pody-wiggle." Now hereabouts, in speaking, they often slur or soften *d* between vowels into a liquid (*r* especially): but in this case they were doing the reverse. (Classical scholars may remember *δακρυ*, "lacryma," *Ὀδυσσεύς*, "Ulysses.")

For tadpole the Scandinavian languages seem to have no name: in a Danish dictionary I find only the periphrasis "frog with tail." The Germans have "kaul-frosch," and "kaul-kröte" for the two batrachian infants. The French have "têtard," not accentuated as if from "tête," but as if "suckling" from *téter*.

FORMER, FOREMOST.

Icelandic "framár," "framast."

In Icelandic "fram" is a common adverb, "forward": from which come the comp. and superl. "framár," "framast," corresponding to the English "former," "foremost," this last being originally "formest." And surely both "form-er" and "form-est" were based on a stem "from" or "form," corresponding to Icel. "fram."

Thus Vigfússon in his dictionary says:

This adv. with its compds and derivatives may be said to have been lost in Germ. as well as Engl., and at a very early time. Even *Ulfilas* uses "fram" only in two passages as adverb, viz., Rom. xiii. 12, where he renders "the night is far spent" by "framis

galeipán," which recalls to mind the Icel. "fram-liðinn" = deceased; past; and Mark i. 19 where *προβαίνειν* is rendered by "gaggan framis" = Icel. ganga fram. Cp. also the Gothic compds "fram-gahts" = progress, Philipp. i. 25; "fram-aldrs" = stricken in years. In O. H. G. "vram" = *ultra* still occurs, but is now lost in Germ. as well as in Engl.

All this appears to me rightly put; and it proves a stem "from" or "form," on which "form-er" and "form-est" were based, and "form-er" with no less right and regularity than "form-est."

But Skeat says of "former":

A false formation to suit M.E. "formest," *i.e.*, foremost. Formed by adding -er to the base "form" of A.S. "forma" first; really a superlative form precisely equivalent to Lat. *primus*, where -m- is an Aryan superl. suffix.

I demur to the words "*false* formation": "form-er" seems to me formed as truly and rightly as "form-est." That the stem ending in *m* was originally superlative is true alike for Gothic, Icelandic, German, Anglo-Saxon, and wherever it may occur: but, this superlativeness becoming forgotten, "former" seems to me as right as "formest," and to have been unfairly discredited.

Some purists did avoid using it: *e.g.*, Gray. "It is not," says Skeat, "in very early use." Written examples may not be producible: but I cannot but believe that in formation "former" and "formest" were about simultaneous and early, as were in Icelandic "framar" and "framast."

Passages where "former" occurs in Spenser and Shakespeare and a few other fairly early writers are given in Tovey's Gray, vol. ii., p. 27. Here are two:

"Yet did her face and former parts professe
A fair young maiden."

—Spenser, F. Q. VI. vi 10.

"Coming from Sardis, on our former ensign
Two mighty eagles fell."

—Shakspeare, Julius Cæsar V. i. 80.

In both passages "former" is used in the local sense; and this is by far the most common use of the Icelandic

"framar," "framast." In the authorized version of the Bible "former" is very frequent (occurs 39 times) in the temporal sense.

The spelling "foremost" came probably from a wrong idea that the word should be referred to "for" or "fore." Yet the word "hind-most" may be taken to justify in part a superlative "fore-most" really based on "fore."

SOMERSETSHIRE.

The Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.A., M.R.C.S., District Secretary, writes:—

FURTHER NOTES ON "KYNWICH CASTLE."

DURING the summer of 1905 Mr. Major and myself, assisted by Dr. Swale, made a few exploratory trenches within the defences of the ancient hill-fort near Combwich, already mentioned in other SAGA BOOKS as most probably the scene of the fall of Hubba in the Athelney campaigns.¹ The primary intention of these explorations was to ascertain whether the fort had at any time been a permanent place of habitation, enclosing anything of the nature of hut circles or pits, and except that scattered flint chips and early potsherds of the Glastonbury type proved the camp to be of very early construction and use, nothing indicating any permanent residence was to be found. At one spot, however, a find was made, which seems to prove that the fort has actually been manned against a siege at some time. Almost on the rock, and beneath some eighteen inches of mould, in a spot overlooking the tidal ford of the Parrett, which the fort commands, lay a dozen or so of carefully chosen oval shore pebbles, of uniform size and type, and of the shape usually considered to be that used for slinging.² With them were the only shards of wheel-turned pottery which showed any ornamentation, the inference being that here had been a slinger's

¹ Vol. ii., part ii., pp. 165, 166, 174, 175; Vol. iv., part i., p. 22.

² We found also many other similar pebbles, scattered about in different places where we dug within the entrenchments.—ED.

post during some siege of later date than that of the original fort-builders.

TRACES OF THE NORSEMEN AT PORLOCK.

My attention has been drawn to the former existence of a chapel of St. Olaf, in the church of St. Dubritius at Porlock. I am unable as yet to say more of the date of this chapel, but the dedication points very plainly to some close connection between the little ancient port and the Norsemen either as actual founders of the place, or as traders. Bristol was once the headquarters of the Iceland trade, and it is possible that Porlock and Watchet may have taken their share in the shipping as ports of call for supplies, or pilotage; but that Watchet began as a Norse settlement contemporary with the Welsh possessions on the opposite shore, with Williton, "the town of the Wealas," two miles inland on the main western road as the market depôt, is more than probable.

SCANDINAVIAN LEGENDS.

In this connection may be recorded a distinctly Scandinavian legend concerning a large tumulus on the coast, some ten miles west of Watchet and close to the mouth of the Parrett. It stands on rising ground above a well-marked former inlet of the sea, still known in its present state of marshland as "Wick," and is an ideal place for the burial of a chief near the ships which lay in the tidal waters of the inlet. Being about ninety feet across, and some eleven feet high, any attempt at exploration would be costly, the mound, moreover, being mostly composed of stones, and the local statement being that "if it is taken away by day it is brought back at night," which may be the remembrance of some premature attempt at grave rifling and frustration by the original builders.

The field in which the mound stands is called "Pixies' piece," and the last pixies of our Quantock country were disturbed, "in the memory of the present grandfathers," by "Mr. Rawlings" while thrashing in the adjacent lonely

barn. He was passing, and heard the busy flails at work, and so went to learn who was there. There were voices, too. One said to another :

"How I does twear!"

Whereon another answered, "Thee do twear, do'ee? Well, then I do double-twear, looky zee."

Whereon the farmer looked over the half-door, and saw the little men in their red caps a-threshing.

"Well done, then, my little yellows!" he shouted. But they fled, and have been seen no more.

Now they live in the mound, which moves mysteriously from place to place about the field. There was a ploughman at work in the next field with his team, who heard them. There came a little voice crying piteously :

"I've broken my peel! I've broken my peel!"

It is a lonely place, and the man thought it strange that a child should be playing around the mound, and so, as the crying went on, thought he had better go and see if the little one was lost. But there was no child to be seen, though a little wooden baker's shovel, the "peel," with which the bread is put into the old stone ovens, lay with its long handle broken on the mound side. This, being good-natured, he mended with a lashing of string, and left where he found it, and so went back to his team until the day's work was over. Then, as he passed the mound, he looked to see if the peel was yet there. It had gone, but in its place lay a beautiful hot cake baked for him in the oven of the grateful Pixies.

Mr. Craigie gives an almost identical story of a mound and a broken peel in his Scandinavian folklore and legends, "The Bergwoman's bread"; and I have so far heard no English variant of the story. Unless there is such, it is hard to see how so distinctively Scandinavian a legend can have originated in the heart of Saxon Wessex, and it would seem to be very definite proof of the old Norse influence on the Severn shores, even if the mound itself be not that of some Viking chief, perhaps even of Hubba himself.

STORY OF A LOST FIND.

The particulars of a very curious find made by himself some fifty years ago, "when there was nobody to tell us about these things," have been given me by an old ploughman of my parish. He was then working in the Wellington district, on the Devon border; and in the midst of a field, which he was ploughing unusually deep, the share struck something which left a shining metal ring on the point. Investigation with a spade borrowed from a hedger at hand revealed the remains of "some sort of a great pot, which was all rotten and fell to bits. It was blue, and that was all one could tell of it." There was also the other ring which had formed either the handle fastening or else had been the only means of lifting the cauldron, and besides that half a dozen small yellow metal bowls, which had been packed into the great one. He reckoned that these bowls were brass, like the two rings, and he sold them as such for 2s. 9d. to a man in Wellington. "Like as not they were gold," he said, meditatively. "And we reckoned they had been stolen and buried where we did vind them. They do zay that once on a time there was a public-house in that field, but not as any one ever remembered. We reckoned these things had been stolen from the house and buried."

Exactly such a find is illustrated on page 340, vol. 11, of "The Viking Age," where the large kettle is filled with deep shield bosses, which have all the appearance of bowls. In this case burnt bones were covered by the bosses, and the "blue" layer which marked the outline of the large vessel of my informant's find would probably be the blue iron phosphate known as "Vivianite," which is always indicative of the juxtaposition of animal matter and iron in a burial find.

It is possible that the traditional "public-house" was actually a temple "Hof," and that here were buried the cauldron and blood-bowls of the "Ve," at the time when the Christian British expelled some Northern settlers who had wandered inland from Watchet. The type of find

seems distinctly Scandinavian, and is strange in British Devon, to which the Saxons did not penetrate until they were fully Christianised.

REPORTED FIND OF A VIKING HELMET IN IRELAND.

In describing to the Irish Royal Society of Antiquaries in June, 1905, the find of a Danish gold pin at Clontarf, Mr. Milligan also mentioned that in 1903 he found in Ards peninsula a splendid bronze brooch of the Viking period, with a Viking helmet. Unfortunately the material of which the latter is made was not mentioned in the brief report of the meeting given in the "Antiquary," but in any case the find is worth recording, helmets being extremely rare. Even the Museum of Christiania does not contain a single perfect specimen, though fragments are not infrequent. Of one thing we may be certain, that it was not provided with the wings so dear to the artists who illustrate Viking stories.

THE WINGED HELMET MYTH.

Against those anachronisms, probably evolved from some late German source of the "Lohengrin" order, I, as a sufferer, would hereby register a solemn protest, being absolutely unable to find any authority for them, though for the horned helm, and also for the boar-crested helm, there is plenty, examples of both being in the British Museum, besides the well-known early pictured representations of the former, and "Beowulf" mentions of the latter.¹

BLOOD STENTING.

That "White witchcraft" still exists in a more or less surreptitious way in the west is well known; but a charm against hæmorrhage, of a somewhat unusual type, from Black Torrington in North Devon, may be worth recording, though it may not be of Northern origin. In this case there is no attempt at secrecy, the user of the charm

¹ See SAGA-BOOK, Vol. iv, p. 412.

being proud of his occult power, and by no means making profit of it. He is a small farmer of the district, and claims to be the last person by whom the charm can be effectively used, as it can only be handed on by a woman who herself has the power of "stenting blood" by its use. It came to him from such a wise woman, and, so far as he knows, he is the only person to whom she transmitted the gift, while of course he is unable to hand it on.

The charm itself consists in repeating the verse Ezekiel xvi. 6 (*q.v.*). It is to some extent apposite, being a direct command to an individual suffering from hæmorrhage to "live," though with no command to the blood itself. Whether this may not be a Christianised version of some older formula I cannot venture to say; but it is likely. The descent of the "stenting" power in the female line alone is most remarkable. The context of the verse may possibly infer that it was originally used by women only, and on certain emergencies: but this does not seem probable. At the present day the help of the "stenter" is sought in any case, whether veterinary or otherwise, where it is required, and it is claimed, and indeed firmly believed in the district, that it is always successful. Two such cases were cited to me, one of a wounded horse, and the other of hæmorrhage from the lungs of a consumptive.

There are physical reasons, connected with the cessation of ill-directed attempts to staunch the bleeding during the absence of the messenger in search of the "stenter," which one could bring forward to account for the usual success of his charm; but they only accentuate the fact that his loss will be as much to the district as to the student of folklore. It may be added that the "stenter" does not visit the patient. The verse is openly pronounced wherever he may be working when found, and the assurance that it will be found effectual on the return of the messenger is added. The verse, which is the essential part of the charm, next to the personal element, was freely communicated to the doctor, by the way, there being no "professional jealousy" in the matter on either side.

THE SKIMMINGTON RIDE.

Black Torrington still keeps up the ancient custom of "Skimmington riding," when some village scandal is to be held up to public reprobation. A very full and accurate description of such a function may be read in the Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Red Spider," the scene being laid in a village close at hand, and the ritual observed being that still in use. Notices for such a "meet of the stag hounds" held last spring were posted in places so far distant as Bideford, the route to be taken by the "hunt" being given in disguised writing.

LYNG CHURCH, ATHELNEY.

The earlier stages of the restoration of Lyng Church, Athelney, have been completed, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, in reopening it, made full reference to the close association of the building with King Alfred's monastery, of which it is practically the only remainder. The tower still requires full repair.

KING ALFRED'S BURIAL PLACE.

A committee has been formed for the preservation of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, the burial place of Alfred and Elswitha and Edward the Elder, and a subscription list, of which Mr. Alfred Bowker is treasurer, has been opened.

YORK.

Dr. G. A. Auden, District Secretary, York, writes as follows:—

RECENT FINDS IN YORK.

EXCAVATIONS for building purposes in Nessgate and Coppergate, in the City of York, during the past year have brought to light, at a depth of ten to twelve feet, several objects which may without doubt be assigned to the Danish period. This area is in the immediate neighbourhood of the site which yielded so

many Scandinavian antiquities during the excavations for the Friends' Meeting House in 1884, which form a collection in the York Museum still awaiting adequate study and description. The most noticeable find is a fine axe-head of iron, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, weighing 2 lbs. 6 oz., having a broadened slightly crescentic cutting-edge, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width, and an oblong socket for the handle. The metal is extremely well preserved, a fact in part due to the black peaty earth in which this and the other antiquities were embedded, but also to the fact that the axe appears to have been overlaid originally with silver. Accompanying it was a finely-wrought horse's bit, of iron, which, although it has suffered a great deal from oxidation, still shows traces of linear ornamentation. Many bones of animals, including the skull of a small horse, tines of red-deer horn, two goat horns, also four leathern shoes, together with part of what appears to have been a leathern apron, were found. The chief other antiquities are a fine bone comb of "Danish" pattern, several needles of bone, a two-pronged fork of bronze for fixture upon a shaft, and fragments of a wooden box which has been overlaid with strips of bone, finely ornamented with incised circles and ovals, pierced through the whole thickness, and backed by a thin sheet of vitreous material, which still retains some of the lustre.¹

In 1903, probably in the same neighbourhood, an article of exceptional and unique interest was discovered, which has, unfortunately, not found a place in the York Museum. This is the "Carved tine of deer's horn of Viking Age," figured and described by Mr. Romilly

¹ While the above has been in the press several additional objects have been brought to light, the most interesting of which—and in some respects the most valuable antiquity dating from the period which has yet been discovered in York—is a bronze chape of a sword sheath, ornamented with open zoomorphic interlacement, which terminate in animal heads where the chape was fixed to the material of the sheath. The dimensions are: length, 8·5 centimeters, width, 4·6 centimeters, width of mouth, 2 centimeters. A similar chape is figured in Rygh, *Norske Oldsager*, fig. 516. The whole find is an important one and is worthy of a detailed report.

Allen in "The Reliquary." It was sold in London in July last, and now graces the collection of Lord Grantley.

In the same periodical another object from York is figured (Vol. XII., page 60). This is a fine example of a "late Celtic" bowl with zoomorphic handles, of a type similar to those found in Norway,¹ which was found on Castle Hill in 1828.

SUPPOSED ST. OLAF WINDOW.

In the East end of the South aisle of the now disused church of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, famous for its unique fifteenth century Trinity-window, is a window of two lights, filled in with fragments of fourteenth century painted glass. The subject represented in the left light is a crowned figure with flaxen hair, moustache, and short beard, wearing a tunic with wide open sleeves, which are apparently trimmed with yellow fur. A broad band of azure crosses the shoulders and at the girdle. The right arm grasps a book, but resting in the left are three round stones, one above the other two (Fig. 1). The figure has hitherto, manifestly erroneously, been attributed to St. Stephen, but there seems to be at least some considerable probability that it is a representation of St. Olaf carrying the "Olaf Stones." The legend, which is Danish in origin,² and which does not appear to be known in Norway, is to the effect that a servant girl of a certain Bonder (*Vir pravus, nec Deum nec homines reverens*), was ordered by her master to bake on St. Olaf's Day, in lieu of praying at the shrine of the saint. The loaves were converted to stones and the impious Bonder struck with blindness.

Metcalf,³ in relating this legend, says that in the churches dedicated to St. Olaf in Iceland, three "Olaf Stones," hammered out of lava, were generally kept. That

¹ Romilly Allen, "Archæologia," Vol. 56.

² Daae, "Norges Helgener," p. 52.

³ "Passio et Miracula Beati Olaui," p. 45.



FIG. 1.—SUPPOSED REPRESENTATION OF ST. OLAF IN A WINDOW
IN HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, YORK.

From a Photograph.



FIG. 2.—ST. OLAF FROM A PAINTED SCREEN IN THE CHURCH
OF BARTON TURF, NORFOLK.

Reproduced by kind permission of the Rev. J. E. Poole.

the legend was known in England a century later than the date to which this glass may be assigned is proved by the painted screen in the church of Barton Turf, Norfolk, where St. Olaf carries two cakes in his right hand, his battle-axe in his left, his identity being proved by the legend "St. Holofius" on a scroll above the figure (Fig. 2). Many of the earlier wooden effigies of the Saint in Norway represent him as holding in one



FIG. 3.—CARVED FIGURE OF ST. OLAF
IN THRONDHJEM MUSEUM.

From a photograph by Dr. G. A. Aulen.

hand the ciborium. This, when roughly carved, is not unlike three cakes or stones superimposed (Fig. 3). It is possible that there may be some connection between this fact and the legend of the Olaf Stones.

The book in the right hand of the York figure may be urged as an objection to the identification. It may, however, be mentioned that one light in the East window of the church of St. Olave, in York, of fifteenth century glass, is traditionally supposed to represent St. Olaf. The glass is very fragmentary, and nothing definite can be made out of it. Here the crowned head, with beard

and moustache, surmounts a body which appears to have been clothed with a gown of blue (the glass being much damaged), while the left hand (if this really belongs to the original figure, and there does not appear to be reason to doubt it) holds upon the lap an open book with an inscription. The right hand has gone. St. Olaf is usually represented as resting his foot upon a human-headed

dragon (Fig. 3), and it is unfortunate that in both of the York windows the lower part of the figures is missing.

ST. OLAVE'S CHURCH.

The church of St. Olave in York still retains the dedication of the pre-Norman Church founded by Siward the Dane, Earl of Northumbria, who was buried therein in 1055. The facts are thus recorded in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle":—"Ann. MLV. In this year died at York: Earl Siward, and he lies at Galmanhó in the monastery which he himself had caused to be built and hallowed in the name of God and St. Olaf, and Tostig succeeded to the earldom which he had had." The word monastery¹ here used probably means minster or church, for it is more than doubtful if there was any monastery here in the later acceptance of the term. In 1082 the church and surrounding lands were given by Alan the Red, son of Eudo, Count of Brittany, to Stephen, the abbot of Lastingham, and a new monastic church and the necessary secular buildings were begun. Under the prevailing Norman influence the dedication to St. Olaf was abandoned, and the new buildings were dedicated to St. Mary, while the church became a chapel, dependent upon the abbey. At the Dissolution St. Olave's church was retained as a parish church, and in spite of many vicissitudes still stands, while the glorious fabric which once overshadowed it has been reduced to a pile of ruins.

ABBEYS IN NORWAY FOUNDED FROM YORK.

It is an interesting circumstance that the twelfth century vellum manuscript of the "*Passio et miracula Beati Olavi*," now in the library of Corpus Christi, Oxford, belonged to Fountains Abbey, itself an offshoot from St. Mary's Abbey at York, and the mother of the first

¹ Compare the contemporary inscription upon the Sundial at Kirkdale Church, N. Riding. "Orm, son of Gamal, bought S. Gregory's *Minster* when it was all to-broken and to-fallen"

Cistercian foundation in Norway, that of Lysekloster. In the year 1146, Sigurd, Bishop of Bergen, in the course of a tour in England, visited Fountains, which had been founded from St. Mary's Abbey in York only thirteen years before. Struck by the Cistercian mode of religious life, which he had not previously seen, Sigurd begged the Abbot, Henry Murdac, to help him to establish a Cistercian cell in his own country. The matter was discussed among the brethren, and thirteen of their number volunteered to accompany the Bishop to Norway, then a land hardly nominally Christian. On the 10th July, 1146, the missionary body said farewell to their comrades, headed by Ranulf, who had been one of the monks expelled from St. Mary's Abbey at the time of the rupture which led to the foundation of Fountains.

On reaching Norway their patron provided them with a site at Lyse on the coast, some twenty-four miles south of Bergen, where a few foundations, carefully excavated and preserved by Herr Nicolaysen,¹ show that the buildings follow the general plan of English Cistercian foundations of the period. Lyse remained under Fountains until 1213, when, owing to the difficulty of inter-communication, it was by a statute of the Chapter General of the Order placed under the abbey of Alvastra in Sweden. From Fountains also was founded Kirkstead in 1139, under the abbacy of Robert de Siwella, another of the original founders of Fountains from St. Mary's;² and from Kirkstead was founded the Abbey of Hovedöen, on the island opposite Christiania.³ Thus York can claim to be the mother of the two first Cistercian foundations in Norway.

¹ Nicolaysen. "Om Lysekloster og dets Ruiner." Kristiania, 1890.

² "Memorials of Fountains," pp. 61-69 - Surtees Society, Vol. xli.

³ Nicolaysen. "Hovedö og dets Ruiner." Kristiania, 1891.

ORKNEY.

Mr. Magnus Spence, District Secretary, Deerness, sends us the following interesting report:—

RENOVATION AND PRESERVATION OF THE STANDING STONES,
STENNESS.

THE only event of special importance on the mainland of Orkney during the year is the beginning which has been made to the work of renovating, restoring and preserving these far-famous standing stones of Stenness. It may be that I am going beyond the area of my special district; but deep interest in, close association with, and keen devotion to this particular group is my only excuse for trespass, if trespass there be. There has been a feeling of dissatisfaction for many years with the utterly unprotected state of these circles. It was a reproach—this *laissez faire*—to antiquarians. One finds on visiting them that Dick, Tom, and Harry have not only cut their initials and monograms, but scores of visitors have attempted to render themselves immortal by hewing their names in full, as near the tops as possible to avoid obliteration. In addition there is the silly craze for mementos of local visits, which results in bits of the more friable stones covered with lichen being carried off *ad libitum*. These practices are not yet stopped, but we are on the fair road thereto.

At first our energetic M.P., Mr. Cathcart Wason, suggested the formation of a Committee and approached the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, who sent Mr. Stallybrass to report, with a view to enclosing and preserving these ancient monuments. It was found, however, that H.M. Board of Works, London, was willing to take these circles and Maeshow under its august wing, and with the ready consent of the proprietor, Colonel Balfour, Castle, Shapinshay, this was ultimately agreed to. The Board of Works, after due inspection and

consultation by their representatives, determined to proceed with the work, and appointed the distinguished archæologist, J. W. Cursiter, Esq., F.S.A., Kirkwall, their representative in the county. These preliminaries being settled, the workmen were engaged under the superintendence of Mr. Myers, F.R.I.B.A., Edinburgh. The stone most in need of immediate attention was the Watch Stone, standing at the Bridge of Brogar, and forming the centre stone of the Beltane alignment.¹ It measures 5ft. by 1½ft. by 18ft. above ground. It has two transverse flaws. The new road, in the making, has also somewhat disturbed it. The cracks were carefully cleaned and filled with cement and mastic. The base was buttressed by 2ft. of mason work on the east side, and all around was filled in and neatly covered with turf. The smaller circle, the Moon Circle or Semi-circle, has been successfully dealt with. It was here that Goth of a farmer—McKay—manifested his barbaric taste by demolishing the far-famed "Stone of Odin," along with one or two stones from this circle, to build byres of. The finest stone of the group was levelled by the same ruthless hand, and holes bored for blasting, when the powers of that far-off day—said to be the Sheriff of the county in 1807—saved it. It is not the intention of those responsible for their re-erection to do anything to mar the original plan in the smallest detail. This is wise—in fact, the only possible way—so that the first *sine quâ non* was to find the socket. After much searching success crowned their labours. A shallow socket, not more than 2ft. in depth, was opened corresponding with the end of the stone near it, and agreeing with the position in other respects. Although the two larger remaining standing stones have their triangular points—for none are level-topped—going round with the sun, this one is reversed. One is ready to suggest an error, but clearly none has been made. There is a similar exception in the larger circle. It is now re-erected—

¹ See "Stonehenge and other British Circles," by Sir Norman Lockyer.

splendidly done—and the bases of it and the other two returned. This is the finest and most massive stone of the whole group. In solidarity, shape, comeliness, and regular outline it has no peer. It is not quite so tall as the other two. Its erection gives shape and stateliness to



FIG. 1.—STENNESS, THE SMALLER CIRCLE.

(The stone recently erected is the centre one in the background.)

the group. It measures $5\frac{1}{4}$ ft. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 18 ft. (Fig. 1). Near this fine monolith and within the circle was unearthed a large, ill-shaped stone, lying in a position, with its end in proximity to the next socket, as if it were the next monolith of the circle. Its shape and uncomeliness make one doubt what the position suggests. The three

tall, shapely, imposing monoliths, from 16ft. to 18ft. above ground, and then a malformed specimen! One would fain not believe it. It suggests three giants and a hunchback. This stone, whatever its meaning, is here roughly drawn (Fig. 2). Then there is the dolmen with its two uprights of 6ft. each, and a cover of about $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 8ft., which have been freed from weeds and rubbish. The larger circle, or Sun Circle, has been practically un-

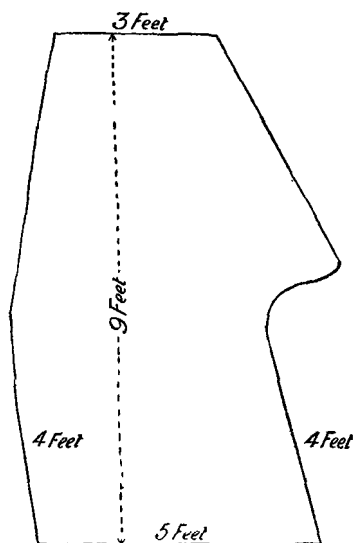


FIG. 2.—STONE NEWLY DISCOVERED IN THE SMALLER CIRCLE AT STENNESS.

touched. No stone has been re-set, though one new stone has been unearthed; but all have had, where necessary, their cracks and crevices scraped and filled with cement and mastic. Several stumps and sockets have been exposed where covered. All prostrate stones have been rendered dry by means of gravel and drainage, and a few feet of green turf laid round.

One leaves the place with the satisfaction that the realization of a long cherished hope has been partly accomplished.

Some care and thought have been exercised in rendering these circles places where the demolishing hands of time and vandals are checked in their ravishes amid the sacred structures of this sacred neighbourhood. When one stands, however, in the midst of this large circle and surveys the surrounding landscape, one involuntarily feels a sense of disappointment on seeing those beautiful mounds, formed of the debris of the huge moat, surrounding the circle, cut through and

left in a very grotesque-looking fashion. It is only in these latter days that we are beginning to decipher some little meaning in these circles and alignments. Everything we do not understand ought to be handed down to posterity intact. The riddle may yet be read. Who knows? These mounds, composed of debris carried many yards, and beautifully shaped, were not erected without a depth of meaning and an intensity of purpose. They are the finger-posts to alignments yet unread. They are pregnant with a deeply interesting story to whoever can read it. Let us not then in our day and generation mar the prospective fulness of time. If now the stones are to be cared for, so ought the mounds to be.

Why, part of the system of the Sun-Worshippers was alignments by mounds. Stand on the centre of Brodgar Circle, as I did lately, and one can hardly see a hill of any considerable elevation without its being capped with its mound. Yes, cutting through and disfiguring mounds is as much a work of vandalism as cutting standing stones. One of these large mounds has been despoiled of part of its turf and some of its gravel to beautify the stones. This should have been got elsewhere. Let us hope that this and the other mounds will be restored to their pristine beauty and comeliness. These mounds were all intact and graceful till the early sixties. Now they are an eyesore to the community.

One disappointment there has been—no implements of any consequence have been found. It was generally thought that when sockets were emptied, dolmens tidied up, and little bits of spade-work done here and there, evidence would be forthcoming from the Stone or Bronze Age. But no! The only stone in the shape of a tool is one of ovoid shape, polished on both sides, which shows evidence of having been used as a hammer.

Before the re-erection of the huge monolith of the Moon Circle, a document explaining the undertaking was placed in a bottle, signed by Mr. James Cursiter,

F.S.A., as representing H.M. Board of Works, and deposited in cement near the bottom of the socket. All interested must be truly thankful for what is accomplished, and will look for renewed efforts in the near future. These sacred monuments must be enclosed, a caretaker appointed, mounds restored, the socket of the "Stone of Odin" found, Maeshow rendered watertight, etc., before the work is finished.

SHETLAND.

Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby, Vice-President, District Secretary for Shetland (Baltasound), sends us the following:—

NOTES ON THE SHETLAND DIALECT.

THE dialect which we Shetlanders call "wir ain auld tongue" is, like all other tongues, a survival of the most useful words and idioms culled from the languages of those races which went before us. Some we got from the Norsemen, some from the Kelts, others from some, as yet, unknown source. The "Scottish oppression" robbed our isles of all written record regarding ourselves. Ecclesiastical diplomacy confused and distorted our traditions; priest and peer almost struck our dialect from our tongues. Still, I think there is enough left to throw light on a forgotten past, if scholarly research were set to work on our dialect. We certainly ought to enquire more before we blindly accept derivations of words handed down without question from one generation of ecclesiastics to another. I doubt not that in the venerable archives of Upsala, Bergen and Copenhagen would be found much to throw light on our ancient history and language.

We have the tradition of two races who inhabited our isles before either Kelt or Viking. No doubt these have

contributed their share to our mixed language. One of these were the "peerie Hill-men," akin to the Finns and the "Yaks" (Esquimaux). That race probably became the thralls of fighting Kelt and roving Viking. Many words of ours relating to menial duties, which cannot be traced to a Norse or Keltic source, doubtless had their origin with the peerie Hill-men. From this race comes without doubt our tradition of the Trows. Of the greater race which raised our Standing-stones and Brochs, whose knowledge regarding many mysterious sciences must have been wonderful, we know nothing at present. Their Sun-worship with its sage rites, and their buildings, give us reason to say "there were giants in those days." The Pechs are identified with the Kelts by many authorities. "I hae me doobts!" Of the Papae there is no tradition extant, and I do not believe that our place-names of "Paupil" and "Paupa-stoor" were derived from the priests at all. There is precious little to show that they were ever in our isles. If some stray "Father" came this way no one can confidently affirm, for even the tradition of such persons belongs to a comparatively late period—quite within the time of Scottish, Dutch, and Christian history proper.

Some early writers have adopted theories regarding us and our language, and they have been accepted as true Gospellers, and thus certain things have been handed down as facts, which investigation has in some cases, and might in more, prove fallacies. For instance, the symbol of the CROSS, found among primitive peoples, and often shown as proof of conversion to Christianity, has been proved to be a heathen symbol of very ancient date. We owe the Church a deep debt of gratitude for conserving much for us, but we dare not accept *all* she tells without strict investigation, for it was her "way" to obliterate and distort to her own use whatever she met of names, customs, traditions, which she found she could not "convert" in a more pious manner.

The settlement of "Papae" in Shetland belongs most

probably to the later period, when Christianity was universal in the mother country. I can imagine some poetical priest from the Isle of Saints touching at our "West Side" *en route* for Iceland, and casting about for a favourable place to establish a mission station. Hearing of Paupa-stoor and Paupa-peerie, he might astutely exclaim, "Ordained by your own tongue as an asylum for the Church. These be the Isles of the Papae!" Thus did a Pope pun on a word when he called the Angle-boys "angels." That sort of play on words was very popular in olden times. Enthusiasm and superstition would make the folk readily permit the Fathers to take as Heaven-appointed possession any spots so designated, and so the place-name would be handed down as meaning the abode of the Papae, though the word had been in use long before and meant something quite different.

Every spot of ground, hill, vale, rock, creek, even crags covered by the sea, had its own name descriptive of its form, or position, or owner, or other characteristic. I think it likely that Paupa-stoor and its kindred got their names quite irrespective of the Irish Fathers. Is it at all likely that this one word from the Latin title of the priests alone has come to us? It is remarkable that no other word in our dialect has such a source, and it is still more remarkable that none of the "kirks," or "holy-gardes," or "helya-waters" are in the neighbourhood of the Paupils and Paupas. Sacred sites are numerous throughout our isles. Of the Latin tongue, or of those very early Fathers, there is not one trace to be found in our dialect or in our traditions; but there is on our lips to-day a speech made up of words older than the time when Irish Saints went out on mission quest—the speech, in fact, which was spoken in ancient Scandinavia, and is preserved partially in Iceland, the home of heroic song. That speech dates back beyond the time of Christian Fathers. If the Papae really became so "fixed" in our isles as to have the localities where they resided named in perpetuity after them, it says little for the

influence of them, or their religion, that they made no other impression on our dialect.

No one has as yet traced the names of our three "North Isles," Unst, Yell and Fetlar to their roots. There are no place-names like them anywhere else. They probably belong to the days of peerie Hill-men and the "Gykerls" (giants). Some of our words are familiar to the western Irish, one such word is "keschie" (a peat basket made of straw). Yule is a word we seem to have always known. It goes back far beyond the Viking Age, back to the time of the mighty Broch builders, who traced on the turf with huge pebbles the form of a wheel (or geal) to represent the Sun whom they adored. All over our isles we find those traces of Sun-worship. The Standing-stones of Lund and Clivocast are placed in a remarkable position. If one stands by the Lund monolith and looks toward that of Clivocast, one will see that the "haunted knowes" are directly between them; and, at the summer solstice, the sun is shining straight on the Clivocast Standing-stone.

At the foot of "Hangcliffe," on the "Mukle Heogue," there is a rough pathway leading to a huge stone which not long since stood erect, but was cast down by some Goths from London in search of—what? Close by there is a cairn containing some Viking kists. On the summit of the Heogue there was a building, probably a temple, and *there* were found urns and burned remains. From this site, following the line of the rough "road," and taking the monolith for a "pointer," you find that the setting sun is in a direct line from it at the summer solstice. They were not ignorant savages who dwelt in Unst in those days. Surely the ancient records of Norway should contain some ray of light to cast upon this interesting point.

There is one remarkable thing about our dialect. It does not contain, as far as I can ascertain, one word to which is attached two meanings. When I speak of our dialect, I mean only such words as we possess directly

from old times, and not the Scottish dialect which has largely of late been introduced. The Scot got a valuable part of his speech from the Norseman, as we did, but that never was his mother-tongue, as it was ours. We have no words like bow, row, reed, peer, and the like. Each word of *ours* means just one thing, and nothing else.

A friend of mine who was for some years connected with Helsingfors University told me that he found many words among the Finns closely resembling our old Shetlandic, and quite distinct from the Swedish. I think much information might be gleaned regarding the first inhabitants of our isles from the annals of the fast dying aborigines of some northern lands.

WESTERN NORWAY.

Mr. Haakon Schetelig, District Secretary (Bergen), writes as follows:—

THE STONE AGE IN NORWAY.

DURING recent years a very interesting discussion has arisen about the Stone-age of Norway, chiefly in books by Dr. Andr. M. Hansen, Mr. A. W. Brøgger, M.A., and Professor Dr. W. C. Brøgger. Dr. Hansen first pointed out in his book, "*Landnåm i Norge*," the close connections existing between the Danish shell-mounds ("kitchen-middens," "refuse-heaps") and the early dwelling-places discovered at many spots on both sides of the Kristiania-fjord, though as a non-professional archæologist he did not get a full conception of the chronological relations which the different stages of development bear to each other. Mr. A. W. Brøgger has next made out very cleverly the chronology of the oldest axes in Norwegian finds.¹ After the researches of Mr. Brøgger

¹ "*Øxer af Nøstvettypen*," *Norges geologiske undersøgelse*, No. 42.

it may now be counted as an established fact that the oldest dwelling-places along the Kristiania-fjord are contemporary with the shell-mounds of Denmark, and that they were inhabited by a population living chiefly under the same conditions as the Danish hunters and fishers of that time. The apparently great differences with regard to the antiquities are exclusively due to the total want of a natural supply of flint in Norway; the Stone-age men were, in the latter country, forced to use as a substitute some hard stones of volcanic origin, which could be chipped in a way somewhat similar to the flint. Of course these stones did not produce an edge which could equal the sharpness of the flint, and, consequently, the inhabitants of Norway, and partly also those of Sweden, were induced to polish the edge of the axes at an earlier time than this innovation was introduced into Denmark. Looked at from this point of view, the early Stone-age of the Northern parts of Scandinavia takes a somewhat independent character, at least more independent than those regions were towards the end of the Stone-age and during the following periods.

The same early Stone-age civilisation spread also to the Western coast districts of Norway, and I am inclined to think that it lasted longer here, and was subject to a more diverging development than was the case in the Eastern parts of the country.

CHANGES IN THE SEA LEVEL DURING THE STONE-AGE.

At the same time the eminent professor of geology, Dr. W. C. Brøgger, made a special research to trace out the changes in the level of the sea around the Kristiania-fjord which have taken place during the Stone and Bronze Ages.¹ The districts around Kristiania are most favourable for such observations, as in no other place within Scandinavia have the post-glacial changes been so considerable as here. The results are also very interesting; it

¹ "Strandliniens beliggenhed under stenalderen i det sydlige Norge," Norges geologiske undersøgelse, No. 41.

is evidently proved that the early Stone-age of Norway is contemporary with what is called in geology the maximum of the litorina-tapes-depression, a period of relatively warm climate, characterized by a fauna corresponding to the present one of Middle Europe and the Mediterranean coasts. The level of the sea was then about 70 m. higher than now. During the later Stone-age and the earlier part of the Bronze-age the configuration of the country, as well as the climate, etc., was reduced to the present state of things, which has thus been almost unaltered during the last 3,000 years. For archæological and geological reasons, Dr. Brøgger rates the time passed since the end of the earliest part of the Stone-age in Norway as some 7,000 years.

For Western Norway such special researches have not yet been made, but certainly the country here has changed far less in post-glacial time, as dwelling places dating from the early Stone-age are here situated only a few meters above the present level of the sea.

FINDS FROM THE BRONZE-AGE IN NORWAY.

This year has been remarkable in Western Norway for a series of good Bronze-age finds, which are on the whole so very rare in our parts of the Scandinavian peninsula. It is not often that we have in one summer to count the discovery of five graves of this remote period, besides some single objects found by accidental diggings, all within the west-coast districts, whose central museum is in Bergen. And these finds are the more instructive as they represent very different stages of the long development comprised by the Scandinavian Bronze-age. A heavy axe, discovered by some children at Kvangarsnes, in Søndmør, belongs to the first part of it, being of a form dated by Dr. Montelius earlier than the fifteenth century B.C., and a small grave at Skaalevik, in Søndhordland, which Mr. E. de Lange examined this summer, must be referred to a late part of the whole period, probably the seventh century B.C. The other finds belong to different stages between these extremes.

A general feature illustrating the character of the Bronze-age in Norway is the scarce and poor appearance of finds spread all along the extended coast-line and the long valleys of this country. The forms of the antiquities, however, are the same as in Denmark and Sweden, and it is evident that this metal was introduced into Norway about the same time as into the other Scandinavian countries, and the funeral rites were the same over the whole Northern territory. The Bronze-age graves are also quite numerous in Norway, but the grave-goods are in our country very scanty, and, consequently, our museums possess only very small collections of Bronze-age antiquities.

The riddle of the Bronze-age in Norway is then, why this long period, which lasted more than a thousand years, did not leave a more considerable number of relics in the soil. It may be explained in some degree by the suggestion that the metal itself, which was at that time without exception imported into Scandinavia, was most rare and expensive in Norway. But from some finds it is certain that, even here, the metal was not by any means so scarce as one would think, judging from the graves alone. In Norway also some of the long bronze-trumpets and of the highly finished cast bronze vessels, etc., have been discovered, objects which may well be compared with the best Danish antiquities of this kind, and some moulds for casting Bronze-age axes, found in different localities in Norway, show that the metal was worked within the country. Such things indicate that the apparent difference between the Northern and Southern parts of Scandinavia during the Bronze-age has in reality been not quite so great as might seem from the collections in the museums.

Of course, the quantitative difference between the objects preserved in Denmark and in Norway is an important fact, but it should, perhaps, be partly ascribed to reasons which it is now very difficult to trace exactly, such as to differences of religion and funeral rites. Thus, for

instance, the finds of votive offerings are evidently much rarer in Norway than they are in Denmark (compare SAGA BOOK, iv., part I, p. 66 *ss.*).

DISCOVERY OF A SHIP BURIAL.

Among the Iron-age finds of this year should be especially noted the discovery of a "ship-burial" at Naterstad, in Søndhordland. The locality is situated at the upper end of the "Guddal," with a commanding view of the whole valley. Here a peasant opened last year a mound containing a richly supplied grave from the Viking-age, and by continuing his diggings during this summer he discovered close to the east of the mound numbers of nails and rivets of iron, situated in rows in the earth, in the same manner as when fixed in the boards of a boat. The boat must have been about 8 m. long, and of a corresponding breadth. It contained rich grave-goods, consisting of arms and implements of iron of the sort usually found in men's graves, but also weaving-stones, a pair of scissors and other things which evidently belong to the women's grave-goods. It is then likely that two persons have been buried in the boat. The most remarkable feature about this find is the discovery of a boat-grave under the plain surface of the soil, and not covered by an artificial mound. As far as I know this has till now not been observed in Norway, though it is common with the early boat-graves in Sweden—with, for instance, the graves at Vendel, in Upland. Unfortunately, the grave in question was not examined by an expert, and, consequently it has been impossible to obtain more precise information respecting the details of the arrangement.

FIND OF A RUNIC INSCRIPTION IN BERGEN.

Lastly, I may briefly mention the discovery of a runic inscription in the town of Bergen. It was found by Mr. Koren-Wiberg, director of the Hanseatic Museum, during diggings which have been going on in recent years for building purposes in the oldest quarter of the town. The

inscription is scratched slightly upon the under-side of a mediæval playing-piece of whale-bone, and consists only of the six runes $\mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{V} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{V} \mathfrak{R}$. The word is in normal old Norwegian written *Vikingr*, which was much used as a proper name during the middle ages in Norway, and is still so used in the Western parts of the country. Moreover, in a document from 1379, a house in Bergen is called "Vikingsgardr," *i.e.*, the house of *Vikingr*. Certainly the runes upon the playing-piece mean the possessor of it.

Respecting the date of the inscription, Mr. Magnus Olsen, of the University of Kristiania, has kindly informed me that the rune \mathfrak{V} cannot be older than about 1100, and, on the other side, that the missing of a vowel before \mathfrak{r} indicates a time before the fourteenth century. As the inscription is too short to allow of fixing the date more precisely, we must be content to refer it to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

FIND OF MEDIÆVAL COINS.

I should perhaps add particulars of a find which does not properly belong to our period, but may be of interest to members, namely, of coins in the ground under Sandeid Kirke in Ryfylke. The old church was a stave-kirke, which is mentioned several times as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century. It was pulled down in 1814 to give place to a new church on the same spot. This church was demolished last year and, while the ground was being prepared for use as part of the churchyard, about 100 mediæval coins were found in the rubbish under the church. Most of them were struck by Eirik II. Magnusson and Haakon V. Magnusson (latter half of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century), though a few are earlier and some later than those kings. Many more recent coins were also found, including even some belonging to the nineteenth century, so none of them should be regarded as hidden treasure. They have evidently slipped down accidentally from time to time between the boards of the floor, and are thus of little historic value, but they have some numismatic interest

as presenting a series of well-preserved specimens from the reigns of the two kings mentioned above.

ICELAND.

Dr. Jón Stefánsson, District Secretary, sends the following :

ICELANDIC ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

In 1905 the Icelandic Archæological Society (hið islenska fornleifafélag) had been in existence for 25 years, being founded in 1880. It was fortunate in enlisting the services of the indefatigable and enthusiastic Sigurd Vigfússon, the brother of the lexicographer. He has done more than any other single man to investigate historical sites and dig out ruins in Iceland. Since he died the society has annually sent out Brynjólf Jónsson for a similar purpose, but all the most important finds and excavations had already been made by his predecessor ; a systematic and thorough examination of historical sites in the country is being gradually made.

PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES.

The Althing of 1905 passed the following resolution : "Parliament asks the Government to lay before it, next session, a bill for the preservation of archæological remains in Iceland, and to prevent effectively, at once, the selling of old objects from churches or other public buildings out of the country."

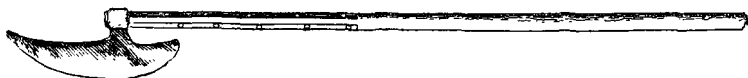
A PRIVATE MUSEUM.

In the Icelandic museum of the British Consul for Iceland, Mr. Jón Vidalin, there is a large number of objects, some from old churches in Iceland. They were exhibited at an exhibition in Copenhagen this summer. An account of this unique private collection, which the owner intends to leave to his country, would be of some interest. There is a number of fine wood carvings, old altar pieces, and carved figures of Christ and the twelve apostles from the church of Þingeyrar. Of the collection

of old chalices, the most remarkable is one of A.D. 1487. Its footpiece is ornamented with gems, and scenes from the Passion are engraved upon it. It was sent by the Pope as a gift to the church of Grund in Eyjafjord. A pulpit of A.D. 1594, carved by the hand of Bishop Gudbrand Thorláksson, the translator of the Bible, is the treasure of the collection. A portrait of Bishop Gudbrand Thorláksson, carved figures of the Virgin, eighteen baptismal fonts with bas-reliefs and haut-reliefs, and two large candlesticks from Skálholt Cathedral are among the valuable objects of the Museum. This unique collection has now (Jan. 1907) been presented to the Museum of Antiquities, Reykjavík.

SKARPHEDIN'S AXE.

Too many of Iceland's precious relics of the past have



SKARPHEDIN'S AXE.

From a copy by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannan of the drawing of the original by J. Clevely, jun., now in the British Museum.

been dispersed and traces of them lost. But of one, which needs must interest all lovers of the Sagas, drawings have fortunately reached us, England being the lucky possessor of one of them. This drawing is to be found among the sketches illustrating Sir Joseph Banks' account of his visit to Iceland in 1772, which passed to the British Museum after his death. He had three artists with him, J. Clevely, J. F. Miller, and Ch. Ruotte, and arrangements are now being made with the Icelandic Literary Society for the publication in Iceland of the sixty drawings of customs, dress, houses and landscapes executed by these artists, as they are of great historical value. Sir Joseph Banks' MS. was never printed, and has now unfortunately disappeared. The drawing here

reproduced from a reduced copy from the original, kindly made by Mrs. H. W. Bannon, is by J. Clevely, junior, and on the original is written in pencil: "Ancient weapon preserved in the Cathedral of Scalholt." There is a further note in Danish about it in the volume, which may be roughly translated:

Remigia is an axe. The derivation is not known, but I have thought it may be from "Ramur" (robustus) and "Egg" (acies). It may originally have belonged to a champion named Skarphieden, who on account of a murder he had committed was burnt with all his family in the year 1010. See "Niala" which deals with his history very fully.¹

The artist says the axe was 7 feet from the end of the handle. It was rescued in the fire and earthquake of 1784, for in "Arbók hins islenzka fornleifafélags," 1893, there appears "A drawing of Rimmugýgr." This drawing was found in a collection of drawings by Sigurð Guðmundsson, given by his heirs to the Forngripasafn, Reykjavík. It is a full size drawing, by Bishop Steingrim Jonsson,² and on it is written: "Öxen Remigia i naturlig Störrelse, bortgiven til Justitsraad Thorkelin den 31 Dec. 1804." (The axe Remigia in full size, presented to Justitsraad Thorkelin Dec. 31, 1804.) The edge was 18 inches long. Eggert Olafsson, in "Reise igjennem Island," p. 1034, says it was then very rusty, the handle of red pine, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ells long, and iron-bound.³ It was probably destroyed with Thorkelin's collection in September, 1807, during the bombardment of Copenhagen by the English. Eggert

¹ "Remigia er en öxe. Derivationen veed mand ikke, men jeg har tænkt det skal være af Ramur (robustus) og Egg (acies). Den skal i Förstningen have tilhört en Kiempe ved Navn Skarphieden som formedelst et Mord han havde begaaet blev opbrændt med sin hele Familie Anno 1010. Vide 'Niala' som udförligere staar i hans Historie."

² Bishop 1824-1845, Arnamagnæan Stipendiary in 1804.

³ From the drawing and description of the axe it is clear that it must have been a tremendous weapon, well worthy of the fame it has in the pages of "Niala" and of its name "Rimmugýgr," or battle ogress, englished by Sir George Dasent in his "Burnt Njal" as "Ogress of War." Surely the later name "Remigia" is only a corruption of "Rimmugýgr."—Ed.

Olafsson travelled in Iceland in 1752-57. The axe can thus be traced for about 50 years, 1757-1807. Thorkelin was an Icelandic scholar, Keeper of the Royal Archives at Copenhagen; he spent some years in England copying and collecting MSS., and was the first editor of "Beowulf."

EARLY CELTIC SETTLERS IN ICELAND.

Brynjólf Jónsson and Einar Benediktsson have now investigated a number of caves in the south-west of Iceland. Many of these show distinct marks of having been cut by human hands, especially marks of axe cuttings. In one of the caves Brynjólf Jónsson found what he supposes is the likeness of a saint with a halo, carved on the wall of the rock. Mr. Benediktsson claims to have found a number of Ogham inscriptions in these caves, and he thinks they were carved by the Celtic Culdees, who were the first inhabitants of Iceland. His results will be published in a book. He thinks there was a Celtic settlement of Iceland centuries before the Norwegian colonisation, and that, contrary to Landnáma's account, some of them remained in Iceland after the landtake of the Vikings. The Pre-Norwegian settlement of Iceland is a fascinating subject, but one bristling with difficulties. I may add that in Rangárvallasysla, in south-west Iceland, there are names of fields and eminences with *Ira-*, gen. plur. of *Irar*, the Irish, as a prefix. This points to a tradition of Irishmen having lived at some time in the neighbourhood of the caves.

LITERARY NOTES.

Dr. Björn Ólsen and Professor Finnur Jónsson have written about various debated questions in Old Icelandic literature, which more than ever is being studied and tabulated.

Benedikt Gröndal, one of the chief living poets of Iceland, had his eighty years' jubilee on October 6th, 1906, and another of these, the Rev. Matthías Jochumsson,

has published his collected poetical works in five volumes. More poetry is printed in Iceland in proportion to the numbers of the population than in any other country.

Dr. Jón Þorkelsson, the Keeper of the Icelandic Archives, is taking steps to claim about 400 documents belonging to the episcopal Sees of Skalholt and Holar, which at present are found in the Arna-Magnæan Collection, Copenhagen.

DENMARK.

Mr. H. A. Kjær, District Secretary, reports as follows:—

SKELETON OF A URUS KILLED WITH A STONE AGE WEAPON.

AT the close of last year information reached the Museum in Copenhagen from the owner of a small farm in north-west Zealand, to the effect that he had found the bones of a great animal of the ox tribe in a peat-bog on his property. When it was understood from his report that the discovery referred to a Urus, an investigation was at once undertaken on the spot, and a report about the matter was subsequently made to the Society of Northern Antiquaries by Professor H. Jungersen, Director of the Zoological Museum. A complete account has also appeared in the Year Books for Northern Antiquities (from the pens of N. Hartz, Sophus Müller, and Herluf Winge).

As regards the Urus, it was known, even before this new find, that it lived in Denmark at an early date, before the land was inhabited, in that period of the Diluvial Age which, from its most important tree, is distinguished as the period of the Fir. Perhaps it was still present when the period of the Oak began, but before its close it seems to have become extinct. Single individuals only were still living at certain places in Mid-Europe in the sixteenth century. The new skeleton, which was found at Vig, in the Holbæk district (Zealand), also belongs to the period of the Fir. In the immediate neighbourhood of

the place where the bones of the Urus lay a section of turf was taken up which fully proved this connection.

Together with the bones the finder took up three small, very poor and irregular, flint flakes, a few centimeters long. At first there was necessarily great doubt whether these could have formed part of a flint weapon. It was seen, however, on a close examination of the bones of the Urus that traces of two wounds inflicted by flint weapons were to be found on the ribs, the one old and healed up, the other fresh. Both are on the right side. In the ninth rib there was visible, towards the spine, a little round, raised scar, with a knotty and spongy texture of the bone. In this stood three small fragments of flint, fast imbedded, and overgrown with new bone. The wound had not penetrated nor done any harm to the vital parts.

The other, fresher wound, is in the seventh rib, about 15 centimeters from its lower end. Here can be seen an oblong, rhomb-shaped scar, in which there still remain a couple of small splinters of either one or two flint weapons. It has gone right through the bone, into the vital parts, straight into the lungs, and it is not unlikely that it is this wound which gave the Urus his quietus. It is quite in the way of a wounded beast for the animal to have sought out the little lake from which the peat bog was afterwards formed, and to have died there. Possibly it may also have been wounded by the three above-mentioned little flint flakes, without this wound having left any trace in the framework of the bones. The skeleton is practically complete, though some few bones may have been lost while the carcase was driving about for some time on the surface of the lake.

Before this find, only a small number of Urus bones with a fixed chronological date were known, and these mainly derived from the kitchen-middens of the older Stone-age, and, as a very rare exception, from the younger Stone-age. From this we could draw the conclusion that the then existing inhabitants of Denmark knew how to

capture this great and important animal, but we knew nothing of the way in which it was hunted. We may certainly imagine that they caught it for the most part in pitfalls. But in the present case we have undoubtedly to do with the chase, with spear or bow and arrow.

The Urus was covered with a layer of turf, seven to eight feet thick. A precise examination of its composition has been undertaken, from which it has been proved that the body of the Urus had already settled down in the old forest lake, out of which, at a later period, the peat-bog was formed, in the ancient time that lies before the period of the Fir, when the quivering aspen was the principal tree of the preceding vegetation. The oldest settlement of the land, therefore, must also be referred back to this early time.

Bones of animals which have been wounded by Stone Age weapons have twice before been found. From a peat-bog at Mors, in the Thisted district, Jutland, comes the jawbone of a red deer; a flint splinter is still sticking in the bone, but the wound is nearly healed, while in north-west Zealand there were found portions of a wild boar's skeleton, which bears similar scars in many places.¹ The new Urus skeleton has been set up complete in the National Museum of Antiquities.

A NEW RUNIC STONE.

Somewhat over a year ago a new and interesting Runic stone was found by chance. This would seem almost impossible, after the careful search, which has now extended over many years, and in view of an interest universally spread among the whole population. It was, however, owing to special circumstances that it came to light, the occasion being the restoration of Our Lady's Church at

¹ Cases of skeletons of the Irish Elk and Urus (the latter found in a bog in Scania), showing traces of wounds apparently inflicted by the weapons of primæval man, are quoted in Daniel Wilson's "*The Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*," pp. 22 and 25.—Ed.

Aarhus (not the Cathedral). During the work a plinth, which until then had been partly covered by earth, was dug out. Immediately under this plinth, only a few inches below the surface of the ground under the choir, was found the corner of a stone, which was seen at once to bear runes, and which was got out entire without any delay. It lay flat, front downwards; one of the sides faced outwards, away from the Church, and this was covered partly with a portion of the Runic inscription, and partly with ornament. The runes stand out beautifully clear, and the whole inscription is easily legible. Professor Wimmer, the well-known Danish Runologist, has communicated an interpretation of it to the Society of Northern Antiquaries. In modern speech it runs to this effect:—

Toste, Hove and Frebjörn they raised this stone to Saxo's Asser, their fellow, that very brave comrade.

By its language the new stone ranks itself with the Danish-Swedish group. Also in the expressions and linguistical style of the inscription there are several details to confirm the acknowledged unity of the northern languages (Icelandic-Norwegian and Danish-Swedish) in ancient times.

A Runic stone from Skaane, of about the year 1020, was raised by Frebjörn and another man over "Hove." We are tempted to believe that these two names belong to the same men as on the new Aarhus stone, and also to suppose that this Hove was one of the three who raised the stone over Asser. Some years later he, too, died, and then Frebjörn raised a stone over him too.

CENTENARY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, COLLECTION OF
DANISH ANTIQUITIES.

ON the 22nd of May, 1907, the National Museum will have existed a hundred years. The day will be celebrated with special festivity, and naturally the

occasion will be seized upon to dwell on the memory of the Museum's very able founder, Professor Rasmus Nyerup (1759-1829).

In February, 1807, the newspaper, *Dagen*, one of the few real newspapers appearing in Copenhagen at the beginning of the nineteenth century, contained the following communication, which apparently originated with Nyerup :—

“The beginning which has been made at the University Library of a collection towards a future National Museum has in a way received public sanction. The little collection existing there has been inaugurated by the erection by Professors Nyerup and Münster of certain Runic stones at the entrance to the Library.”

By this almost symbolic deed an old wrong was put right. The Runic stones thus brought to a worthy place had already been many years in Copenhagen. They were the last survivors of a small collection which King Frederick III., in 1652, had, at the instigation of OLE WORM, the father of Danish Archæology, caused the provincial officials to send to the capital. A royal letter was sent round, ordering that monuments and stones with runic letters should be sent to the churchyard belonging to the Church of the Trinity, which the King's father, Christian IV., had begun to build. This church the King had meant to make a centre of learning. Here was built the Round Tower, so well known later, whose flat roof was to serve for astronomical observations, while over the church itself was built a great hall, in which the University Library was to be housed. It was only natural that the nucleus of a Runic Museum should also be added.

But this intention, which no doubt would have been effective in advancing scientific knowledge and the preservation of many a runic stone, had it been carried out with discretion and within suitable limits, was never fulfilled to any important extent. Only a few stones were sent in and set up in Trinity Church. Shortly afterwards

Ole Worm died, the plague broke out, and soon began the most unfortunate of all Danish wars, that against Sweden, and the King had serious matters to engage his attention. Thus the Runic stones were almost forgotten. In 1686 it was intended to insert them in a new wall which was being built, but that can scarcely have happened, for they were spoken of in 1701 as lying thrown about the churchyard.

In 1728 a great fire broke out in Copenhagen, and Trinity Church was destroyed. In this disaster, besides many other things, Tycho Brahe's famous star-globe was lost. The Runic stones remained among the ruins, but worse was to follow. The clerk of the church set about rebuilding his burnt property, and he took advantage of the general preoccupation to carry off most of the Runic stones, and have them broken up for the foundations of his houses. Unfortunately, no one knows where these were situated, and the stones have never been found since. Only four stones were left, and these, at the end of the eighteenth century, stood against the southern side of the Round Tower. Afterwards they were moved into a dark corner of the church. It was thence that Nyerup, a hundred years ago, had them carried up into the Tower and set up beside the entrance to the Hall over the church, where were kept the University Library and the small collection of Antiquities, which Nyerup had founded shortly before.

The particular date of the founding of this collection is not known, but it was a fruitful nucleus. A few months later, May 22nd, 1807, Nyerup attained his chief aim. A Royal Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities was established, whose work was to found a really national collection, and this collection soon afterwards received the name of The Old Northern Museum.

This day is therefore rightly treated as the real starting-point of that national investigation of antiquity which has become so fair a branch of the general renaissance of Danish Science and Literature, and has, so to

speak, created a new province of knowledge, in which such Danish students as Chr. Thomsen (+ 1865), J. J. A. Worsaae (+ 1885,) and Sophus Müller acquired European celebrity.

The Runic stones from the Round Tower, which had thus become fewer through the centuries, were brought over in 1867 to the Runehall, the entrance hall of the Old Northern Museum, where they are still to be found.

The Old Northern Museum, as will be well known to readers of the Viking Club's SAGA-BOOK, was named in 1892 the Danish Collection, and is yet the most important part of the National Museum, which also includes a collection of antiques, an important ethnographic collection, and a collection for the comparative study of antiquities from other lands in Europe, and thus centralises the care of the archæological monuments of Denmark.

GUDMUND ARASON.

By W. P. KER.

THIS lecture was to have been given in February ; when the Committee altered the date to the 16th of March, I wonder whether they meant to give Bishop Gudmund the honour due to his day. For this 16th of March is his anniversary ; this is "Gvendar dagr" (Gvend's or Gudmund's day), as it is familiarly called, with the homely, shortened form of the name "Guðmundr." If they did not intend this, it is something like a miracle ; which reminds me of a story belonging to the times and the records of Gudmund himself, a very characteristic piece of Icelandic scepticism, rationalism and clearness of speech. A conversation is reported between two great chiefs in the year 1220, after a fight against the Bishop and his men :

Arnor said to Sighvat, "It has been a hard bout, kinsman !"

"Aye, hard indeed !" says he.

Arnor said : "I have been poorly all the summer ; but when word came to me from Reekdale that they wanted help, all my aches left me, so that now I am as fresh as ever I was in my life."

"That is what you might call a miracle," said Sighvat.

Arnor answers : "It is what I would call an occurrence and not a miracle."¹

And then they went on to business, penning up the bishop's men in the churchyard at Helgastadir.

Perhaps the action of the Committee is only an occurrence and not a miracle ; but at any rate it has happened so, and the choice of the day is no bad omen.

¹ "Slikt kalla ek atburð, en eigi jarteign." St. I. p. 242.

The life of Gudmund Arason has some historical importance, if Iceland and Norway are matters of historical concern at all, which we will not doubt in this society. He lived in a time when Iceland was rapidly going to ruin, through the loss of the old healthy balance in society between the well-to-do and the poorer families. The danger had been noted long before this. The older sagas, which are mainly heroic, admit some element of satire into them, and allow one to understand how the great men might sometimes appear to the lower orders: as in that wonderful scene of the death of Kiartan (in "*Laxdæla Saga*"), where one gets the view of the churlish common man as spectator: "Let them fight it out; much harm it will do if they kill one another."

Stórbokkar, "big bucks," was an affectionate term applied to the great men; and the purport of "*Bandamanna Saga*" is to show how vain and pusillanimous some of those big bucks were: how eight of them combined to keep down a rising, self-made man; and how their victim's elderly but ingenious father split up their league and exposed them to general derision. This Saga, I have thought, is not unlike the comedy of "*Le Mariage de Figaro*," just before the Revolution, spreading amazement by its satire on the nobles; or like the voice in Andersen's story, "Hear what the innocent child says: the Emperor has nothing on!"

Now, a hundred years or so after the time of "*Bandamanna Saga*," the rich men were growing richer, more ambitious, more covetous; the poor were more dependent. The smaller gentry were dying out; large estates falling into few hands. "A condition of Iceland question," to adapt Carlyle's phrase, was vividly present to many minds in those days, and illustrated in a flamboyant manner by innumerable slaughters and butcheries. The great men, in some ways better educated than their heathen ancestors, had inherited their lively ways, and used the old methods freely in their game of "beggar my neighbour."

It is this business that is the theme of the "Sturlunga Saga," written by a member of one of the ambitious families. For it is remarkable how literature flourished through all the ruin. They were reading men, not a few of the self-willed and luxurious persons who carried on the civil wars. The greatest Icelandic man of letters, Snorri Sturluson, was one of them; one of his nephews, Sturla Thord's son, is the author of the "Sturlunga Saga," and the "Life of King Hacon of Norway," which ought to be reckoned among the first historical books of the Middle Ages. Another nephew, also a Sturla (son of the Sighvat who has already been mentioned), though not himself of the same original talent as his uncle or his cousin, was fond of books and of history. They were like people of the Italian renaissance, making the best of the contemplative not less than the practical life; artists as well as swordsmen.

The history of Norway, as told in Sturla's life of King Hacon († 1263), is a counterpart to that of Iceland, as told in "Sturlunga Saga." The two countries were going through the same process, the same trial, with different conditions and very different chances of success. A comparison of the two gives some measure of the value of a king in the twelfth and the thirteenth century. The life of King Hacon, like that of Sverre before him, is a contest with anarchy, a course of drilling, by means of which the country was saved from disruption. The danger in Norway always was that it would bring back the days of the old *neskonungar*, before Harald Fairhair, when every headland had a king of its own. Sverre and Hacon proved that the Norman genius for political discipline had not wholly withdrawn from its ancestral land: they had the same sort of talent for ruling that the great Normans had, and they used it successfully to bring the dangerous great men under control and establish the Norwegian monarchy.

In Iceland, which had been first founded as a refuge for the old Norwegian freedom by the chiefs of the

opposition to Harald Fairhair, it seemed in the thirteenth century as if the principle of monarchy were avenging itself; for Iceland, after a century or two of republican prosperity, was now, more or less, at the mercy of the immoderate great houses, and there was no king to make peace with a strong hand; it was anarchy without a police-constable. One single author, Sturla, closely acquainted with both countries, has given the history of both in his two masterpieces.

It was at the beginning of this age of anarchy that there appeared some signs of a new movement in the Church. Both in Norway and Iceland the claims of Churchmen were added to the native elements of confusion. The Church in Iceland was very different from the Church of most other countries in the twelfth century. It was not in any close relation to Rome; it was comfortably dependent on the State. The Bishops were elected by the people; the churches and their glebes belonged to the landlords, who put their sons into good livings, and generally did not encourage the sin "of being righteous overmuch." The Bishops and clergy very commonly lived like their lay kinsfolk; they had the same worldly interests; they were usually married men with families. It was all rather like England in the eighteenth century. Iceland had found a good working compromise between religion and the world, and did not wish to change.

Trouble came from Norway, where much the same habits and conditions were to be found. Archbishop Eystein of Nidaros had been in Rome in his youth, and had strong Roman ideas; he tried to enforce them in Norway, one result of which was that he had to leave the country. He was at Bury St. Edmund's in 1181, and stayed there for some time, as is written in the chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakelonde.

Lay patronage was one of the things he set himself to put down, and one of the things upheld with vigour by the adversary, King Sverre, in his controversy with

the Bishops and the great Pope, Innocent III., some years after Eystein's death.

It was through Archbishop Eystein that St. Thorlac in Iceland, as Bishop of Scalholt, tried to get the churches out of the hands of the lay patrons. How he fared is told in his life, and may be read in the "*Origines Islandicae*" in English; the tale of the men of Oddi (*Oddaverja Þáttur*) is the name of this chapter, recounting the dispute between St. Thorlac and the great Jón Loptson, whose son Paul was afterwards Bishop of Scalholt himself. Bishop Thorlac was not successful, and in Norway, about the same time, King Sverre was putting into forcible Norwegian, stiffened with quotations from the fathers, his theory of monarchy, of the independence and Divine Right of kings, including by the way the rights of lay patrons, whose fathers had built the churches, who themselves kept up the churches, and who were not going to give them up to a Bishop against the old laws of Norway.

Gudmund became Bishop of Holar, the northern diocese, in 1202, the year that King Sverre died. He was forty years old; he had lived a good life, and made himself a reputation as a priest. Those who knew him loved him, and he had already, thus early, much of the popular fame which has survived to the present day. The great man of the North, Kolbein Tumason of Skagafirth, thought he would make a good Bishop. Kolbein had the election in his hands; there is a very good account of the proceedings, thoroughly irregular according to the Canon Law, but quite in harmony with the usage and constitution of Iceland. So Kolbein, with the ordinary legitimate influence of a country gentleman, made Gudmund Arason Bishop of Holar.

What followed was something like the history of Thomas à Becket, acted on the small domestic theatre which was all that Iceland could afford. The scale is very different from the great drama of King Henry and his Chancellor, but it is with good reason that the editor

of the Icelandic life of St. Thomas (Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon) has called attention to Bishop Gudmund in his Preface, and explained the influence of St. Thomas on the Northern Church. I do not indeed think that Bishop Gudmund's policy can be ascribed to the bad example of St. Thomas, though I have no doubt that St. Thomas helped. The Church policy had been shaping this way for more than forty years; and we cannot leave Archbishop Eysteinn or St. Thorlac out of account, while the excommunications used by Bishop Gudmund have their precedent in those directed against Sverre, described by him with his usual command of language as "cursing and swearing." He was a most amusing King, though a great sorrow to all Bishops—what would be called in some places a "black Protestant": I use the term without passion or prejudice. The life of King Sverre (so admirably translated by Mr. Sephton) is not to be neglected in dealing with the Iceland of those days.

Gudmund showed almost at once that he was not going to be the ordinary tame Bishop. He asserted the rights of the clergy in a vehement way, going even beyond St. Thorlac in his claims. It was not the rights of patrons, it was the authority of the courts that he challenged: he tried to withdraw the clergy from lay jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, and his adversary was he who had made him what he was, Kolbeinn Tumason.

The author of the life brings out very clearly and significantly, though naturally, in the quiet way of the Icelandic school of history, without any gesticulation or emphasis, that there began to be disagreement from the first between Kolbeinn and Gudmund, owing to Kolbeinn's rather bluff and arbitrary assumption of control over the Bishop's income and expenditure. Kolbeinn took, as if it were a matter of course, the whole management of the estate: it is true that this was before Gudmund's consecration: still it is evident that Kolbeinn showed a want of the finer shades in his conduct. One is allowed to suppose that Gudmund felt the slight. He belonged

to a proud race. There are few more honourable men in Icelandic history than those of Gudmund's family: his grandfather, Thorgeir, his uncles Thorvard and Ingimund (of whom more is to be told later); his father, Ari, who was killed in Norway, defending the King at the cost of his life. In his youth Gudmund had been noted, like Wordsworth, for his stiff, moody and violent temper. After his shipwreck, in his nineteenth year, it was thought that a great change had come over him, and in the score of years that had passed since then he had gained the reputation of a saint (though there were some who mocked) by his austerities, his alms-giving, his miraculous powers. But it is plain enough from his story that the old pride was all alive in him, and the historians do not conceal it.

The ecclesiastical policy went along with the common motives of feud. Gudmund, in the first part of his life, had been engaged in the usual sort of feuds and lawsuits, and had seen his enemies discomfited. Now, for five and thirty years, he was to be plunged in strife, a partner and an active cause of endless wild and murderous feats, such as the older sagas knew, but multiplied now, and with the horrors intensified. The cruelty of the Sturlung Age was perhaps greater than that of the old heathendom: it was certainly far beyond the measure allowed by public opinion in the days of Njal.

Gudmund is greatly blamed by some historians; perhaps not without some jealousy against his High Church principles. He certainly tried to get new ideas into people's heads regarding the nature of the Church, and he broke the common law of Iceland when he denied the authority of the courts over priests. He was reckless and imprudent; he dealt his bans of excommunication till people were weary of him and his bans; his crowd of poor men, his ragged regiment, was a nuisance. Politically his life was a failure; Rome threw him over at the end.

But can it be said that he did much, or anything, to

hasten the fall of the Republic, the dissolution of the healthy old Icelandic commonwealth? Probably not. We have a very full account of the particulars of life in Iceland in those days, and we know that it did not need the questions of ecclesiastical policy to set people fighting. The fighting and flocking went on as it had done ever since Iceland, ever since Norway was a home of men, and from the same natural motives; from just such quarrels as make Farmer Goodwin sulky with Farmer Jones: stupid mistakes about sheep, bad blood, malicious gossip, original sin and actual transgression—there needed no Bishop nor Canon Law to make things worse. And the peculiar exasperation of feuds in the thirteenth century did not come from the imprudent Churchmen: it came from the bloated wealth and pride of a few great men, as aforesaid; whose large estates and close family connections led them into trouble in manifold ways, and made the range of operations larger, the fever of enmity more malignant.

In the old days, when there was a much larger proportion of smaller gentry, a feud could get itself fought out and settled in a more or less decent manner. When the enemy had been killed, and an ordinary number of vengeance taken on the one side or the other, the thing might die away. The parties were essentially law-abiding persons. It may seem paradoxical to say so, but it is borne out by the Sagas. The law, sooner or later, makes itself felt, that law which, as the Bremen chronicler remarked, is the only King in Iceland. The enemies of Gunnar, the burners of Njal, had no particular aim beyond their vengeance. They did not wish to live disorderly lives. They were private persons, not aiming at a tyranny.

In the Sturlung Age it is different. Now there are schemes for family aggrandisement, like those of Italy. The crafty man of old times, Snorri the Priest, has but a mean business and humble aims compared with his namesake, Snorri the Historian, or with Earl Gizur.

It was not mainly for historical or political reasons that I was led to choose this subject. My motive was a different one, simpler and less ambitious ; it is a motive that is present with all readers of the Sagas, whether those of the heroic age or those of the thirteenth century—merely the love of stories. I have to repeat what is well enough known ; but however well known, it is never stale to anyone who has read the Icelandic books. There is nothing equal to them anywhere for their power of recording life. To use the words of Landor about his own poems, they are not prismatic but diaphanous ; those who look into them can see through. One looks through into the tenth century, into the thirteenth, one sees men there, not “as trees walking” ; one hears their conversation, not muffled in a learned language (like so many good things in Giraldus Cambrensis and Matthew Paris), not dressed up with rhetoric, not paraphrased or otherwise cooked, but their very words. It is true, and fortunately true, that good memoirs are common in all times and languages. But nowhere are things seen, and heard, so clearly as in the Icelandic stories.

In this society I daresay there will be little dispute about that point, and I do not wish to labour it. There is, however, one general fact about Iceland which may be worth bringing forward again, in connection with their story-telling, as a partial explanation of their success, at any rate as a great advantage. Most of the scenes were well known to the people who heard the sagas. This comes partly from the shape of the country, partly from the conditions of life there.

Though Iceland is a large country, larger than Ireland, the inhabited, the human part of it, round the coast, is easily known in its main lines : it can be “taken in” more readily than any land of its size. From Reykjavík you see the dome of Snaefell, seventy miles away, and the line of the Snaefell peninsula, the tops growing out of the sea. From the hills about the middle of the north coast between Eyjafirth and Skagafirth—they are

no great height, an ordinary Cumberland height—you can see clearly to the Hornstrands in the north-west, on the other side of the Húnaflói, beyond the Skagafirth hills. In the north and west quarters, where the scenes of most of the stories are laid, the landscapes are generally wide, with many famous places in the view, as when looking back from Vidimyri over the open Skagafirth valley—the Strath, as one is tempted to call it—one picks out *Flugumyri* under the hill, and *Drangey* to the left of it in the fjord. Or looking from Borg inland to the plains of Whitewater and the ring of mountains at the back, one makes out on the left the line to Holtbeacon-heath and the north, and in the middle one knows where Reykholt lies, which gives one way, inland and round about, to the plains of the Althing; and on the right, across the water, the way to Skorradal, which will take you to Whalefirth, and so, if you will, to the Althing again. The main ways are well known, and those who heard the sagas had travelled most of them, so that the theatre is well prepared for the action, and well understood. One is not confused, as in more populous countries, by the sense of large towns and the nameless, unknown multitudes. The country is intelligible, like that of the “Pilgrim’s Progress.” There is seldom much of a crowd in Iceland. Men are known as individuals. It is the world, one might say, of the drama or the novel, rather than of ordinary history: the houses are separate, distinct, and well known; the men are distinct also, not swallowed up in the common degrading idea of “population.”

Gudmund’s story, of course, comes much later than the heroic sagas of Njal and Egil Skallagrimsson, of Gisli or Grettir; and that is one reason for speaking about it here. It is part of the Sturlung history, that is the history of Iceland at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, when the sons and grandsons of Sturla of Hvamm came to be one of the most powerful families in Iceland. Sturla Thordarson,

one of those grandsons, wrote the story ; and Gudmund, Bishop of Holar, is one of the chief characters in his book. But Sturla, though the greatest, is not the only memoir-writer of those times. There are other books by other authors dealing with Gudmund and his friends ; the *Priest's Saga of Gudmund*, that is, his biography down to his election as Bishop, and the voyage to Norway for his consecration : the life of Hrafn Sveinbjörn's son, who went with Gudmund on this same voyage—Hrafn the wise and generous, one of the best men of his time ; the life of Aron Hjörleifsson, a younger friend of Gudmund, who began as a lively, adventurous, reckless person, one of the Bishop's less respectable associates. He was outlawed, and had a time of wandering, with many dangers and escapes. But he got clean away at last to Norway, and prospered there, and came to honour in the service of King Hacon.

There are other records of Gudmund, but they are later, and there is no time nor need to speak of them here, and little time to speak of the chief documents, Sturlunga and the biographies. What is common to these, and what chiefly makes their character and their value, is that they use the form of the old heroic sagas and apply it to contemporary things. The heroic sagas are at some distance from the reality. Egil and Njal came down in tradition before they were written out fair. But Sturla and the author of the *Saga of Priest Gudmund* are dealing with contemporary or nearly contemporary things. They are close to the reality ; and reality appears to them, and is read by them, like a heroic tale. That is the miracle : or at least "that is the occurrence." Real life seems to compose itself, to shape itself, into Epic, into a novel : what Fielding called an epic history in prose.

This is one reason for studying the biography of Bishop Gudmund, apart from all grave questions at issue between the spiritual and the temporal power. It belongs to a small class of fine literature, which has

nothing quite equal to it anywhere else; a kind of history, not fictitious, which yet begins in imagination and dramatic sense, and has been trained to use its imagination sincerely. It is not "mediaeval" except in some accidental ways; it is neither "classical" nor "romantic," though it is often both. It is simply right. I will read the story of the shipwreck on the Hornstrands:—

Life of Gudmund c. 6 (St. I., p. 95).

// In the spring of 1180 when Gudmund was 19, Priest Ingimund, [his uncle] begins to think of a voyage to Norway, and Gudmund, his ward, with him. They took passage at Gásir (~~Eyjaferth~~) with Hallstein Hunchback, and sailed on Sunday the day before Michaelmas. The wind took them East ~~Under the Nouns to the Foxes' plain~~ ~~(Melrakkiætta)~~ then came a headwind and they drove before it, and tumbled about for a week, and drifted to the Hornstrands. One evening as they were at supper the awning tore open at the edge. A man called Asmund, ~~an Easterling~~ [Norwegian], looks out and suddenly cries,

"Whish! down with the awning, up boys and clear the decks! We are on the breakers—never mind your supper ~~this time~~!" Then they all jump at once and ~~get~~ in the awning. Hallvard, the mate, calls out,

"Where is the ship's chaplain?"

"Not far to look for him," says Ingimund. "What do you want with him?"

"We want to confess," said they.

He answers: "It is no better time for confession than it was this autumn every Sunday, when I preached to you to come to confession in the name of God: and you would never hear. Now I must ~~even~~ pray ~~to~~ God to hear ~~you~~; for I am no more at home on the sea than you are: be bold and keep a good heart."

They said: "Then you must make a vow along with us, a pilgrimage or some other large vow: nothing less will do."

"Nothing less," says Ingimund: "I will vow, if I may order what the vow shall be. Or else I will give my word for every Icelfander on board that not a man of them will be with you in the vowing: for I will not be under your rule now any more than you ~~were~~ under mine in these last weeks on shore."

"What then will ~~thy~~ you vow, Priest?" said the men from Norway.

"I will vow to Almighty God and Holy Cross, to our Lady St. Mary and All Saints, to give a tithe of all that comes safe on shore to churches or poor men as the bishop shall dispose."

They answered: "~~Thou~~ shall give the word, Priest, for we cannot do now without ~~thy~~ your care." Now ~~pledges are given all over~~ you /

the ship to keep this vow. And by this time they are well in among the breakers. Then there is a great dispute what is best to be done, and every man wants his own way. Some are for hoisting the sail, and they begin at this. Then Hallvard the mate asks Ingimund if he knows the highest name of God!

He answers: "I know some names of God; and I believe what the Apostle Paul says, that there is no name higher nor holier than the name of Jesus--but what ~~thou~~ ^{do} ~~callest~~ ^{know} the highest name I know not."

He answers: "I do not reckon such to be priests who do not know the name of God."

Then ~~Ingimund~~ ^{Stein} calls to Hallvard: "Do ~~thou~~ ^{they} know the highest name?"

"God's truth," says Hallvard, "I scarcely think I can get my tongue to it now, and sorry for it. But Thord Crow ~~Arkrax~~ ^{Stein} will know. Thord Crow! ~~canst thou name the high~~ ^{do you know} name?"

He says: "Worse luck, mate, it is slipped my mind, but some one else is sure to know. Thorbiorn ~~Humla~~ ^{Hops} will know."

"Aye aye! well well! Thorbiorn Humla, name the name, if ~~thou canst~~!"

He says: "I wish I could; but as far as I can tell, I never heard it: but I will show you a man that can, I think Einar ~~Arpa~~ ^{Neep} Turnip knows."

Then they tried him, and he names the name. And when they had the sail up no more than the height of a man there comes a great beam sea breaking over the freight² amidships and fore and aft as well. Every man was at a rope then, and Ingimund caught hold of a boathook, and tried to bring down the sail. Gudmund, his ward, had a berth in the ship's boat: he was standing between the boat and the sail, to see the sail clear. Then comes another heavy sea over the whole ship, and carries off the vane of the mast and both the bulwarks, and overboard everything loose amidships, except men; and the ship was much knocked about and the boat as well. Then they come through the breakers, and get a third sea, not so heavy as the others. Then they rushed to the baling, fore and aft, and a piece of sail was hoisted.

Then they see land, and talk it over where they might have come: some said they must be at Malmey; but Thorarin Rosti, an Icelander, said that would be too short for all the time they had been driving. Then Mar Eyjolf's son speaks, and says he knows they are off the Hornstrands at Skjaldabjarnarvik, and said he had been there before, that summer. Then they asked him to lay them a course for a

¹The 72 names of God are still used in perils by land or water. See note by Paul Meyer, *Flamenca* (1865), p. 317.

²Bülki; the cargo was piled in the waist and rose up in a mound, which was roped in and tightly fenced.

harbour, and wished to go North to Tharalatr's Fjord; for there was a safe harbour there.

Then they looked about to see what damage was done, and Ingimund comes to Gudmund, his nephew. Now the big sea had cast him into the boat, and his right leg hung over the gunwale of the boat and was caught in the sail. Ingimund asked why he did not get up. And he said there was such a weight on him that he could not stir nor stand. Then the loose sail was rolled off him; but still he did not rise. Ingimund asked why. He said his foot was so heavy he could not move it.

"The leg is broken," says Ingimund.

"I know not," says Gudmund. "I have no feeling in it."

Then they looked, and the leg was broken on the gunwale, the bones in shivers, and the toes pointing where the heels should be. So they put him to bed in the boat. Then Ingimund missed his trunk of books; it had gone overboard. And he was hard hit, as he thought; for there was his pleasure where his books were; and the man crippled that he loved best. Yet he gave thanks to God; and thought there had been a quick fulfilment of his dream. For the night before he had dreamt of Archbishop Eystein, how he came to the Archbishop and was bidden welcome. He had told the dream to Gudmund, and Gudmund's reading of it was that there was some "arch business" ahead for them. And that same day, before they had come to rough water, Magnus Amundason had asked whether anyone knew of any breakers called "The Humps." And he was told that there were such, namely, off the Horn Strands.

"I dreamt," he says, "that we were near them." And a little after he had said that, they were aware of the breakers.

Now they are carried north, off Reykjafjord. Then they bring up, and lower the sail and cast anchor, and lie at anchor there all night. In the morning they get to land with planks from the ship, and cut down their mast and let it drive ashore, with a line fast to the ship. Then they debated what should be done with Gudmund. Then up speaks a man called Bersi, who went by the name of Corpselight—one of his cheeks was coal-black—and says;

"Why should we trouble about a sick man, and his leg broken, when we have enough to do to save ourselves? Send him overboard!"

Thorarin Rosti answered: "Hold the blasted tongue of thee! Send thee overboard thyself, and little loss! We must think of another way."

He jumps overboard at once, and Einar Neep along with him. The moving of the ship had brought her aground, and they let down Gudmund over the side in a web of wadmal, and Thorarin and Einar took him one on each side, and he sat on their arms with a hand about the neck of either man. And some men went behind to make some shelter from the seas. And so they made their way ashore,

drawn backward by the downdraught of the sea, and sped onward as the new wave caught them. And they brought him to land. Then the ship canted seaward, and all that was in her went into the sea, and she broke up all to flinders, and little of her freight came to land.

At that place lived a man called Snorri, son of Arngeir; he was a leech. He takes Gudmund and brings him home with him, and treats him as well as he can; his house was not a rich one, but his will was good. Many men came to the place from the neighbouring homesteads to see what they could do for them or their goods. Then Ingimund made a vow and prayer that his book-trunk and his books might come to land. A few nights later news came that the box had come ashore at the Drongs, and everything in it that might be looked for; one hasp was holding and the other two were broken; and all the other chests that came ashore were broken and empty. Ingimund went there to dry his books; and was there till Martinmas. Then he came back to see his ward and learn how his leg was mending.

Ingimund is a fine character, and his later history is given: adventures in Norway, and a last voyage to Greenland, where he and his company were wrecked and lost. Their bodies were found many years afterwards, and along with them were tablets where Ingimund had written down their story.

In the rest of the life of Gudmund there is nothing quite as full, detailed and lively as the shipwreck story: that adventure stands out from the others. One may remark, by the way, that there is something more than history in it, a comic or satiric motive, springing from the old humorous difference between Icelanders and Norwegians. The Norwegians were sometimes rude to the Icelanders: they called them "tallow-sausages," with other similar names. Here the Icelandic author takes revenge in a genial way, by merely recording the rather helpless and flurried talk of the Norwegian shipmen.

There are other things nearly as good, though none so thoroughly imagined and presented as this. It would take long to repeat them. One ought not to forget the boy Skúma, and how he helped the Bishop to escape from his enemies one night of storm and sleet, when his friend Eyjolf Karsson came and stole him out of

the bothy on Whitewater-side, and the boy took his place and lay quiet in bed till the morning. "Beardie (*Kampi*) is sleeping long to-day," said the Bishop's enemies, who had themselves been snoring hard when Eyjolf came.

Among the heroic passages of the Sturlung time one of the finest is the death of Eyjolf Karsson in Grimsey, when the Bishop was attacked by Sighvat and his son Sturla. It is translated in "Epic and Romance" (pp. 433-436) from "Aron's Saga." The adventures of Aron himself, after Eyjolf had helped him to escape, are a thirteenth century counterpart of the wanderings of Gisli and Grettir, told with the curious Icelandic talent for such things, especially in the way the interest is kept up—situations apparently dangerous turning out all right in the end; persons likewise. For the Icelandic art is unrivalled in its power of representing the way in which things happen; the way in which a first impression is modified or refuted by later events. Read, for example, in chapter xii. of "Aron's Saga," of his meeting with two strangers, and his ideas about them: it is not at all clear what is going to happen; we are kept all along at the same points of view as Aron himself, and see life rolling out before us.

The life of Hrafn is one of the most complete, in one sense, of all the thirteenth century books; a biography, with deepening interest as it goes on, and at the same time its field narrowing to the tragic history of the contentions between Hrafn and his baser enemy, Thorvald Snorrason of Vatzfirth. None of the more strictly historical books have complied so well with the "unities" of prose epic. But besides the main theme there are many incidental beauties, little pictures of fleeting moments, like that of the poor man Amundi, a retainer of Hrafn's, who was one day cutting hay on his grass-patch, and his wife, with the baby at her back, raking after him: when a gang of Thorvald's men came up to get him to join them against Hrafn, and he would not, so they killed him.¹ It is all in a dozen lines; it is enough.

¹ *Hrafn's Saga* c. 17; *Sturlunga Saga* ii. p. 302.

As I have said, it was not from any special interest in the policy of Gudmund that I chose this subject for my lecture; nor is he the most attractive character in his own story. But it is impossible to refuse him the respect which his countrymen have paid, or the admiration due to his courage and his faith. Speaking on Gudmund's day, I cannot pass over the story of his death. He grew old and blind, and his last sickness came upon him; but he would not die in his bed. There was got ready a hurdle strewn with earth, and when death was near they lifted him from his bed and put him there, on the bare mould: there was perhaps as much of the ancient Northman as of the Christian saint in this desire of his.

The popular regard for Bishop Gudmund was very great, and shown in many ways; perhaps in none more significant than the stories of his dealings with the trolls. Every Northern hero may be called on to take up the task of Thor and go to "hammer the Trolls"; St. Olaf is one of the most famous in this way; and in Iceland Bishop Gudmund had many tasks of this kind. It must not be thought that the "soothfastness" of the thirteenth century, so definite in its account of the shipwreck and other adventures, is prejudiced against ghost-stories. On the contrary, some of the finest passages of terror and wonder are to be found in "*Sturlunga Saga*," which is full of portents.

There is the dream of the man in Skagafirth, not long after the death of Kolbein Tumason, which is like the vision of the Fatal Sisters:—

He thought he came to a great house; and in it there were two women, as if they were rowing, swinging to and fro; all blood-stained, and blood was dripping on them through the skylight; and one of them chanted:

"Row we, row we, a rain of blood!
War and Battle, for the fall of men!
We must up and away to Raft lithe;
There shall we be cursed and banned."¹

¹I p. 220; C.P.B. I. p. 360.

Among the miracles of Gudmund, in the earliest life of him, it is noted how he had great power against trolls. Once, when his body was asleep, he appeared far away to a poor man who was being persecuted by a troll-wife. His chief enemy was a horrible vampire thing called *Selkolla*, an inhuman body with a seal's head, and no end of ugly devices for escaping and returning. Public opinion among the trolls was strongly against him: it is a tradition in one part of Iceland that when Bishop Brand died a troll-wife was heard crying the news to her neighbour: "Now is Holabishop dead." But the other answered: "There is one coming next who is no better, and that is Gudmund."¹

Gudmund, however, was not extreme with the trolls, whatever he might be with his other opponents. He was once, it is said, going over the little steep holm of Drangey, blessing it and casting out the trolls, when, after they had done their worst, there came a petition from them, in reasonable terms. In his purification of the island, which was carried out very thoroughly, he was let down by a rope over the cliffs to bless them. At one place a shaggy grey arm in a red sleeve came out of the rock with a knife, and cut two strands of his rope; the third strand was hallowed and would not give, and the Bishop hung there.

Then a voice from the rock said: "Do no more hallowing, Bishop; the Bad Folk must live somewhere."

The Bishop had himself hauled up, and left that corner as a reservation for trolls, so it is said.

¹ "Sá kemur aptr sem ekki er betri, og það er hann Gvöndur."

GRINGOLET, GAWAIN'S HORSE.¹

By Professor I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D., Secretary of the British Academy.

GRINGOLET, as he figures in mediæval romance, is a fascinating subject, though little is said of him. The bare mention of his name stimulates curiosity. It suggests that once on a time everybody knew all about him ; and so we, too, want to know what they knew.

Sir Gawain is a great figure in Arthurian romance. Tennyson's poem gives but a faint idea of his true character, his magnificence and charm.

"Light was Gawain in life, and light in death
Is Gawain, for the ghost is as the man,"

represents a disparaging view in comparison with the truer estimate given of him elsewhere. The fact is that Tennyson took his story from Malory, who drew from sources in which Gawain was belittled, in order to enhance the character of Percival. But in the West of England, especially on the marches of Wales and Cumbria, Gawain was always regarded as the Knight *par excellence* of the Arthurian court, and the literature about him is of great importance. One of the greatest of mediæval English poets, one of Chaucer's contemporaries, adorns this tradition ; the poem of "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" is a gem of middle-age romance.

His horse plays no wonderful part, but is always referred to as "Gawain's Horse, Gringolet." In French the name is *Le Gringolet*, with the definite article, as if everybody knew the story about him ; and yet no story is to be found. Something there is to be discovered, but not in the romances.

¹ A summary of the Paper, kindly prepared by the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood.

If we group all the romances mentioning Gringolet, we find that the name occurs in the English, "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," and a corruption of it in "The Auntes of Arthur at Tarnwathelan," as *Grizel*. In German it is *Gringuljetan*; in French usually *Gringalet*, but occasionally *Guingalet*; while in Welsh it only occurs in late versions as *Keinkalad*, and that rarely. The Welsh romance writers seem to avoid the name, giving rise to a suggestion that they regarded it as *not* Welsh. If it was not Welsh, whence does it come?

One of the most interesting of Northern stories is that of Wade, father of Wayland Smith, and son of Wilkin, the hero of *Vilkinasaga*, in which we find many stories of Wade added in a late recension. Wade fascinates us, as Gringolet does, by the fact that so little is known of him, and that little whets our curiosity. His name occurs in a series of place-names; in the Traveller's Song we are told that Wade ruled the Helsings. Chaucer refers to him twice, in one passage saying that the wife of Bath knew everything about his Boat, and in *Troilus* mentioning quite unexpectedly "a tale of Wade." What the tale was we are not informed. Speght, the old commentator, says as regards Wade and his boat and his strange exploits, "because the matter is long and fabulous, I pass it over." One suspects that he did not know all. Tyrwhitt exclaims against the omission: "Tantamne rem tam negligenter!" and modern commentators can only attack Speght for his silence. But evidently in the fourteenth century Chaucer knew—or pretended to know—the lost story of Wade and his Boat.

There are many references to the name in Middle English. Wade is "The Wader," the one who went through the water, carrying on his shoulders the infant Wayland, as St. Christopher carried the infant Christ. But what was his boat?

Chaucer's passage about the wife of Bath seems to indicate that the boat had already been reduced to a slang phrase: and the name of the boat is preserved for

us by Speght in the passage just quoted, which reads in full, "concerning Wade and his boat Gringalet."

The identity of the names given to Wade's boat and Gawain's horse cannot be a chance coincidence; the two must originally have been one. If so, we have in the famous Arthurian romance a distinct influence from Scandinavia.

The Horse of Gawain represents the necessary change from the sea character of the *Vilkinasaga* to the chivalrous character of the mediæval romance, the ship was the "horse of ocean" both in Anglo-Saxon and in Old Norse. This transition is natural and necessary; we can find further evidence to show that this transition did actually occur.

In the case of the name Gringolet as applied to the horse, we have to note that it is sometimes written without the R, and then usually as *Guingalet*. Now whenever in old French you get *Gu*, that sound comes from Teutonic or Germanic sources, and represents W. If the form in *Gr* be the original one, it points to a Germanic and not a Romance origin. Moreover, in *G* words passing from Teutonic to Romance languages, a parasitic R frequently arose after the G. To take this story of Wade; the Graelant of Breton legends and French romances is, in all probability, nothing but Wayland:—Völund—Galant—Gralant, with the same parasitic R.

Now if the true name is *Guingalet*, we may assume without much doubt that it represents a Scandinavian or Germanic *Wingalet*.

As to the name of the boat, we find it again given as occurring in the North of England in the form *Wingalock*; so that if the name of the horse was derived from that of the boat, we have materials for tracing the origin of the story.

Vilkinasaga is one of the most interesting versions of the tale of Wade. In it Wilkin appears as a sort of god or demigod; perhaps Wilkin was not his original name, but adapted from the Latin Vulcan, for his son Wayland

became the great Smith. In especial Wayland was famous for making boats, and the stories of father and son must have become confused, as often happens in mythology—for example, in the case of Anlaf Cuaran. Even their personalities became mixed in mediæval tradition. In the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, Wade is stated to be the son of Wayland, while in *Vilkinasaga* Wayland is certainly the son of Wade. So when we know that Wade carried Wayland over the sea to apprentice him to the dwarfs to learn the smith's trade, and that Wayland the smith, being lamed in the sinews of his foot, forged for himself a winged garment, with which he flew over the sea; or that he made a wonderful boat, a winged vessel, a marvellous bird; that he was connected with winged maidens, swan-maidens; we see how "Wade's Boat" came by its name of *Wing*-something; and how the name originated not in England, but in Scandinavia.

That this was the case is curiously hinted by one old romance, which tells us that Gawain captured his horse from a Saxon king. In that passage the horse is called "*un gringalet*," with the indefinite article, as though the name were common and descriptive. Already among the old Normans the boat had become a horse, and at this day among the Normans a fool, a gaunt, silly creature, is called "*un gringalet*." This is evidently the source of the well-known proper name, Gringalet, as well as the slang use of the word.

The second part of the original name is less easy to discover. In Magnússon's index to *Heimskringla* are many names of boats which might suggest the missing word. *Ving* is the Danish or Swedish form, from which our "wing" is derived, a Scandinavian, and not an English word. *Vinga-lett* on the analogy of *lett-skíp*, *lett-freggr*, *lett-fetr*, might be suggested, and reference to the termination -lock, found as a variant (*cp.* *Havelock*, in its relation to *Hamlet*) might be adduced.

Of Wade himself we have one curious notice, embedded

in an old Latin sermon, which quotes six lines from the lost twelfth or thirteenth century poem, "Ita quod dicere possumus cum Wade:—

Summe sende ylves
and summe sende nadderres.
Summe send nikerres
the binnen wacez wunien.
Nister man nenne
bute ildebrand onne";

"we may say *with Wade* that [all creatures who fell] became elves or adders or nickors who live in pools; not one became a man except Hildebrand." This is the only passage which shows us the story of Hildebrand in English literature, and bears on the genesis of *Thiodrekssaga*.

Professor Skeat explains the allusion in the tale of the Wife of Bath as meaning that widows, with the aid of Wade's Boat, could flit about from place to place and carry on their flirtations. But it is more recondite than that, depending on the transition from mythology to folklore, and thence to folk-speech and allusive slang. A further hint may be gathered from Chaucer's *Troilus*; it was Pandarus who told "a tale of Wade," an amorous story, parallel to the tale of Graelant,—the stern Northern mythology of the sea adapted to amorous France.

Gaston Paris, the greatest among students of mediæval romance, considered that the name of Gringolet was of Celtic origin, though unexplained. The fact, however, remains that Gringolet in its Welsh form is rare; only occurring in a late twelfth or thirteenth century list of Arthurian horses, and in the strange form Keinkalad. If it were Welsh in origin it would surely be a more integral part of the legends; while on the other hand we have seen its close analogy to the name of Wade's boat, and the reasons for considering that Gawain's horse was really a form of the boat in *Vilkina-saga*, and a loan to British folklore from the Vikings.

After discussion, Mr. Gollancz, replying to Mr. Collingwood, said that the name of the horse in *Grettissaga*, "Keingala," was not easy to trace, for the story of Grettir, as we have it, is of late and mixed origin. The wings in pre-Norman sculpture in the North of England, and other hints of the Wayland myth on the monuments, certainly show the persistence of the legend, which was the Northern form of the story of Icarus and Dædalus, a smith story. Why smiths were always lame, as Miss Hull asked, he could only explain by saying that it was their nature! As to the parallel transition from the boat of Mannanan Mac Lir to the magic steed of Ossian, which brought the Celtic heroes to Paradise, he thought that the Arthurian legends were of course greatly influenced by Celtic mythology. Gawain, however, had been unkindly treated by English romancers of the South-east; but in Welsh tradition he was "the hawk of the May morning," "the knight of ladies," "Gawain the Good," exalted even above Arthur, and all along the Welsh marches long considered as the noblest figure in the group. As Mr. Collingwood had pointed out, the name remained popular in Cumbria, and the legend of Tarn Wadling (near Carlisle) survived the Middle Ages. To Dr. Pernet the lecturer answered that though "Gringolet" is now in general use, it is Norman in origin, and thanked him for the apt analogy of the transition from old German *hross* to modern French *rosse*. Replying to Colonel Hobart, he said that the intrusive R is common in Icelandic and in some English dialects, it need present no difficulty. Indeed he sometimes thought that part of the confusion in the subject came from the blending of the Scandinavian story with the French and Celtic legends of "Galwain," just as Wayland and Wade had become interchanged. In answer to Mr. Norris's suggestion that the last syllable in *vinga-lett* might be *lid*, as in "Sumar-lid," Mr. Gollancz did not think the change phonetically possible, and preferred to leave that part of the problem still unsolved.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

THE ORMSIDE CUP.

SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE VIKING AGE IN ENGLAND.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

AT a place called Ormside, the settlement of Orm the Dane, in Westmorland, on the great highway between York and Carlisle, there have been found at various times relics which seem to give an interesting glimpse into the history of the Viking Age. Among these is the famous Ormside Cup now in York Museum, and the sword now in Carlisle Museum. The cup, if indeed it is rightly so described, is a silver-gilt bowl, beautifully ornamented with repoussé work and filigree, and set with jewels. It must have been made at a time somewhat before the Danish invasion, and formed no doubt part of the treasure of a Northumbrian church. The patterns (Fig. 1) are those of the eighth century, perhaps foreign in workmanship as well as in the ultimate origin of the style; but they are identical with motives often seen on sculptured stones of the North of England, and they represent the kind of ornament which, however derived, became the national art of the Anglian people as seen in their grave-monuments. Its presence at Ormside suggests that it was part of some Viking's loot, carried away from the richer district east of Stainmoor Pass, and kept by him at his new home. The fact that it has been smashed and rudely mended, suggests that the robbery, or the journey ensuing, was not without

adventures. Orm, if the founder of the new settlement were the actual Viking who came from the east with the treasure, tinkered up the base of the bowl for his drinking-cup (Fig. 2).

Close to the place where this was found, and long afterwards, an early grave was discovered in the church-yard; and in it were a Viking sword (Fig. 3), shield-boss and knife. That they were part of an interment does not necessarily prove the burial to be heathen, nor does the site prove that it was Christian. Orm himself, to carry on our supposition, may have been buried on the spot afterwards consecrated. But from other cases it

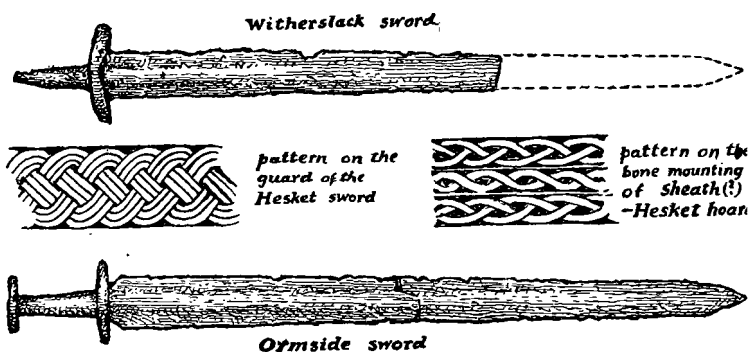


FIG. 3 —VIKING SWORDS.

may be inferred that the settler was not long in England before he was Christianized, and even then was only half a Christian, such a one as would be buried at the church he founded, and yet buried with some of the old rites—at least, with his armour upon him. In the Christian graves of the Viking Age town of Birka, near Stockholm, many personal belongings have been found, together with silver and gold crosses, proving the religion of the deceased.

In the North of England, however, there are traces of heathen interments which cannot be other than Viking Age. At Heskett-in-the-Forest, near Carlisle, a great

tumulus was opened in 1822, and the grave-goods, now in Carlisle Museum, comprised a sword, *bent and broken*, a shield-boss, axe, spearhead, dart, curved knife, buckle, spur and snaffle, bone comb, and bits of ornamented bone, perhaps part of a sheath. The ornament on the sword-hilt is interlaced (Fig. 3).

Now the Anglo-Saxons did not invade Cumbria, so far as we know, until after their conversion; and by the broken sword this interment seems to tell the story of a heathen leader of Vikings who died here in the first invasion. The Workington sword (described in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., p. 302), found bent up and broken in its sheath, tells the same tale, and takes us back to the early days of the great pirate attacks in the ninth century. Another broken sword was found at Wither-slack, North Lancs. (Fig. 3).

Going down the Eden from Ormside, but still far from Carlisle, we come to Kirkoswald. Here was found a hoard of coins dating from 769 to 854, together with the brooch now in the British Museum (Fig. 4), trefoil-shaped, of silver, with spiral ornaments and bosses, one of which still holds its dark red jewel of paste. This trefoil type of fibula is found also in Norway¹ and in Denmark; but the exact style of ornament is seen on a silver bead in the Copenhagen Museum (287, 32), suggesting that the hoard was deposited by a Danish invader shortly after the middle of the ninth century. But if, as may be presumed, the date of the latest coin is near the date of the deposition, we find that the invaders were already in Cumberland about twenty years before their host attacked and burnt Carlisle (876): so slowly and gradually they made their way through the country, spying out the land before they came in force to possess it.

In these examples we see the Danes coming from the east: we have also traces of the Norse coming from the west.

¹ Dr. Hildebrand, "Scandinavian Arts," South Kensington Handbook, p. 117.

At Brayton, in West Cumberland, the seat of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, there was found in a fishpond the fragment of a silver penannular brooch with a "silver hook," no doubt its pin, representing a type of fibula common in the earlier Viking Age (Fig. 5). This type is thought by Dr. Anderson to be derived from Scottish models; Mr.



FIG. 4.—THE KIRKOSWALD FIBULA.

Reginald A. Smith considers it to be derived from Irish work. In either case, but more convincingly in the latter, we see invaders no longer from the east, but from the Irish Sea, the Norse Vikings who had been in Ireland and the Islands, bringing with them the arts they had learned from Celtic industries.

This is more definitely seen in other examples. The brooch now in possession of the Society of Antiquaries

of London from Orton Scar, Westmorland (Fig. 6),

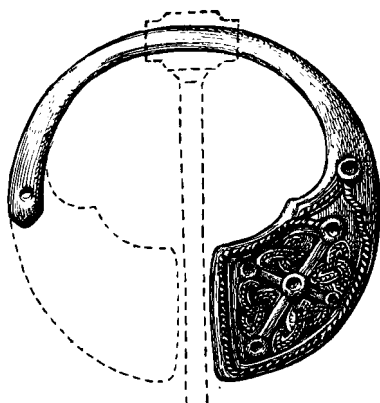


FIG. 5.—THE BRAYTON FIBULA.

was found in 1847 in a crevice of the rock five feet beneath the surface; the site being also on one of those Roman



FIG. 6.—THE ORTON SCAR FIBULA.

roads which still in the Viking Age formed the chief

routes of travel. In this brooch the ring is five inches across; each expanded end has five rivets with large heads, which hold down ornamented collars and bars connecting them: the rest of the surface is filled with interwoven serpents and Irish trumpet patterns. It was found with a twisted silver collar of a well-known Viking type, and must date from the tenth or early eleventh century.

A curious development of this penannular type is that in which the head of the pin and the ends of the ring are large bulbs, resembling thistle-heads. Some examples can be dated from coins found with them, as at Cuerdale, Lancashire, about 910; at Douglas, Isle of Man, 925-975; at Goldsborough, Yorkshire, after 920. The Cufic coins associated with them, and struck in Turkestan and Persia 874-999, suggest an Eastern origin; indeed it is believed that the silver of the latter Viking Age was brought from Asia. At the British Museum are now two enormous thistle brooches, both found between Dacre and Penrith, Cumberland; the pin of one is 21 inches long, and the pin of the other 23 inches.

The Canterbury penannular brooch is thought by Mr. Reginald Smith to be perhaps a relic of the Viking attack in 851. Another much like it was found at Bon-sall, Derbyshire, where the Danes won a victory in 877. The Croy brooch, similar but simpler in form, is dated by coins about 800,¹ which perhaps dates the Brayton fibula, and shows the gradual development of these ornaments into the unwieldy Dacre form, which can hardly have been worn as a part of any person's daily attire. It may have served for ceremonial occasions, or even for some great image of a god.

But we do not know that the Vikings brought great images of gods with them to England. They seem to have left much of their old religion behind them in Scandinavia, and even before adopting Christianity to have partly deserted the ancient deities. The Roos Carr boat with wooden figures, already described in the SAGA-

¹ Dr. J. Anderson, "Scotland in Early Christian Times," II. 23, 24.

BOOK,¹ may possibly represent the private "travelling" idols of some Viking invader; for though the forms of the figures have been thought to resemble the Bronze Age rock-carvings, there are analogies in the female figure found at Ballachulish in 1880, and in a wooden figure at Copenhagen Museum (297); and the boat is not like those of the rock-ristings, but of the Viking type. That some of the settlers held for a time to paganism is shown by the place-name Hoff Lund, "temple grove," in Westmorland, and perhaps by a series of places called Lund throughout Lancashire and Yorkshire, where, as in Iceland, pagans "worshipped the grove."² But the idea once held, that the great number of place-names in *ark* and *ergh* stand for the old Norse *hörgr*, a shrine, is hardly tenable, and the fact seems to be that the Viking settlers were soon Christianized; that is to say, Christianized up to a certain point. The archæological evidences of this fact are curious and fairly abundant; too abundant to examine in detail, though the main lines of the argument may be sketched.

The Ormside Cup already mentioned represents the kind of ornament often seen in grave-crosses in the North of England, with symmetrical interlacing and with leaf-scrolls containing birds and fanciful beasts. The origin of these motives was undoubtedly foreign, but the development of them was carried out in England. From patterns akin to the birds on the cup (Fig. 1) we have the beautifully carved stone at Croft, near Darlington (Fig. 7); from the interlaced bosses on the cup (Fig. 2) we have the equally beautiful Northallerton cross (Fig. 8). From these two stones we can trace a series, rising on the one hand to still finer design, skilfully carved in relief, and certainly executed on the spot, because stones of such weight could hardly have been imported to inland places when the means of transport were inadequate. On the other hand the patterns degenerate into ruder and still ruder copies, until they are transformed

¹ Vol. iii. p. 119.

² "Landnámabók," III. 17.



FIG. 7.—THE CROFT STONE.

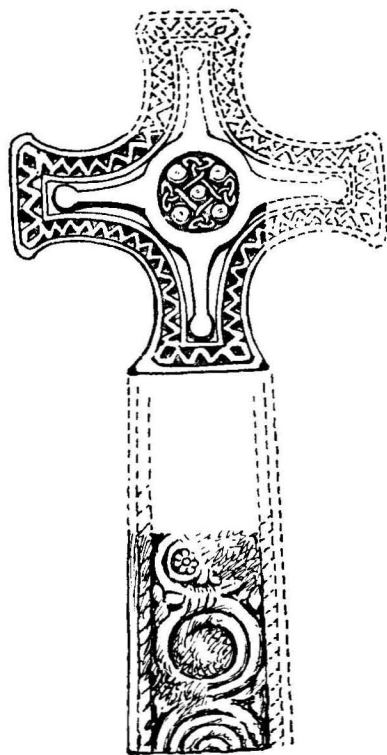


FIG. 8.—THE NORTHALLERTON CROSS.

into rough sketches on stone, misshapen in design and clumsily chipped out, instead of being carved with care and delicacy. These ruder monuments, passing through a transition stage of mere degeneracy, turn into forms reflecting the patterns we know to have been characteristic of the Viking Age: they show the chain-plait and ring-interlacing, the loops and coarse key-patterns of the tenth century; and with these are found figure-subjects illustrating myths of Scandinavian origin, pictures from the Edda, connected with Irish types of figure and ornament such as the relations of the Viking settlers with their Irish dominions explain. In the finely cut and beautifully drawn English work, which I think to be pre-Viking, there are no re-entrant spirals or other ornament specially characteristic of Celtic work; and though some antiquaries have classed this series as tenth and eleventh century, supposing them to have been created under Carlovingian influence, I think we have reason to date them seventh and eighth century, partly from the fact of their continuous development, and partly from certain historical data.

For example, the Hackness shaft, with its Anglian inscription, appears to be a relic of a nunnery destroyed by the Danes. The Bewcastle and Ruthwell shafts (Figs. 9 and 10), with their Anglian inscriptions, are at sites where we have every reason to infer an Anglian population in the later part of the seventh century, but in the early eleventh a purely Gallgael population, to whom this ornament and writing would be foreign. The North-allerton cross is rudely imitated at Carlisle (Figs. 11 and 12), where the Anglian priory was destroyed by the Danes, and the site occupied for two centuries by the Gallgael. From the Carlisle crosses we trace a series further debased, found throughout Cumberland, evidently the work of people unskilled in art, but yet trying to set up monuments to their dead on the pattern of those already existing in the country. This development required time: several generations must have passed



FIG. 9.—BEWCASTLE CROSS.



FIG. 10.—RUTHWELL CROSS.

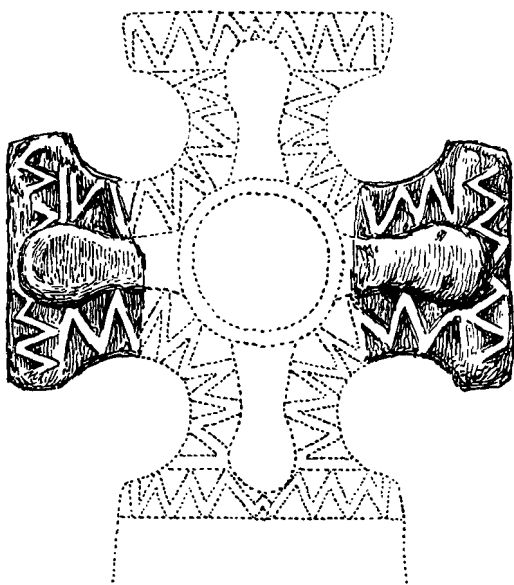


FIG. 11.

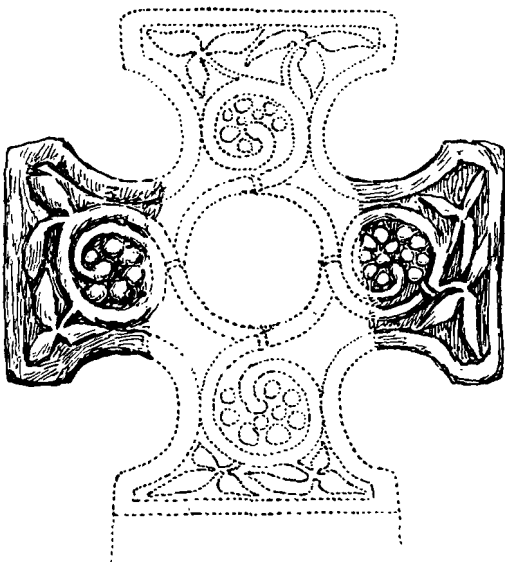


FIG. 12.

CROSS-HEAD AT THE ABBEY, CARLISLE.

between the original fine work and the outcome of it in its lowest form.

At the downfall of the Dublin-York kingdom, about the middle of the tenth century, Northumbria came under the influence of Southern England; and we find new types introduced from the Midlands, better carving, though still not equal to the fine work of the eighth century, and some reflection of the renaissance of art which began under King Edgar.

This I take to be the main course of art history in the North of England as we can read it in the grave-monuments. The fine Anglo-Saxon school of symmetrical interlacing with scroll-work and figures, beautifully carved, was brought to an end by the Viking invasions. It degenerated, but turned into new forms under Scandinavian and Irish influence in the tenth century; and these again were remodelled by fresh impulses from the south as the tenth century closed. In the southern part of the Danelaw we find fewer monuments, and yet those of the Scandinavian type can be distinguished; as, for instance, the St. Paul's Stone, now at the Guildhall Museum, with the runes "K(o)na let lekia stin thensi, auk Tuki," a monument to one of the Danes of London about the year 1000, set up by his widow "and Tuki" (illustrated in *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. IV., p. 152).

This Tuki stone has the figure of a stag trampling a serpent; the animals are far gone in conventionalization, showing the Irish spirals at the joints of the limbs and the remoteness of the decorator's attitude, which thinks more of manner than model. Similar beasts are seen in the Hart and Wolf Cross at Lancaster (illustrated in *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. III., p. 303), and in the Fishing Stone at Gosforth (Fig. 13); they seem to be work of the later Viking period, not without Irish influence, though with some skill in carving. The stone at St. Vedast's, Norwich, dated by Bishop Browne about 920, is another example of the Viking Age treatment of an animal. At Stanwick, in the North of Yorkshire, is a very interesting

cross, of which parts are delicately carved, though the design is still far removed from the symmetry and naturalism of Anglian work; this shows the stag and wolf in bold treatment (Fig. 14). At Dacre (Cumberland) the same subject is more naturalistic though rudely cut (illustrated in *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. I., p. 188); and at



FIG. 13.—THE "FISHING STONE," GOSFORTH, CUMB.

Kirklevington (Yorkshire) we get to animals without any attempt at extraneous ornament (Fig. 15). On a little stone at Melsonby (North Riding), beautifully chiselled, is another version of the subject, fanciful, but within its limits natural: this stone is at a site where fine carving of the Anglian period is found, and seems to carry us

back to the pre-Viking age. The symbolism appears to be common throughout the later pre-Norman period, and to signify Christ or the Christian as the Hart, triumphing over the Serpent or persecuted by the Wolf; and the reason of its adoption by the Christianized

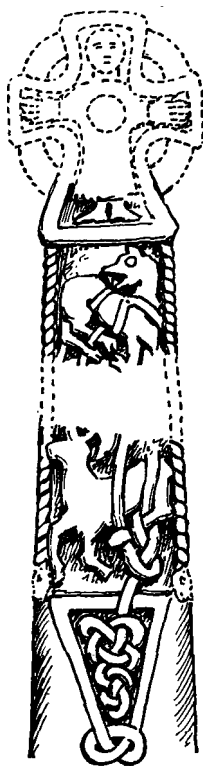


FIG. 14.—STANWICK CROSS.

Northmen may be that the Northern mythology too had its story of a sacred Hart in the tree of Yggdrasil (compare the Heysham subjects below, Figs. 29, 30).

I have given this series as an example of the adoption and transformation of a motive by the Viking-Age

artists: in the same way they made use of other models they found in England, adapting them to their feeling and requirements. The Carlisle cross-head, already altered from earlier types in the North-east of England, was developed into a rude grotesque at Dearham (Cumb.) in the so-called Keneth Cross (Fig. 16), which is marked as Norse by the Swastikas on its shaft (Fig. 17). The meaning of the figures is puzzling; they have been



FIG. 15.—HART AND HOUND,
KIRKLEVINGTON, NORTH RIDING.

thought to illustrate the story of St. Keneth, who was carried away as a baby by birds. There is, however, a possibility that the subject contains some reference to legends of Northern mythology. Bishop Browne has identified the Völund myth upon the Leeds cross (later Viking Age) and the same myth is obvious from the inscription *ÆGILI* on the Franks casket (eighth century?) (for illustration see the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. II. p. 280).



FIG. 16.—HEAD AND EDGES.



Possibly some such legend may explain the female figures (Fig. 18) and the person between a ship-full of warriors and an army (Fig. 19) upon the newly found hogback at Lowther (Westmorland); but the suggestion is offered with diffidence. We can, however, see that all these crosses



FIG. 18.



FIG. 19.

TWO SIDES OF THE HOGBACK AT LOWTHER, WESTMORLAND.

and tombstones are of the Viking Age, and we shall find that Northern myths are not infrequently illustrated upon Christian monuments. The point raised was the form of the cross-head, and the fact that for some time after the Vikings' conversion old Anglian forms of art were imitated and debased by carvers unskilled in stone-work.

With the Dublin-York kingdom and the intercourse of all the Danelaw with Ireland, the introduction of Irish art must have been inevitable. One distinguishing feature of the Celtic cross was its wheel-head; a feature which is conspicuous by absence from the beautifully designed and sculptured stone-work of Northumbria before the Danes. At Dearham (Cumb.) there is another cross (Fig. 20), which not only shows the wheel-head, but also the chain-plait found in Sweden and in many Manx and British monuments certainly of the Viking Age, but never in the illuminated MSS. of the same period, the art of which reflected a totally different character and continued a totally different stream of tradition. Stone-carving was a popular art, book illustration was for the few; grave-crosses were cut by masons who did not illuminate missals, and did not take illuminations as their models; we see this from the many points of difference between the two arts, though both employed interlacing patterns, which were the common property of all the arts of the age. This wheel-headed Dearham cross may be taken as a type of the form commonly used in the earlier part of the tenth century, out of which two different forms were evolved.

One was the more graceful Gosforth head (Fig. 27), seen also throughout the North of England; and the other was a curious shape, in which the quadrants of the wheel contract into four cylinders in the armpits of the cross-head, as seen in Fig. 21, from Middleton, near Pickering (Yorks), with late tenth century plaits. That these developments were later than the Lancaster type appears from the improvement in cutting and from certain Midland motives, the borrowing of which does not seem possible until after the fall of the York kingdom and the introduction of South-English influence in the North; that is to say, in the later part of the tenth century. The chief of these Midland motives was the round shaft trimmed above into a square section: and this pattern seems to have travelled north through Yorkshire,

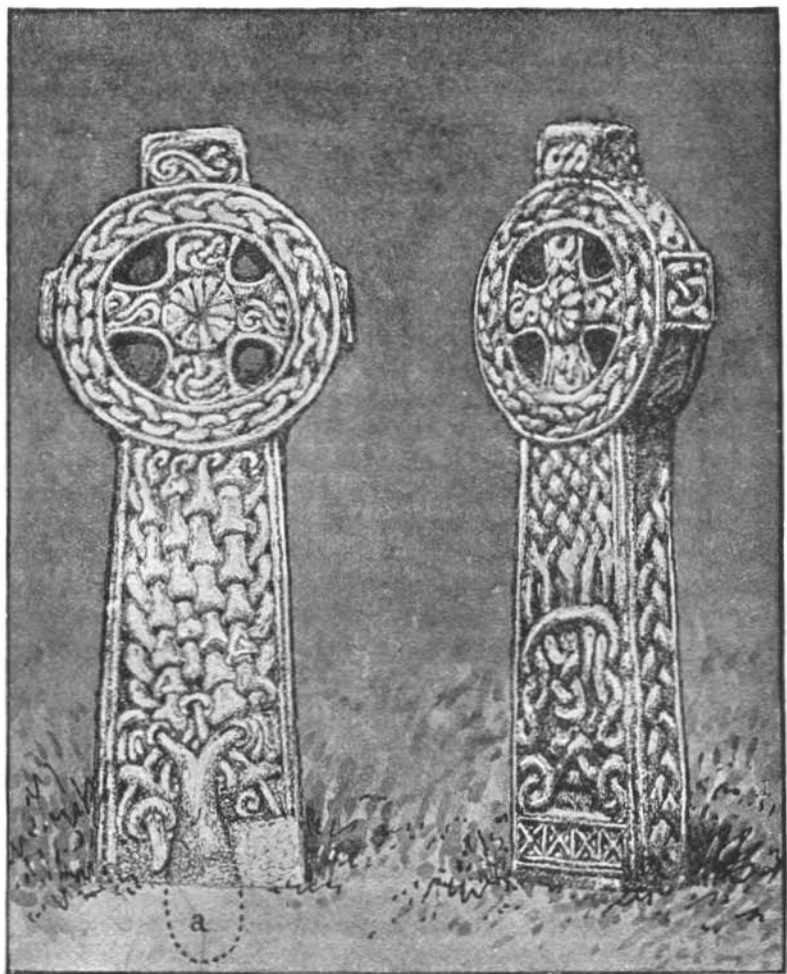


FIG. 20.—VIKING AGE CROSS, DEARHAM, CUMB.

and over the pass of Stainmoor into Cumberland by way of Penrith to the coast. The Gosforth Cross is round-and-square shafted, and with its wheel-head, chain-plait, and Edda figures represents the highest development of Viking art in England, attained about A.D. 1000.

Having now sketched the process of transformation by which the old Anglo-Saxon art was adapted to the needs and standards of the Viking settlers, let us look



FIG. 21.—CROSS AT MIDDLETON, N. RIDING.

at the details of figure-sculpture. These Edda subjects on the monuments were supposed by Prof. George Stephens to be the common property of all Germanic, Teutonic, Gothic races; and, overlooking the technical side of the question, he dated the Gosforth Cross and other such works about two or three hundred years too early. The great authority of Prof. Sophus Müller, on the other hand, deriving the early arts of remote,



FIG. 22.—THE PUNISHMENT OF LOKI,
GOSFORTH CROSS.

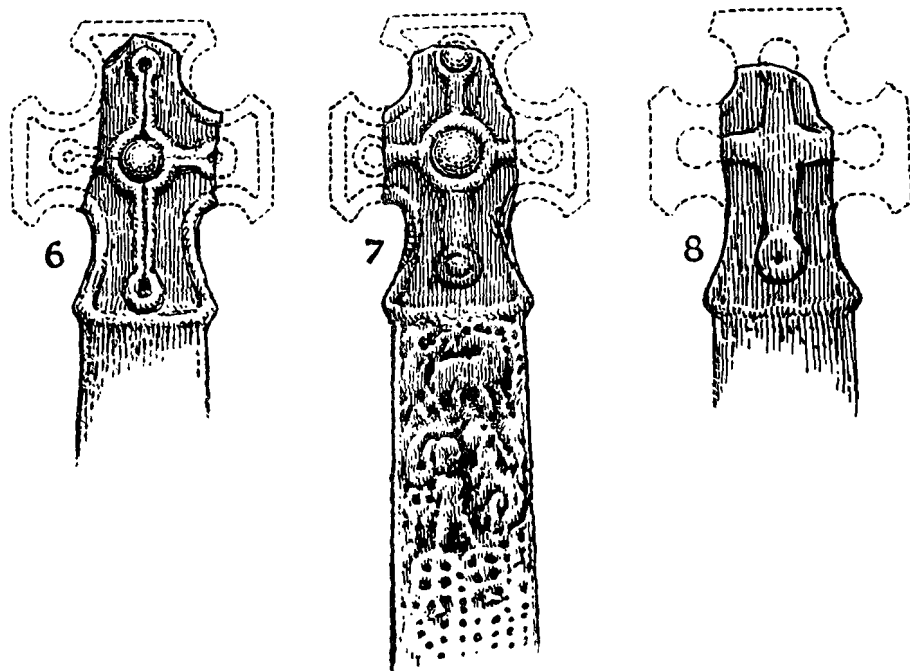


FIG. 23.—HEADS OF CROSSES AT THE GIANT'S GRAVE, PENRITH, CUMB.

No. 6 is the first cross; No. 7 which shows the Punishment of Loki; No. 8 is the second cross;

"barbarian" England from Carolingian sources, and overlooking the facts of local history which are only gradually coming into view, has given a date for the fine Anglian school of sculpture which is about two or three hundred years too late. The result is that in the general reader's mind the whole course of pre-Norman art is hopelessly confused. In some museums examples are misdated, and it is left to the public to suppose that the Gosforth Cross, with all its Scandinavian subject matter, was wrought by early Anglian or Irish monks, while the Bewcastle Cross, with its Anglian runes and early types of ornament, was carved for the Irish-Norse settlers of the tenth century. But there is no need for such confusion if the clue here given be accepted. Technical analysis of the art of these monuments coincides in its conclusions with historical evidence, and with all we know about the folklore of the Viking Age.

One of the most striking figures on the Gosforth Cross is that of Loki bound, with the serpent above him, and Sigyn, his wife, pouring away the poison (Fig. 22). This appears also in the Penrith cross-head (Fig. 23), probably a somewhat earlier work. Of earlier, but still tenth-century type, is the Bound Devil (Loki) of Kirkby Stephen (Westmorland), in which we see the humped shoulders of the Teesdale group of carvings, showing that this art (like the Ormside cup) was brought in from North Yorkshire, where other and ruder, no doubt earlier, bound figures are known, perhaps exemplifying the motive in its first stages. The humped shoulders reappear in the warrior at the end of one Gosforth hog-back, continuing the line of march of the Vikings through Cumberland to the coast, whence they shipped for Ireland.

Another figure often seen is that of Christ trampling on the Serpent. In the Bewcastle Cross He stands on swine's heads; in various Yorkshire carvings, above bestial forms, indicating His victory over sin, as at Kirklevington (Fig. 24), or His figure in crucifixion is attacked

by the serpent taking the place of Longinus, as at



FIG. 24.—SEAST-HEADED FIGURES
UNDER THE CRUCIFIX, KIRKLEVINGTON.

Sinnington. But in the North-west, and in the more developed Viking art, this motive is insisted upon. At

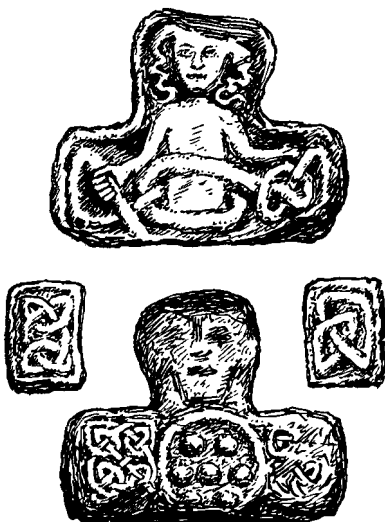


FIG. 25.—CROSS-HEAD, BRIGHAM, CUMB.
TWO SIDES AND ENDS OF ARMS.

Burton-in-Kendal Christ stands in resurrection on the

Serpent, in the attitude of a mediæval wooden figure of St. Michael in the Copenhagen Museum. At Penrith, in one hogback, a little figure stands on the snake's head,



FIG. 26.—PART OF CROSS-SHAFT,
GREAT CLIFTON, CUMB.

and as we go west the motive is more pronounced still ; at Brigham (Cumb.) He wrestles with the Serpent (Fig. 25) ; at Great Clifton we find a little figure riding the Serpent (Fig. 26) ; on a Gosforth hogback, He figures

conquering the great dragon ; while on the Gosforth Cross the secret is told—the Christ of other monuments is seen to be identified with Vidar, who with his booted foot rends the jaws of a dragon, which here stands as a variant of the Wolf of darkness (Fig. 27). This, occurring with the Loki (Fig. 22) and a figure carrying a horn and a spear, warding off the dragon, and obviously Heimdal (Fig. 28) can surely have no other interpretation than by reference to the songs already at the end of the tenth century taking shape and gaining currency, afterwards to be collected as the Edda.

One more example of the series is given at Gosforth in (Fig. 13) the "Fishing Stone," representing Thor catching the Midgardsorm with his ox-head bait, and Hymir cutting the line. That this is no isolated instance, or chance resemblance to the story, seems to be proved by the cross-base at Carlisle, on which Loki's punishment and Thor tearing off the head of the ox appear to be portrayed. This stone seems to be of the eleventh century. The Gosforth Fishing Stone is a fragment of a cross coeval with the great cross.

After seeing these scattered examples of Edda illustration in a district which was certainly in the tenth century the focus of Viking life and the meeting point of all the various influences which created the final form of Northern art and folklore, we shall have less difficulty in accepting Dr. Colley March's explanation of the rudely cut hogback at Heysham, on the shore of Morecambe Bay. The form of the hogback was brought from Yorkshire ; at Brompton, near Northallerton, the idea of the bear hogback seems to have been evolved early in the Viking period, and to have been imitated not only in the surrounding district, but in Westmorland (at Lowther), in this North Lancashire site, and even in distant Cornwall. The sides of the stone seem to represent Ragnarök—and after. On one side (Fig 29) are the four gods holding up the arch of heaven, but attacked by their conquerors : Thor by the Midgardsorm,

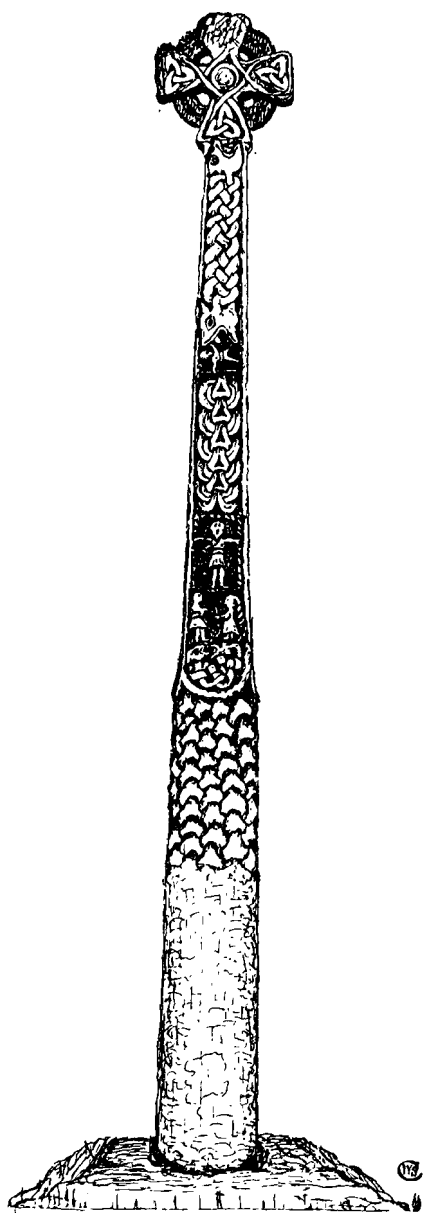


FIG. 27.—THE GOSFORTH CROSS;
Vidar above the Crucifixion.

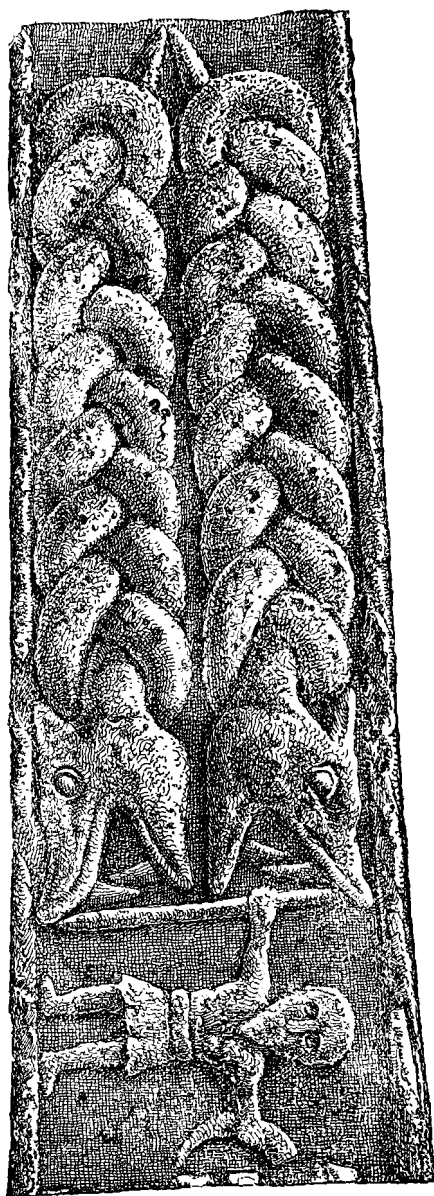


FIG 28.—HEIMDAL, ON GOSFORTH CROSS.

Odin by the Wolf, Tyr by Garm, and Frey by Surtr flying above with Loki as a wolf: in the midst is the old symbol of the Hart attacked by the Hounds or Wolves. On the other side (Fig. 30) is the tree of Yggdrasil, with the Eagle, Hawk and Squirrel in its boughs; between the tree and the Horse stands the Mightier One who was to come, and on the right hand the Wolf runs away, overpowered. We have seen the four gods in their purely heathen aspect in the Roos

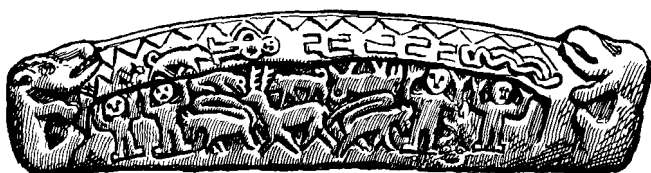


FIG. 29.



FIG. 30.

TWO SIDES OF THE HOGBACK, HEYSHAM, LANCS.

Carr boat; here we have them as they appeared to the Christianized Northman; the *Völuspá* might have been written to describe the stone, or the hogback carved in illustration to the song.

So far the mythic poems; but the heroic lays also find their illustration. In the Halton (N. Lancs.) shaft we see the Horse again; and to fix its Christian character there is the group of John and Mary beneath the cross, as at Burton-in-Kendal, Lancaster, and many another site. But on another side (Fig. 31) the *Völsung*

story is told ; Regin with the bellows and furnace, hammer and pincers, forging the sword ; above, his headless body ; higher still, Sigurd roasting the heart of Fafnir, and the birds in the tree telling the secret of the plot against him. In the Isle of Man Mr. Kermodé has shown

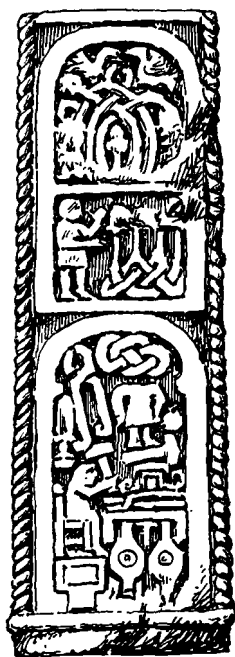


FIG. 31.—THE STORY OF SIGURD,
HALTON, LANCS.

examples of this subject (SAGA-BOOK I., pp. 353, 356) ; the Ramsund rock (cast in Stockholm Museum) and Norwegian church doors illustrating the story are well known.¹ This Halton Cross is certainly, by technical reasons, of the late tenth or the eleventh century. It may be that the person

¹ See Du Chaillu's "Viking Age" Vol. i., p. 187. Vol. ii., pp. 244, 248, 266, 267, 269.

here buried claimed descent from Sigurd ; but to the mind of the age Sigurd was, like Thor, a myth of the dragon-slayer, applicable to the great idea of good overcoming evil, a parable of like force, to half-converted Northmen, with the story of Christ bruising the Serpent's head, and St. Michael fighting the dragon ; just as to the tenants of the Catacombs Orpheus was a fit subject to place alongside of the Good Shepherd.

Seen in their right place these Viking monuments should be a great help to the history of the time and its thought. We have the transition from paganism to Christianity displayed, and also the process of fusion by which old folklore was developed into the strange decadent mythology of the Edda, by a strenuous race, groping for a faith among many conflicting influences. Out of this stage came the grotesque beliefs of mediæval superstition, not to be understood without the aid of Northern folklore, nor without sympathy for these races whose epitaphs tell us no names, no boasts of personal grandeur, no regrets ; but only the fact so often repeated in so many varying symbols, that their dead were buried in a faith, however confused, of victory over death, and in a hope, however indistinct, of life beyond the grave.

(NOTE.—To the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, through Mr. Titus Wilson, Kendal, we are indebted for the loan of sixteen of the blocks illustrating this article.)

TRADITION AND FOLKLORE OF THE QUANTOCKS.¹

BY REV. CHAS. W. WHISTLER, M.A., M.R.C.S.

THERE are few districts in England where the student of folklore might hope for better results than in that which lies around the Quantocks in West Somerset. It has been from the earliest times the meeting and battle-ground of our component races, and has never seen the destruction or expulsion of the conquered at the end of a campaign. Ina, of Wessex, who finally included the Quantock country within the boundaries of his realm, left the British inhabitants in possession of their lands, if he gave Saxon overlords rights on the conquered manors, and his laws provide for the treatment alike of Welshman and Englishman. Alfred, in his will, still speaks of the district as "among the Welsh kin." One would therefore hope to find legends of both races still in existence, side by side, here.

Of the next struggle, that between Saxon and invading Dane, one would expect to find no trace in the way of such Northern folklore as may be met with everywhere in Danish Lincolnshire or Holderness. The Dane of Alfred's time and of the later hosts most emphatically never gained a footing in Somerset, and all reference to that warfare must needs come from Saxon sources. Like the Roman, the Norman left no mark of note on our folk-tales. The presence of those two hard-handed conquerors was by way of garrison rather than of folk settlement. One expects nothing from them.

¹ See also District Report, page 47.

But the conquest which has influenced all traditions and folk-tales in the most marked way is that of the heathen by the Christian faith. The Briton, when Ina came to the Quantocks, had for ages forgotten that ever he had been a heathen. Ina and his men were themselves Christians. We should look for pagan survivals from neither Saxon nor British sources. Consequently, if we do find pagan traces, it will be necessary to seek elsewhere for their origin, and in this respect the Quantock folklore has a somewhat mysterious interest of its own. There is a strange and definite sequence of Odinic legend which cannot have been handed down from any but frankly heathen folk, to whom the personalities and attributes of the Asir were familiar, and these are perhaps the most important remains which I have to bring before the meeting.

To take the traditions of the races in some sort of order, one would begin naturally with those of the West Welsh whose language and physique have left their mark among us. Of these, Arthurian legends, of course, still exist in the county round Cadbury and Glastonbury. The Quantock legends tell of the landing of Joseph of Arimathea at Combechurch, and of the finding of the round table at Carhampton, where good St. Crantock exchanged it for a dragon which Arthur, whom he met, was seeking. There are other stories of the early Saints who laboured to convert the West Welsh, connected with St. Decumans, etc., but they are hardly folk-tales.

Dragon legends occur pretty frequently along the line of the hills, but they are rather of the Celtic than Northern type. We have no apparent remembrance of the Sigurd legend, or even of treasure-guarding dragons. One was slain at Dodington by the stroke of a woodman's axe, the man having mistaken it for a log as it lay in the fern asleep, and rested on it until it heaved under him, when he smote and fled. Others may refer to the warfare between the dragons of Wales and of Wessex, foreshadowed in the prophecies of Merlin, and preserved by

allusion in the songs of the gleemen. But these are indefinite.

One may perhaps consider the belief in the Pixies as belonging to the two races of the land, and we still firmly believe in them. They still defend their blackberry bushes with "Pixy traps," as we know the bent brambles, rooted at both ends and the cause of many a fall, to be. And to be "Pixy led" "in the dimpsies," or in a sea fog, is much feared. It is only within the last few years that a village woman, unable in a sudden mist to find the stile which would lead her from a field within sight of her home, and, not finding any response to her calls, was found at last actually demented by the fear of the "leading," and had to be removed to the asylum. Certain spots, too, are well known as haunts of the little folk, but there will be more to record in this connection later.

Battle traditions come to us probably from Saxon sources. They range from those of the Alfredian campaign, with the remembrance of the "Bloody acres" at Edington, to the massacre of Hubba's men at Cannington fort, where only one boy was spared, and of a most terrible fight under the hills at Plainsfield, which was probably a historic victory of Kentwine's, in A.D. 682, as it is never said to have been against the Danes. The traditional details of this battle are perhaps worth recording. It is said that "it was the worst battle ever fought in these parts. The dead men were heaped all so high as the top of the gates, and the blood ran so deep as the second thill." There is evidently preserved here the fact of an attack on a stockaded position, though the field pointed out as that of the battle, and where within memory mounds remained and weapons are said to have been found, shows now no trace of earthworks. Above the field is a small circular camp, which was probably held by the Welsh, as it covers the pass across the Quantocks at "Will's neck"; and it is possible that the tradition may refer to the final assault on this camp after the flight of the Welsh from the field. Otherwise one

must suppose that the Saxons found it advisable to entrench as best they could, owing to some rear gathering of the enemy, and so defended themselves successfully.

One of our "ghosts" may also be a relic from Saxon days. He appears in a deep hillside lane with his head under his arm, and is well known and feared, though he is not held to portend anything in particular. Remembering that in the older days it was not unusual to decapitate the body of one who was restless in his grave, and re-inter with the head laid aside, it is probable that somewhere on the hill lies a Saxon so treated. In the case of a similar ghost in Gloucestershire, such an interment, with the head laid beside the thigh, was actually found in the field where the ghost walked.

Another headless ghost rides down a slight hill half a mile further on, his steed being a hurdle, and his head is held before him. Probably this is of later origin, and may refer to some local follower of Lord Audley of Stowey and Perkin Warbeck, who had been drawn to the scaffold on a hurdle, and there beheaded, after the manner of those days. It is possible that there is a good deal more to be done in the way of collection of historic memories from the tales of the ghosts of the countryside.

It is in connection with the supernatural that we meet with the great and most interesting puzzle of the Quantock district. Along the line of the ancient trackway which leads from the little and perhaps equally ancient river haven of Comwich (the "Comit" of Domesday, and the "Comwith" of later and still existing documents) to the great hill fort of Dowsborough on the Quantocks, there exists a group of traditional and fully-believed tales which can only be of heathen origin, and must be referred, therefore, to days before Ina and his Christian Saxons, and are equally unconnected with the West Welsh people of the Cannington hill fort, the hill itself being assigned to diabolic agency. The appearances are in three well marked forms. First, as a headless horseman on a black horse, riding alone. Next, as the terrible

follower of the wild hunt, on a horse which is headless, at the tail of great black dogs with fiery eyes. And, lastly, as the mid-air rider of a great pig, also following the wild hounds from the river to the Quantocks.¹ The wild hunt we share with most hill countries, notably with Norse Cumberland and Westmorland; but here, in Christian Wessex, we have definite appearances of the hooded Odin, of Thor on the horse beheaded for his sacrifice, and of Frey on his boar, "Gullinbursti." They are the great triad of the Northern mythology, and it is hard to say that our Saxon forefathers had ever so definite a Pantheon as we find in the Scandinavian lands at the time when the great expeditions were commencing.

Further along the trackway we meet with the legend of a smith who shod the horse of the wild hunter at midnight, a memory of Wieland, or Wayland, whose name is still remembered in "Wayland's pond," under Dowsborough. It is said that once there lived at Keenthorpe, the point of junction of the ancient trackway and the present main road, probably always a crossing, and from time immemorial the site of a smithy, a smith who was a good craftsman, but given to boasting to such an extent that at last he declared that "if the devil himself came to his forge he would shoe his horse for him; aye, and shoe him to rights too!" As might have been expected, the smith was called up at midnight by a traveller whose horse had cast a shoe, and hurried down to open the doors of the smithy, only to realize that the rider of the great black horse which was led in had himself a hoof instead of a boot. The man was terrified, but had presence of mind enough not to show it. He said that he had left his shoeing hammer in the village, and must run and fetch it, and the terrible rider made no objection. The smith went to the parson at once, and roused him, and implored his assistance, only to find that he was bidden to keep his promise, else, of course, Satan would have him. But he was in no case to take

¹ SAGA-BOOK, vol. ii., part i., pp. 46, 48, 49.

pay for the work, or else he would equally of course have sold himself to the evil one. Then the wretched man begged that at least the parson would go back with him.

"No, for if I am seen, the devil will go away, and you will not be able to do what you promised. I can only come as far as the corner, and there hide."

So the two went back together, and the parson hid behind the hedge. After which the smith shod the horse, "and shod him to rights too, all so as he boasted he would," even the devil himself praising the work, and being anxious to reward the smith handsomely. But the man, having been warned, protested that he took no pay for night work. The devil insisted, but to no effect, and at last became suspicious that the smith had some auxiliary. Looking round, he was aware of the parson, in hiding.

"Ah," he cried, "if it wasn't for that old blackbird behind the hedge, I'd have made thee take the money!" and with that he and his horse "vanished in a flash of fire."

Here one would suppose that the details are mediæval, the ancient remembrance of the smith of the Asir having been worked up into a moral lesson on the value of troth-keeping. Still, that corner has an evil reputation among the farm waggoners, and even with the coachmen of the residents. It is not at all unusual to hear that there is more trouble with horses at that corner than anywhere else. Within memory, too, a witch is said to have lived close by, who had the uncanny power of sending her clients home, "how they could not tell, unless it was over the tree tops."

Dowsborough camp, too, has its own traditions. There is said to have been a great slaughter of "the Danes" there, and that even now at midnight one who dares wait and listen will hear the dead heroes singing in some hidden halls where they feast within the hill. There may, of course, have been some unrecorded massacre of a Danish raiding party who were driven up the hill from

inland on their way to the shore ; but one cannot deduce much from the use of the name "Dane" in Somerset. For our folk, since the days of Alfred and later, the "Dane" stands for any foe from over seas. Those referred to are as likely to have been Norsemen from Ireland, or South Wales, and we have definite traditions of an actual settlement of such "Danes" in the Quantock district, who must have been pre-Alfredian.

The settlers had married wives from the inhabitants. One may suppose that the marriages were of the Sabine order, for one night the wives rose in deliberate concerted action and slew their husbands. It was a local forerunner of the Hocktide slayings of Ethelred the Unredy's reign, for that was Mercian, and could hardly have been heard of here. But the settlement was to some extent peaceful and recognized. The old trainer and leader of the band at Combswich twenty years ago was able to play any of the instruments which were in use. "He came from some of the old Danes. Some of them stayed here when they were about, and they were wonderfully musical people. He inherited it from them."

The characteristics of the shore population from the mouth of the Parrett westward bears this out. The men are of the Norse type distinctly, and they would pass unnoticed among the fishermen of the Bergen coasts. They still hold themselves somewhat aloof from the inland people, and seem to be all related from long inter-marriage. The names of their villages, too, have a strong Norse likeness—Stolford, Catford, and Whitewick, for instance, standing together at the mouth of what is still "Wick moor," which must have been a deep and well sheltered sea inlet within historic times, say, in 1100 certainly, when the tide ran up to the walls of Dunster Castle, and probably far later, as fourteenth century documents speak of the haven for boats at Stolford, at its mouth.

Here, too, but across the ancient inlet, on the spit of land between it and the sea, is the great mound known

as "Pixies' mound," with Pixy legends, one at least distinctly Scandinavian in type, which are recorded in my District report in the present number (page 48).

Some twenty years ago a small portion of the mound was removed from the upper side, and what would be a secondary interment was found. The few bones, which still exist, were those of a very short, old, individual, who had suffered severely from arthritis. They seem to have been charred. Local opinion is that "a Dane was buried there"; but it is hoped that further scientific exploration will be possible. The situation of the mound is considered by Mr. St. George Gray as unusual, and it is such a place as might well have been chosen for the laying in mound of a Viking chief, close to his ships beached in the inlet.

With these many, otherwise unaccountable, Scandinavian remains in the Quantock district it would seem certain that we have data for adding to the history of Somerset the existence of a Norse or Danish coast settlement, dating from before the Saxon occupation and probably coæval with the well-known settlements in South Wales. It would in any case seem hardly likely that the newcomers would confine their attention to the much less attractive northern shore of the Severn sea, when seeking settlement sites.

Instances of witchcraft, black and white, and the still prevalent belief in "overlooking" and the like are on no unusual lines in the district. But twenty years ago a "hammer and nail" charm against the latter was used by an old woman. The nail was hammered into the foot-print of the person whom she believed wished to overlook her, or had overlooked her, and the action was supposed to prevent the passing of the witchcraft from one to the other—as it were to fasten the overlooking to the overlooker. Unfortunately, if any words were used, they have been lost. The same is the case with the making of a broth from slow worms for the cure of warts. Here there certainly was a formula used, and the invocation of the Trinity as the broth was applied to the affected hand,

but the words were muttered and unintelligible, to the hearer at least, if not to the user, unless, as is likely, they consisted of a perverted text of Scripture.

The old beliefs die hard, but there is still much to be done in the way of collection if they are not to be lost. It becomes rapidly harder to induce those who still remember the old traditions to tell them, and a new set of "false traditions," drawn from present day theories, is rapidly growing up to confuse the collector.

In a brief discussion which followed, Mr. R. S. Gregory said that he had lived beneath the shadow of Cadbury Hill, the real, true Camelot, for seven years. The classic hill was redolent with traditions of King Arthur and his knights, and the popular belief of the locality was that the king and his retinue came out every New Year's Eve, and rode all round the hill. The discovery of a silver horse-shoe on the hill many years ago was a proof in the eyes of the neighbourhood that the hill was really King Arthur's Camelot. Legends about pixies also abounded. Years ago the speaker was associated with Mr. James Bennett, a former secretary of the Somerset Archæological Society, in digging on Cadbury Hill, and that gentleman turned up a quern, on seeing which an old rustic observed, "They be what the pixies do use." Mr. Bennett enquired of the old man if any pixies still remained. "Oh, no," said the man, "they all left when the bells was put up in the church tower." Mr. Gregory remembered a strange revelation of superstition during a 'bus drive from Evercreech. A young woman was passed who wore a face bandage. Asked about her, the driver said it was the local witch, and told a story of her having "bewitched" a sty of pigs because their owner refused her the gift of the "offal." Mr. J. Harris Stone, Mr. Albany F. Major, and Mr. F. W. Hembry also spoke.

NORTHERN FOLKSONGS: DANISH, ICELANDIC, NORWEGIAN, AND SWEDISH.

(*With Musical Illustrations*).¹

By SVEINBJÖRN SVEINBJÖRNSSON,

Knight of the Dannebrog.

BEFORE I introduce to you the subject matter of my paper, viz., Folksong of the three Northern Kingdoms: Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, including Iceland, I think it will be necessary as a means of comparison to say a few words about folksong generally, and also by what means these ancient songs have been handed down to us.

The name "folksong" applies to those melodies which, untrammelled by scholastic rules and precepts, have sprung up amongst the people. That many of them possess a peculiar charm of their own, and that they have a real musical value, is amply proved by the fact that not a few of the most gifted composers have not only valued them highly for their freshness, simplicity, and strength, feeling for them a deep veneration as the outpouring of the sentiments and feelings of an entire nation, but have actually made them the basis upon which they have built some of their finest masterpieces. They are like uncut gems, which only require the master's hand to bring out their inherent lustre.

It may, generally speaking, be asserted that folksong, like tradition, has this characteristic, that its origin is

¹ With the exception of the Icelandic love-song, now first printed, the melodies illustrating this paper are to be found in A. P. Berggreen's selection of "Folkesange og Melodier," Copenhagen (published about 1842).

unknown, or at least uncertain. There are a few of the older songs which are classed under the name of folksong, although their origin may be traced to someone gifted with the inventive power for melody. Some composers have been very successful in their imitation of the real folksong so as to make the distinction difficult; still, they do not constitute the folksong proper, but should rather be termed national songs.

The earliest interpreters and disseminators of folksong are known under different names in those countries where they existed. Thus in Italy they were called *ceretani*; in France, *jongleurs* and *menestriers*, and in Great Britain, *minstrels*. In Germany I am not aware that they had any distinguishing name, for they were certainly not the same class of musicians as the *minnesingers*, who flourished considerably later, the *minnesong's* birth dating from the twelfth century. Besides, these musicians held a higher social position, and were the acknowledged interpreters, not only of older folksongs, but also of their own creations, and must therefore be classed with the *troubadours* and *trouvères* of France, for, although the *minstrels* did undoubtedly at times improvise the melodies which they sang, their principal function, like that of the *gleemen* of the Saxons, was to disseminate amongst the people the ancient ballads, of which there existed an enormous number.

The *minstrels* of Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy were in the early Middle Ages humble folk, combining with their singing of folksongs such vocations as dancing, juggling, exhibition of monkeys, etc.; in fact they were at that early period neither more nor less than tramps and outcasts, to whom the Church even denied the right to partake of the sacrament.

This, however, did not prevent them from congregating in large numbers at festivals. On these occasions they were often handsomely rewarded for their performances, consisting of the singing and playing of heroic songs, amorous songs, laments, jocular ditties, and

satirical songs, by which they meted out punishment to those who had either offended or ill-treated them.

A great change set in about the eleventh century in regard to the attitude that the Church took up towards these minstrels. For many centuries Christianity and Paganism had existed side by side without causing much dissension. From the time that Charlemagne, in the eighth century, collected the heroic songs and sagas of the heathen Germans, up to the eleventh century, the Church had so far not interfered with the poetical remains of heathendom; but about that period, with the ever-growing power of the Church and its priesthood, it took up a more hostile attitude towards the old sagas and legends, though not towards their disseminators, who now were taken into its service as interpreters of those new legends which sprang up through the rupture between Christianity and Paganism.

In the former half of the twelfth century the sacred plays, known in Germany as Easter and Passion plays, and in France as mysteries, arose; but when in the latter part of that century the native vernacular was adopted for the Passion plays, the services of these humble singers, who had formerly been ignored and despised by the Church, were eagerly sought after.

We now come to another class of musicians, viz., the troubadours and trouvères of France, the minnesingers of Germany, and, finally, to our own skalds, who, as to their social position and rank, must be classed with the former, and not with the minstrels.

The troubadours and the minnesingers, who were mostly knights and nobles, were, as a rule, not instrumentalists. They composed what in France were called canzonets, and in Germany lieder, to their own lyrical poems, principally on the subjects of love, patriotism, and chivalry. They probably thought it beneath their dignity to acquire any skill in the art of accompanying their own songs and canzonets; they therefore found it necessary to seek the aid of their humble brethren in the

art, and were not disappointed, for the minstrels, whose skill in playing the rota, the rebeck, the lute, and the fife was often very remarkable, became the principal means of disseminating the knowledge of their songs and canzonets. Although it may, strictly speaking, be outside my subject to give you a specimen of the musical productions of troubadours and minnesingers, I think it might interest you, as a means of comparison with our Northern songs, to hear a lied by one of the minnesingers, Prince Witlaw. You will notice in this lied the peculiarity that the final note in the cadence at the end is the fifth of the tonic, and not the tonic itself; this seems to be very common with the old songs, and you will notice later on that the same is the case with our Northern songs, some of which finish also upon the chord of the dominant. The melody has been harmonised for four voices by Wilhelm Stade, a German musician and collector of folksongs.

The earliest records that we have of music in the three Northern Kingdoms are the performances of the troubadours of the North, who were called skalds. The word skald, pronounced in modern Icelandic "Skáld,"¹ has in that language altered its meaning, being now synonymous with the English word poet. When, however, a Norwegian, a Dane, or a Swede speaks of a skald, he invariably refers to the ancient skalds, the modern word for a poet being "digter." Unlike the class of poets and musicians of other countries, already mentioned, the skalds were not only poets in the ordinary sense of the word, but also tonepoets, singers or declamators, and instrumentalists, which can hardly be said of any of the other representatives of the art of folksong. As far as the subject matter of their performances is concerned, they ranked with the trouvères of France and the "bards" of Celtic Scotland, whose poems were mostly epics, and not lyrics, of which the troubadours were the chief representatives in France.

¹ á in modern Icelandic has the sound of ow in "how."—ED.

The instrument, to the accompaniment of which the skalds either sang or declaimed their epics, was the *harp*. These epics were often of great length, recording the deeds of knights and warriors of the Middle Ages. None of these lays are complete, but we possess fragments of many of them in the younger Edda, which also contains a long list of skalds of the thirteenth century, amongst whom there are persons of the highest rank, and even kings. The songs of the older Edda are more ancient, and belong to a period before the skalds existed. The harp of the skalds has vanished, but there still exists an ancient national instrument in Norway and Iceland called *langeleik*, or *langspil*, which may possibly be a development of the harp of the skalds. It has somewhat the shape of the harp, but with this difference, that it is played with a bow; a similar instrument is also found in Sweden, under the name of "*nyckelharpe*."

Of the musical performances of the skalds we know next to nothing. Their singing was of the declamatory style, which also prevails in many of the so-called "*Kæmpeviser*," songs of knights and warriors of a later date, of which there are to be found a considerable number in the collections of Northern folksongs.

It is only at a comparatively recent date that the folksongs of the three Northern Kingdoms have been collected and arranged in a systematic form. As early as the end of the sixteenth century, when the court music of Denmark was chiefly in the hands of Flemish musicians, Peter Syv is recorded as the collector of Northern melodies; but it is due to the untiring effort of A. P. Berggreen, Lindemann, Otto Lindblad and other collectors, all of the nineteenth century, that we now possess a complete and well-assorted collection of these highly characteristic folksongs.

The "*Folkesange*," corresponding to the German "*Volkslieder*," were handed down from generation to generation at a time, when the art of notation was mostly unknown in the North; they simply lived in the

hearts of the people who sang them, and, like any other tradition, they underwent many modifications in the different parts of the country where they had sprung up.

The so-called "*Kæmpeviser*" (*i.e.*, songs of knights and warriors) had most likely their origin in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, shortly after the skalds had disappeared. They were sung a great deal during that period in the three countries, but it is impossible to decide with any certainty in which country each folk-song had its origin. They were, at a time when Danish, Norse and Swedish were only to be considered as dialects of the same language, transplanted from the one country to the other, and as the language of each country became gradually more and more distinctive, so did also the text of the melodies.

On account of the greater facility of handing the text over from the one country to the other by writing it down, than of making a *melody* known in another country, when the art of notation was unknown, it follows, that the *melodies* of these old songs have a more distinctive national character in each of the three countries than the texts; thus it is not uncommon that the same texts are sung to different melodies, not only in the three Northern Kingdoms, but also in different districts of the same country.

I have several times been asked the question—What are the special characteristics of the folksongs of our three Northern Kingdoms, so as to distinguish them from those of other nations? It is a question to which it is not easy to give a totally satisfying answer. In connection with this I will mention that in a well-known text-book on Musical Form, where a brief mention is made of National Songs, without, however, distinguishing between National and Folksongs, this sentence occurs: "Again the songs of the Northern Nations, such as Russians, Swedes, Norwegians and Danes (and the author pays us the compliment of adding Esquimaux) are mostly of a melancholy character." Without making any further comments as to the correctness of this statement, I shall

leave it to you to judge whether it is so, though I deny that this is the case with the typical national songs of the three kingdoms, which I shall sing to you later on. As to the older Northern folksongs, it is possible that a greater number are in a minor than in a major mode, but as I do not consider that the major and minor modes are by any means the only criterion by which to judge of a song's character, whether it be bright or melancholy, I have not considered it necessary to investigate the matter in regard to Northern folksong, for it is not any more true that the minor mode is always expressive of melancholy and sadness, than to say that a major mode is always expressive of brightness and joy. What can be more sad than the lovely Scotch song, "The Flowers of the Forest," though it is in a major mode; or take another well-known melody, "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," which, when sung with a strong emphasis, is decidedly full of warlike ardour and strength, and when sung in a somewhat slower tempo, and with a different accentuation, admirably expresses the poetry of the "Land of the Leal." There are, however, some characteristic features about our Northern songs which I might point out. One of them is this, that not a few of them begin in a major mode, and end in the minor mode, or *vice versâ*. This is the case with the second of the little "Kæmpeviser" that I shall sing to you, viz., "The Tournament." Another common feature is, that some of them close on the third, or even fifth of the tonic, like the troubadour song that I played to you. That the minor may sometimes admirably express briskness, and a certain sprightliness, is, I think, well illustrated by the little Norwegian song, "The Youth and the Maiden," which is—with a passing modulation to the relative major—throughout in a minor key. We may take it for granted that the mode is only one of the factors that determine a song's character, the other, and quite as important factors being *rhythm* and *tempo*, and, of course, melodic progressions. I am inclined to think that the

rhythm of our Northern melodies has more to do with their special characteristics than the mode. Many of them are really dance measures, wedded to words, which at times were sung by the dancers, and at other times as independent songs; this is specially the case with some of the Norse melodies, and with most of the melodies of the Faröe islanders, who even at the present day dance while singing their old "Kæmpeviser."

TURNERINGEN (DANISH).

(THE TOURNAMENT).

Con moto

De va re syv og syv - sins -
 ty - ve, der de drog ud fra Hald, og
 der de kom-me til Brat-tings borg, der slo - ge de
Tutti.
 de - res Tjald. Det don-ner un-der Ros, de
 dau ske Hof-mænd der de ud ri de.

Besides the melodies in the ordinary major and minor modes, there exists a considerable number which are in the Greek modes, such as the "hyperdorian," where the seventh degree is not sharpened, having no proper leading note. Whether this is due to mere accident, or whether some of the Church modes have found their way into the folksongs is impossible to decide in each case. There

is another characteristic regarding melodic progression which occurs pretty frequently in these songs, not so often met with in folksongs of other countries, viz., an emphatic repetition of the closing note in the final cadence. As to the "rhythm," I may state that the rhythmical measure in some of them is frequently interspersed with the triplet. It must be clearly understood that these are only a few personal observations. Even the most gifted composer who was not imbued with our Northern melodies could no more succeed in writing a good imitation by taking note of such characteristics, than if he were required to compose a characteristically Scotch air, knowing nothing further of Scottish song than about the so-called Scotch "snap," and the fact that some of the melodies are founded on the scale or mode represented by the black keys of the piano, and having no leading note.

One of the characteristics of these Northern songs is the *refrain*, of which some have even two, a middle and a closing refrain. These mostly express some ruling thought or feeling that predominates in the song, which helps to give harmony and unity to the whole. Others seem to have no connection whatever with the rest of the text. The most likely explanation of this is, that these refrains originally belonged to older texts, and were, as it were, grafted on to the newer text. As to the origin of the refrains, it is most likely that the improvisator of these melodies felt the necessity of a mental resting-point for thinking of what should follow, for undoubtedly these melodies were originally improvised by someone who had the gift of melody, and were learnt by others, who modified or improved upon them as the case may be. Whatever view we take of this, whether we consider the refrains to be an expression of the subjective feeling of the improvisator, or as partaking more of the character of a chorus, there can be no doubt that they formed a bond of sympathy between the listener and the singer, and became the expression of approval and enjoyment.

I shall now give you specimens of a Danish, a Norwegian, an Icelandic, and a Swedish love song. The Danish one, called "Sommerdag," tells of a youth, who goes out for a walk on a fine summer day; a little bird tells him that his love is returned, and that the beloved one is waiting for him.

SOMMERDAGEN (DANISH).

(THE SUMMER'S DAY).

*Andantino.
dolce.*



Jeg gik mig ud en Som - mer - dag at
hø - re Fug-le-sang, som Hjer-tet mon - ne rò - re,
i de dy be Da le, blandt de Nat-ter ga le,
blandt de an - dre Fug - le smaa, som ta le.

The Norwegian and Swedish songs are quite dissimilar in character, and I have chosen them chiefly as a contrast to the two others. They are neither of them love songs in the ordinary sense, although the subject of both is love-making and marriage. The first one of the two is in the Norwegian peasant dialect, and tells of a youth who is anxious to marry; he calls on his beloved one, and tells her that his farm is well stocked with cows, pigs, and fowls, that she can hardly expect to get a finer fellow than he is; but she refuses him rather unceremoniously. The refrain contains these words: "Give me a dram," he said, "for it is not often you see such a fine fellow as I am."

FRIERAS A ONGKAR'N TE JENTÆ (NORWEGIAN).
(THE YOUTH AND THE MAIDEN).

Allegretto. mf

Jøe sku au ha Løst t'aa jif - te mei, sa'n Naar jøe
traf ei Jen-te rek - ti grei sa'n slik ho en - te vil - le laa - te
vont aa il - le. An-ten saa jøe drek-ker hel-ler ei, sa'n. Skjenk en
Dram! så'n! Faa møe skam! sa'n, Tar di
man ge sli ke Gut ter fram, sa'n.

STÓÐUM VIÐ TVÖ Í TÚNI (ICELANDIC).

(WE TWO STOOD IN THE MEADOWS).

Allegretto.

dolce.

Stóð - um við tvö í tún i, tók lín
um mig sín um hönd - um hauk - legt
kvend - í, hár fög - ur og grjet sár an.

This melody has not been published before.

The Icelandic song treats of the parting of two lovers ; and the Swedish song tells of a youth who falls in love with a princess, and, judging from the refrain, is confident that she will accept him.

There are probably no other countries in Europe where the belief in fairies has been so widespread, and has lingered so long as in the three Northern Kingdoms, especially in the mountainous parts, and this is not to be wondered at. The long winter evenings, the isolation, and the gloomy character of nature in some parts of these countries naturally furthered superstition, especially at a time when knowledge of the laws of nature was in its infancy, and any unforeseen or unexplained event would naturally be attributed to supernatural influence. The surrounding nature would thus leave its impress upon the beliefs. In the more desolate and gloomy parts of Norway and Iceland the fairies are supposed to be of a malignant disposition towards mankind ; in other parts of Denmark, Norway and Sweden they are sometimes friendly to people, to whom they appear, give them gifts, and heal them when they are ill. If you have the patience to listen to a short anecdote illustrating superstition in Norway in the seventeenth century, I should be glad to relate one. It is supposed to be told by one Henrik Mayer, musician in Christiania :

In the year 1695, when I had been about three years pupil with Paul Kröplin, in Bergen, we were one Christmas Day having a rehearsal of the music that had to be performed in the church during the Christmas vacation. A certain peasant used every day to bring to my master milk and butter. On this occasion we noticed that he had arrived, and was listening most attentively to our performance. My master said to him in fun :

"To-day I am not going to pay you, for I should say that our performance will be sufficient payment for your goods."

"Well, I am not so sure of that," said the peasant, "for every Christmas-Eve I hear from the hill near to my farm far better music than this."

Kröplin, the organist, and the Cantor laughed, and chaffed him on his superstition.

"If you gentlemen will come with me to-night, you will be able to judge for yourselves," said the peasant.

We agreed to visit the place that evening, and waited till midnight close to the hill that the peasant had told us about. Shortly we heard a sound as if a note were struck, then a prelude on an organ, and after that the dancing began to the accompaniment of violins, flutes, bassoons, and many other instruments. All at once the peasant cried out :

• "If you are good fairies, then let us see you ; if you belong to the devil, then stop your performance."

That instant there was a perfect silence, but this had such an effect on the poor organist that he fainted, and had to be carried into the farmhouse, but he was fortunately well enough in the morning to go back with us to Bergen.

I shall now play to you one of the pieces that were heard from the hill, and sing you in succession a Nor-

NORSK TROLDMUSIK.

(NORWEGIAN FAIRY MUSIC).

Allegro moderato

p

1st time. 2nd time.

f

wegian, a Swedish and an Icelandic fairy-song ; but first I should like to point out how practically the same tale is repeated in different garbs amongst the Teutonic nations, and probably over a much wider field. We all have either listened to, or heard of, Richard Wagner's opera, "Tannhäuser." This grand work is founded upon

a very simple tale. As early as the tenth century, Venus had, in the popular superstition, fanned by an ignorant and fanatical priesthood, been transformed into an ogress, who lured pious Christian souls to their perdition. Tannhäuser, a Christian knight who had for a long time yielded to her allurements by entering Venusberg, could not obtain salvation, though he made a pilgrimage to

ÓLAFUR OG ÁLFAMÆR (ICELANDIC).

(OLAF AND THE FAIRY).

Allegro moderato.

mf

Ó-laf - ur reið með björg um fram, vill-ir hann

mf

still ir hann. Hitti' hann fyr-ir sjer álf - a - rann, þar

piu vivo
p

ranð ur log inn brann. Blíð - an lagð - i

mf

byr-inn und-an björg - un - um, blíð-an lagð - i

byr - inn und - an björg un - um fram.

Rome. In the Icelandic tale practically the same idea prevails: an evil fairy wants to entice an Icelandic youth of the name of Olaf into her mountain. Olaf kisses the fairy, but in such a half-hearted way that the fairy stabs him. The Norse song tells of an ogre who lived in Dovrefjeld, and every year carried away with him young girls to his mountain, where he killed them. The whole

song contains only eight bars, of which the third and the fourth, the seventh and the eighth are refrains, containing thus a middle and a closing refrain. The Swedish song is of a far more modern origin than the two other songs; it tells of a pretty little fairy called Näckan, who sits on the crest of a wave and sings to the accompaniment of a harp, surrounded by the other fairies of the sea. He happens to look up to the stars, and is pleased to see Freyja, the goddess of love, smiling towards him.

Now we come to a class of songs of which the three Northern Kingdoms possess a great wealth—I refer to the so-called “*Fædrelandssange*” (patriotic songs). These songs either express the love and admiration for one’s country and birthplace, or in the time of war and struggle with other nations, express the determination to sacrifice one’s life for the beloved country. Of the last-named class (the war-song) Denmark possesses the greatest number, but for wealth of patriotic songs, without reference to war, it is difficult to decide whether Denmark or Sweden bears the palm. The patriotic songs are mostly of a more recent date than those you have heard. The most eminent composers of Denmark, Norway and Sweden have contributed to swell their number. Of the best known Danish composers of this class of songs I will mention Weyse, Johan and Emil Hartmann, Rung, Berggreen, Gade, and Heise. Of Norwegian composers we have Reissiger, Kjerulf, Selmer, Svendsen, and Grieg. Of this class of song, far the most prominent Swedish composer was Otto Lindblad, who, judging from the number of his male-quartettes, made this form of composition his speciality; besides him there is Södermann, the composer of the well-known Swedish wedding-march, Runeberg, and Crusell, the composer of the music to Tegner’s poem, “*Frithiof’s Saga*,” and many others. In speaking of Swedish composers I must not omit two names, viz., those of Bellmann and Venderberg. Bellmann died at the end of the eighteenth century. His

principal work is contained in a cycle of songs, called collectively "Fredman's Epistler." They are all of a convivial character, and have deservedly won immense popularity in the three countries. Venderberg is the composer of a series of duets for a bass and a baritone called "Gluntarne" (The Boys). Although the songs of these two composers cannot be counted amongst the national songs of Sweden, still their character is so thoroughly Swedish and they were, and probably are still, so popular in the three countries, that they were to be found in nearly every house where singing was cultivated. They are eminently students' songs of the convivial character, and give a faithful picture of Bohemianism among Swedish students, who occasionally, like other young men, indulge too much in their national beverage. Venderberg eventually became a Minister of State in Sweden, and, repenting of the sins of his youth, is said to have spent a large sum of money to try to reclaim his work by buying up copies of "Gluntarne" and burning them; but some ill-natured people said that his Student-duets were the best work he ever did.

All these songs, both ancient and modern, that have been found to be well suited for male choirs, have been harmonised for male voices, two tenors and two basses, in which form most of the editions appear.

There is no class of people that have done more towards disseminating the knowledge of these songs amongst the people, than the students of the four Universities of Copenhagen, Christiania, Upsala and Lund; so far, I think, the students may justly be termed the minstrels of the North, for after the skalds had disappeared there was no such class of native singers and itinerant musicians as the minstrels. At each of the three centres of education there has always been a choral society, where native songs, both ancient and modern, are taught to the students, the conductor being mostly one of their own number.

All these songs may be termed national songs, so far

as they are nearly all written by native composers, are distinctly Northern in their character, and, if not exactly an imitation of the old folksongs, are at least cast in the same mould as to form and expression.

It is greatly to the credit of the three Northern nations that there is hardly a village where national songs are not sung by trained male choirs, where not only native songs, but also songs of the two sister countries, are performed. I am inclined to think that preference is often given to Swedish songs. I was told several years ago by a Norwegian friend that Swedish songs were more frequently sung at social gatherings in Norway than the native songs. It is generally acknowledged that the Swedes possess a much richer and finer quality of voice than either the Danes or Norwegians. The Swedish language is eminently the language of song. The vowels are pure and open, and the consonants entirely free from guttural sounds. This may to a certain extent account for the pleasing effect of their singing; but apart from that, the compass of some of their part-songs, which exceeds that of any other nation's part-songs which I have come across, points to an unusually great range in the voices for which they are written. The compass of two octaves and a perfect fifth is not uncommon, and I have come across a song or two which exceeds even that. I may mention that the male alto is unknown in Sweden.

About the time of the invasion of Denmark by the combined armies of Prussia and Austria, in 1864, a movement was originated by Danish patriots, headed by the poet Carl Plough, whose object was to bring about a union or federation between the three kingdoms; the sentiment which inspired the movement was called "Scandinavianism," and although from political reasons it did not meet with the sympathy in the two other kingdoms that these enthusiasts had hoped for, still it was an expression of a sentiment which was shared by many of the younger community, and received an encourage-

ment in the writings of two of the most prominent poets of Norway, Henrik Ibsen and Björnstjerne Björnsson. I mention this, because several songs appeared about that time expressing the sentiment of Scandinavianism, the words of which were mostly written by Carl Plough. The songs that I propose singing are the typical national songs of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. I may, however, state that there are divided opinions which songs may be said to be the typical national songs of the two latter countries.

"Kong Christian" is generally acknowledged as the representative song of Denmark; the words are by the Danish poet Evald (1778), and the music by Johann Hartmann, an eminent composer of the last century. The most popular national song of Norway is probably "Ja, vi elske dette Landet" ("Yes, we love this country"), which by many would probably be considered *the* national song of Norway. The melody is by Nordrook, who was a great friend of Grieg, but I have chosen in preference another song called "Sønner af Norge" ("Sons of Norway"), as it is more in keeping with the other songs that I sing, and I also think the melody finer. It seems from the title that the composer, Carl Blom, won the prize as the composer of the best national song. It is of a more recent date than the former one. It is difficult to decide which is the typical national song of Sweden; the choice lies between two songs, the one entitled "Kung Carl den tolvta" (King Charles the XIIth.), the other "Kung Karl den unga hjelta" (King Charles the young warrior). I have chosen the first as an illustration.

Before I finish I should like to say a few words about the Northern dances, of which Norway and Sweden possess far the greatest number.

The principal national dances of Norway are called "Halling," after a district in Norway of that name, and the "Hallingpolska," or "Springdanse," the latter meaning a jumping dance.

On one of my visits to Norway I witnessed the dancing of some of these dances, and it appeared to me that they were more expressive of strength, and showed more agility, than any gracefulness of movement. The dancers of the "Halling" commence their performance in a crouching position, but as the dance proceeds they gradually rise to their full height, and the dance becomes extremely animated and even wild; but suddenly near the end the dancers again assume their crouching position.

The instrument generally used for performing the music to all these dances is the *Hardangerfele*, or fiddle; it is much smaller than the ordinary violin, but possesses, besides the four ordinary violin strings, four other strings made of steel, placed under the former, which, combined with the peculiar shape of the instrument, gives its tones rather a sombre and mournful character. It is tuned higher than the ordinary violin, and the strings are consequently thinner. The lowest of the upper strings is tuned *A* (instead of *G*, as on an ordinary violin) thus forming a fourth with the next string above—the other strings are tuned at the interval of a perfect fifth. The steel strings, instead of being placed immediately under the upper strings, are placed closer together under the two middle strings, and are tuned *D*, *E*, and *A*. As to the appearance of the instrument, the head is generally carved in the shape of a lion's head, or the head of some other animal, according to the fancy of the maker. The fingerboard and the belly are generally painted in some bright colour, and often inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl.

There lived some forty years ago in Telemarken, a district in the interior of Norway, an old man, who in his youth had acquired a most surprising execution on the Hardanger fiddle; being a son of a miller, he always went in Norway under the name of "Möllergutten" (the miller's boy), even after he had become an old man. Ole Bull and he were great friends, and used to correspond frequently.

The other national dance in Norway, the so-called "Hallingpolska," is also danced in different districts of Sweden, especially Dalarlia, Jemteland, and Wermland. The well-known authoress, Frederikka Bremer, gives in her description of Norwegian national life, called "Strid og Fred" (War and Peace), or "Scenes of Norway," an account of this dance. "On one occasion," she tells, "I witnessed a dancing competition between some young Norwegian peasants. An iron hook had been knocked into one of the beams of the ceiling, and the dancer who, while dancing, could give the hook such a kick as to bend it, won the prize as the best dancer."

The first-named dance is in double time, the Hallingpolska in triple time.

The Swedish national dance, the so-called Polska, is, like the Hallingpolska, in triple time. I have not seen it danced, nor come across any description of it. That it can hardly be such a lively dance as the Hallingpolska described by Frederikka Bremer seems evident, judging from a certain old custom that is prevalent at weddings in the rural districts of Sweden. After the marriage ceremony has been performed, the bride and bridegroom, and all those invited to the wedding, the minister included, issue forth to the bride's home, where the festivities commence with the dancing of the polska. The bride walks up to the minister, makes him a curtsy, and asks him to dance with her the first dance, the next polska she dances with the bridegroom, and the third polska is danced by the bride and the minister's wife. The three first dances are solo dances, all the wedding guests sitting still on their benches as spectators; but after that the dancing couples gradually increase, and usually to such an extent that the fiddler has to sit on the table, which is invariably placed in the middle of the room.

I am not aware that there are records of any Danish national dances, excepting of one that used to be danced by the peasants of a little island called Amager, upon

which part of Copenhagen is built; as, however, the Amager people are descendants of the Dutch, their dances can hardly be called Danish.

If any such dances existed in Denmark before the end of the seventeenth century, such practices as dancing would soon have been forbidden by the Danish kings of that period, who were most ardent supporters of the pietistic movement which originated in Germany about that time. There existed an Icelandic, or Faröisland dance, called "Vikivaki," which I shall play to you; it was the only dance that Iceland ever possessed, but it was strictly forbidden by one of these pious kings as being most dangerous to the morals of the people. It consisted in the dancers forming a circle, holding each other by the hand, and walking round to the music of their own voices, singing their ancient "Kæmpeviser," as the Faröislanders do even at the present day. I shall now close my lecture by playing this Icelandic dance, "Vikivaki," and a Swedish polska.

VIKIVAKI (ICELANDIC).

Moderato

mf

3

SHIP-BURIAL AT KILORAN BAY, COLONSAY, SCOTLAND.

By HAAKON SCHETELIG,

Conservator of the Bergen Museum, Hon. District Secretary,
Norway (Bergen).

AS an addition to my paper upon ship-burials in the last SAGA-BOOK, the Hon. Editor has kindly allowed me to insert in this number some notes respecting a very interesting find from Scotland, the grave at Kiloran Bay, examined in June, 1882, by Mr. Mac Neill. The antiquities, together with a plan, were afterwards presented to the Edinburgh Museum of Art and Sciences, where I saw them in October last year.

On the surface the grave was marked by a rectangular enclosure of slabs set up edgeways, 15ft. long and 10ft. broad. All over the area within this space there were found a great quantity of nails and rivets, mostly with parts of the wood still adhering to them, a certain indication of a ship-burial.

The remains of a human skeleton were found in the south-western corner of the enclosure; the body had been placed resting upon its left side, with the head pointing towards the east, and with the knees bent so that they touched the breast. Several objects of iron were discovered in the sand close to the skeleton, a two-edged iron sword, an axe, the boss of a shield, a cauldron of iron, etc. Between the chin and the knees there was found a pair of scales, made of bronze, and close to them the balance and seven leaden weights. Some bronze mountings for a horse's harness were also scattered

within the enclosure, and in the same way two stycas struck by Vigmund, Archbishop of York, 831-854.

On a later occasion a horse's skeleton, an iron buckle, probably from the harness, some nails and other fragments of iron were discovered outside the inclosure, but certainly belonging to the same grave. One of the horse's hind legs had been cut off by a very hard stroke before the interment.

In most respects this find has the characteristics of a regular Norwegian grave from the Viking Age. The ship, the horse, the weapons, and other objects correspond exactly to the requirements for a man's grave in Norway at the same period, and do not need any further explanation. But there are some points where we meet with differences, and in this respect I would mention especially the fact that the grave before us was laid out under the plain surface of the soil, and provided with an enclosure of slabs set edgewise, while in Norway the graves from the Viking Age are almost without exception covered by a tumulus of rather considerable dimensions. Moreover, two of the slabs forming the enclosure were marked with a cross, which though executed in a very primitive manner, must be supposed to have some religious significance in connection with the grave. It seems to me most likely that upon these points we may trace an influence from the contemporary customs in Christian Scotland. On the other hand, the antiquities found in the grave are all of forms which also appear in Norway, and they thus indicate, as clearly as possible, the nationality of the man buried here. It is true all the objects are not properly Norwegian—*e.g.*, the scales and the balance were probably not made in Norway, nor the weights, whose upper surface is covered with bits cut off some richly decorated and enamelled ornaments of Irish origin. But similar bits are frequently met with in Norway also, and they do not indicate that the Norwegian colonists in Scotland were less Norwegian than their compatriots at home; they prove that

the whole Norwegian population was subject to the same influence from the art and industry of Ireland.

A most precious document for determining the date of the grave is afforded by the two coins found. As regards the Viking Age in Norway instances of such finds are not frequent, and consequently all additions to the material are of great importance. At the moment of writing I have not the means for discussing the question of the grave before us ready to hand, but with all reserve I venture to pronounce, as my personal opinion, that the grave is most likely to date from the beginning of the tenth century.

In the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland I have noted three finds of Norwegian graves in Orkney containing iron rivets and pieces of wood which seem to indicate ship-burials. The localities are: Links of Pierowall, Westray (Edinb. Mus. T.L. 182-189), Sands of Gill, Westray (Edinb. Mus. T.L. 193-194), Sandhill at Pierowall, Westray (Edinb. Mus. T.L. 202-208.)—H. S.

These are no doubt from the graves mentioned in the *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. IV., pp. 360, 361, foot-note.—ED.

VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITOR.

AT Oxford, on November 24th, 1906, Professor W. P. Ker, Honorary Life Member of the Viking Club, gave the Romanes Lecture for 1906 on "Sturla, the Historian."

THE Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., has again come to our help and has prepared the Index for Vol. IV., issued with this number, for which we offer him the hearty thanks of the Club.

IN October last some of the London papers contained a report copied from the Danish press of the discovery of a Viking ship during digging operations on a fjord in Jutland. We regret to say that we learn from Mr. Hans Kjær that this was a newspaper hoax.

THE catalogue of old deeds, containing the names of various documents written in "Norn," referred to in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV., p. 408, was found by Mr. Roland St. Clair not in Orkney as stated, but at Wemyss Castle, Fifeshire. We understand that the documents themselves are in existence, and will be printed in "Old-lore" in due course.

ON the 5th January, 1907, shortly before leaving to take up the post of Ambassador to the United States, the Right Hon. James Bryce lectured in Dublin on "The Norsemen of Iceland and Norway." Mr. Bryce's sympathies should make him popular among the very large population in the States that has come from Iceland and the three Northern kingdoms.

IN a Viking note in the last SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV., p. 408, Dr. G. A. Auden, owing to a reporter's error, is made to speak in line 5 of the note of "the *Danish* monuments in Yorkshire." This should read "*Pre-Norman* monuments," as Dr. Auden informs us that he considers that the crosses at Ilkley, Collingham, Dewsbury, etc., are essentially Anglian and in no sense Scandinavian, while those at York itself show a strongly-marked Danish influence.

MR. HARRY LOWERISON, Hon District Secretary, Norfolk, informs us that during the past year he visited three so-called "Danish" camps. A few notes on one of these will be found under the "Proceedings" for November 23rd. He also reports the find of a Saxon cemetery in Hunstanton Park. Mr. Lowerison promises to send us a paper, or report, giving fuller details of the latter find and of his observations at the three camps for future use.

NORWAY will this year be included in the series of "International Visits" referred to in previous SAGA-BOOKS. The programme extends

from the 19th to the 30th August, and includes lectures to be given in English at the University of Christiania, by Professor A. Bugge, on "What the Eddas tell us of the Life of our Viking Forefathers at Home and Abroad," Professor A. Taranger, and others. Further particulars may be had from the Norwegian Legation, 36, Victoria Street, S.W., or the Hon. Secretary, Miss F. M. Butlin, Old Headington, Oxford.

THE "Origin of the Anglo-Saxon Race: A Study of the Settlement of England and the Tribal Origin of the Old English People," by the late Thomas William Shore, edited by his sons (Elliot Stock), is a book that will be of considerable interest and value. It requires, however, to be treated with very great caution, as the author is inclined to push his theories to extremes, and philologists will question many of his derivations of place-names. But, when all allowances are made, it remains a suggestive contribution to its subject.

THE discovery of about 40 ancient skeletons in the Forbury gardens, Reading, at a site which may have been that of the camp which the Danes threw up there in the reign of King Alfred, gave rise to lively discussion at the January meeting of the Berkshire Archæological Society. Unfortunately the circumstances of interment were not observed with sufficient exactness to warrant any definite conclusions from the find. The Society, however, proposed to make special explorations, if possible, and a hope was expressed by some members that the grave of the Danish leader Sidroc might be discovered in the Forbury Mound.

WITH reference to the use of a boom in ships of the Viking age, as to which we asked for information in a review of "The Saga Library," in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV., page 270, Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon writes:—

The *beiti-áss* was a boom, to each end of which were made fast the clews of the square sail, which in early days of navigation was the only sail known. By means of this boom the lower part of the square sail was stretched a good deal beyond the width of the ship, as far nearly as the *beiti-áss* itself projected beyond the gunwale. The boom, however, did not rest on the gunwale, but moved freely about a little above it so as to catch side winds at best advantage. This explains how it could naturally happen that the "sail-yard," or rather "boom" (*beiti-áss*), could knock overboard a man sitting by the tiller on another ship, when the ship with its sail-yard out sailed too close.

THE SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., page 119, contained a brief note on the remarkable rudely-carved representation of a boat and crew of warriors found at Roos Carrs, near Withernsea, in 1836, and now preserved in the Hull Museum. In 1903 the figure of another warrior, similar to those already known, and found at the same time, came into the possession of the Museum. This is described by the Curator, Mr. Thomas Sheppard, F.G.S., in a pamphlet "Additional Notes on the Roos Carr Images," to be obtained from the Museum for 1d. The new figure is interesting, as

it possesses some parts which are missing in the other figures, and enables one of them to be restored almost completely. It also gives evidence that originally at least two boats with their crews must have been in existence at the place where the find was made. Experts have now decided that the figures were hewn in branch wood of the Scotch fir.

MR. EDWARD LOVETT, F.R.H.S., asks whether "the little figures on white horses, sold in Germany (and perhaps elsewhere) at Christmas-time, have any connection with Odin and Sleipnir?" As far as we remember it is nowhere expressly stated in the Norse mythology that Sleipnir was white (or gray), though references in the Sagas and folk-lore leave little doubt that this was his colour in the popular imagination. We shall be glad of any information throwing light on the custom mentioned by Mr. Lovett and on its diffusion. It is no doubt connected generally with the regard paid to the horse as a sacred animal, which was widespread in ancient times. See note on "Hodening," page 182. Cf. also the man on horseback, used as a fairing in the Isle of Man, as stated by Mr. Kermode in "Traces of the Norse Mythology in the Isle of Man." See the review in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV., page 257.

DR. KARL BLIND's article on "Yule-tide in England" in the *Wiener Deutsches Tagblatt* of January, 1907, points out that the so-called "Devil's Punch Bowl," near Hindhead, was in Anglo-Saxon times evidently a place of heathen Teutonic worship, as well as a sacred place for the promulgation of laws passed by the "Witena-gemot." Like many other places of similar name, which our forefathers held sacred, it was devoted to the Devil when the Church laid the older gods under a ban, "devilling" many places where formerly they were worshipped. Near the Devil's Punch Bowl a stone still bears the name of Thor's Stone, as mentioned in Baring-Gould's novel about the "Broom Squire." Curiously enough, in the Edda, the God of Thunder is connected with a story about a "bowl-like mountain-cleft," and about an enormous vat, or bowl, which, in his contest with the *jötun*, or giant, Hymir, he lifts and places on his head. Out of such a tale a special worship of Thor, or Thunaer, might have arisen at the Hindhead ravine, deep dale, or Bowl. The word "Punch" (Indian) would point to an addition made in later times. (See the "Tale of Hymir" in the Eddas.)

A MIDNIGHT meeting was held on January 1st, 1907, in Clontarf Town Hall, at which the national societies of Dublin were represented, in order to protest against the destruction by the City Council of the historic mound at Clontarf, near Dublin, the legendary site of the great battle between King Brian Boru and the Danes 900 years ago. The speakers, who addressed the meeting in Gaelic, complained that the Dublin Corporation Distress Committee had put a large number of unemployed to the work of levelling the famous mound known as Conquer Hill, and filling up the adjoining fosse in order to make an asphalted road over the spot. The hill was the burying place of the chieftains who fought under

King Brian, and should, therefore, as one speaker said, be regarded as sacred. A resolution was passed protesting against the unspeakable act of vandalism which was being perpetrated, and a telegram was despatched to the Lord Mayor demanding the immediate withdrawal of the workmen. We are glad to report that the action taken resulted in saving the mound from destruction, as the Lord Mayor proceeded at once to the scene of the operations, and stopped any further interference. He also gave instructions to those employed at Conquer Hill to restore all the clay and mould which had been removed.

BESIDES his District Report from York, Dr. G. A. Auden has sent us the following note :—

An interesting survival of pagan thought is still to be found at Whitby. Many of the fishermen and jet-workers still carry upon their person as a talisman or charm a "lucky bone" or "hammer bone." This is the *os hyoides* of the sheep, which makes an exceedingly good representation of a hammer, and, as such, undoubtedly represents Miölnir, the hammer of Thor, models of which, generally in silver, and some of extraordinarily beautiful workmanship, are frequent in graves of the Viking Period.¹ Prof. A. C. Haddon says that the same bone is similarly used by the fishermen in the Isle of Man, as also by the butchers in Berlin. Two in my possession were given to me by a Whitby jet-worker, who told me that he had carried one for many years.

One of these bones, lent by Dr. Auden, was exhibited at our meeting on February 22nd, 1907, and also at a meeting of the Folk-Lore Society the same week, when Mr. A. R. Wright, a member of the Council of the latter Society, said that he knew of the bone as in similar use among the gas-workers in London.

The Athenæum of February 17th contained a brief report of a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, at which, among other finds of various dates which were shown, Mr. Robert Cochrane exhibited a pair of "tortoise" brooches of bronze-gilt and fragments of a bronze bowl found in a Viking burial at Ballyholme, between Bangor and Groomsport, co. Down. He described their discovery, and stated that the bowl was complete, with chains for suspension, when found, but was destroyed by the workmen. In the year 818 a raid was made by a band of Northern Vikings on Bangor Abbey, half a mile distant, and the burial might date from that event. Mr. Reginald Smith added some remarks on the find, and exhibited a restoration of the bowl based on examples found in England and Norway. He quoted Scandinavian authorities in confirmation of the date suggested, the style of the brooches being well known in the British Islands and in Scandinavia. Bowls of the kind exhibited were specially common in Norway, where they were referred to the Viking period; while English examples with circular enamelled escutcheons

¹Cp. Sophus Müller. "Nordische Alterthumskunde," Pt. ii., p. 282; Montelius, "Civilisation of Sweden in Heathen Times," p. 202; also Worsaae, "Industrial Arts of Denmark."

might be somewhat earlier. Brooches of this type were worn by both sexes, but there was little to show the sex of the persons interred at Ballyholme.

FROM *The Standard* of December 13th, 1906, we have an interesting account of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery recently discovered at Ipswich. The find was described to a meeting of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, on December 12th, by Miss Layard, who exhibited the objects found, and read a paper upon them. Last year the Corporation found work for the unemployed in levelling an area of town land which covers a rising slope on one side of Hadleigh Road, and a deep depression on the other. Soon after the operations began the men unearthed three or four skeletons. Miss Layard's attention was drawn to the locality, and she found that the slope had formed the site of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. She employed men to work in advance of the town labourers, and up to the date of the paper had opened up 139 graves of men, women, and children, which contained skeletons or the remains of skeletons, and many curious relics. Among the latter are numerous spear-heads and knives, the bosses of shields, necklaces of beads, clasps and buckles, double twisted combs, glass drinking cups, tweezers, and some valuable brooches. The whole form a collection of unique antiquarian interest, and it is believed that the cemetery extended over much more of the ground than that excavated.

AN interesting lecture on the early inhabitants of Kent was given before the East Kent Scientific and Natural History Society on December 12th, 1906, by the Mayor of Canterbury, Alderman F. Bennett-Goldney, F.S.A. Starting from Cæsar's description of the Belgæ as of Germanic origin, the lecturer showed how long before the date of the Anglo-Saxon invasion the south-eastern corner of Britain at any rate had been settled by a non-Keltic folk, akin to the later invaders. This was borne out by the fact that the place-names of Kent, with the exception of one or two names of doubtful origin, were typically English. Hardly a trace can be found of city, town, village or district with a Keltic name, mentioned by the chroniclers of the Anglo-Saxon invasion. This fact cannot, in the lecturer's opinion, be disposed of by a theory that the Saxon exterminated the Kelt by some mysterious process unprecedented in human annals. The fact was that already in Cæsar's time the Belgæ were settled on both shores of the Channel, and the process of Belgic emigration from Gaul to Britain was in full swing. Kent, which lay at the natural crossing-point of the narrow seas, was necessarily most affected, and, according to the view of the lecturer, became the cradle of the Anglo-Saxon race in these islands at least seven centuries earlier than the period generally assigned to the Saxon invasion of Britain.

WE have received from Mr. W. R. Prior the following notes on some recent archæological discoveries in Denmark, a brief reference to which appeared in the SAGA-BOOK last year, Vol. IV., p. 411 :—

At a meeting of the Royal Danish Society of Antiquaries, held on the 12th of February, 1907, some particulars were given of the settlement and burial-place on Kraghede (moor), Vendsyssel, North of Jutland, excavated

in 1905 and 1906. The oldest graves found, as well as the greater part of the settlement, belong to the so-called pre-Roman Iron Age or the centuries just before Christ, when the incinerated bones were placed in small hollows with numerous utensils, remains of food and of sacrificed animals, viz., sheep and pigs, etc.

In the first grave-hollow excavated an especially valuable find was made—a small jar decorated with a figurative representation of a hunting scene. The picture was sketched on the clay by pricking out the outlines of the figures in chalk. A man with a sword in his right hand, the bridle in the left, is seen riding a horse with a long tail. In front of the hunter a dog is represented running after a deer, which turns its head round towards the pursuer. It is plainly a stag, and the animal in front of it is evidently a urus. The same animal figures are repeated elsewhere on the jar. The hollow also contained a mass of melted bronze, weight about 5 lbs. Some of the pieces, however, have retained their shape, so that one can see what they have been. They are said to be like the embossed pieces of bronze on chariot wheels, as on the celebrated chariot from Dejbjerg bog. A cart must therefore have been offered up, which is further proved by the presence of burnt bones of two horses, and no human remains.

Swords, spears and knives, like the finds at the Swiss lake village La Tène, were also found. Among the utensils was a primitive pair of scissors. One of the graves was quadrangular, and had contained an unburned body, of which only the teeth, preserved by their enamel, remained. In this grave the head was placed towards the west, and five earthen vessels in an easterly direction. The foundations of a house of the so-called Roman Iron Age, were also found, which had been dug through when the grave was made. This house, of which the size and shape are plainly visible, seems to have been destroyed by a fire originating while the wind was north-westerly.

THE *Scotsman* of May 28th, 1906, reported that early in the month Mr. Hourston, tenant of the farm of Yinstay, on the Tankerness estate, Orkney, was digging on his farm, when his spade fell from his hands and disappeared underground. Curious to unravel the mystery, he excavated a few feet off, and breaking through rough masonry, effected an entrance to an underground chamber of very peculiar structure, into which the spade had fallen. Mr. Cursiter, F.S.A.Scot., Kirkwall, who visited the place, has supplied the following information regarding it. On approaching the spot, one cannot fail to observe that the place has been an ancient inhabited site, from the black earth mingled with burnt stones, numerous broken shells and bones, as well as fragments of ancient pottery, which strew the surface of the adjoining field. It is the highest ground in the neighbourhood, and surmounted by a lime-built cairn about 10 feet high, said to have been originally erected by Captain Thomas during his nautical survey of the Orkneys, 1840-1850, from stones dug up at the spot, among which blocks of bright red sandstone, foreign to the district, figure prominently. Most probably it has been the site of a broch. Tradition tells of a standing stone here, said to have been destroyed by a bauldie, who took it for the devil. The opening to the chamber, which is only 3 or 4 feet below the surface, and only a few feet from the cairn, is very difficult to negotiate, and can only be accomplished feet foremost, working oneself down sideways, and on the back; indeed, the whole internal space and condition do not allow of enough comfort to obtain an accurate survey. With the aid of two candles, however, and assisted by Mr. Hourston, it was in a way explored. It is of an irregular

oval shape, about 19 feet long from east to west, and about 10 feet in greatest breadth. The roof, which is flat, is formed of flagstones, and supported upon nine apparently water-worn stones set upon end, forming pillars. The height of the roof is about 2 feet 6 inches, and the pillars number eleven, arranged at the west end in two rows of four pillars each, opposite each other, and three pillars in the form of a triangle at the east end. They are separated from each other at distances varying from 8½ inches to 3 feet, and themselves vary much in size and sectional shape. The floor and walls were so muddy from infiltration that it could not be made out whether it was paved or not, and part of the wall seemed to be solid rock. The real entrance has not yet been discovered. In the chamber were picked up fragments of deer's horn, bones, and teeth of horned sheep, oyster and whelk-shells, burnt wood, and a few fragments of rather fine pottery.

IN his District Report from York Dr. Auden gives some particulars of St. Olave's Church, York, and of a window supposed to represent the saint in the church of Holy Trinity in the same town. He also records a fresco representing St. Olaf, in the Church of St. Michael, at Barton Turf, Norfolk, while from Somerset the Rev. C. W. Whistler reports the former existence of a chapel dedicated to the saint in St. Dubricius' Church, Porlock. Of the churches in this country dedicated to St. Olaf, London contains several. In the City are St. Olave's, Old Jewry, St. Olave's, Hart Street, and St. Olave's, Silver Street, while St. Nicholas Olave, which formerly stood in Queenhithe, appears to have been a case of a double dedication. In Southwark, St. Olave's, Tooley Street, has given its name to the street in which it stands. Besides these ancient foundations there are two modern ones in Stoke Newington and Mile End, the latter a daughter church of St. Olave's, Hart Street. In other parts of the country there are churches dedicated to the saint at Chester, Chichester, Exeter, Fritwell, Oxfordshire, Gatcombe, Isle of Wight, Ruckland, Lincolnshire, and Poughill, Cornwall (near Bude). Besides these and the church at York there used also to be one at Creting, in Suffolk (near Ipswich), from which the parish of Creting St. Olave's, now united to Creting All Saints' with Creting St. Mary's, takes its name. There was also a Priory of St. Olave's near Herringfleet, in Norfolk, now in ruins. It gives its name to St. Olave's Bridge, over the Waveney, replacing a very ancient ferry, and also to a modern railway-junction. In Orkney there was a church of St. Olaf before St. Magnus Cathedral was built. Mr. A. W. Johnston also tells us that there was St. Olla's chaplainry within the Cathedral, but he is not sure whether this was separate from the incumbency of St. Olla's Church. It is also called St. Olla's altarage. At Widewall, South Ronaldshay, there was a St. Olaf's Chapel, of which only the name remains. In his "Antiquities of Shetland" Mr. Gilbert Goudie gives, among Pre-Reformation churches and chapels to which dedications have been assigned, two St. Ollas at Gunilsta, Bressay; and Olnafirth, Delting, and five St. Ollas, in Whiteness; Hilswick, Northmaven; Yell; Wick, Unst; and Nesting. The name "Olaf" also

appears in various place-names. Mr. G. M. Atkinson informs us that in Ireland there is a church near Dublin, now known as St. Donlach's, which was formerly St. Olave's, or Anlaf's. There are no dedications to the saint as far as we can trace in Wales, the Isle of Man, or the Channel Isles. We should be glad to know if any are to be found in Scotland. These Notes may be worth recording in connection with the District Reports quoted. We hope to return to the subject, which cannot be adequately dealt with in these columns. We may add that a figure of St. Olaf is, very appropriately, to be one of the first with which it is proposed to fill the niches in the fine screen of St. Saviour's, Southwark.

IN an article on Ramsgate in *Health Resort* for January, 1907, Mr. J. Harris Stone called attention to a curious Christmas custom formerly associated with the town, described in *The European Magazine* for May, 1807, as follows:—

A party of young people procure the head of a dead horse, which is affixed to a pole about four feet in length; a string is affixed to the lower jaw; a horse cloth is also attached to the whole, under which one of the party gets, and by frequently pulling the string keeps up a loud snapping noise, and is accompanied by the rest of the party, grotesquely habited, with handbells. They thus proceed from house to house, ringing their bells, and singing carols and songs. They are commonly gratified with beer and cake, or perhaps with money. This is called, *provincially*, a Hodening, and the figure above described a Hoden, or Woden Horse.

Mr. Stone asked if the above was a relic of a festival to commemorate our Saxon ancestors landing in Thanet, as the term Woden seems to imply, and said the custom was general in Thanet on Christmas Eve, but, as far as he could learn, nowhere else. The February number of *Health Resort* contained the following reply from the Rev. C. W. Whistler:—

The Ramsgate "Hodening" is not new to me, and is noticed by the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, in an article in the *Treasury* for this January, where he says that the custom still exists in some parts of Kent, and suggests that the horse's head may be a survival of the old "hobby horse," which figured in the mediæval Morris dances. The name of the custom and its association with Christmas would date its origin to still earlier times, however; and there can be little doubt that it is a survival of some Odinic Yuletide solemnity connected with the sacrifice of the horse to the Asir. The victim was usually beheaded, and its flesh was afterwards feasted on, whence probably our objection to the eating of horseflesh, as forbidden to the first Christians from among our Saxon ancestors. "Hodening" or "Hoodening" is an intermediate variant of the name of Woden or Odin, which is probably Jutish, though there is a Saxon (not Anglian) tendency to pronounce an initial W as an aspirate, e.g., "William" as "Hooliam." That this strange custom should, so far as I know, occur only in Jutish Kent (the scene of the earliest landings of our forefathers) is significant, and may indicate that it is a tradition of some very marked sacrifice to the Asir by the first actual intending settlers on their arrival. Dr. Ditchfield adds, that the man who carries the horse's head is called the "Hoodman," and I feel sure that this name may be referred also to Odin, who rides hooded.

Mr. Alfred Toft, of the "Crown Inn," Sarre, Thanet, also wrote to say that the Christmas custom of Hodening was still carried out in its entirety at the old-world village of Sarre, where the "Hodeners" appeared as late as last Christmas, the general get-up of the troupe being much as described. An anonymous writer also pointed out that

In *Notes and Queries*, vol. i., p. 173, it is said that this curious custom is prevalent in Wales, namely, of carrying about at Christmas time a horse's skull, dressed up with ribbons, and supported on a pole by a man concealed under a large cloth, who works the jaws. The same custom was also common in one or two places of Lancashire, and in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Notes and Queries gives no information as to the part of Wales where the custom prevailed, but Mr. G. M. Atkinson informs us that he witnessed it in Carmarthen in 1861, and that it was then common in Wales. Mr. A. G. Moffat tells us that the custom, which the Welsh call *Mary Llwyd*, was common in the Swansea district till of late years, and that the Rev. J. D. Davies in his book on *West Gower*, Vol. II., p. 84, describes the practice as still kept up in West Gower, and that the quaint old carol called "the twelve joys of Mary," is sung in connection with it. Mr. Davies' description of the custom is almost identical with that quoted from *The European Magazine*. Mr. Moffat does not know if the custom holds good away from the sea coast, excepting for some miles up the Swansea valley, and points out that Carmarthen is a tidal harbour. From the localities given it is possible that the custom in Wales may be due to Scandinavian influence. In any case it cannot be regarded as purely Jutish, and must have a wider significance than Mr. Whistler suggests. The horse's head fixed on a pole recalls the "curse-pole," a horse's head fixed on a pole, set up by Egil Skallagrimsson against King Eric and Queen Gunnhilda. The turning of the horse's head landwards turned the curse on the guardian-spirits of the land to force them to drive out the king and queen. The animal's heads (often horse's heads) carved on houses, looking outwards from the house, may similarly have been meant to repel evil spirits. Grimm gives several instances of the use of a horse's head in various like ways, and considered that the custom belonged equally to Celts, Teutons, and Slavs,¹ but he does not mention the English "Hodening."

DEATH-ROLL.

WE regret to have to record the death of the following members:—

COL. SIR A. MONCRIEFF, K.C.B., F.R.S.

Col. Sir A. Moncrieff, one of the original hon. members of the Club at its foundation in 1892, died at his residence at Bandirran, Perth, on Friday, August 3rd, 1906. He was born on April 17th, 1829, served in the Crimea with the Royal Artillery, and was the inventor of the well-known Moncrieff mounting for heavy ordnance. Besides writing

¹ Teutonic Mythology. Translated by J. S. Stallybrass, Vol. II., pp. 659-61.

several papers on the principles of fortification, he also read papers on various subjects at the Athenæum. He married in 1875, and leaves five sons and two daughters.

BENJAMIN WINSTONE, M.D.

Dr. Winstone, who died on the 1st February, 1907, at the advanced aged of 87, had been a member of the Viking Club since 1894. Though not a very active member of our Society he took a keen interest in its proceedings, as he did in everything that concerned the early history and antiquities of these Islands. He became a member of the British Archæological Association in 1884, and frequently exhibited at its meetings, besides contributing more than one paper to its Journal. Mention may be made of one, entitled "On some Primitive Ornamentation found on Prehistoric Pottery," published in 1897. He was also a member of the Society of Arts, of the Geological Society, of the Harleian Society, and of the Kent and Essex Archæological Societies. He contributed various papers on antiquarian subjects to the transactions of the latter Society, and published several monographs on subjects connected with Epping and Ongar. His pen and his purse were ever at the disposal of antiquarian objects that appealed to him, and he will not only be mourned by his family and friends, but missed by a large circle of scientific acquaintances.

MR. WALTER FRANCIS DOWNING.

Mr. W. F. Downing, of Olton, Birmingham, who died on April 13th, 1906, was the second son of Mr. W. H. Downing, of the Chaucer's Head, Temple Row, Birmingham. He was a young man of marked literary ability, a member of the literary staff of the *Birmingham Gazette and Express* and *Evening Despatch*, and was regarded as one of the most promising of the younger generation of Birmingham journalists. He became a member of the Viking Club in 1902.

CAPTAIN HANS HENRIK CASPERSEN.

Captain Caspersen, who died on August 13th, 1906, was born in Denmark in 1845, and went to sea at the early age of 13. He rapidly rose to be Master and in 1869 came to live at Grimsby and sailed under the British flag, and for 16 years was Captain of a Fish Cutter, carrying fish to London from the Fishing Fleet in the North Sea. He was in the service of the Viking Steam Fishing Company of Grimsby for three years as "ship's husband," and very ably performed his duties. When the S.S. "Huxley" was being fitted out as one of the International Investigation Ships and a Master with foreign-going certificate as well as fishing certificate was required, Captain Caspersen was the only man in Grimsby who fulfilled the requirements. His duties on board the vessel called for great and varied abilities, which he fulfilled creditably to the last. Captain Caspersen became a member of the Viking Club in 1904.

REVIEWS.¹

MONUMENTA ORCADICA. The Norsemen in the Orkneys and the Monuments they have left. With a survey of the Celtic (pre-Norwegian) and Scottish (post-Norwegian) monuments in the Islands. By L. DIETRICHSON. With original drawings and some chapters on the St. Magnus' Cathedral, Kirkwall. By JOHN MEYER, architect. With 152 Illustrations. *Kristiania: Cammermeyers, 1906; London: Williams and Norgate. Price £3 net.*

THE most valuable part of this work is its description of St. Magnus' Cathedral, together with other architectural remains, especially of the Norwegian period. The whole history of the Islands is passed in review and criticised under the following divisions. Introduction:—I. The Orkneys and their relation to Norway. II. The Orkneys in Literature. Book I. I. Prehistoric remains (before 600 A.D.) II. Monuments of the Christian Celts (about 600-872 A.D.) Book II. Norwegian monuments (872-1468). I. Norwegian monuments under Celtic influence (872 about 1200). II. Norwegian monuments under Anglo-Norman and Gothic influence (1137-1468). Book III. Monuments from the Scottish period (after 1468).

As regards the name *Pomona* for the Mainland, the author inclines with Barry to derive it from "pou" and "mon," two British words meaning *purva patria*, rather than from Solinus' phrase "*pomona copiosa*" used regarding Thule. If Fordun's *Pomona*, and Torfæus' *Diutina*, are not a misinterpretation of Solinus' "*sed Thyle larga et diutina pomona copiosa est*," then where can they have found these names, which are alike unknown to Orkney literature and folklore? Maeshow is classified with sepulchral chambers, notwithstanding it is held by many to form an important part of the Sun Temple at Stenness.

Referring to Margaret's Hope, where the Maid of Norway died, it is asserted that "the present population, who are unacquainted with the meaning of the Norwegian word 'hop,' the head of a fjord, explain the Norwegian word as the English 'hope,' as though the landing in this bay had been the dying Princess's last hope." It is questionable whether there are many in Orkney who do not know the meaning of "hope," "hop," or "hap," which are local terms for "bay" in everyday use. Some humorous local folk-etymologist must be held accountable for this slur on the intelligence of the population of St. Margaret's Hope.

Mr. Meyer is to be congratulated on his discovery of the remains in Eynhallow of the only monastery in Orkney. The detailed description of St. Magnus' Cathedral and its architectural history, is an excellent piece of work. The various stages of its building and their probable builders are reasoned out, attention is also called to some intended features which have not been carried out, such as two western towers. No model for the design can be found in Norway, and it seems probable that Earl Rögnvald got his architect and workmen from Durham or

¹ Members may obtain the books noticed from the Hon. Librarian, A. W. Johnston, 59, Oakley Street, Chelsea S.W., who will quote prices.

Dunfermline. It is maintained that the Cathedral "was the result of the flow of new Norwegian culture that with Earl Rögnvald's arrival in the Islands succeeded to the older Celtic, and instilled fresh Norwegian blood into the veins of the half Celticised inhabitants."

Attention is called to the resemblance of the Orkney open fire cottages to the old Norwegian drinking halls. The description of the louvre or smoke hole as not being exactly over the fire is correct, but it is not so shown in the illustration, where it is placed directly over the fire. In the latter case, what would be the result to the good wife's frying pan during an Orkney shower, bringing with it soot and rubbish from the rafters. The author is of opinion that when the last of these louvre-cottages disappear "there will disappear with them, after an existence of almost exactly a thousand years, the last remains of still living Norwegian building styles and Norwegian mediæval culture in the Orkneys." It will be interesting to remark here that the present local (Eddic) name for the parlour in a louvre-cottage is *Salv*.

It goes without saying that every Orkney and Shetland collector must obtain a copy of this work, but to the student of Orkney history it will be a *sine quâ non*. Although the work only dips into the history, from a Norwegian point of view, still it is suggestive on all hands for further research, and much new ground has been indicated. This work should put our local antiquaries to shame, and it almost seems as though a Norse literary invasion of the Islands had set in.

A. W. JOHNSTON.

VESTERLANDENES INDFLYDELSE PAA NORDBOERNES OG SÆRLIG NORDMÆNDENES YDRE KULTUR, LEVESÆT OG SAMFUNDSFORHOLD I VIKINGETIDEN. By ALEXANDER BUGGE. *Christiania, 1905.*

A REVIEW of this work is somewhat belated, but it has only just come into our hands and cannot be passed by without a brief notice and a word of praise for the immense industry of Professor Alexander Bugge, who, within the space of some three years, has given the world this important work, in addition to the two volumes of sketches of life in the Viking Age, "Vikingerne," and other books noticed in recent numbers of the SAGA-BOOK. The work before us is an answer to a question propounded by the "Nansen Fund": "How widely did influences from the Western Lands affect the outward culture, ways of life and social relations of the dwellers in the North, especially the Northmen, in the Viking Age?" The author points out that the work does not give a complete picture of life in the Viking Age, as, by the terms of the question, all consideration of the religious, spiritual and intellectual side of life, and of the way they were set out in poetry and saga-telling, are necessarily excluded. Even so, the book is a ponderous tome of upwards of 400 small quarto pages dealing exhaustively with its subject, and we are not surprised to learn that it was awarded the "Fridtjof Nansen Prize." A detailed review is impossible in these columns, and it will perhaps be most useful to members if we give a bare table of the contents chapter by chapter.

- I. Introductory sketch.
- II. The Government of the Land. The royal power ; the *hird* (body-guard, court) ; outward marks of royal dignity ; Harald Haarfager's empire ; his adjustment of the revenues of the kingdom ; his administration—the royal power and administration of the state in Sweden and Denmark.
- III. Wearing apparel ; personal ornaments ; furniture and fitting up of the house.
- IV. Trade ; sea-voyaging and art of shipbuilding ; the foundation and planning of towns.
- V. Military affairs, weapons and equipment—the equipment of the army ; tactics ; sieges and construction of fortresses.
- VI. Agriculture and cattle grazing.
- VII. Coinage ; weights and measures.
- VIII. Art of sculpture ; the sculptured stones of Gotland ; sculptured stones in Sweden, Denmark and Norway.
- IX. The Norse colonies in the Farøes and Iceland, especially in their relation to Celtic culture.
- X. Postscript, &c.

In dealing with the subject the British Isles naturally play an important part, and the work will be almost as valuable for the study of the influence of the Vikings upon our own early life as for the counter-influence which the early civilization of these islands had on the invaders from the North. Like his father, Professor Sophus Bugge, there seems little or nothing bearing on any subject he deals with that our author has not read and studied, and it is with some diffidence that we venture to criticise his statement on page 329, that the population of Cumberland was Celtic long after the Viking Age. We must, however, point out that Mr. Robert Ferguson, in "The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland," many years ago showed evidence for the existence in the Lake District of a considerable Scandinavian element, while in the *SAGA Book*, Vol. I., page 182, Mr. W. G. Collingwood reviewed the subject very fully in his paper on "The Vikings in Lakeland : their Place-names, Remains and History," confirming the earlier view and giving reason for his own opinion that the settlers were of Norse rather than Danish origin. The evidence in favour of a Scandinavian settlement in this district, at any rate between the sea and the mountains, seems so strong that we are tempted to think Professor A. Bugge has overlooked it rather than that he rejects it. We think also most students of the subject in this country will be surprised to learn that the author does not consider that the Gosforth Fishing-stone represents Thor and Hymir fishing. He thinks it more likely to be a Christian representation, perhaps of St. Peter's draught of fishes. In this it is difficult to follow him, but it is important to know that a scholar of such eminence holds this view. Needless to say that while calling attention to these minor points where Professor Bugge's views seem to us open to criticism, we have nothing but praise for his comprehensive and scholarly work, and only regret that we cannot notice it at the length it deserves.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

THE CRUCIFORM BROOCHES OF NORWAY. By HAAKON SCHETELIG.
(With 194 illustrations in the text). *Bergens Museums Aarbog*, 1906,
No. 8.

THIS is a delightful monograph on a special subject, which will be welcomed by all students of the arts of the Scandinavian peoples. The cruciform brooches of Norway are, says the author,

a branch of that large class of brooches commonly called the cross-bow brooches, a class which has best preserved many of the features of the early brooches with returned foot, and consequently they belong to that family of brooches which, during the last two centuries of the Roman empire, were used all over Western Europe, both in the Roman provinces and in the Teutonic districts.

The term "cruciform brooch" is, however, specially applied by the Scandinavian archæologists to "that Teutonic form, the upper part of which consists of a square flat plate attached to the bow on one side, and bearing on each of the other three sides a moulded knob," the pin being attached by a spring coil instead of, as in the Roman type, by a hinge. The form thus described, while preserving its type throughout the centuries of its prevalence, is susceptible of infinite variety of actual shape and ornamentation, and it is by the patient study of all the known examples, most of which are figured in the illustrations which form an attractive and indispensable adjunct of the text, that the author has been enabled to determine not only the localities to which the several varieties belong, but also the "relative" and "absolute" chronology (to use the terms first made available by Professor Montelius) of the type. The first part of the book consists of the typological description of the various forms, in which the author, after discussing the origin of the type, and describing the earliest brooches, goes on to show the development taken (1) in the Eastern parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula, and (2) in Western Norway, after which he devotes a subsidiary study to the cruciform brooches of England. With regard to the latter, the author states that "the earliest stages of the development of the cruciform brooches in England were chiefly independent of, though in some points allied to, the contemporary Danish brooches, while nothing is found indicating influences from Norway, or even contact with the forms common there," although an example from Dorchester points to "a Teutonic population in the middle of England already in the 4th century." On the other hand, the type followed a special line of its own in England, as may be seen by a comparison of the well-known Anglo-Saxon forms with contemporary Norwegian examples, and when the cruciform brooches disappeared in Scandinavia their history was not yet finished in England.

In the second part of the book the author discusses the chronology of the type, which extends from the middle of the 4th century A.D. (Montelius' first part of the Migration Period) down to the end of the 8th century (the Viking Period), although the development of the Norwegian forms came to an end in the middle of the 6th century.

The author's conclusions may be thus briefly summarized: From the

recorded finds some main periods of the typological development may be roughly expressed by absolute dates in centuries, though the date of any particular type must always be taken with a possible error of ± 25 years. In such an obscure subject, and seeing that the graves as a rule contain objects of varying dates, this is a remarkable achievement, and one upon which the author must be most heartily congratulated. In Norway four main periods may be distinguished: I. 350-400 A.D., the early cruciform brooches; II. 400-500 A.D., the early Norwegian forms; III. 450-500 A.D., the middle Norwegian forms; and IV. 500-550 A.D., the late Norwegian forms; after which only a few and degenerated specimens are met with.

The author's style is clear, lucid and eminently readable, although one cannot help noticing phrases here and there which show that he has been thinking in Norwegian and translating his thoughts as he goes along; and a good many printer's errors may be discovered by a careful scrutiny, but this is hardly to be wondered at when we remember that the book comes to us from Bergen. The author, while acknowledging his indebtedness to Professor Montelius and Dr. Bernhard Salin, has given us here the results of first-hand study, and we cordially recommend his book to all members of the Viking Club.

H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY.

NORGES OLDTID, MINDESMÆRKER OG OLDSAGER. With 605 Illustrations, 1 Plate and 4 Maps. By GABRIEL GUSTAFSON. *Kristiania: Alb. Cammermeyer, 1906.*

THIS valuable work is one of a series depicting the progress of Norwegian civilization through the ages, promoted by the "Norsk Folkemuseum" in Christiania. The subject is clearly and comprehensively set forth by an acknowledged master in a comparatively brief space, and the book, richly illustrated and beautifully printed, is a model of what such a work should be. Its production does honour to Norway and sets this country an example, which we fear is little likely to be followed. It commences with a chapter on: How can one learn something about old times? which deals with the science of archæology and with collections of antiquities. To this follow chapters on:—

The Older Stone Age. The first settlement of Norway. The earliest, rudely-formed implements.

The Younger Stone Age. Overlap types. The working of stone. Polished flint. The great stone graves.

The Bronze Age. Copper and bronze. The influence of new streams of culture. Cremation. Rock carvings.

The Older Iron Age. The beginning of the Iron Age. The Roman period. The Folk-wandering period. Wealth of gold. Animal ornamentation. The oldest writing.

The Viking Age. The first historic period. Wealth of weapons and treasures of silver. The so-called "dragon-style." Ship graves. End of heathendom and the old time.

Permanent Relics of Antiquity. Howes and cairns. Stone settings. Standing stones. Runic stones. Fortifications.

The Preservation of Antiquities. Protection by law.

Professor Gustafson's working out of this scheme gives a comprehensive survey of the prehistoric and early stages of culture in the North. Various sources are drawn upon for the wealth of illustrations that forms a leading feature of the book. Several of the objects found with the Oseberg ship are included among them, and the frontispiece is a large coloured plate, produced by a singularly effective process, of one of the stems showing the carving on the stem-post and gunwale. The carving here shown seems to be in even better preservation than on the stem shown in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV. p. 65, which it otherwise resembles. There is also a coloured vignette of a carved animal's head from one of the vehicles found with the ship. These are sufficient to whet, but not to satisfy, our anxiety for Professor Gustafson's full description of this wonderful find. In the meantime we congratulate ourselves that, while busily occupied with the new discovery, he has found time to give the beautiful and valuable work before us to the world.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

A TEXT BOOK OF IRISH LITERATURE. By MISS ELEANOR HULL.
Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. London: David Nutt. Price 3s. net.

To enter at all fully into the spirit of the wonderful old literature of Ireland, some knowledge of the history, traditional and actual, of the country is essential, and Miss Hull's modestly named book is accordingly not only all that it claims to be, but is also a concise and clearly-written introduction to the study of Irish history, as set forth in its records. The opening chapters on the relations between the traditions of the two great branches of the Celtic immigration to our islands, and the corresponding continental Celtic remains are most suggestive. The later history is involved in the account of the great writers of prose and poetry, owing to their official positions at the various courts.

The older, semi-mythical, tales, whose central figure is the hero Cuchulain, are fully described, the extracts from them being short, but enough to give their main characteristics, and to rouse full interest in them. We have nothing like them in the Northern literature, unless we except the account of the battle of Dúnheidi in the Hervarar Saga, where there is the same massing of confused hosts, which serve only as a background for the figures of the terrific champions of the field, as in the battles of the "Tain bo Cualnge" between Cuchulain and Meave, the queen of Connaught. A comparison between the warfare of these early epics and those of the siege of Troy is inevitable, but one can only feel that the Irish heroes are more human than the classic in some way, and the heroines seem to hold a higher position.

Passing on to the chapters dealing with the later imaginative poetry and with the poetry of the early Christian days, one learns that, as in

ancient Greece, the Irish had brought the art of poetry into definite shape and rule, with some wonderfully beautiful results. There was to a certain extent, as a result of growing artificiality, some loss of clearness, as in the North, with too great a use of "kennings" for the sake of effect, but the specimens given of ancient metres are most effective.

The last three chapters of the book are concerned with the metres, and with the Bardic Colleges in which they were elaborated. Except perhaps in the training of a Sanscrit scholar in some Brahmin college, it would be hard to match the long years of study demanded of a postulate for Bardic honours in the best period of Irish literary activity; but the training ensured him position and riches, and gave him a semi-sacred character which was only slowly lost. It was fully recognised by the Norsemen, who were able to appreciate the productions of the Bards of their time. It is significant that no Irish Bard met his death at the hands of the Vikings.

Miss Hull points out beyond the possibility of controversy that this best period of Irish literature coincided with the Norse invasions, which were not only not destructive, but acted as a stimulus by the widening of the outlook and rush of new ideas which were brought by the invaders. It is another proof that the Norseman, once he had shewn his determination to settle in and his power to hold the land which he had chosen, was willing to remain in peaceful contact and intercourse with his displaced neighbours, if allowed to do so. There were of course periods of devastating warfare, in which the churches suffered; but the monasteries, with their treasure of writings and their activities, remained unaffected as a whole. Indeed, there is proof that the Vikings were no mean patrons of the Bards themselves, rather than a hindrance to them. One of the best poems of the early eighth century, "The Song of the Sea," was written for the Dublin Vikings by the best Bard of the period, and is still preserved. A stanza or two is given in translation, and concerning its production a delightful little story, which bears on the face of it the stamp of genuineness, is told. The Bard had written another poem for the Vikings (who, by the way, must have learned the new language pretty thoroughly), and could not collect the fee he asked. Whereon he threatened to "carry off the honour of the men who refused to give," by writing a four-line stanza on them. The Vikings, with their well-known terror of a deserved "Flokk," promptly said that he might ask what he liked. "A penny from every bad Viking and twopence from every good Viking," he said. The result was that he was enriched for life, and endowed a church and a school. There were no bad Vikings. And in recompense for this generous result he wrote the "Song of the Sea" in addition.

The influence of the Irish imaginative poetry of this Viking period on the North is not far to seek. One need only instance the songs of Cormac the Scald, whose poetry seems to be so far in advance of that of his contemporaries.

A footnote on page 224 gives the value and pronunciation of the Irish

letters. Something of the kind might well have been inserted earlier in the book, for the sake of the English student, to whom the unfamiliar spelling is an initial difficulty, and for whom the simple rule "make the name as short as possible" is not always satisfactory. But Miss Hull has, perhaps wisely, not given us a hint that in this matter even the authorities are not quite unanimous.

C. W. WHISTLER.

THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT SCANDINAVIA. By W. A. CRAIGIE, M.A.
 CELTIC RELIGION IN PRE-CHRISTIAN TIMES. By EDWARD ANWYL,
 M.A. THE MYTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. By
 CHARLES SQUIRE. London: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. 1/- net
 each.

THESE three volumes form part of a series of handbooks now appearing under the general title of "Religions: Ancient and Modern," giving an outline in some 60 or 70 pages each of the various faiths of the world. The volumes differ somewhat in scope. In the first of the three before us, Mr. Craigie makes an "attempt," in his own words, "to exhibit what is really known of the religious beliefs and practices of the people as distinct from the mythological fancies of the poets." Professor Anwyl endeavours to trace the possible development of the religion of the Celts, dealing mainly with the Celts of the continent and relying largely on archæological evidence, literary sources of knowledge being indeed almost non-existent for this side of the subject. Incidentally he gives a luminous sketch of the chief phases of the rise of Celtic civilization. Mr. Squire, on the other hand, "aims at calling the attention of the general reader to the "mythology of our own country, that as yet little known store of Celtic tradition which reflects the religious conceptions of our earliest articulate ancestors." The scope of the series leaves no space for studies in comparative mythology, and the three volumes before us throw no light on the question of possible relations between the religious beliefs of the Celtic and the Teuto-Gothic races, though Mr. Squire calls attention to the parallel drawn by Professor Rhys in the "Hibbert Lectures" for 1886 between the Irish Gwydion and Woden, or Odin. We may say incidentally that we dissent from Mr. Squire's view that "the traces of the *English* gods are comparatively few in Britain," though we admit that they have received far less attention than in our opinion they deserve. Mr. Craigie, for instance, remarks on the scanty evidence for the worship of Odin among the Scandinavians, but has overlooked or has not come across the remarkable instance of the survival of an invocation to "God" (probably Thor), "Wod" and "Lok" recorded by the Rev. R. M. Heanley, who found it in existence in the Lincolnshire Marshland in 1858 or 1859.¹ Mr. Craigie's remarks on the difficulties presented by the difference between the positions assigned to the various gods in the mythology, &c., and those they seem to have actually occupied as objects

¹ "The Vikings: Traces of their Folklore in Marshland." *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. III., page 53.

of popular worship are helpful towards a solution of the problem, though much remains to be done before we can regard it as settled. He thinks the cult of Odin "was at first foreign to the Scandinavian peoples and was received by them from the South Germanic races." We may, nevertheless, point out that Odin appears among the gods of the week among the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon folk, but not among the South Germanic. Mr. Craigie of course adopts the general theory that the names of the days among the Teuto-Gothic races were mere adaptations of the names in vogue among the Romans of the later Empire, a view which in our opinion overlooks many features essential to a right conception on this point, but we have not space to pursue this point further at present. He, rightly we think, admits the weight of the evidence in favour of the use of temples and carved images by the Scandinavian peoples, which many writers have been disposed to reject as insufficient or inaccurate, especially as regards images. Subject to the reminder that it is not a handbook to the mythology, but only to the religious practices for which there is evidence, his book may be commended to all who want information on the subject, or a succinct survey of that evidence. The same applies to the other two works under review, and we should add that Mr. Squire's book briefly surveys the early Irish and Welsh literature, including the Ossianic and Arthurian cycles, in their mythological aspect.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

BRUNANBURH, A.D. 937. Identification of this Battle Site in North Lincolnshire. By the REV. ALFRED HUNT, M.A. *Privately printed, N.D.*

A FULL outline of this paper, which was read before the British Association in 1904, appeared in a District Report from Lincolnshire in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV., pages 18-20, in which members will find set forth the main points which have led the author to the conclusion that Brunanburh is to be found at the hamlet of Burnham, a few miles from Barrow Haven on the Lincolnshire shores of the Humber. The site agrees with the many accounts which state that the invading host landed on the shores of the Humber, and Mr. Hunt shows that Brune was the old name of the hamlet, while in Welsh annals the site of the battle is given as "Brune." He considers the name given it by the English chroniclers to be a compound one derived from the earthworks thrown up on the site and meaning "the burh of Brune," quoting in support Peter Langtoft, a monk of Bourne, in Lincolnshire, who said the battle took place "at Bruneshburgh on Humber." Earthworks at Burnham and Barrow, battle remains and local traditions are adduced in support, while the author shows that the site fulfils strategical requirements and answers generally to the description in Egil's Saga of the battle of Vinheath. There are minor discrepancies between it and the latter which Mr. Hunt does not try to explain; for instance, the Saga implies that a river lay close to Vinheath on one side, but Burnham must lie

some six miles or more from the nearest river, so far as we can judge from the plans in the pamphlet which show no scale of miles. So though Mr. Hunt makes out a very strong case, we must reserve our judgment, especially as we understand that one of our members, Mr. Francis W. T. Tudsbery, who has been studying the same problem, has come to very different conclusions on evidence which appears to him decisive. He expects shortly to be ready to give his opinion to the world, when it will be possible to weigh the rival theories.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

NORDISKA INFLYTELSE PÅ ENGELSKA SPRÅKET. By ERIK BJÖRKMAN.

THIS pamphlet is a ten-page extract from the Swedish Review *Nordisk Tidskrift*, and consists of a resumé of Dr. Björkman's researches on Scandinavian influences upon the English language and its dialects. As these works have already been reviewed in the SAGA-BOOK there is little to be said here on the subject, but it is noteworthy to find Dr. Björkman again insisting on the fact that in hundreds of cases it is still impossible to tell whether an English word can be considered to be of native or Scandinavian origin. In some cases, he affirms, it is very probable that English words which were dying out came to life again through Northern influence, for example, *bairn* and *dale*. Comparing the influence of the Normans with that of the earlier Northmen, Dr. Björkman says:—

Many of the French words in English belong to the more cultivated speech. But the Scandinavian are found in every mouth. Such words as *cast, give, take, get, die, drown, thrive, call, want, fellow, anger, egg, sister, husband, leg, wrong, ill, odd, ugly*, are of a different speech than the French loan-words. They are democratic words, words of the home and of familiar intercourse.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

STURLA THE HISTORIAN. By W. P. KER, M.A. (The Romanes Lecture, 1906.) *Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Henry Frowde. 1s. net.*

PROFESSOR KER'S lecture occupies only 24 printed pages, yet besides its immediate subject it contains a brilliant flash-light picture of the rise and fall of the Icelandic Commonwealth and of its intellectual life as evidenced by the sagas native to the island. Of Sturla's own work Professor Ker says that it is "the completion of Icelandic prose. It is hardly a metaphor to say that it is the mind of Iceland, expressing itself in the best way at the close of the old Icelandic life." This estimate is fully justified in the course of the lecture, while Sturla's method and manner in the "*Sturlunga Saga*," dealing with events in which he had been one of the leading actors, is ably contrasted with the less vivid style of the life of King Hakon. In the latter he had to work more on the lines of the ordinary historian, dependent on documents or on evidence taken at second-hand, though even here, as the lecturer points out, he had the advantage of personal communication with actors in the events he was narrating. No one interested in the subject should miss this admirable study of a great saga-writer and his work.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

A HANDBOOK TO YORK AND DISTRICT. Prepared for the 75th meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1906. Edited by GEORGE A. AUDEN, M.A., M.D. (Cantab.). *York: John Sampson. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Ltd.*

THIS book is fully worthy of the occasion which produced it, dealing with its subject on a scientific plan that leaves little to be desired. The prehistoric archaeology of the district is handled by the editor in a brilliant and comprehensive sketch, where all the results of scientific research are combined to illuminate the dark pages before the dawn of history. Mr. H. M. Platnauer treats of the two next sections. The period of the Roman occupation is dealt with fairly comprehensively, due attention being paid to the aid to be got from archaeology. When he comes to the Anglo-Danish period, however, his interest seems to die away and he gives little but a historical sketch derived from purely literary sources, neglecting the wealth of archaeological material which might have been used to illustrate and reinforce the teachings of history. An interesting footnote, however, which we can hardly be wrong in attributing to the editor, points out that the line of march of the Norwegian army prior to the battle of Stamford Bridge, which has always puzzled us, was determined by the geological conditions of the country. Subsequent sections deal with the later history of York, its buildings, fortifications, and other features of the life of the city, in an exhaustive series of chapters by various authorities. Except for the want of an index and its unfortunate weakness in dealing with the period that mainly interests us, we have nothing but praise for this volume.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

SCOTTISH KINGS, A REVISED CHRONOLOGY OF SCOTTISH HISTORY, 1005-1625. With notices of the principal events, Tables of Regnal years, Pedigrees, Tables, Calendars, etc. With 4 Maps. By SIR ARCHIBALD A. DUNBAR, Bt. Second Edition. *Edinburgh, 1906: David Douglas. Price 12s. 6d. net.*

THIS handsome volume is an indispensable book of reference to students of British History. It fully realises its endeavour "to settle, as far as possible, the exact date of the noteworthy events in Scottish history during those centuries," 1005-1625. The 5,000 references to the sources of information not only place its facts beyond question, but also provide a valuable clue for students who wish to follow up any particular event or period. Events are arranged under the reigns of sovereigns, on a workmanlike plan, which makes reference a pleasure. The arrangement of explanatory matter is admirable, and besides the pedigrees, explanation of double dates (so confusing in State documents), etc., there are the following maps—Alban *circa*, 1005; Scotia *circa*, 1018; State of the Church, 1124-1153; and the ancient divisions of the land. To crown all, a good index of 37 pp. goes to complete this excellent work. It will be particularly helpful to Viking students, as Scottish history is so bound up with that of Norway and its old Colonies of Orkney, Shetland, the Hebrides and Man.

A. W. JOHNSTON.

ARGVILLSHIRE GALLEYS. Some Typical Examples from Tomb Slabs and Crosses. By LORD ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL. London: C. J. Clark. Price 3s. 6d.

THE aim of the writer of this monograph is heraldic rather than archæological, to show the variation in the Galleys borne as blazons by different chiefs and clans, not to illustrate the origin or development of the Galley itself. None of the Galleys here figured, some 27 in all, show the side-rudder, or steering-oar, while more than half distinctly show the rudder hung at the stern, which came into use in the latter half of the 12th century. We may therefore conclude, with some degree of certainty, that most of the carvings here represented date from a period later than this. One, however, without a rudder, from a cross fragment in Iona, in Plate VII., is archaic in style, somewhat resembling ships in the rock carvings of Sweden and Norway, and may be very much earlier. In spite, however, of their comparatively late date, almost all the Galleys represented show a distinct affinity to the Norse type in the high stem and stern-posts, which in many instances also terminate in animal carvings. One especially resembles somewhat nearly the Orkney Galley figured on the cover of "OLD-LORE." These characteristics are most marked in the case of Galleys figured on monuments at Iona, which might be expected to approximate to the Viking type more closely than those on the mainland.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

THE STORY OF SHETLAND. By W. FORDYCE CLARK. Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS account of the northernmost part of the United Kingdom gives a clear and comprehensive review of the history and past and present condition of Shetland and its people. It will not perhaps add to the knowledge of those who have studied the literature of the islands, but many members of the Club outside Orkney and Shetland themselves will read it with advantage, especially for information about events following the close of the Norse dominion. The sketch of the history, divided into "the Prehistoric Period," "the Heroic Age," and "the Dark Age and After," is adequate for its purpose, though only an outline of events is possible in the space available. This is followed by accounts of the Political Emancipation of the islands, their fisheries, the Church in Shetland, Education, bygone industries, etc. The labours of the editors of "OLD-LORE" will give future historians of the islands more material on which to work their skill than were at the disposal of Mr. Fordyce Clark, but in brief compass he has made excellent use of what was available.

A. F. M.

SPINDRIFT: SHETLAND SKETCHES AND VERSE. By T. P. OLLASON. (Tirval.) Lerwick: T. & J. Manson. Cloth, 2s. 6d. Stiff boards, 1s. 6d.

THIS little volume of sketches of Shetland life will be welcome to all natives of the islands, whether at home or abroad. The verses are mostly in dialect, except the graceful introductory lines to "Thule," which testify to the love her children feel for the land of "winding voes" and "cold, grey headlands,"

A. F. M.

SAGA-BOOK

OF THE

VIKING CLUB.



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Book Agency—A list of new books on Northern subjects is issued periodically, and may be had from the Honorary Librarian.

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Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. V. PART II.

ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY.

THE following gifts have been made to the Library:—

GIVEN BY

HAAKON SCHETELIG.

“Norske Oldsager.” Arranged and explained by O. Rygh. With Wood Engravings by C. F. Lindberg. In Three Parts. Christiania, 1880-1885.

“Austreimstenen. En Billedsten fra Nordfjord.” With 3 Illustrations. By Haakon Schetelig. Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1907. No. II.

THE AUTHOR.

“Oldsagn om Godtjod, Bidrag til Etnisk Kildeforsknings Metode med særligt henblik på Folke-stamsagn.” By Gudmund Schütte. Copenhagen, 1907.

THE AUTHOR.

“Manx Crosses.” By P. M. C. Kermodé, F.S.A., Scot. London, 1907.

PROFESSOR W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

“Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire.” By W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A. Reprinted from *The Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, Vol. XIX. 1907.

“The Bondwoman: A Story of the Northmen in Lakeland.” By W. G. Collingwood, M.A. London, 1896.

“Coniston Tales.” By W. G. Collingwood, M.A.

“The Fésole Club Papers.” By W. G. Collingwood, M.A. Reprints from the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*.

“An Icelandic Prose Reader.” With Notes, Grammar, and Glossary. By Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell, M.A.

THE AUTHOR.

“Diplomatarium Færoense: Føroyskt Fodnbrævasavn, við søguligum rannsóknum.” Part I. By Jakob Jakobsen. Torshavn and Copenhagen, 1907.

THE TRANSLATOR.

“Kalevala: the Land of Heroes.” Translated from the original Finnish by W. F. Kirby, F.L.S., F.E.S., London, n.d.

THE AUTHOR.

“Bury St. Edmunds: Notes and Impressions.” By Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., Litt.D. London, 1907.

J. P. EMSLIE.

"Edda, ou Monuments de la Mythologie et de la Poésie des Anciens Peuples du Nord." By P. H. Mallet.

ROLAND SINCLAIR.

"Documents concerning the Convention in Moss, 1814." Edited by Dr. Y. Nielsen.

"Documents concerning the Invasion of the Great Powers at Copenhagen and Christiania in 1814." 2 Parts. Edited by Dr. Y. Nielsen.

THE AUTHOR.

"Frithiof the Bold. A Drama based upon the Ancient Scandinavian Legend." By F. I. Winbolt. 1902.

THE AUTHOR.

"L'ancienne Coutume de Normande." By W. L. de Gruche.

REV. THOS. MATHEWSON.

Two Copies of the "Up-Helli-aa" Song. By J. J. Haldane Burgess, M.A. 1897.

"Macbeth, Earl Siward and Dundee." By Geo. Stephens.

"The Old Red Sandstone of Shetland." By G. A. Gibson.

B. E. BENDIXEN.

"Havedyrkning i Bergen i Ældre Tid." By O. Olafsen ;
and the following Pamphlets by B. E. Bendixen :—

"Fornlevninger i Sønd Hordland." 1897-1898.

"Fornlevninger i Hardanger." 1892.

"Runebjerget ved Veblungsnæs." 1872.

"Udgravninger og Undersøgelser." I. 1889.

"Lærebog i de Nordiske Landes Handelsgeografi." 1900.

"Aus der Mittelalterlichen Sammlung des Museum in Bergen." V.-X. 1893-1901.

"Gimmestad Kirke, Nordfjord." 1905.

"Kalkmaleri i Dale Kirke, Lyster." 1902.

"Om nogle nedrevne kirker i Sogn." 1902.

"Undredals Kirke i Sogn." 1902.

"Kirkerne i Søndre Bergenhus Amt Bygninger og Inventarium." 1904-7. 3 Parts.

"Tillæg og Rettelser til Hildebrand Meyers Bergens Beskrivelse." 1905 6. 2 Parts.

"Samlinger til den Berømmelige og Navnkundige Norske Handel Stads Beskrivelse" ved Borgemester Meyer. 1904-5. 3 parts.

"Bergens Historiske Forening." Nos. 1-12. 1895-1906.

F. A. BATHER.

"The Linnean Bicentenary." Reprinted from *The Museum Journal*. 1907.

"Linnean Celebrations in Sweden." Reprinted from *The Antiquary*, November, 1907.

HARPER GAYTHORPE, F.S.A., Scot.

"Annual Reports and Proceedings of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club and Literary and Scientific Association." Vol. XVIII. Barrow-in-Furness, 1907.

THE ORDNANCE SURVEY OFFICE, SOUTHAMPTON.

A 6-inch Map of Shetland. 201.

OTHER ADDITIONS.

- "Odin's Horse, Yggdrasill." By Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A. London, 1895.
- "Nationalmuseet Hundrede Aar efter Grundlæggelsen." By Sophus Muller. Copenhagen, 1907. (G. E. C. Gad).
- "The Young Norseman." By W. B. Rands. Illustrated by M. M. Williams. London, 1907. (David Nutt).
- "Popular Tales from the Norse." By Sir G. W. Dasent. London, n.d. The London Library. (G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd.)
- "Stories from the Saga of 'Burnt Njál.' Part I. The Story of Gunnar." By Beatrice E. Clay, B.A. London, n.d. (Horace Marshall & Son).
- "Danske Studier." 1904, and Part 4. 1907.
- Proceedings of the Cornell University Library. 1907.
- „ „ East Riding Antiquarian Society. 1907.
- „ „ Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences.
- "Zetland Family Histories: being a new, revised and enlarged edition of 'Zetland County Families.'" By Francis J. Grant, W.S. Lerwick, 1907. (T. & J. Manson).
- "On British Stone Circles." By E. M. Nelson. London, 1907. (R. Atkinson).
- "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish." By the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, D.C.L. New Edition. London, 1907. (Macmillan).
- "Beowulf, an old English Epic (the earliest epic of the Germanic Race)." Translated into modern English prose by Wentworth Hayshe, with notes and illustrations. London, 1907. (Routledge).
- "The Church in Orkney." By John Smith. Kirkwall, 1907. (W. R. Mackintosh).
- "The Scots' Peerage, founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, containing an Historical and Genealogical account of the nobility of that Kingdom." Edited by Sir James B. Paul, Lord Lyon King of Arms. Vol. I. Edinburgh, 1904. (David Douglas).
- "Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Cæsar." By T. Rice Holmes, Hon. Litt.D. (Dublin). Oxford, 1907. (Clarendon Press).
- "European Animals: their Geological History and Geographical Distribution." By R. F. Scharff, Ph.D., B.Sc., Swiney Lecturer in Geology. London, 1907. (Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd.)
- The Oxford Year Book and Directory, 1906.

OTHER GIFTS.

J. W. CURSITER, F.S.A., Scot.

Cast of the newly-found Inscription in Branch-Runes from the Brodgar Circle, Stenness, Orkney.

THE WICK BARROW EXCAVATION FUND.

Sixteen Photographs of the Excavations and finds at Wick Mound taken by Mr. H. St. George Gray, and Two Photographs of one of the Skulls found taken by Rev. C. W. Whistler.

VIKING BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[The Hon. Editor will be glad if members generally will help to make the Bibliography as complete as possible by sending word of any books, or articles in local newspapers, magazines, &c., suitable for notice, or by forwarding cuttings of the same. Communications should be addressed to Albany F. Major, "Bifrost," 30, the Waldrons, Croydon.]

Besides the books, &c., of the year included under GIFTS and ADDITIONS to the LIBRARY, we note the following:—

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

By Professor T. N. TOLLER, M.A.

"An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary based on the Manuscript Collections of the late Joseph Bosworth." Supplement by T. Northcote Toller. Part I., A—Eorþ. Oxford, 1908

By REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.

Chapters on "Historic Norfolk" "Castleacre," "Norman Fonts in Norfolk," &c., in "Memorials of Old Norfolk." London, 1908.

By the late J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.

"Pre-Norman Cross-Shaft recently found at Newent, Gloucestershire," in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, July, 1907.

By P. M. C. KERMODE, F.S.A., Scot.

"Inscription in Anglian Runes, from Kirk Maughold, Isle of Man," in *The Reliquary*, October, 1907.

By G. A. AUDEN, M.A., M.D.Cantab.

"Pre-Conquest Cross at Rolleston, Staffs., in *The Reliquary*, January, 1908.

By REV. C. W. WHISTLER, M.A., M.R.C.S.

"Local Traditions of the Quantocks" in *Folk-Lore*, March, 1908.

FORTHCOMING.

By Professor W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

"Scandinavian Britain." In the Press. (S.P.C.K.)

By REV. W. C. GREEN, M.A.

"Translations from the Icelandic, Prose and Verse." In the Press. (Chatto and Windus).

By ROLAND ST. CLAIR.

"Orkney." Vol. I. of the Lineage Library. British Series.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

"Nordisk Aandsliv i Vikingetid og Tidlig Middelalder." By Axel Olrik. Copenhagen and Christiania, 1907.

"Corolla Sancti Edmundi." Edited with a Preface by Lord Francis Hervey. London, 1907.

"National Life and Character in Early English Literature." By Edmund Dale, M.A., D.Litt. Cambridge, 1907.

"The Roman, Angle and Dane in East Yorkshire." By Thomas Sheppard, F.G.S. *Transactions of the "Hull Scientific and Field Naturalists' Club."* Vol. IV. Part I.

GIFTS TO THE FUNDS, 1907.

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WICK BARROW EXCAVATIONS.

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Anon	1	1	0
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The Council of the Viking Club do not hold themselves responsible for statements or opinions appearing in papers in, or communications to, the SAGA-BOOK, the authors alone being answerable for the same.

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

FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1907.

MEETING, JANUARY 25TH.

Professor W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A. (President), in the
Chair.

The Chairman delivered his Presidential Address, "A Shetland Legend from Fljótsdæla Saga," which is printed on pp. 272-87.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Major and Mr. Johnston took part.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 22ND.

Professor I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D, in the Chair.

Mr. A. F. Major exhibited a "Lucky bone," kindly lent by Dr. Auden.¹

Miss Eleanor Hull, Hon Sec., Irish Texts Society, read a paper on "The Gael and the Gall: some Notes on Ireland under the Norseman," printed on pp. 363-92

In the discussion which followed, Mrs. Green, Mr. Alfred Nutt, Mr. Seton, and Mr. Major took part.

MEETING, MARCH 22ND.

Professor W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A. (President), in the
Chair.

The following papers were read:—

"The Earliest Vikings in the West," printed on pp. 288-96, and "The Authorship of the Orkneyinga Saga,"

¹ See Part I., p. 178.

which has appeared in "Old-Lore," by Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D., Vice-President ;

"Orkney and Shetland Old-lore," by A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., Chairman of the Council ;

"Notes on Church Dedications to St. Olaf in the British Isles," by Albany F. Major, Hon. Editor.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 26TH.

Professor W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A. (President), in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 26th, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year were laid before the meeting. They were unanimously adopted, and will be found on pp. 211-17. The Officers of the Club were also elected for the ensuing year.

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Hon. Life Member and Hon. Vice-President, then read the first part of a paper on "The Last of the Icelandic Commonwealth," which is printed on pages 308-40.

Professor W. P. Ker, President-elect, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Magnússon for his paper, said he felt bound to speak in defence of Bishop Gudmund Arason against the view of his character and conduct put forward by the lecturer, who had not, in the speaker's opinion, done the bishop justice. His own views on this point had very recently been brought before the Club in the paper on the bishop which he had read at the meeting in March.¹ Mr. A. F. Major seconded the vote of thanks, which was adopted by acclamation.

ANNUAL DINNER, JUNE 5TH.

The Annual Dinner was held at the Trocadero Restaurant on Wednesday, June 5th, at 7-45 p.m., Professor

¹ See paper on "Gudmund Arason" in Part I. pp. 86-103.

W. P. Ker, M.A., President, in the Chair. The Vice-Chairmen were: Mr. H. L. Brækstad (Vice-Consul for Norway), and Mr. W. F. Kirby, Vice-Presidents. Sir Frederick Pollock, D.C.L., was the guest of the evening, and among the large gathering present were Lady Pollock, Mr. Irgens (Secretary of the Norwegian Legation), Professor Gollancz, Professor G. Saintsbury and Mrs. Saintsbury, Fröken Rodolfa Lhombino, Mr. Sveinbjörn Sveinbjörnsson, all the principal officers of the Club, and many other members and friends, the company numbering about 55 in all. Sir Frederick Pollock and Professor Saintsbury having responded to the toast of "The Guests," the President, in responding to that of "The Club," proposed by Professor Gollancz, touched with deep feeling on the great loss sustained by the Club in the death of Dr. Karl Blind, a former Past-President and valued member of their Society, whose eminent services in promoting its aims and objects could never be forgotten. Dealing with the aims and objects of the Club, he said that the great justification for their studies was that they were part of the humanities, and in this connection they were especially grateful to Mr. Collingwood, their late President, for his valuable work in connection with Northern and antiquarian studies and research. In the course of the evening some charming Norwegian songs were contributed by Fröken Rodolfa Lhombino and Mr. Sveinbjörn Sveinbjörnsson, the words of the latter's dramatic composition, "Valagisla," having (it was stated) been written by Hannes Hafstein, Minister of State for Iceland.

MEETING, JULY 5TH.

Professor W. P. KER, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

The following resolutions proposed by the Council were adopted:—

I. PUBLICATIONS GUARANTEE FUNDS.—The Council shall have power to draw upon the Endowment Fund of the Club

and the Life Subscription Fund of the Old-Lore Series, to the extent of one-third of each Fund, on account of the Club and Old-Lore Series respectively, to pay for researches, etc., required to be made in the preparation of works in advance of their publication, and for such works as are not fully subscribed for at the time of their publication, subject to the previous approval of an Ordinary General Meeting of the Club in the case of each work. All such advances shall be refunded out of additional subscriptions and donations received towards such works and from the first proceeds of the sale of surplus stock of same.

II. The Council shall have power to draw upon the Publications Guarantee Fund of the Club, on account of Volume II. of the Translation Series, "*Sæmundar Edda*," Part I.

III. The Council shall have power to draw upon the Publications Guarantee Fund of the Old-Lore Series on account of the Surveys of Place-names in Orkney and Shetland.

The following paper was then read:—"Sea Traffic in the Viking Age," by Professor Alexander Bugge, Hon. Life Member, which will be printed in a future number of the SAGA-BOOK. Professor W. G. Collingwood, Mr. Major, and Mr. Marchant took part in the discussion which followed, in which great regret was expressed at the absence of the author of the paper, who had been recalled to Norway in consequence of the dangerous illness of his father, Professor Sophus Bugge.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 22ND.

Professor W. P. KER, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

The President gave his Inaugural Address on "Iceland and the Humanities," which is printed on pp. 341-53.

MEETING, DECEMBER 20TH.

Professor W. P. KER, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

It was reported that the following address had been sent to the King of Sweden on his accession to the throne of that country:—

TO HIS MAJESTY KING GUSTAVUS V. OF SWEDEN.

May it please Your Majesty :

We, the members of the Viking Club, desire to express to Your Majesty the sympathy which we feel with you and your Royal House and the people of Sweden in the grievous loss of your father, His Late Majesty King Oscar II., a Monarch loved by His people, admired as an author and venerated by all the nations of the civilized world.

Our thoughts are with you on this sad occasion, as it is the object of the Club to study and preserve the memories of olden times in the North: and in commemorating these and the friendship and kinship which link together the Swedish and British peoples, we trust under Your Majesty's rule the kingdom of Sweden may prosper and increase, and through the close bonds of marriage which now unite Sweden with the Royal House of Great Britain may attain great felicity.

That Your Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen may enjoy a long life of peace with serene happiness is the prayer of

Your Majesty's obedient servants,

(Signed) W. P. KER, President.

(Signed) AMY JOHNSTON, Hon. Secretary.

Dec. 11th, 1907.

The following papers were read :—

"Notes on a Decorated Bucket from the Oseberg Find," by Professor G. Gustafson, Hon. Life Member, which is printed on pp. 297-307 ;

"The Viking Raft or Pontoon Bridge, made to rise and fall with the tide: discovered in 1886, near Glamford-Brigg, N. Lincolnshire," by the Rev. Alfred Hunt, M.A., which is printed on pp. 355-62.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the papers Miss Rücker, Mr. Lowerison, Mr. Major, and Mr. Kirby took part.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND OLD-LORE SERIES.

The proceedings of the year were signalized by the inauguration of the Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore Series and the issue of the first four numbers of "Old-Lore." Some notice of the contents will be found in our review

columns (page 419), but we cannot refrain from recording the success which has attended the new venture and greeted the strenuous labours of the Editors of "Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore," Mr. A. W. Johnston, Chairman of the Council, and our Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Johnston, together with their coadjutor, Dr. Jón Stefánsson. In their hands the new enterprise of the Club has won golden opinions both at home and abroad, including direct recognition by the Norwegian Government, has appealed to Orkneymen and Shetlanders in all parts of the world, and has brought not a few recruits to the Viking Club, the parent of the endeavour.

WICK BARROW EXCAVATIONS.

In the course of the year the Viking Club also joined with the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society in a thorough investigation of Wick Barrow, which stands near the shore of the Bristol Channel and mouth of the river Parrett, in the parish of Stogursey in Somerset. The circular sent to members inviting their co-operation, as well as the District Report for Somerset in last year's SAGA-BOOK (pp. 48, 49 of this volume) show the grounds there were for thinking the mound might hold an important Scandinavian burial, and the Council considered that the desirability of settling the point fully justified the Club in lending its assistance to the local Society in order that the matter might be decided once and for all. The work was carried out in April and September under the able superintendence of Mr. H. St. George Gray, Assistant Secretary of the Somerset Society and Curator of their Museum in Taunton Castle. The Rev. C. W. Whistler, our Hon. District Secretary for the County, and Mr. Albany F. Major, Hon. Editor, were present throughout the excavations on behalf of the Viking Club, and many members of both Societies visited the work during its progress.

The hopes of a find of peculiar interest to our club were not destined to be realized, as the barrow proved to belong to the Early Bronze Age. Although it was finally discovered that the mound had been broken in Roman days and the central interment removed, several important burials with relics and remains of great interest were found. Moreover, the mound was structurally of a very remarkable and unusual character, and the nearest analogues to it are apparently to be found in certain barrows of the Early Bronze Age in Denmark and Norway. The work was carried out by Mr. Gray in a most thorough and scientific manner. His Report of it, which promises to be a model of what such a Report should be, will be issued to subscribers and printed in the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.¹ Owing to its fulness of detail and consequent great length, and to the fact that the results of the work have been shown to be hardly within the scope of the Club, it will unfortunately not be possible to print it in full in the SAGA-BOOK, but as it was read at the meeting of March 20th, 1908, an abstract will appear in the Report of the Proceedings in the next SAGA-BOOK.

As will appear from the District Report for Somerset, on pp. 237-41, the supplementary work to be carried out by the Wick Excavation Fund has already borne direct fruit for the researches of the Club by fixing the date of the supposed "Danish" battle-burials at Cannington Park as in the Anglo-Saxon period.

¹ Members wishing for copies (post free 4/6; two copies 8/6) should apply to H. St. George Gray, Taunton Castle, Somerset.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL.

METHODS OF WORK.

During the year 1906 the work of the Club included:—The holding of seven meetings for the reading and discussion of Papers on Northern subjects; visits to Bridgwater; the Exhibition of Water Colour Drawings by the late Sir Henry Dryden, Bt.; the social function of the Annual dinner; adding to the Library and Museum; the survey of Orkney Place-Names; and the foundation of the Orkney and Shetland Old-lore Series.

The Council recommend that the work of the Club should be continued on similar lines during the forthcoming year.

MEETINGS.

January 19th.—Presidential Address, "The Archæology of the Vikings in England," with lantern illustrations. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A., President.

February 16th.—"Gringolet, Gawain's Horse." Professor I. Gollancz, Litt.D., Secretary to the British Academy.

March 16th.—"The Life of Bishop Gudmund Arason." Professor W. P. Ker, M.A.

April 27th.—Annual General Meeting, followed by an Exhibition of Orkney Drawings by the late Sir Henry Dryden, Bt., with descriptions by A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., Chairman of Council.

October 26th.—Joint Meeting with the "Somerset Men in London," at the Holborn Restaurant. "Legends and Traditions of the Quantock Districts, with special reference to possibly Scandinavian Odinic Survivals." Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., Hon. Dist. Secretary.

November 23rd.—"Notes on the Danish Moat at Fulham," and "Runes amongst Ogham Illustrations in Old Irish MSS." G. M. Atkinson, Vice-President.

Some Flint Implements found by Mr. Harry Lowerison, Hon. District Secretary for Norfolk, on the site of a so-called "Danish" Camp in Norfolk were shown.

December 14th.—"Scandinavian Folk Songs," with vocal illustrations. Sveinbjörn Sveinbjörnsson.

ROYAL ADDRESSES.

An Address of condolence on the death of his father, King Christian IX., was presented to H.M. the King of Denmark on his accession to the throne.

H.M. the King of Norway, during his visit to England in autumn, graciously received a deputation of the Club at Buckingham Palace, and accepted an illuminated address.

EXCURSION.

June 2nd to 4th.—Bridgwater and the country of King Alfred's Campaign from Athelney in 878, was visited by members of the Club and friends, conducted by the Rev. C. W. Whistler.

ANNUAL DINNER.

The Annual Dinner, attended by 66 members and guests, was held on June 12th, at the Hotel Dieudonné. The chair was occupied by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, the President, and His Excellency, Dr. F. Nansen, the Norwegian Minister, was entertained as the Guest of the Club.

PUBLICATIONS.

The *Saga-Book* for 1905 has been issued to all Members for 1905, and to Members elected in 1906.

The *Saga-Book* for 1906 is now in the printer's hands, and will be issued in April to Members who have paid their subscription.

The following Publications will be issued to subscribers:—

- (1) Translation Series, Vol. II. *Sæmundar Edda Part I.*, the Mythological Poems. Translated and edited by Olive Bray, illustrated by W. G. Collingwood.
- (2) A short guide to Old Norse (Icelandic) Literature. By Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D.

Presentation Volume—"Thingsteads of England and Scotland," by F. T. Norris, will shortly be issued. This volume is presented to the Members of the Club by Miss C. Horsford, Vice-President.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND OLD-LORE SERIES.

Five hundred and seventy-two copies of the first year's issues of the Old-Lore Series have been subscribed for. Each quarterly will include (1) Miscellany, and (2) Records or other special work. The Norwegian Government has placed at the disposal of the Editors the results of the researches of Professor A. Taranger in Scotland during 1906, in advance of their being printed in a forthcoming volume of the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. These documents include Norse, Scotch, and Latin deeds relating to Orkney and Shetland, and will appear in the July Number of Old-Lore. The April and October numbers will commence a series of volumes of Orkney and Shetland Sasines. Next year it is hoped to issue Mr. G. F. Black's translation of Professor Hægstad's work on the Foola ballad.

COMMITTEES, etc.

The following Members have been appointed a Publications Committee: G. M. Atkinson, W. G. Collingwood, A. F. Major.

Mr. A. Shaw Mellor has been elected Hon. Treasurer in place of Mr. A. W. Johnston, resigned.

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

The collection of books and antiquities is in the charge of Mr. A. W. Johnston, Hon. Librarian. A catalogue has been printed and may be had for 6d. The Hon. Librarian will be glad to receive gifts of books and antiquities to the Library and Museum, and cases for books and exhibits. Members may obtain books on loan on payment of carriage.

MEMBERSHIP.

During the year 1906 the Club lost two Subscribing and one Honorary member by death and seven by withdrawal, while 21 Subscribing Members and one Honorary Life Member have been added to the roll, and the exchange of *Proceedings* arranged with one Society.

Of 46 Honorary Members, 32 were re-elected, and four enrolled as Subscribing Members.

At the close of the year the Membership consisted of 10 Honorary Life, 31 Honorary, and 216 Subscribing Members, of which 22 have compounded and are compounding by instalments for their subscriptions, while *Proceedings* are exchanged with 14 Societies.

STATEMENTS OF ACCOUNTS.

The Honorary Treasurer's Balance Sheet and Accounts for the year ending December 31st, 1906, are appended.

Adopted by the Council,

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Chairman.*

Feb. 9th, 1907.

VIKING CLUB.

GENERAL BALANCE SHEET, 31st December, 1906.

LIABILITIES.				ASSETS.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
I. BALANCES OF THE FOLLOWING FUNDS:—				<i>Subscriptions in Arrear</i>			
<i>Horsford Fund for "Thing-Steads," by F. T.</i>				<i>Members owing for Dinter Tickets</i>			
Norris	47	6	0	" " Folksong Lecture Tickets			
<i>Major Fund for "Saga Studies," by A. F. Major</i>	5	0	0	" " Reprints of Saga-Book, Vol. IV.,			
<i>Endowment Fund</i>	149	16	0	Part II.			
<i>General Fund</i>	38	11	10	" " Back Works			
<i>Orkney and Shetland Old-lore Series</i>	221	14	1	<i>Investments—</i>			
			462 7 11	Consols	44	0	8
II. SUNDRY LIABILITIES:—				South Australian Stock	185	17	6
<i>General Fund—</i>				<i>Cash in Bank</i>	220	6	9
Commissions to trade	0	15	0	hands of Hon. Treasurer	17	7	3
Printing and Stationery	6	3	9				237 14 0
Rent of Rooms	1	16	0				
Postages	2	8	6				
Books for Member	0	5	0				
Library Catalogue	9	19	6				
<i>Guide to Northern Literature</i>			21 7 9				
			4 15 0				
III. SUBSCRIPTIONS (1907) paid in advance... ..			3 2 6				
			£491 13 2				£491 13 2

NOTE.—The above mentioned Assets do not include the value of back numbers of the *Saga-Books*, nor the value of the Club Library, pictures and antiquities.

We have compared the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers produced to us, and find the same to be in accordance therewith.

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

CHARLES CANDLER, } *Hon Auditors.*
W. V. M. POPHAM, }

London, March 28th, 1907.

VIKING CLUB.

GENERAL FUND for the Year ending 31st December, 1906.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last year				3	0	8
1906 Annual Subscriptions paid in 1905	5	7	0			
" " " 1906	81	13	0			
" " " in Arrear	11	18	0			
				<hr/>		
Dividends received					98	18
Gifts					3	3
Reprints of <i>Saga-Book</i> , Vol. IV., Part II.					32	10
Sale of Back Works					1	18
Old-Iore Series for Miscellaneous Expenses					21	9
Library, Postage of Books					5	0
Orkney Place-Names Survey, Cost of Printing Forms refunded by Old-Iore Series					0	5
Profit on Book Agency Account					11	1
Balance of Publication Fund					3	19
Sale of Tickets—Bridgwater Excursion					2	16
" " Annual Dinner					38	4
" " Folk-Song Lecture					32	10
					6	7

 £ 260 18 9

By Working Expenses:—			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Bank Charges	...	...	0	8	7			
Cheque Book	...	...	0	5	0			
Commissions to Trade	...	...	1	4	0			
Printing and Stationery	...	...	8	18	9			
Fire Insurance Premium	...	...	2	1	6			
Rent of Rooms	...	...	1	16	0			
Hire of Lantern at Meetings	...	...	2	2	0			
Refreshments at Meetings	...	...	1	15	7			
Assistant Secretary's Honorarium	...	...	3	18	6			
Advertisements, Reference & Account Books	...	...	1	4	7			
Postages, including those of Prospectuses	...	...	19	8	0			
Annual Dinner Expenses	...	...				43	2	6
Bridgwater Excursion Expenses	...	...				31	13	3
Folk-Song Lecture Expenses	...	...				35	13	2
Saga-Book, Vol. IV., Part II.	...	...				4	4	0
Copy of "Thingsteads of Iceland," bound in vellum, with printed list of subscribers, presented with the Wedding Present to T.R.H. Prince and Princess Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden	...	...				89	17	11
Purchase of Book for Member	...	...				2	3	6
Purchase of Stock of Books of the Book Agency, transferred to Club Stock	...	...				0	5	0
Printing 200 copies Library Catalogue	...	...				1	18	1
Arrears of Subscriptions cancelled and irrecoverable	...	...				9	19	6
Balance to General Balance Sheet...	...	...				3	10	0
						38	11	10	
						£	260	18	9

BOOK AGENCY ACCOUNT for the Year ended 31st December, 1906.

To Cash for Books Sold in 1905	... ..	£ s. d.
Books Sold in 1906	... ..	7 11 10
	... ..	<u>31 15 11</u>
		£39 7 9

By Stock in hand, December 31st, 1905	... ..	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Cash for Books Purchased in 1905	... ..	1 2 9	4 0 8
" Books Purchased in 1906, etc.	... ..	29 9 5	
			30 12 2
" Postage ... ..	... ..		15 11
Balance to General Fund	... ..		3 19 0
			£39 7 9

PUBLICATION FUND for the Year ended 31st December, 1906.

To Balance from 1905	...	...	...	£	s.	d.
				2	16	6
By Balance to General Fund	...	...	...	£	s.	d.
				2	16	6

ENDOWMENT FUND for the Year ended 31st December, 1906.

				£	s.	d.					£	s.	d.
To Balance from last year	...	...	...	113	7	0	By Balance to Balance Sheet	...	...	...	149	16	0
1906 Life Subscriptions	...	...	...	28	10	0							
, Entrance Fees	...	...	...	4	19	0							
" Gifts	...	...	...	1	0	0							
1907 Life Subscription	...	...	..	2	0	0							
				£149	16	0					£149	16	0

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND OLD-LORE SERIES.
BALANCE SHEET, December 31st, 1906.

LIABILITIES.				ASSETS.			
		£	s. d.			£	s. d.
To Balance of Life Subscription Fund	.. ..	97	0 0	By Subscriptions in Arrear	.. ..	30	18 0
General Fund	.. ..	93	7 2	Subscription to Foundation Fund in Arrear	.. ..	5	0 0
				Founder's Fee in Arrear	.. ..	5	0 0
Miscellaneous Printing	.. ..		7 9 3	Balance to General Balance Sheet	.. ..	221	14 1
Old-Lore, No. 1.	.. ..		41 13 9				
Commissions to Trade	.. ..		1 6 6				
Subscriptions paid in advance for 1908	.. ..	6	0 5				
" " " 1909	.. ..	5	5 0				
" " " 1910	.. ..	5	5 0				
" " " 1911	.. ..	5	5 0				
			21 15 5				
			£262 12 1				£262 12 1

GENERAL FUND for the Year ended December 31st, 1906.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To 1906 Annual Subscriptions paid in 1906 ..	179 0 0		By Stationery, Printing and Postage, including Prospectuses ..	40 10 0	
, " in Arrear ..	<u>30 18 0</u>	209 18 0	" Commissions to the Trade ..	41 7 0	
, Foundation Fund paid in 1906 ..	54 7 0		" Honorariums ..	37 16 0	
, , in Arrear ..	<u>5 0 0</u>	59 7 0	" MS. Copy of Shetland Rental ..	3 10 0	
			" Orkney Place-Names Survey, for printing forms, refunded to Viking Club General Fund ..	11 1 0	
			" Old-lore No. I., Printing, Illustrations and Postage ..	41 13 9	
			" Balance to Balance Sheet..	<u>93 7 2</u>	
	<u>£269 5 0</u>			<u>£269 5 0</u>	

LIFE SUBSCRIPTION FUND for the Year ended December 31st, 1906.

[illegible]

REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES
AND
HON. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

NOTES ON "DANES' SKINS."

By H. ST. GEORGE GRAY,
Hon. Corresponding Member.

IT is perhaps a little surprising that in the twelve parts of the SAGA-BOOK already published there is only one reference to a "Dane's skin."¹ This fact induces me to bring together several instances which have come to my notice from time to time, the majority having been previously recorded, scattered, however, in various periodicals and transactions of societies.

It cannot be expected that such an account as the following is by any means exhaustive, but it will doubtless be the means of bringing to light other examples unknown to the writer of these notes.

The average mind generally regards flaying alive as extremely gruesome. "There is an ancient legend of Apollo having flayed Marysas alive for his presumption in challenging the god to a musical contest." An engraving is known of Marysas tied to a tree, head downwards, whilst Apollo was stripping off his skin.²

Some accounts state that the Emperor Valerian was flayed *alive*, others that he was skinned after death. As the captive of Sapor, King of the Persians, in the middle of the third century, Valerian, arrayed in his imperial robes, is stated to have been dragged about from town to town at the wheels of a chariot, and when Sapor

¹ SAGA-BOOK, IV., 117.

² *Notes and Queries*, 10th ser., I, 352. In the Bible there is a hint of similar proceedings (and dismemberment) in Micah iii. 3.

desired to mount his horse, Valerian was made to lie down as a footstool. When at length he died, not even then could the Persians loose their hold upon him. "They had his body skinned, painted the hide red, and hung it up in their chief temple."

According to the generally received tradition, the apostle St. Bartholomew was flayed alive and crucified with his head downwards, at Albanopolis in Armenia, or, according to Nicephorus, at Urbanopolis in Cilicia.

A figure, on the tower of West Cranmore Church, Somerset, having indications on the legs of the skin being stript off, is almost certainly that of the patron saint, St. Bartholomew.¹

From Geoffrey of Monmouth we learn that in the days of King Morvid a certain king of the Moranians landed with a great force on the shore of Northumberland. Morvid won the victory, and after having glutted his blood-thirst by putting his foes to death, he, becoming weary, ordered others "*to be skinned alive and burned after they were skinned.*"²

With what mixed feelings of horror and interest we, as children, learnt in our earliest text-books of history of the skilful bowman, who shot Richard, Cœur de Lion, when laying siege to the Castle of Chaluz, being flayed alive by one Merchadeus, in spite of the "Lion-hearted's" dying orders that his life should be spared.

Hugo de Cressingham, Chief Justice Itinerant in the North of England in the reign of Edward I., was flayed by the exasperated Scots at Strivelyn, A.D. 1296.

Sir Walter Raleigh feared being flayed alive by the Spaniards, and they perhaps learnt the atrocity from the Moors.³

There is evidence of flaying having been practised at quite a late date. Throsby, in his "History of Leicestershire," published in 1790, related the circumstances of

¹ Proc. Som. Arch. Soc., LIII., pt. 1., p. 40.

² Notes and Queries, 10th ser., I, 15.

³ Op. cit., 9th ser., XII., 489. For Oriental instances of flaying see Grote's "History of Greece," IV., notes.

a shepherd boy, of Sharnford, *circa.* 1700, folding sheep in a field near High Cross, who was threatened by some villains that they would skin him alive. This was actually carried into effect in a hollow in the field near High Cross, his skin being hung on a thorn. The boy, of course, died in great agony.

It is affirmed that flaying was practised at Lyons during the French Revolution, and that the skins of the "aristocrats" were tanned and made into boots. "At Meudon," says Montgalliard, with considerable calmness, "there was a tannery of human skins; such of the guillotined as seemed worth flaying: of which perfectly good wash-leather was made." Thomas Carlyle states that the skin was used for breeches and other purposes; that the skin of the men was superior in toughness (*consistance*) and quality to shamoy; and that of the women was good for almost nothing, being so soft in texture.

The operation of flaying alive is shown in a remarkable picture in the Bruges Gallery, the victim being a judge who had collected large sums of money for the poor, but had appropriated them.

In Taunton Castle Museum a large piece of skin is shown which was removed from the body of a man hanged at Ilchester Gaol; and in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is a piece of the skin of a man hanged for killing his wife.¹

These are but a few of many instances of flaying that are on record.

Flaying, although apparently not of rare occurrence, was probably not a punishment for any particular kind of offence, but an arbitrary mode of inflicting the penalty of death on pillaging Danes and others, where the excitement of the moment could not be appeased by any ordinary modes of punishment: or when summary vengeance was stimulated at a time of great popular indignation, especially in distant places where the administration of the law might be imperfectly maintained.

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 10th ser., I, 352.

We cannot trace any English enactment which inflicts the penalty of flaying on any offender; and it is not likely that it was inflicted with the sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities.¹ The penalty for sacrilegious theft, always considered to be a most heinous crime, was in any case of unusual severity. By the laws of Alfred it was punishable not only by fine, but the guilty hand, unless redeemed, was also to be struck off. This would tend to show what was the extreme penalty according to law: but the invading Dane would hardly be considered otherwise than an "outlaw," in the sense that the regular course of justice did not apply to him when caught *in flagrante delicto*. It remains as a fact that whether inflicted at the bidding of some powerful thane, or ecclesiastic, or by popular fury, we have tangible evidence that the dread punishment of flaying was actually inflicted in certain cases on foreign pillagers of churches.

Popular tradition exists in several parts of England, and especially in the eastern counties, of Danes, who, having been caught in the act of pillaging churches, were flayed. As a warning to all who might approach churches with unhallowed and evil intentions, as a terrible memento of the villains who dared to raise their sacrilegious hands against the house of God, and as a ghastly memorial of ecclesiastical vengeance, these so-called "Danes' skins" were nailed to church doors!

The late Mr. Albert Way, F.S.A., investigated these matters to a considerable extent,² and obtained for microscopical examination, between the years 1840 and 1850, pieces of these leather-like and shrivelled skins from three localities where the traditions were extant,

¹ Mr. W. Winters has concluded (*Notes and Queries*, 4th ser., V, 311) that "punishments of this kind appear to have had the sanction of the law in the Anglo-Saxon period, when money was often paid by the offender to save his skin, called *hyd-gyld* (hide-gelt), a ransom for one's hide"; but it is more likely that this is a phrase for escape from corporal punishment, or lesser mutilation.

² *Archæol. Journ.*, V. 185-192.

viz., Worcester Cathedral, and the Churches of Hadstock and Copford in Essex. These were all pronounced by the late Mr. John T. Quekett, who was Professor of Histology at the Royal College of Surgeons, to be undoubtedly human skin, and he said that the examination of a hair alone, without the skin, would have enabled him to form a conclusion, and that the hair presented the characters of those light-haired people.¹

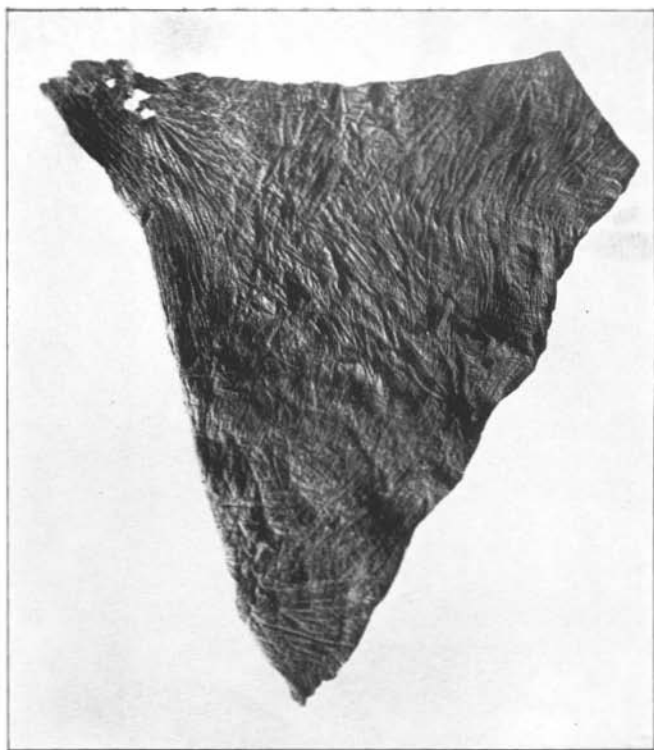
The Taunton Museum specimen here figured was bequeathed to the Somersetshire Archæological Society, together with a miscellaneous collection of antiquities, some thirty years ago, by the late Professor Quekett, and is, moreover, probably one of the specimens sent to him for examination from Copford, Essex². Fragments had been taken from underneath the iron-work of the south door by a carpenter in the parish, about the year 1843, when the church was under repair. He gave at least one piece to a miller, named Eley, at Copford, from whom a fragment was procured by the then incumbent, the Rev. K. C. Bayley, who had in his possession a short manuscript account of the parish, written during the incumbency of John Dane, 1689-1714, in which the following is found:—

The doors of this Church are much adorned with flourished iron-work, underneath which is a sort of skin, taken notice of in the year 1630, when an old man of Colchester, hearing Copford mentioned, said that in his young time he heard his master say that he had read in an old history that the Church was robbed by Danes, and their skins nailed to the doors; under which, some gentlemen, being curious, went thither and found a sort of tanned skin, thicker than parchment, which is supposed to be human skin, nailed to the door of the said Church, underneath the said iron-work, some of which skin is still to be seen.

A piece of "Dane's skin" from Copford, measuring about 1½ in. by 1⅔ in., is shown in Colchester Museum.

¹ Professor Quekett read a paper on the subject before the Microscopical Society in 1848.

² *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser., V, 310; 10th ser., I, 155. D. W. Collier's "People's History of Essex," 1861, p. 555. "The Family Topographer," by S. Tymms, I, 22.



PIECE OF "DANE'S SKIN," FROM COPFORD (?)
NOW IN TAUNTON CASTLE MUSEUM, SOMERSET.

From a Photograph by H. St. George Gray.

In the manuscript catalogue of the Museum, made by the late Mr. J. E. Price, it is stated that up to 1878 there existed an

ancient door in the porch of Copford Church which several years previously to that date had pieces of skin attached to it. These fragments had gradually disappeared when the Rev. P. A. L. Wood first became rector of the parish. Theobald, the clerk, presented him with a fragment, which he said had been taken from beneath the iron-work of the door.

This is the piece which is now in Colchester Museum. A succeeding rector, the Rev. B. Ruck Keene, had also obtained another piece.¹ The present rector, the Rev. E. R. Ruck Keene, informs me that the last piece of "Dane's skin" removed from the door was found under the lock in 1881, and is preserved in a glass frame in the vestry.

Sir Harry Englefield laid before the Society of Antiquaries, in 1789, a plate of iron taken from the door of Hadstock Church, Essex, with a portion of human skin found beneath the iron.

When the north door of Hadstock Church² was removed, in 1846, a part of it came into the possession of the Hon. Richard Neville, bearing ancient iron-work and massive nails which served to secure some "Dane's skin," which was considered to have been tanned previously to its being laid on the wood. At that time the strange tradition still existed among the peasantry in the locality, dating, as it is recorded, probably from times anterior to the invasion of the Normans. On an example from this place Professor Quekett found three hairs, and he was able to state that the skin was in all probability removed from the back of the Dane, who was a fair-haired person.

In March, 1904, Alderman Deck exhibited to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society a piece of human skin, being that of a Dane who had committed sacrilege at the Church of Hadstock.

¹ *Trans. Essex Archæol. Soc.*, n.s., Vol. III., 94.

² SAGA-BOOK, IV., 117. *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser., V, 310; 10th ser., I, 155.

About seventy years ago the door needed repair, and under an iron bar nailed across the outside were found pieces of skin. The door is rounded at the top, fitting the early Norman arch, and the black oak boards are evidently cut with a hatchet instead of smoothed with a plane.¹

This piece of skin was given by the then rector (the Rev. C. Townley) to Mr. Deck's father. In the middle of the skin is seen a hole, which was made by the nail in fastening it to the door. Other pieces of the skin can be seen at Audley End, and also in Saffron Walden Museum; which also has part of the door-hinge under which the skin was found.

On January 10th, 1905, at Stevens's auction rooms, London, a square inch of "Dane's skin" from Hadstock Church fetched the sum of three guineas!

Traditions of the cruel vengeance supposed to have been inflicted on sacrilegious Danes are said to have existed in the little neighbouring town of Linton, Cambs., but the vicar has recently told me that any such traditions must have originated at Hadstock, which is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant. Linton and Hadstock may, however, have both been overhauled for plunder at the same time.

Quite recently an article,² written by Mr. Robert Pierpoint, of Warrington, has come to my notice, giving another Essex parish for these skins, viz., East Thurrock. This interesting account is here given *in extenso* :—

There is an interesting story about the skin of a robber in "My Sayings and Doings, with Reminiscences of my Life; an autobiography of the Rev. William Quekett, Rector of Warrington." Mr. Quekett was one day (presumably before 1854 when he was appointed Rector of Warrington) with his brother, Prof. Quekett, at the College of Surgeons. Whilst they were together the latter received a letter which contained an enclosure "which looked like part of the bottom of an old shoe, of the thickness of half-a-crown, of a dark colour, elastic, and with the markings of wood upon it." The letter was from a churchwarden of the parish of East Thurrock, in Essex, who wanted the professor to tell him, if possible, what the substance was without having any particulars of its history. Having washed it, and cut a thin slice, he discovered under the microscope

¹ *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, Vol. XI., 179.

² *Notes and Queries*, 10th ser., Vol. I., 73-4.

that it had all the structure of human skin, and on more minute examination that it was the "skin of a light haired man, having the hair of a sandy colour." He wrote to the churchwarden telling him of the result of his examination. The latter replied that he (the professor) had "proved the truth of a great tradition which had existed for years in East Thurrock."

The churchwarden went on to say that "on the west door of the church there had been for ages an iron plate of a foot square, under which they said was the skin of a man who had come up the river and robbed the church. The people had flayed him alive, and bolted his skin under an iron plate on the church door as a terror to all other marauders. At the restoration of the church, which was then going on, this door had been removed, and hence he had been able to send the specimen."

It appears to have been assumed that the marauder who had been skinned was a Dane. Mr. W. Quekett had a bit of the skin fixed as a specimen for the microscope, and wrote on the slide, "This is the skin of a Dane, who, with many others, came up the river Thames and pillaged churches. Caught in the act at East Thurrock, Essex, and flayed alive."

The fate of the specimen on the slide is interesting. Mr. Quekett lost it, and knew nothing for many years of what had become of it. In or about 1884, apparently, he was reading aloud to some gentlemen in the hall of the "Palace Hotel," Buxton, an account of a meeting of the British Association at Penzance. In this account he came across the fact that at the meeting a microscopic object, among others of special interest, had been exhibited by a gentleman in the neighbourhood, viz., a "Dane's skin" and that the specimen at Penzance had on it, word for word, what he had written on his lost treasure.

He exclaimed "Why this is my Dane's skin! I lost it twenty years ago." After telling those present how he had obtained the specimen, he said aloud, "I wonder who that man is." Immediately afterwards the porter, who had heard the conversation, said, "Please, Mr. Quekett, I can tell you who that gentleman is; I was his footman and valet for four years; it is Mr. ———, who lives at ——— Castle, near Penzance." Mr. Quekett wrote at once to the gentleman, whose name he does not give, claiming the specimen, and asking him how he had come in possession of it. The gentleman replied that the description of the specimen and the account of the inscription were perfectly correct; that it had been given to him by a lady in London; that he greatly valued it; and that should Mr. Quekett ever be in his part of the country, and should wish to see it, he would have great pleasure in showing it to him. *Beati possidentes.*

Mr. Quekett died at the Rectory, Warrington, on Good Friday, 1888.

Yet another instance. Dried skin was, at one time, to be seen on the great northern doorway of Worcester

Cathedral, which the late Dr. Prattinton, of Bewdley, carefully noted in his extensive collections for a history of Worcestershire.¹ These are his words:—

A portion of skin, supposed to be human, according to the tradition that a man, who had stolen the sanctus-bell from the high-altar in Worcester Cathedral, had been flayed, and his skin affixed to the north doors, as a punishment for such sacrilege. The doors having been removed, are now to be seen in the crypt of the cathedral. and small fragments of skin may still be seen beneath the iron-work with which they are strengthened.

These doors were considered by Mr. Harvey Eginton, F.S.A., to be fourteenth century, and probably coeval with the work completed during the time of Bishop Wakefield, *circa*. 1386; and if of that date the human skin was probably not affixed to the doors until the reign of Richard II., when civilization was rapidly advancing. But, of course, the skin might be a vestige of a punishment inflicted long previously, and may have been transferred from an old door to a newer one. Mr. Quekett examined a piece of the skin from Worcester, and was perfectly satisfied that it was human skin taken from some part of the body of a light-haired person, where little hair grows.

A specimen of the Worcester skin may be seen in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons; this museum also contains examples from Hadstock and Copford, but has not had any further specimens added to the collection since Professor Quekett's death. The piece of skin from Worcester Cathedral, formerly in the collection of the late Dr. Prattinton, is now preserved by the Society of Antiquaries of London at Burlington House.

Another example is recorded by the minutely-accurate Pepys, in his Diary, April 10th, 1661, relating how he visited Rochester Cathedral, and "then away thence, observing the great doors of the Church, as they say, covered with the skins of the Danes."² This is only

¹ For further information see Allies's "Antiquities of Worcestershire," 2nd edit., pp. 40-51.

² Diary, edited by Lord Braybrooke, 1851, vol. I., 208.

what would be expected, seeing that the Thames had been frequently the resort of the Danes, and the men of Kent were continually harassed by their rapacious cruelty. In the year 999 they went up the Medway to Rochester, according to the Saxon Chronicle, and made a most fatal foray, overrunning nearly all West Kent, and committing fearful ravages.

Traces of like barbarous punishment inflicted upon Danes have been recorded as formerly existing at Westminster Abbey. Dart, in 1723, said:—

This Revestry (which is called the Chapel of Henry VIII., for what reason I know not, unless for that he stripped it of its furniture) is inclosed with three doors, the inner cancellated; the middle, which is very thick, lined with skins like parchment and driven full of nails. These skins, they by tradition tell us, were some skins of the Danes, tann'd, and given here as a memorial of our delivery from them. The doors are very strong, but here were notwithstanding broken open lately and the place robbed.¹

The door in question led from the vestibule of the Chapter House to the space under the dormitory stairs.

Professor Quekett is stated to have also examined a piece of skin from Westminster Abbey, finding several hairs which he pronounced to be human, and asserting that the skin belonged to a fair-haired person.²

Stillington Church, Yorks, has a south door of the eleventh century³ covered with ornamental ironwork which includes a ship, and is said to have had a "Dane's skin" on it.⁴

Other examples were probably to be found on church doors in the eastern counties, long infested by the cruel plunderers from the North. It would be interesting to hear of any other existing examples of "Danes' skins."

¹ Dart's "History of Westminster Abbey," Vol. I., Book I., p. 64. Albert Way, in the *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. X., 167.

² *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser., I., 261. "Curiosities of Natural History," by Frank Buckland, 1st ser., p. 84.

³ See pp. 247-250, and *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xii. 440, footnote ii.

⁴ *The Treasury Magazine*, vol. x., p. 417. Jan, 1908.

In a note-book, two or three years ago, I made the following entry:—"Dane's skin was attached with large flat-headed nails to church door at Bosham, Sussex." Not having kept a record of the source of my information, I communicated with the vicar (the Rev. K. H. Macdermott), who writes: "I have made enquiries of the oldest inhabitants, and also of several old parishioners who have all been regular church-goers, about the 'Dane's skin,' but regret to say that none of them can remember any such thing." As all Sussex archæologists know, Bosham had an interesting early history; Canute had a home there, and his little daughter, aged about eight years, appears to have been buried in Bosham Church. No more likely place could there be for the finding of a "Dane's skin," and it is surprising that no tradition concerning the Danes is known there among the older inhabitants.

In some parts of Sussex the term "Dane's skin" appears to have been synonymous with "freckles." The Rev. W. D. Parish, of Selmeston, made the following statement in *Notes and Queries*¹:—

A few days ago I was speaking to a man here about his little boy, who looked pale and delicate. He said, "Ah, you'll see a difference in him in a few weeks' time, when the warm weather comes, and brings the Danish blood out of him. When he puts on his *Dane's skin* he'll look very different. You'll always notice these Danes look rather peekish in winter time." On enquiry, I found that by "*Dane's skin*" he meant freckled skin. His grandmother had told him that freckles were a sign of Danish blood. A woman informed me that she had always understood that red-haired people were Danes. Our Sussex ancestors disliked the Danes, and considered a "Dane's skin" an appropriate ornament for a church door; and I was interested to find that Danish blood and Danish skins still haunt the Sussex dialect.

In West Cornwall there appears to have been great aversion to red hair, where the expression "Red-headed Dane" was considered a fearful term of reproach. Mr. W. Noye records in *Notes and Queries*² that

¹ 7th ser., III, 451.

² 7th ser., VI, 253-4.

In 1867 a case of assault was heard at the Penzance Town Hall, when it came out in evidence that the defendant had called the complainant a "Red-headed Dane." In Sennen Cove, about nine or ten miles west of Penzance, there was for a long time a colony of red-haired people, with whom the other inhabitants of the district refused to marry. In fact, in many of the parishes west of Penzance there has existed time out of mind a great antipathy to families with red hair, which manifested itself in the expression, "Oh, he (or she) is a red-haired Dane."

In Kingston Deverill, Wilts, there was an old man who called red-haired people "Danes" or "Daners," as "Thee bist a Dane." About Calne and Chippenham it was frequently said of a red-haired man that he was "crossed wi' the Danes." In Somerset red-haired men were often said to be "a bit touched with the Danes."

Somewhat analogous to the nailing of human skin to the doors of churches is the occurrence of human skulls sometimes found built into church walls. Wor-saae, the Danish antiquary, in "The Danes and Norwegians in England," mentions one or two cases both in Morayshire and in his native land.

NOTE.—At the last moment it has been reported to me that the ancient iron-clad oak door, formerly belonging to the Church of Stoke Courcy, Somerset, now preserved at "The Priory," Chilton-super-Polden, near Bridgwater, had a Dane's skin nailed to it; but I have been unable to verify this statement at present. If this report can be corroborated, a note to that effect will appear in the next number of the SAGA-BOOK.

ENGLAND.

LAKE DISTRICT.

Professor W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., District Secretary, writes :—

SILVER FIBULA FOUND IN WESTMORLAND.

THE two great Thistle fibulæ from the neighbourhood of Penrith, Cumberland, now in the British Museum, have a remarkable parallel in the great penannular silver fibula exhibited September 12th, 1907, to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society. It was found about thirty years ago near Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland, and after remaining until recently in private hands, apparently undescribed, came into the possession of the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness. In size and shape it resembles the other two examples in the British Museum, but its bulbs have no ornamental roughness, so that it cannot be described as a "thistle" fibula. The type has been thought to be Oriental, and derived by overland trade through Russia. No other fibulæ so large seem to be on record, except a single bulb of unknown origin; but these great brooches must be of the series of penannular fibulæ found in Scandinavia and Britain, and probably date from the tenth century. The size, with a pin 20 to 22 inches long, precludes the idea of common use as an article of attire; but they may have been made for some ceremonial purpose, or possibly to decorate a statue. It is not a little remarkable that all three examples have been found within a small area, in which also the Orton Scar penannular brooch and other Viking remains of unusual richness have been discovered. The fact that the Maiden Way, the main road north and south, runs through this district, may be noted; also that "Hoff Lund," possibly the site of a "temple grove," is not far from this road, a little north of Orton Scar.

NORFOLK.

Mr. Harry Lowerison, District Secretary, writes:—

By the kindness of Mr. W. G. Clarke I am permitted to give the following account of some recent finds in Norfolk from a report he has issued.

I quote verbatim Mr. Clarke's description of the first object,

A TEUTONIC BRONZE MOUNT, FOUND AT CROXTON,
the most important to members of the Viking Club.

The bronze mount of which an illustration appears herewith¹ was found on a patch of heathland in the parish of Croxton, near Thetford, in September, 1904. The heath is immediately south of the "Drove" road, south-west of Fowlmere and the Devil's Punch Bowl mere,² and north-east of a fine round barrow, close to which, on the surface, this rare example of Teutonic workmanship was picked up. Descriptions of several similar ones have been published, and as they occur in a Gallo-Roman cemetery at Vermand (Dept. Aisne) in France, they have been referred to the 4th century A.D. Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, tells me that he knows of only four other British specimens. One found at Farthing Down, Coulsdon, Surrey, is now in Croydon Town Hall,³ and has been described in "Surrey Archæological Collections," Vol. VI, pp. 109—117, and the "Victoria History of Surrey," Vol. I., p. 260, with plate facing p. 257. The others were found close by the Dyke Hills, Dorchester, and are now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

These mounts are classed with the earliest Teutonic antiquities found in England. This particular specimen was probably one of three fixed to a bronze bowl or a wooden bucket, to which were attached chains for suspension. The bottom portion consists of a ring-plate, from the top of which a thick tongue is bent over three-fourths of its length. This would be on the inside of the bowl or bucket, and a hole in it corresponds with a similar hole in the centre of the ring-plate, through which there was a rivet, fastening it to the bowl. On the top of the front of the bent-over tongue there are two short lines following the curve of the metal, beneath them two horizontal lines, five circles formed by a gouge, and two transverse depressions with a ridge between divided up by numbers of small

¹ The block from which the illustration is taken, from Part II. (New Series) of the "Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany," has been kindly lent by Mr. Walter Rye.

² This is close to Ringmere Heath, which is probably the Hring-mara of the Saxon Chronicle, and the Hringmara-heiðr of the Heimskringla.—H. L.

³ It lies in a case among other fragments of bronze and nothing can be made of it.—Ed.



BRONZE MOUNT FOUND AT CROXTON, NORFOLK.

From the "Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany," Part II. (New Series).

vertical lines. Enclosed in the space made by the bent-over tongue is a bronze ring, three-quarters of an inch in diameter, plain at the back (as are also the ring-plate and tongue), but with three concentric rings in front, as though separate rings had been partially welded together. The ring-plate itself is an inch in diameter, and immediately round the central hole, through which the rivet passed, are five concentric rings, the distance between the second and third being greater than that between the others. The diameter of the outermost circle is slightly over half an inch. Coming from the circumference, more than half the distance between the edge and this circle, are 22 rays, apparently stamped by a sharp blow from a chisel, and narrowing and decreasing in depth inwards. Close to the edge, and between these rays, are 21 rough dashes, touching on the inner side a minute simple circle, of which, however, there are only 20, as the impress of this ornament was omitted in one instance. Nearer still to the concentric circles, and forming a line of ornament between them and the rays are 21 small circles (slightly larger than those previously mentioned), with dots in the centre. The rays immediately on each side of the tongue are longer than any of the others, and almost touch the concentric circles. Between them and the base of the curving tongue are three of the circles with dots in the centre, and three of the plain smaller circles. It seems probable, therefore, that the tools used in the ornamentation were five of varying sizes for the concentric circle, and one each for the rays, dashes, simple circles, and those with a dot in the centre, a total of nine for the ring-plate and one extra for the tongue.

Concerning the specimens in the Ashmolean Museum, Mr. C. Leonard Woolley, the Curator, informs me that they were found in one of the sand mounds which run at right angles to the Dyke Hills, near Dorchester, Oxfordshire. Two of them are of the same size and identical in ornament so far as the ring-plate is concerned, but one, the otherwise better-preserved specimen, has lost the upper and decorated part of the loop attachment, which is also absent from the Norfolk specimen. In those first referred to, the topmost ring is of the same outer circumference as the Norfolk example, but much thicker, and on the inner edge has a rope-pattern ornament. Across the tongue there are also two transverse rope-pattern lines, and between them, on each edge, a tiny flame-shaped ornament, the narrow part inwards. In the centre of the ring-plate is the rivet connecting it with the tongue, and still in position. Outside this are a number of concentric rings, first one of rope pattern, then one plain, then a wider space than in other cases, another rope-pattern ring, and two plain outer ones. On the edge of the ring-plates are a number of semi-circular ornaments, with flame-shaped ones between, and inside these a number of circles (or part circles) dimly discernible. The ring-plate is $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins. in length, and ring and ring-plate $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins., compared with $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins. of the Norfolk specimen. The second example has the top decorated part of the loop attach-

ment, but the lower end of it is broken off. This loop is $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long, and elaborately decorated, as is also that on the third specimen, which (comparing it as a whole) is slightly smaller, the ornament similar but simpler, the number of concentric circles on the ring-plate being reduced to an outer one of rope-pattern (without the two plain rings enclosing it), and a single rope-pattern ring (without the outer frame) surrounding the raised hole-edge. The ornament of the loop-attachment is also different. With these mounts were found the plates and end tang of a belt, two bronze buckles, fibula, bone spindlewhorl with concentric circles incised, and small bronze fragments.

ROMAN INTERMENTS AT BRETtenham.

In January, 1907, some labourers planting trees found in Brettenham parish, but close to the boundary of Bridgham, two human skulls, one of them accompanied by the long bones, a spearhead and other fragments of armour. They were about 18 inches below the surface in the sandy soil of an arable field. The spearhead is of iron, 16 inches in length, socketed, with an iron rivet $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches from the base. The blade is long and tapering, the widest part, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches across, being 5 inches from the point. With it was what appeared to be the skull part of a helmet, 6 inches in diameter, and having round it a rim $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, with four copper rivets, to which a visor or other portion of the helmet may have been fastened. On the top is an iron knob like that on the lid of a kettle. It is without ornamentation, but some pieces of brass were found with it which may have belonged to it. With these were also a piece of iron 5 inches long and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, probably part of a sword or dagger, and a metal disc about the size of a five-shilling piece, which may have been a shield-boss. It was much corroded, and had on its back, not quite in the centre, a square projection, like the head of a nail, about a quarter of an inch long.

The spot may have been the site of a temporary or permanent camp, as during the planting operations ashes, bones, and pieces of pottery were discovered for some

distance round. A piece of the pottery sent to Mr. Clarke proved to be a typical sample of Samian ware with animal ornamentation. Roman antiquities have been found in abundance in the adjacent field, including bronze fibulæ, rings, keys, a thimble, a bead of blue glass pottery, and coins of a dozen or more of the later emperors from Vespasian on. A human skeleton was also found in this field in 1905, standing upright in a pocket of sand in the chalk.

PEDDAR'S WAY.

The discovery of this Roman interment throws valuable light on the problem of Peddar's Way. For this spot is exactly on the line of Peddar's Way, though here covered with trees, and occupies the verge of the high land bordering the alluvium north of the river Thet, from which it is distant about 300 yards. It is also 50 yards north of the highway between Brettenham and Bridgham, and three-quarters of a mile from the junction of the roads at the former place. While it has always been suspected that the Romans utilised in Peddar's Way a previously-existing track way, evidences of their occupation are very rare along its course. The various finds at this spot seem to indicate that, for a time at least, there was a small Roman camp—though no earthworks remain—guarding the ford of the river Thet. For a mile northwards the old line of Peddar's Way is the boundary of the parishes of Bridgham and Brettenham, as it is south of the Thet and down to the Little Ouse between the parishes of West Harling and Rushford.

SKELETON IN ARMOUR FOUND NEAR THETFORD.

Another find of a human skeleton deserves to be placed on record, though the circumstances are tantalizing. This was discovered in 1904 at Santon Farm,

three miles west of Thetford, in light sandy soil, sloping down to the Little Ouse. It was described as a skeleton clad in armour. The armour was said to have been sold to an agent of the Cambridge Museum of Archæology, but efforts to ascertain its present ownership have been unsuccessful. Half a pail-full of fragments of the armour not worth removal remain at the farm. They are described as apparently of bronze, and covered with verdigris, and, so far as can be judged, probably late Keltic or Scandinavian.

NEOLITHIC FINDS.

Some fine hoards of Neolithic axes have also been discovered, one of four axes in June, 1901, at Wells-next-the-Sea. These axes are of chipped flint, ranging in length from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and are now in the possession of Viscount Coke. A similar find of five chipped axes was made at Whittingham in January, 1907. These show not the slightest sign of use, and are apparently all made by the same hand. They vary in length from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 inches long, and appear to have been deposited where they were found immediately after manufacture, and for some reason never removed. They are now in the possession of Mr. Russell J. Colman. Only two previous similar finds are known for Norfolk, one of four polished axes found at Egmere in 1866, and another of three axes, two of polished white flint, and one of chipped black flint, found at Plegg Burgh about five years ago. Both these latter finds are now in Norwich Museum.

In February, 1906, a Neolithic "pick" was discovered in excavating for the foundations of the new Council Schools at Heacham. It is $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, triangular in section, and tapering from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width at the base to slightly less than $\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the point. At the base end there is a piece of the original crust, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches

in length, suggesting that this so-called "pick" may have been used as a dagger, and the rough surface left to give a better hand-grip, especially as many undoubted "picks" have been discovered made of the antlers of deer. The Heacham "pick" is now in Norwich Museum.

The last implement to be recorded is a remarkable one, found at Santon in Norfolk, now in the Cambridge Museum of Archæology and Ethnology. It is a large nodule of flint, weighing $19\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., carefully chipped into an upstanding wedge—the shape of an ordinary core—9.2 inches in height, and 5.8 inches across at the base. The rounded point and the sides have been chamfered into a sharp edge, and the shield-shaped base carefully squared. The Annual Report suggests that this may have been used for softening hides, as a similarly-shaped instrument of iron is said to be still used for the purpose in some parts of England.

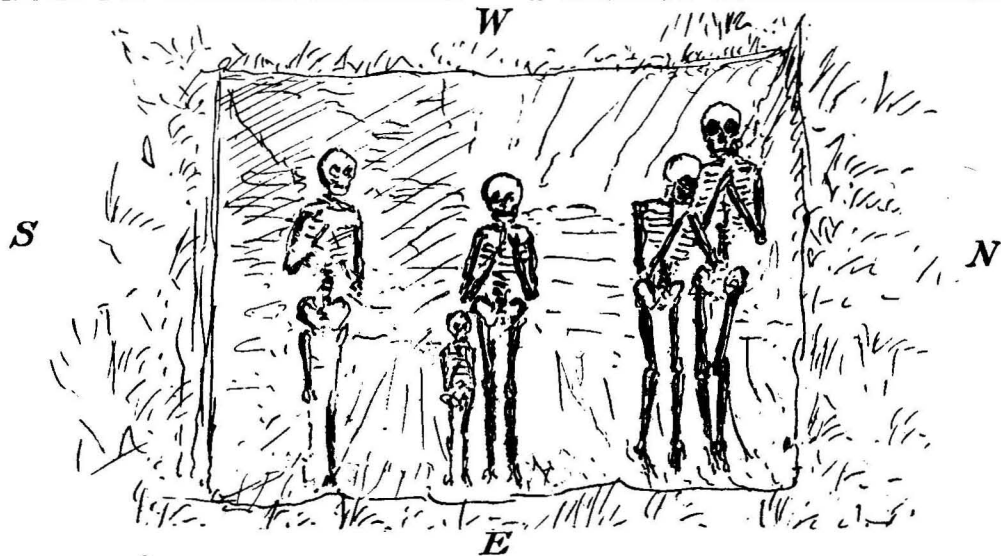
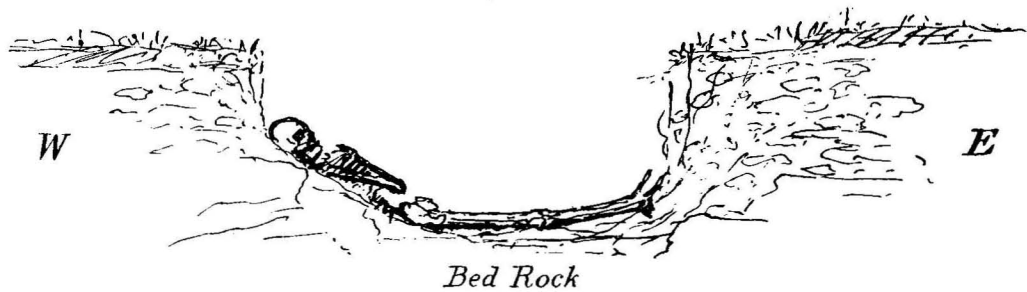
SOMERSET.

The Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., District Secretary, writes :—

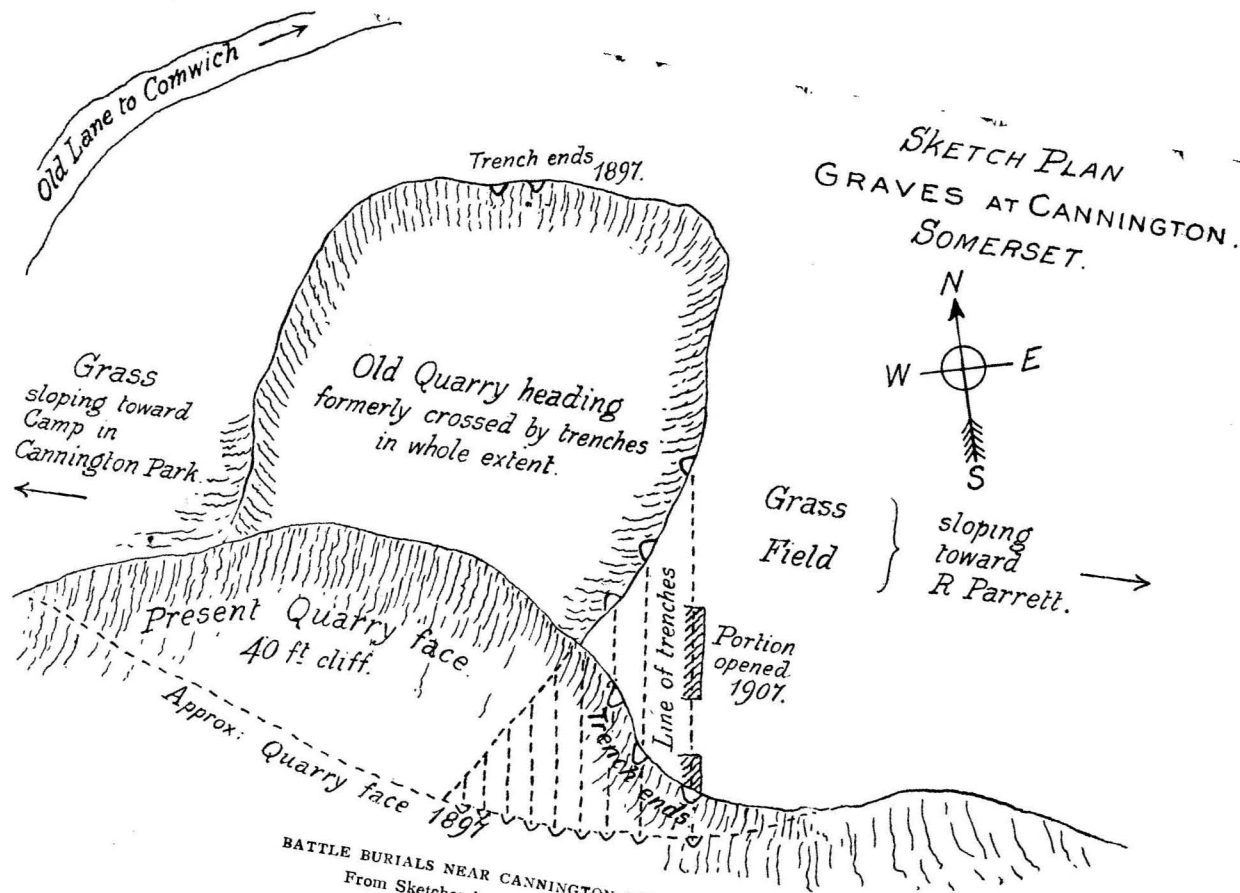
THE BATTLE BURIALS AT CANNINGTON PARK.¹

ON the completion of the first fortnight's work at the Wick Barrow, in April, 1907, Mr. A. F. Major and myself, with the assistance of the Rev. M. K. Warren and Mr. C. Bazell, opened up a section of the burial trench which apparently was the outermost of the series crossing the headland above the quarry, whose workings are rapidly destroying all evidence of the great slaughter which took place under the walls of the camp. We were fortunate in securing the presence of T. Paul, the foreman excavator from the Glastonbury village, who had been with us at Wick, and Mr. St. George Gray was present for part of the time.

¹ SAGA-BOOK, vol. II., pt. ii., pp. 165-6, 174-5; vol. IV., pt. i. p. 22; vol. V., pt. i., p. 47.



Position of Interments, Semi-diagrammatic 1907



BATTLE BURIALS NEAR CANNINGTON PARK, SOMERSET.
From Sketches by the Rev. C. W. Whistler.

This outermost trench was remarkable, as it yielded evidence of a very suggestive type which is fully consonant with the result of a Danish landing and raid. There had evidently been a massacre of a ruthless description, whether of villagers or of the followers of the invaders, and its victims had been interred hastily with the fallen of the battle-field.

The trench, like those parallel with it, was about five feet in width on the surface, and narrowed to three feet at its extreme depth, which was on an average three feet six inches below the present surface of the ground. It, like the others visible ten years ago, was continuous in a north and south direction from the face of the quarry, where the southern end had been destroyed, to an old excavation twenty yards to the north, which had removed its northern end. Ten years ago, when I first investigated these trenches, there were eight or ten of them evident at the heading of the quarry. The surface of the grass field shows a slight depression and darkening of the herbage along the length of the trenches. There is about ten inches to a foot of turf above them, and their depth has been determined by the proximity of the limestone rock to the surface. They have been filled with broken surface stone for the most part, some of the blocks being of considerable size, and the V-shaped outline of the trenches is very evident on the face of the quarry where the headings have been removed.

At one place the quarry-men opened out a pit, apparently due to the character of the ground and rock, in which the skeletons had been huddled. During this excavation we uncovered six skeletons in all. Two of these were of men, and lay across the trench, one on the other. Three feet from them to the south was the skeleton of a very aged individual, and of a child of not more than seven. The next skeleton to the south was fragmentary. The next again was of a man, in fair preservation, but the cranium was too soft for restoration. With this last, however, we found the only

pottery which, so far as I can learn, has ever been discovered here. It consisted of a sherd of food vessel, which was pronounced by Mr. St. George Gray to be much later than Roman date, and probably Saxon. A further search by Mr. C. Bazell resulted in the discovery of more sherds of the same vessel, of which about two-thirds remain. It is of a make which is not incompatible with the traditional date of the interments, about the end of the ninth century.¹

The skeletons lie across the trench with the heads to the west, in what would be an extended position but for the narrowness of the excavation, which has caused them to be slightly higher at head and foot than at the pelvis, though by no means in a seated position. The superposition of bodies has occurred frequently in the same way, as already recorded.

These skeletons were in a far worse state of preservation than most of the previously disturbed remains, some of which have been remarkable for their strength and thickness. The indications seem to point to the fact that this outside trench was used after the interment of the warriors for the disposal of less conspicuous victims of the strife.

The only weapon known to have been found with these interments was part of what was supposed to be an iron spear-head. Efforts to trace this have, unfortunately, been unsuccessful. It was given to Mr. W. J. Ruscombe Poole some five and twenty years ago by a

¹ Mr. H. St. George Gray writes :—"The fragments of pottery in Taunton Museum found with the battle-burials at Cannington Park Quarry are of the following description. They are of dark blackish-brown colour, sometimes with a terra-cotta outer face; the thickness of the ware averages $\frac{5}{8}$ in.; hand made, with a rather uneven surface. The clay, as is the case with most early pottery, contains a large proportion of quartz sand, with much larger grains of quartz less frequently. On the largest piece on the outer surface there are many almost horizontal striations, which, however, do not run quite parallel to one another. Such striations are often seen on post-Roman pottery, and frequently on Norman and pre-Norman ware of rough manufacture."

quarryman, but he cannot now say to whom he passed it on.¹

THE ATHELNEY CAMPAIGN.

A tradition recovered during the past year by the Rev. W. Gresswell should be put on record, as it may have a definite significance. During an investigation of the remains of the ancient earthworks at Downend, on the banks of the river Parrett, where a loop of the tidal water once ran immediately under the terminal rise of the Polden Hills, he was interrogating an old labourer as to the ancient course of the river, and incidentally asked him if he had ever heard what the "camp" was made for. The old man answered that he had always heard that "they came to fight here from Athelney." The man was quite illiterate, and the tradition is certainly not based on any theory as to the use of the earthworks, as no suggestion that they may have been connected with Alfred's campaign has ever been publicly mooted in the district. Unfortunately, the railway, a canal, and the quarries on the hillside have destroyed the greater part of what has been a strong camp, but it may be hoped that some exploration will be undertaken, under proper supervision.

THE "WILD HUNT" AT CANNINGTON, SOMERSET.

In the SAGA-BOOK, vol. V., part I., p. 145, the persistent Odinic traditions attaching to the hill fort between Cannington and Comwich have been recorded. A later addition to the collection refers to the hill which lies between the camp and the village of Cannington itself. The road crossing this hill is known as "Rodway," and the usual off-hand explanation of the name is that it simply means roadway. That possibly a "Rood" stood

¹ Mr. Poole informed me, when I met him at Wick Mound last summer, that this weapon was found sticking out of the side of an excavation. He described it as exactly resembling the flat spike at the end of a fishing-rod, and thought it might have been the broken-off point of a spear-head.—ED.

there for the benefit of seafarers entering or leaving the little port of Combswich has been suggested as a derivation also. The Vicar of Cannington, however (a newcomer), has been told by the villagers that there was once a cross set at the top of the hill "to prevent the Devil's Hunt crossing it to the village." I have no doubt that this is a genuine tradition, and that such a "Rood" did exist. Its erection would once have been the, so to speak, obvious precaution to take against what is even now a terror. Indeed, I suggested the possibility of a cross having been set up here for such a purpose in a District Report given in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. II., part I., p. 50, though at that time I had not heard of the tradition now recorded.

SOMERSET VARIANT OF A PLAYING SONG, WITH POSSIBLE
HISTORICAL ORIGIN.

I am indebted to Mr. Cecil J. Sharp for a very remarkable version of a children's playing song, collected by him from school children at Maesbury, and by Miss K. Sorby from others at Fiddington and North Petherton, all in Somerset, but widely separated, the first village being on the Mendips, and the last being in the Quantock district. The game is played by two opposing groups of children, who advance and retreat alternately, either side singing a verse as it advances, as question and answer:—

- A. "Have you any bread and wine
For we are the English?
Have you any bread and wine
For we are the English soldiers?"
- B. "Yes we have some bread and wine
For we are the Romans.
Yes we have some bread and wine
For we are the Roman soldiers."
- A. "Then we will have one cup full
For we are the English. . ." &c.
- B. "No you shan't have one cup full
For we are the Romans. . ." &c.

So through two and three cups, which are refused by the Romans. Then the English party sing as before:—

- A. "Then we will tell the Prince of Wales," &c.
- B. "We don't care for the Prince of Wales," &c.
- A. "Then we will tell the highest priest," &c.
- B. "We don't care for the highest priest," &c.
- A. "Are you ready for a ring?" &c.
- B. "Yes we're ready for a ring," &c.
- A. "Are you ready for a fight," &c.
- B. "Yes we're ready for a fight," &c.

Then there is a general scuffle and the game ends.

This is the Mendip version. The Quantock version varies by the substitution of the Sergeant and the Magistrate for those to whom appeal is to be made. But it also varies the first request, after the query concerning bread and wine, to—

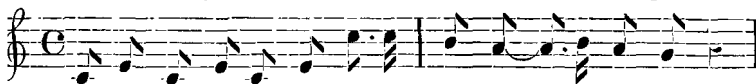
- A. "Will you give us some of yours," &c.
- B. "No we won't give you any of ours," &c.

A Bridgwater variant, communicated by Miss Sorby, gives an appeal to the "Pope of Rome" instead of to the "Highest Priest." The latter is presumably the earlier form, and the former would be a natural deduction from it, though the use of this variant would seem to give at least a pre-Reformation date for the song as at present sung. A further version from Stockland, collected by Mr. Sharp and myself, carries the appeal to the ecclesiastical authorities still further, giving the impression that there has at one time been a sequence from the "Highest Priest" downward. After the appeal to the magistrate comes "Then we will tell the Church," followed by "Then we will tell the priest." To which the answer is, "We don't care for your dirty old priest." Occasionally the demand for "bread and wine" is made by the "Romans," depending apparently on which group commences the game.

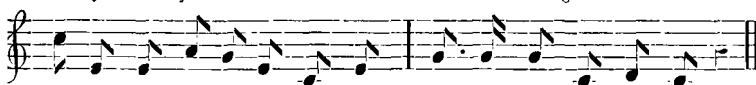
The tune in both cases is practically the same, and is apparently a very slightly modified bugle-call, which may, of course, be of extreme antiquity.

ROMAN AND ENGLISH SOLDIERS.

Have you any bread and wine? For we are the English.



Have you any bread and wine? For we're the English soldiers.



Under the title of "We are the Rovers," the game is noted by Mrs. Gomme in several variants, but this version is entirely new, and as yet has received no comment. The opposition of Roman and English soldiers is entirely unexpected, and the reference to "the Highest Priest" is one which could not be other than traditional.

But there was an historic contest between Roman and English for "bread and wine" (*i.e.*, the Sacramental elements), of which one is irresistibly reminded by the song of the old game. This occurred in the year 616 A.D., on the death of Ethelbert of Kent, and his ally, Sabert of Essex, when the two heathen sons of the latter demanded from Mellitus, then bishop of London, "that white bread which you used to give to our father." Mellitus of course refused unless they would receive baptism, and in the end he was obliged to fly from England. The story may be read in Bede, "Ecclesiastical History," Book II., ch. 5, in full, and is practically the history of the first actual clash between English heathenry and Roman Christianity—a matter which must have been reported far and wide.

At this time Laurentius, who had been a friend to both Ethelbert and the father of the princes, was Archbishop (highest Priest), and a reference to him by the aggrieved

English warriors, who felt it as an indignity that the common folk were given that which was denied to them, would be quite possible. The reference of the dispute to "the Prince of Wales" also seems to find its counterpart in the fact that Ethelbert had claimed the title of "Bretwalda," and that Redwald of East Anglia, the overlord of Essex, had succeeded to it. The coincidence is remarkable, if nothing more, and I note it with Mr. Sharp's full concurrence, after drawing his attention to it.

In the variants given by Mrs. Gomme the "Rovers" are substituted for the "Romans," and there is no mention of any ecclesiastical authority.¹ This is so far only recorded from Somerset, and is of the highest significance in its conjunction with bread and wine. The incident recorded by Bede would be well known, and of the greatest popular interest in the south, but as the song passed northward to districts where the origin of the strife was unknown, and therefore meaningless, a raiding motive, and a request for ordinary hospitality, or possibly a suggestion of requisition by outlaws or Border raiders, would easily be substituted. The question of the age of these traditional games is still open, and of the greatest interest; and I may be forgiven for recording this possible derivation of one without further comment.

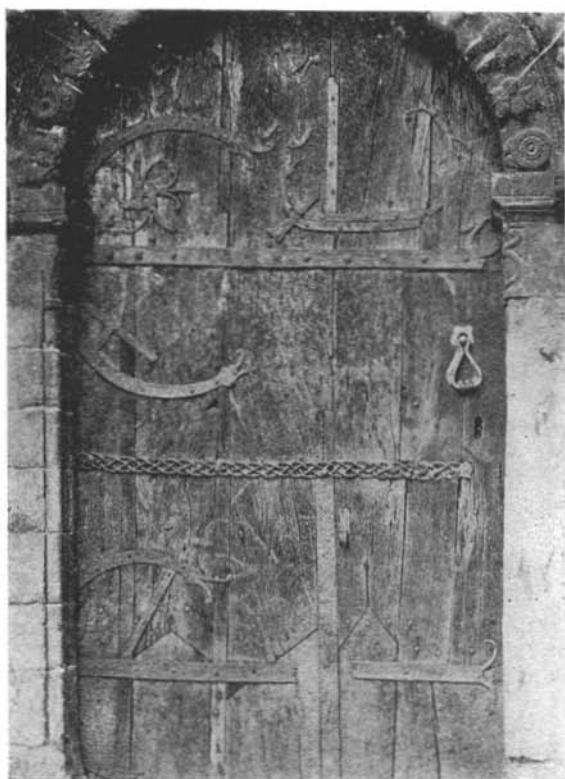
¹ The "Romans" occur in several of Mrs. Gomme's variants and the following analysis of them may be of interest:—Romans, bread and wine, (cake in Berks.) and a refusal of it, occur in Hampshire, Berkshire, and Sussex; Romans and bread and wine in Staffordshire and Northamptonshire; Romans only in Kent and Lancashire; bread and wine only in Gloucestershire, Norfolk, Perthshire and Forfarshire. In variants from Shropshire, Northumberland and Kirkcudbright wine only occurs, while in Yorkshire (Earl's Heaton) beer or gin take the place of wine. Most of the variants contain an appeal to magistrate, policeman, etc., but as Mr. Whistler says, none refer to any ecclesiastical authority. Mrs. Gomme thinks the game arose out of border warfare and that the refrain which occurs instead of "Roman" and "English" soldiers in four or five versions may be a survival of some of the slogans or family cries. Mrs. Gomme gives the air, but not the text, of one Somerset variant (from Bath). The air differs from the one recorded by Mr. Whistler.—ED.

YORK.

Dr. G. A. Auden, District Secretary, York, sends the following account of

A VIKING SHIP ON A CHURCH DOOR.¹

The vessel in question is represented in ironwork upon



OAK DOOR WITH ANCIENT IRONWORK, AT STILLINGFLEET CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.

From a Photograph by Dr. G. A. Auden.

the oak door of the Church of Stillingfleet, Yorkshire, a small village situate upon the Fleet, seven miles south

¹ The illustrations from photographs by Dr. Auden are reproduced by the kind permission of the Editor and Publishers (Messrs. Bemrose and Sons) of "The Reliquary," in which they appeared in April, 1907.

of York. This stream flows into the Ouse a short distance above Riccall, the scene of the landing of Harald Haardraade in 1066, but is probably much silted up since the pre-Norman period. The porch is said by Mr. Hodgson Fowler, under whose care the Church has been restored, to date from *circ.* 1145, and there is no doubt that the woodwork and ironwork are contemporary. The



UPPER PART OF THE DOOR WITH THE VIKING SHIP, SWASTIKA AND
ZOOMORPHIC TERMINALS.

From a Photograph by Dr. G. A. Auden.

ironwork has suffered considerably in the course of time, and there is evidence that some has entirely disappeared. Thus below the upper horizontal hinge plate within the C-hinge there are still fragments of what appears to have been originally a very open interlacing pattern of iron ribbons. Traces of this can still be seen in the shape of raised contour lines in the woodwork where the oak has been protected from weathering influences by the over-

lying iron. A similarly raised contour of crossing bands can be distinctly made out below the medial interlacing band, and it seems probable that the whole of the door below the upper hinge was thus covered with iron bands, which served the double purpose of adding ornament and strength to the woodwork. This ironwork is strongly Scandinavian in feeling, and is doubtless the work of some local smith.¹ It may thus be regarded as representing a last dying protest of the native traditional art against that of the alien conqueror whose stonemasons carved the "Norman" porch with its bird-beak and dog-tooth ornament and arch of five orders.

The following account, by the late J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., Hon. Vice-President, is taken from the "Reliquary," Vol. XII., pp. 127-8:—

Midway between the upper and lower hinge-strap is a horizontal band of four-cord plait-work, executed in thick iron-wire; welded on to the hinge-straps at the end next the hinges are crescent or C-shaped bars to give the straps a firmer hold on the door and help to keep the boards together. At the other end of the hinge-straps, furthest away from the hinge, the bars are split up into three smaller bars, only one of which now remains and terminates in a beast's head. The C-shaped bars of the hinge-straps also terminate in beasts' heads. The portion of the door between the semi-circular arch of the doorway and the upper hinge-strap has upon it (1) a device composed of four fleurs-de-lys placed swastika fashion; (2) a long boat or Viking ship; (3) two figures of men; (4) a device with a trident at one end and a forked termination at the other; and (5) the curved ends of some design which cannot now be made out.

The whole design of the ironwork on the Stillingfleet door is intensely Scandinavian in character, more especially as regards the swastika design and the zoöomorphic terminations of the hinge-straps and the stern of the long boat. Swastika designs of a very similar character may be seen on the door of the church at Versås, Västergötland,² and the zoöomorphic terminations may be compared with those on the Runic monuments illustrated in J. Göransson's "*Bautil det ar Svea ok Götha Rikens Runstenar*" (Stockholm, 1750). It will be noticed that the long boat is not steered with a rudder placed

¹ The place name in Domesday is spelt "Stefingefled." Is it possible that this may owe its origin to the Norse *Steði-floð*, "the stithy (or anvil) at the stream"?

At the time of the Conquest the two chief landowners were Grim and Ranchil; both names betray their Scandinavian origin.

² Oscar Montelius' "*Sveriges Historia*," Vol. I., p. 481.

at the stern of the vessel, but by a paddle at one side, as in the sculpture on the walls of the Factor's Cave at East Wemyss, Fifeshire.¹

That the long-boat was originally represented as manned by a crew can be made out by a fragment representing the head of one of them in the fore part of the vessel, and by the rivet-hole of another still nearer the prow.

The steerboard, or side rudder, which is so characteristic of the ships of this period (*e.g.*, the Gokstad² and Slagen³ ships and those upon the Bayeux tapestries) has of course given rise to the term "starboard" applied to the right-hand side of a ship. Mr. Romilly Allen added that the only other representation of a ship in ironwork upon a Church door with which he was acquainted is that at Stapleford, Kent.⁴

At Skipwith, five miles to the east, where there is an extremely interesting stone of pre-Norman date, built into the base of the Church tower, is another Church door ornamented with early ironwork. This was thought by Mr. Hodgson Fowler to be contemporary, and even by the same smith as the Stillingfleet ironwork. There is, however, nothing here suggestive of Scandinavian influence, and the whole tone of the ornamentation appears to be later than that at Stillingfleet.

¹ See *The Reliquary* for 1906, p. 46

² See Nicolaysen "Langskibet fra Gokstad." Christiania, 1882.

³ See SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV., figure 4, p. 63.

⁴ Archæologia Cantiana, Vol. IX., p. 191.

ORKNEY.

SOUTH RONALDSHAY.

The Rev. Alexander Goodfellow, District Secretary, writes :—

STONE CIST FOUND.

IN the end of August, as Mr. James Mackenzie was digging for stones at the quarry of Howe, Herston, he came upon a stone coffin with human remains, almost a complete skeleton, with skull and teeth. The cist consisted of two large flag stones at each side, two on the top, and one at each end, while the bottom was rock. The length of this stone box was 6 feet, the width and height were the same, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, while it was found about 4 feet below the surface. The body seems to have been placed not longways, but crossways, in the coffin, as if half doubled up. No backbone was discovered in this skeleton, as if it had mouldered before the rest, and the skull was rather peculiar in shape. The set of teeth was good, but the exposure to the air seemed to affect them and the rest of the bones. No one ever expected to find a grave here, as there is no tradition of any burial, but the configuration of the ground is somewhat peculiar. There are numerous knowes or barrows round about. A great deal of quarrying has been carried on at this spot in the past, as there are numerous holes, some of them filled up, where the earth has been left undisturbed for centuries. Mr. Cogle, Newbigging, pointed out this fact, that none of the stones of this quarry have been used to build houses in the district. Where have they been taken to? This peculiar dark blue stone is found in St. Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall. Most likely, then, this quarry of Howe, which is near Widewall Bay, was the place where workmen, some 700 or 800 years ago, were busy digging up this stone and shipping it on to Scapa, for the building of the Cathedral. It is possible that the person who was buried in the cist was one of the

workmen, perhaps an overseer, overtaken by disease or accident, and with reverent hands laid to rest after the above fashion. Such care had been taken of the body that it makes one think that the cist contained no ordinary person.

STENNESS.

Mr, Magnus Spence, District Secretary, Deerness, sends us a further report of the work being done on

THE STANDING STONES.

VERY little was done during the summer of 1907 by



THE RUNE-INScribed STONE IN THE BRODGAR CIRCLE, STENNESS.

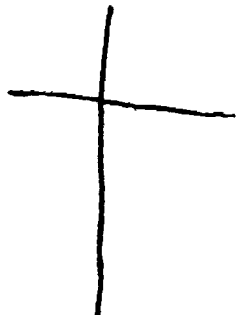
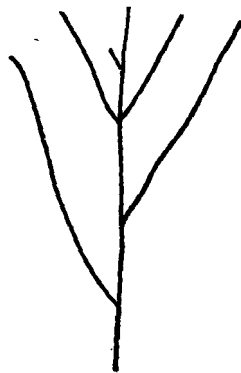
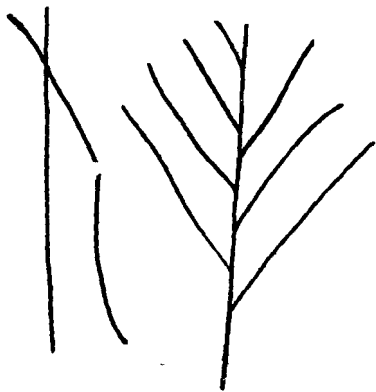
From a Photograph by Thomas Spence.

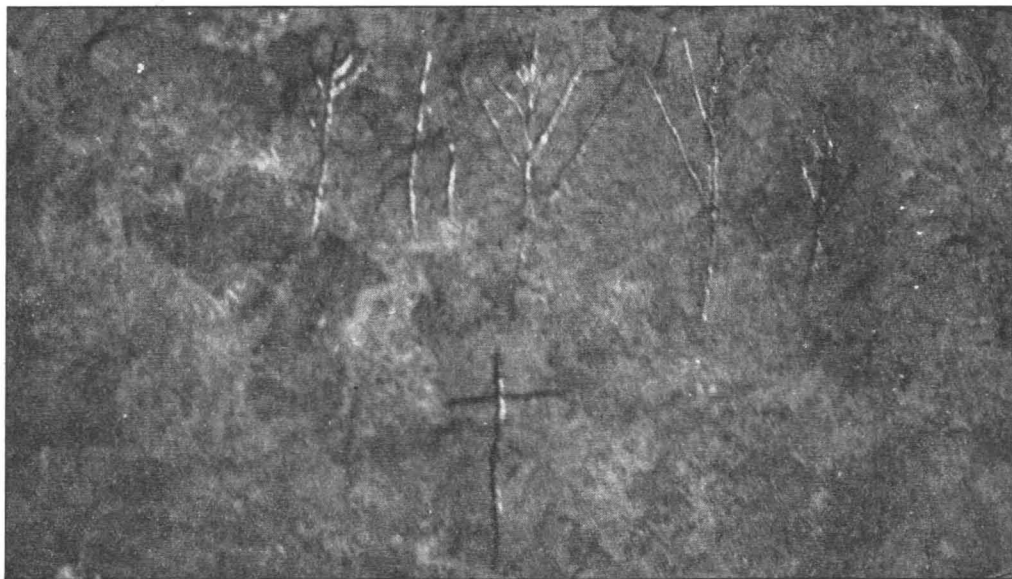
way of restoring and preserving the Circles and Maeshow at Stenness. That little was really the outcome of discoveries of the previous year, when so much was done to unearth hidden blocks and leave them less assailable by water and frost. On the N.W. quadrant of the Brodgar Circle one upright had long ago been broken about 3 or 4 feet from the ground. The upper portion, probably 3 by 4 feet, had lain so long on the

soft heath as to get quite buried beneath it. After it was exposed in 1906, and wind and rain had washed its surface, Mr. Omond, Savedale, Stenness, an observant farmer, noticed marks on it which he rightly conjectured were runes. Mr. Cursiter was communicated with, and took a cast in July, 1907, the result of which is herewith reproduced. The part of the stone containing the runes has been carefully set up with its back to the part of its former self still standing, securely cemented to it, and is now less liable to unnecessary interference. It is of gray sandstone found in the district. All the standing stones in both circles, as well as the building stones of Maeshowe, are of local sandstone.

The ill-shaped stone I mentioned in last report as having been found in the smaller Circle with one end pointing to a socket, where no doubt an upright had at one time been, has been erected in the place indicated. Its end, we understand, suited the socket. We have doubts as to whether it is the genuine monolith. It looks such a dwarf amid these huge monoliths. Sir W. Scott, who visited this Circle, or semi-circle, before it was vandalized, makes the statement that none of the stones were less than 12 feet above the ground. This one is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Mr. Cursiter considers it is the broken part of the original stone, which is a likely explanation.

Herr Magnus Olsen, Hon. Corresponding Member, has kindly sent us a report on the newly discovered Runic inscription, which is subjoined. The copy of the inscription is from a tracing taken by Mr. J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A., Scot., from a cast of the original, and Mr. Thomas Spence, bookseller, of Kirkwall, has kindly taken photographs of the stone in the position it now occupies, and of the inscription itself, for comparison with the tracing, which are here reproduced.





RUNIC INSCRIPTION FROM THE BRODGAR CIRCLE, STENNESS.

From a tracing by J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A., Scot., and a Photograph by Thomas Spence, Kirkwall.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED INSCRIPTION IN CRYPT-RUNES FROM THE BRODGAR CIRCLE, STENNESS, ORKNEY.

By MAGNUS OLSEN, Hon. Corresponding Member.

MR. MAGNUS SPENCE in his District Report in the present SAGA-BOOK has given us the first information about a newly discovered Runic inscription on one of the stones in the Brodgar Circle at Stenness.¹ My present investigation of this inscription is based upon a cast which I have had the opportunity of examining, as the Viking Club has kindly presented a copy to the Museum of Antiquities in the University of Christiania.

Seeing that in the following paper I attempt a reading and interpretation of this Runic inscription, which in a couple of places is not altogether plain, I do it with all the reservations which must needs be made by one who has not himself seen the inscription in the original.

The Brodgar inscription consists of five runes, of which one is an ordinary rune, the other four on the contrary being crypt-runes of the kind which, by reason of their likeness to the branches of a tree, we are accustomed to call "branch-runes."

"Branch-runes" are formed of an upright stem, to

¹ L. Dietrichson in "Monumenta Orcadica," page 37 (*Christiania, 1906*) mentions some "unreadable marks" "very similar to Runes," which he noticed on one of the Brodgar stones during his stay in the Orkneys some years ago. If this is not the same inscription as that mentioned by Mr. Spence, we may perhaps hope to find yet more Runic inscriptions in the Brodgar Circle.

which are joined on both sides straight strokes, or branches, which slant upwards. As the groundwork for the reading of these runes there lies a division of the Runic alphabet, the futhorc, into three groups or families of respectively 6, 5, and 5 runes. The original rule is that one reckons

as the 1st group	f u þ o r k
as the 2nd „	h n i a s
as the 3rd „	t b m l y

But the reckoning likewise often runs

as the 1st group	t b m l y
as the 2nd „	h n i a s
as the 3rd „	f u þ o r k

We find this last arrangement in the case of the two other Runic inscriptions from Orkney (Maeshowe No. 8 and No. 18),¹ where crypt-runes (branch-runes) occur.

Now in reading "branch-runes," the number of branches on the one side of the stem (as a rule the side which turns *towards* the commencement of the inscription) denotes *to which group the rune belongs*, and the number of branches on the other side of the stem (the side which turns *away from* the commencement of the inscription) shows *what number the rune has in the group*.

As already stated, the Runic alphabet contains *three* groups and the greatest number of runes allowed in a group is *six*. Now since one of the branch-runes on the Brodgar-stone (rune 3 from the right) has *three* branches to the right and *four* to the left, it follows from this that the branches to the left, which upon this rune number more than three, must denote the number of the rune in the group, whilst the branches to the right must be the sign of the number of the group. Since the sign of the group, according to a rule discovered by the Swedish

¹ The Runic inscriptions in Maeshowe have been published by James Farrer in his "Notice of Runic Inscriptions discovered during recent excavations in the Orkneys," 1862.

runologist, Professor Fr. Löffler,¹ must precede the sign of the rune's place in the group, it follows from this that the runes are to be read *from right to left*. So, just as in the two inscriptions in Maeshowe already referred to, **t b m l y** must in all probability be reckoned as the first and **f u p o r k** as the third group.

We will now try to establish the reading of the single runes, beginning with the comparatively low rune furthest to the right, which I call rune 1.

Rune 1 has undoubtedly low down on the stem a branch to each side, also higher up a branch seems to go out to each side: but these branches appear very faint on the cast, and it seems to me not impossible on linguistic grounds that the little branch up to the right, which cannot be traced as going quite down to the stem, might be interpreted as an accidental scratch without any linguistic meaning.

Rune 1 becomes then

the 2nd rune of the 2nd group = **N**

(or the 2nd rune of the 1st group = **B**?)

Rune 2. To the right of the stem is an inequality in the stone, which the rune-cutter (*rune-rister*) apparently wished to avoid by writing the two branches of the rune to the right comparatively high up. To the left the rune has apparently three branches, the uppermost of which is considerably shorter than the two lower.

It therefore becomes

the 3rd rune of the 2nd group = **I**

Rune 3 is certain:

the 4th rune of the 3rd group = **O**

Rune 4. From the form it might be natural to read this rune as the ordinary rune **Ŋ** = **U** or, if a dot, which appears between the main stem and the side-stem, is not accidental, (as I however, am most disposed to believe), we might read it as **Ŋ**, a sign for **Y**. But since the side-stem is somewhat bent in the lower part, it is

¹ "Nordiska studier tillegnade A. Noreen," p. 199, *Uppsala*, 1904, (Northern Studies dedicated to A. Noreen.)

also possible that the rune may be **R** = **R**.¹ Linguistic grounds may perhaps decide which reading is right.

Rune 5 seems clearly to be

the 2nd rune of the 2nd group = **N**.

According to this, if the inscription is read from right to left, and if as in the other inscriptions in crypt-runes from Orkney, **tbmly** is reckoned as the 1st group there comes out, as the nearest reading we can get, **NIOUN** or **NIORN**. But so far as I can see neither of these gives any linguistic meaning.² If however, we read Rune 1 as the 2nd rune of the 1st group = **B**, the inscription becomes **BIORN**, *i.e.*, the Old Norse personal name *Björn*, the same word as the name of the animal, *björn*, a bear. This gives an excellent meaning, but, as already said, this reading is not free from doubt, and I only venture to propose it therefore with strict reservations.

Below the name, which the inscription contains

¹ If Rune 4 is **R**, it can be compared to the form which the rune **R** has in the word **BRØT** in Maeshowe-inscription No. 13, to wit, this rune also has a side-stem which is only very slightly bent inwards.

² We get no useful meaning either if we reckon **tbmly** or (with the younger succession of **m** and **l**) **tblmy** as the 3rd group: **NIMUN** or **NILUN** (or **NIMRN** or **NILRN**). A well-known Old Norse word would, however, appear, if we read the inscription from left to right so that the sign of the group came after the sign of the rune's number in the group. According to this reading we should get **NUMIN**, the past participle in the nominative, masc. or fem., singular or neuter plural of the verb, *nema*, to take (into possession). But such a word, which according to its grammatical form must here be understood to signify "the possession of" *hringr*, the (Brodgar) circle, *steinn*, the stone, *jörð*, earth, real estate, or *lönd*, land (it could scarcely be meant in the sense of "lame," "impotent," used as a man's nickname) does not seem to give any suitable meaning, and further, the reading **NUMIN** is at variance with the rule found by Löffler for the interpretation of crypt-runes already referred to.

Nor have I succeeded in finding a Keltic personal name in **NIMUN** or **NUMIN** (**NULIN**).

I must not omit to point out that **NIORN** could be read as follows:

N, = a shortened way of writing a personal name beginning with **N**; **IO** = the Old Norse *hjó*, "hewed"; **RN** = the Old Norse *rún*, "the runes." This explanation however, seems to me in the highest degree unlikely.

according to my theory, a cross is inscribed, of which the right arm ends again in a cross. In like manner the Maeshowe-inscription No. 11 is surrounded by 6 crosses, and right in the middle of that inscription between the two lines there is also placed a cross.

According to the view of the old Northlanders runes of themselves possessed a strong, supernatural, magical power. They thought that that power could be increased by writing crypt-runes instead of ordinary runes, and it was yet further strengthened by the addition of the holy sign of the cross. When therefore we find, according to my interpretation, the name **BIORN** written on the Brodgar stone in crypt-runes over a cross, the intention clearly was to invoke strong and holy influences on behalf of this **Biorn**. It is not necessary to imagine that a man of the name of **Biorn** lies buried in the neighbourhood of the stone on which this name is inscribed, any more than the Maeshowe-inscription No. 11 is to be understood as a memorial-inscription to a dead man. **Biorn** himself may have inscribed his name on the Brodgar-stone on his own behalf.

There must be a definite reason why only Rune 4, **R**, is written as an ordinary rune. We should expect to find here also a branch-rune—with 3 branches to the right and 5 branches to the left, since **R** is the 5th rune of the 3rd group. But it would have been rather troublesome to cut such a branch-rune with 8 branches in all, and the rune-cutter to spare himself pains may well have written an ordinary rune here, instead of a branch-rune. The ground-work of this explanation does not hold good if Rune 4 should be read as **U**; because the latter, which is the 2nd rune of the group, would only have had 5 branches in all, if it had been written as a branch-rune. I find in this fact another argument in favour of my reading of Rune 4 as **R** (not **U**).¹

¹ With the fact that Rune 4 turns to the right, whilst the inscription in its entirety must be read from right to left, we can compare the similar relationship of many runes in Maeshowe-inscription, No. 14.

The newly discovered inscription from the Brodgar Circle, Stenness, is specially of importance because it gives us another example from Orkney of the use of crypt-runes (branch-runes). The other examples besides this are found, as already stated, in the two inscriptions in Maeshowe, No. 8 and No. 18. The first of these was inscribed by a man of the name of Ærlingr, the other was probably written, as I have tried to show, in "Three Runic Inscriptions from Orkney,"¹ by the same man (Tryggr) as the Maeshowe-inscriptions No. 16 and No. 18. Trygg's three inscriptions show very special points of agreement with the most remarkable Runic inscription in the North, the inscription at Rök in East Gothland, Sweden, which dates from the middle of the ninth century and in many portions of which crypt-runes are also used. For the crypt-runes of the Rök-inscription, just as in the Maeshowe-inscriptions No. 8 and No. 18, and in the Brodgar-inscription, **fupork** must be read as the 3rd (not as the 1st) group.

The two crypt-rune inscriptions in Maeshowe referred to must be read from left to right, whilst the crypt-runes in the Brodgar-inscription go in the opposite direction. In this the latter inscription agrees with the crypt-runes on the Rök-stone.

The man who inscribed the runes on the Brodgar stone in all probability had his home in Orkney. The Maeshowe-inscriptions too, taken in bulk and as a whole, seem to have been inscribed by Orkneymen. This is certainly the case with the three inscriptions which were written by Tryggr, (Nos. 18, 16 and 22) because he calls himself "the greatest master of runes west o'er the sea."

The date of the Brodgar inscription cannot be determined definitely. It belongs most probably to the 12th century, to which period the Runic inscriptions in Maeshowe are generally referred.

¹ Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandling for 1903, No. 10. (Transactions of the Scientific Society of Christiania.)

ICELAND.

Dr. Jón Stefánsson, District Secretary, writes from Copenhagen:—

I HAVE little material for a District Report this year. Finnur Jónsson and Daniel Bruun have been digging on the site of the old trading-place and commercial port, Gásar, in Eyjafjord, North Iceland. They found traces of booths and of walls; but no objects of iron, gold or silver were found, and the results were considered somewhat disappointing. Little excavation work has ever been done at Þingvellir. Systematic work would no doubt be somewhat costly, but many objects must be hidden in the earth covering the lava, which is nowhere deep down. The centre of life in Iceland from A.D. 930 to 1800 is a likely spot for archæological finds.

I have nothing further to report as to the traces of early Celtic settlers in Iceland mentioned in my last report (page 78), but I hope that later on Einar Benediktsson, who, with Brynjólf Jónsson was engaged in the investigation, will be able to furnish further details for the SAGA-BOOK.

A life-sized statue of Ingolf Arnarson, the first settler in Iceland, by the young sculptor Einar Jónsson, is now being exhibited in Copenhagen. He is shown resting one arm on his high-seat pillar, which drifted ashore at Reykjavík. The statue has been set up in bronze at Reykjavík.

Mr. Sveinbjörn Sveinbjörnsson, who was present in Iceland last summer when the King visited the country, also sends us the following account of

THE ROYAL VISIT TO ICELAND.

THE visit that Frederik the Eighth, King of Denmark, paid to Iceland in the summer of the year 1907 will long

remain one of the most memorable events in the annals of the country.

Great preparations had been made both in Reykjavík and elsewhere to welcome His Majesty, his son Prince Harald, the ministers of State, and the members of the Danish Parliament.

The town had been gaily decorated, houses had been built for refreshment and rest at the principal places of interest, which had been selected as halting places on the route by which the King was expected to travel, while three banqueting halls had been erected, viz., at Reykjavík, Thingvellir, and Geysir.

The King and his suite landed on the 30th of July. The bright sunny weather made the capital of Iceland look its very best, and a vast number of people had gathered at the landing place to welcome His Majesty, who was hailed with hearty cheers, while little girls dressed in white waved the Danish flag to the strains of the National Anthem.

After the usual presentations had taken place, the King was conducted to the College, which had been fitted up as the royal residence during his stay in the town.

In the afternoon the formal reception took place in the Parliament House, a substantial and handsome stone building near the centre of the town. After the first part of a cantata, specially composed for the occasion,¹ had been sung, the Icelandic minister of State, Hannes Hafstein, bade the King welcome in an eloquent speech, to which His Majesty replied in most appropriate terms, expressing the great pleasure it gave him to be welcomed by his faithful Icelandic subjects.

On the following day the King entertained a large number of guests at "Dejeuner," and later on signed three important bills, dealing with Exports, Customs duties, and Fisheries.

At a banquet in the evening he intimated that he had

¹ By Mr. Sveinbjörn Sveinbjörnsson himself.—ED.

appointed a Commission to consider the best means by which Icelandic interests could be furthered, conformably with the unity and the integrity of the kingdom.

On the 2nd of August, being the day appointed for visiting the principal places of interest in the south of the Island, the King rode, accompanied by a large cavalcade, to Thingvellir (Parliament Plain), a district renowned as the ancient seat of the legislative assembly, and also for its wonderful natural phenomena, in the form of rifts or fissures in the lava rock, called in Icelandic "gjá."

The largest of these is Almannagjá, on the main road to Thingvellir; it is specially striking when approached from Reykjavík, as the existence of the fissure is not even suspected by the traveller until he actually reaches the edge, where by stair-like ledges the road leads down to the bottom of the chasm. Here a large number of people had assembled to welcome the King to a spot, sacred to them by historical associations.

On the following day, after some of the marvellous fissures in the neighbourhood had been inspected, the King went to "Løgberg" (the Law Hill), where, in an impressive speech, he expressed his conviction that the feeling of brotherhood between the Danes and the Icelanders would grow year by year in strength, and lead to the happiest issues for the nation. The speech was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and was followed by others expressive of similar sentiments.

A wrestling match, which took place later, to show the Danish guests one of the surviving national sports, evoked the keenest interest, and in a dance, held subsequently in the open air, His Majesty graciously took part with apparent enjoyment. His frank kindliness on this and similar occasions did much to remove any feeling of restraint or shyness in the presence of royalty, and has gained him great popularity among the Icelandic people.

On the 4th of August the King rode to Geysir, de-

scribed in every book on Iceland as one of the marvels of the world. There are said to be twenty-four hot springs in the district, of which the Great Geysir is the largest ; some of these are mere funnels, emitting vapour from the boiling water, as it rises and falls, producing the most weird gurgling sounds ; others are beautiful natural fountains, throwing up columns of water and steam to a great height, preceded by subterranean rumblings, which sound like distant thunder. We were indeed most fortunate in seeing the Great Geysir perform ; whether he wanted to show his appreciation of the royal visit, or did not want to retain the soap, with which he had been previously fed, is open to question.

Gullfoss (the golden waterfall), one of the loveliest falls in existence, was our next halting place ; viewed from different positions it revealed ever varying beauties, while a brilliant rainbow lent an additional charm to the scene.

Next day the King inspected two bridges ; both appeared substantial structures ; and to those whose memory of Iceland can carry them back thirty years, they testify to the immense progress made by the country from that time, when few roads and no bridges worthy of the name existed.

After the King's return to Reykjavík two balls were given, the first by the town, and the second by His Majesty.

On the 9th of August the King left the capital to visit the other chief towns along the coast.

WESTERN NORWAY.

Dr. Haakon Schetelig, District Secretary, sends the following :—

DISCOVERY OF A "KITCHEN-MIDDEN."

A discovery concerning the Stone Age, and perhaps the most remarkable which has ever occurred in Norway, has been made this year at Viste, in the district of Ryfylke (environs of Stavanger). The site was examined by Mr. A. W. Brøgger of Kristiania, who is now describing the finds for publication. The spot had been a dwelling-place, and was marked by a shell-mound, of exactly the same character as the renowned Danish finds of this sort. It was situated close to a steep and overhanging rock, which formed a shelter for the place, but was not a cave properly so-called. The heap of shells, bones, etc., was considerable, and contained several antiquities of stone and bone, the forms of which perfectly correspond to the types of the "Kjökkenmøddings" of Denmark. Mr. Brøgger has kindly informed me that the find, undoubtedly, is to be referred to the same period as the said Danish finds. It is the first proof that this primitive civilization, the dawn of the neolithic period of Scandinavia—and, indeed, of all Western Europe—spread as far north as to the inhospitable coasts of Norway. Thus the late discovery at Viste opens before us a hitherto unknown chapter of the history of this country. As I have remarked in a previous report, Mr. A. W. Brøgger has previously suggested some years ago that this civilization was to be traced in some rather poor dwelling-places along the coasts of Norway. But the proofs were then not certain, and the inventory of the places then known differed considerably from their presumed prototype in Denmark. The late find has left no doubt, and may be recorded as an event in Norwegian archæology. Next year, when Mr. Brøgger has published his account, I hope to have the opportunity of inserting in the SAGA-BOOK a more complete survey of it than is now possible.

STONE AGE OF WESTERN NORWAY.

A remarkable review of the Stone Age of Western Norway was published by Mr. A. W. Brøgger at the beginning of this year.¹ Though I cannot at all points agree with the author, I find the paper of great merit. By its excellent arrangement of the material it has cleared the way for future investigators; it may be recommended to all students of Norwegian archæology who can read our language.

DISCOVERY OF A DWELLING OF THE MIDDLE IRON AGE.

An important find, belonging to the Migration Period (middle part of the Iron Age), was made in Jäderén during my excavations there, undertaken for the Bergen Museum. The district Jäderén is rich in remains of the prehistoric period, and has yielded many of the most important documents for the study of ancient Norway. We have known for many years that traces of old houses and farms existed in Jäderén in localities which are now not cultivated. Mr. Hilliesen, of the Stavanger Museum, has published diagrams of some of these forgotten farms, dating back, most probably, to the Viking Age. This summer I came across three house-grounds on the moors at Avestad, above Vigrestad railway station, in the southern part of Jäderén. They had a much more ancient appearance than the said houses of the Viking Age, and from the excavation they proved to be some three centuries older, dating from the earlier half of the Migration Period. Each house consisted of one oblong room; the walls seem to have been mere heaps of stones and earth, with no traces of a regular structure; they thus required an interior structure of wooden beams, or planks, of which no traces were now to be found. The roof had rested upon beams set upright, which had left distinct holes in the clay floor; they were arranged in rows regularly along each wall at a distance of

¹ "Norges Vestlands Stenalder." By A. W. Brøgger, in *Bergens Museums Aarbog*, 1907.

0.80—1 m. from the wall. Of the roof itself nothing was left but a great quantity of birch-bark, found in the interior of one of the houses. The fireplaces were paved depressions in the middle of the floor, but fires had been made also at many different places in the room.

The houses were, as would be expected, very poor in antiquities; some complete and many fragmentary earthenware cooking pots were found, and some grinding stones.

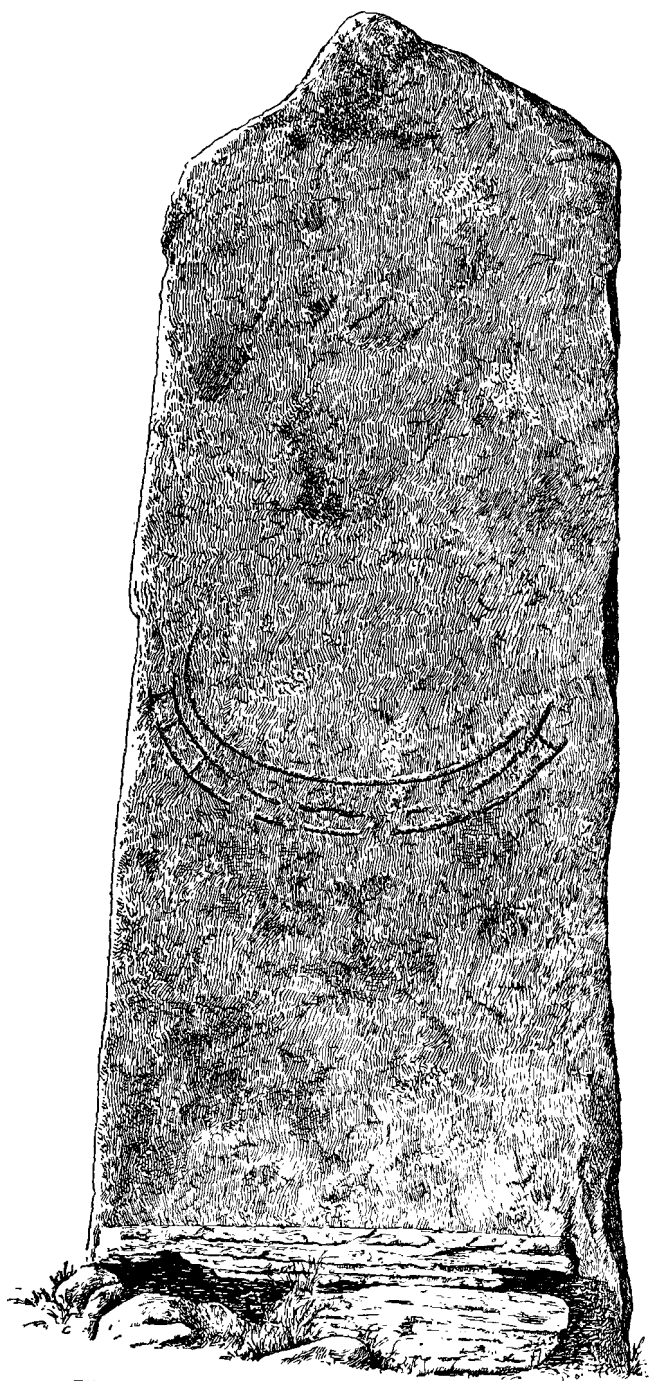
This is the first discovery of this type of house in Norway; in Sweden they are well known in Gotland, Öland and Uppland.

STANDING STONE WITH FIGURE OF A SHIP.

A curious discovery was made last year by the proprietor of the farm Austreim, at Gloppen, in Nordfjord. One day he fancied he could see a drawing of a ship upon the plain surface of a well-known standing stone close to his garden wall. The ship was visible only in good sunlight between 5 and 6 p.m. in summer. By a minute examination of the stone, I found that the observation was correct, and later I published an account of the stone in the *Bergens Museums Aarbog*, 1907, with illustrations.¹

Representations of ships are predominant among the sculptured stones of Gotland; a drawing of a ship is found also upon a stone in Uppland, the Håggeby-stone (now in Stockholm), which Mr. Arne has dated to the sixth century—most probably the Austreim stone is earlier than the Viking Age. According to current opinions among Scandinavian archaeologists, the ship representations upon such monuments have sprung from those religious ideas that during the Viking Age found a typical expression in the ship-burials. It is characteristic in this connection that the Austreim stone, the first

¹By the kind permission of Herr Jens Holmboe, Director of the Bergen Museum, we are permitted to reproduce these illustrations.—ED.



THE AUSTREIM STONE, GLOPPEN, NORDEFJORD, NORWAY.
From Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1907.



THE SHIP FIGURE ON THE AUSTREIM STONE.
From Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1907.

monument of this sort discovered in Norway, is found in a district especially rich in ship-burials; a typical boat-grave was discovered by Dr. Gustafson in the very neighbourhood of the stone.

CURIOUS FIND OF A RUNIC INSCRIPTION.

A runic inscription, one of the oldest known, dating from the fourth century, has just been discovered in a very curious manner. It is engraved upon a small bone implement found in a cinerary urn from Fløksand, in the parish of Alversund in Nordhordland. This urn has been in the Bergen Museum for about fifty years, but the contents of it have only recently been thoroughly examined, when the implement with the inscription was discovered. I hope to be able to report fully on the discovery another year.

"NORGES OLDTID," BY GABRIEL GUSTAFSON.

I cannot conclude without calling attention to the publication of Professor Gustafson's valuable work on the antiquities of Norway, although it has already received some notice in the SAGA-BOOK.¹ In this book the author does not, indeed, discuss the obscure problems of past times; but he gives a wealth of reliable facts and of good illustrations, the whole arranged in a very clear and intelligible way. His work will be *the* indispensable handbook for all students of the archæology of Norway, a complete account of what is now known respecting these matters. With twenty-five years' experience in diggings and in museum-work, the author is undoubtedly at present the only man able to write a book of this sort, dealing equally with all branches of the great material, and always pointing out the coherence of the development through different ages. He has given the history of early civilization in Norway, and filled up a sensible gap in the scientific literature of the country.

¹ See part i. pp. 189-190.

A LEGEND OF SHETLAND FROM FLJÓTSDÆLA SAGA.¹

BY PROFESSOR W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.,
President, 1905-7.

THE Yule-tide tale here translated has a special interest because the scene of the story is laid in Shetland. Not only that, but it appears to be a piece of Celtic folk-lore transplanted into Iceland, and grafted in a curious way upon matter otherwise historical. The step between fact and fiction is often very short, but it is not often so boldly taken as in this instance, where the simple traditions of a real family have been adorned by a later scribe with an episode from fairyland.

The Greater Fljótsdæla Saga, or story of the sons of Droplaug, was edited by Dr. Kristian Kaalund in 1883, and again by Valdimar Ásmundarson in 1896. Gudbrand Vigfússon, in the Prolegomena to Sturlunga Saga, dismissed it curtly as spurious work; he said that the paper copy of about 1650 (A.M. 551) in which it exists was founded on the text of A.M. 132 (the short, early saga), and filled up from many sources. Conrad Maurer also called it a fabrication of the seventeenth century. Dr. Kaalund thought that it was put together in the earlier part of the sixteenth, while Valdimar Ásmundarson assigns it to the fifteenth, or late in the fourteenth century. At any rate it is late and not authentic.

The genuine saga of which this is a fanciful enlargement is one of the oldest. The MS. is of the thirteenth

¹ This paper has also been printed in ORKNEY AND SHETLAND OLD-LORE for April and July, 1907.

century (A.M. 132), and from the mention of the author, a unique instance in sagas, it can be dated early in the twelfth century (Vigfússon, *op. cit.* lxviii). It tells the story of the sons of Droplaug in what Vigfússon called "the uncouth, broken style of early Icelandic prose." It gives a totally different account of the birth and wedding of Droplaug from that given in the longer and later saga. She was really no fairy-tale heroine, but the daughter of Thorgrim of Gil in Jökulsdal; though in our legend she is made the daughter of an earl of Shetland, born about 93—, carried off by a giant, and rescued by the Iclander who became her husband. About such a legend one cannot help asking how it could have come into the story.

Not that there were no giants in Iceland. Mr. Craigie, in his collection of Scandinavian Folk-lore (p. 57) tells (from Jón Árnason) of a troll in a cave among the fells of Iceland who was supposed to have charmed to himself a woman of the neighbourhood. But as the Icelandic saying, "Then laughed the merman," can be traced back to Ireland and Wales, so the rescue of a lady from a giant's cave is almost common form in Celtic mythology; for example, the well-known adventure of King Arthur at Mont St. Michel, and the rescue-fights with giants like Cuchullain's battle with Echain Glas. All these go back, according to one theory of folk-lore, to the solar hero and his visit to the underworld. But here we have the old tale new set; the surroundings are purely Scandinavian; Shetland and Iceland had been Norse for centuries when this later saga was written; and yet the legend betrays its Viking Age Celtic origin by one curious touch. In describing the giant's "paws," the word *lámur*, representing the Gaelic word *lamh*, is used (*m* standing for *mh* shows the early date of the loan); and the only other use of the word in Icelandic seems to be in the Edda.

The giant's name, however, is Scandinavian—Geitir. In England giants had foreign names, presumably Celtic

in origin—Cormoran and Blunderbore and other strange compounds, down to Davy Jones, who is obviously Celtic. But in Norse countries even the giants were naturalised; Hallmund and Thórir of Grettis Saga were not known as half-trolls by their names, and in Shetland Saxa of Saxafjord, Herman of Hermaness, Siggeir of "Siggerhill benorth Colviedell" (Black and Thomas, "Folk-lore of Orkney and Shetland," Folk-lore Society, xlix., p. 261) are Norse giants, while Cobbie Row in Orkney was once plain, historical Kolbein Hróga. It is much as if we should call the bugbears of our ancestors by such familiar appellations as John Smith or Mr. Wilkinson; indeed, even then there might be some hidden allusion to Völund the smith and the Vilkinasaga; but these Icelandic and Shetlandic supernaturals had quite forgotten their Celtic or Pictish origins.

Our legend has not survived in Shetland, but there are, or were, the materials for it surviving. The fact of a giant-lore has been noticed: another point of contact may be found in the very curious description of the magic sword carried off by the Icelandic hero. It had iron hilts, beautifully ornamented, but the blade was green in colour and brown at the edges, without a fleck of iron-rust—clearly a *bronze* sword. Such objects the Northmen must have found in their howe-breaking exploits, though the saga says that our hero had never seen such a weapon before, and it does not hint, even by the description, that it was known to be of bronze. But in 1876 a bronze "trow's sword," long used for magical purposes, and evidently from a grave in Shetland, was presented to the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities. It is described in the Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. (vol. xi., p. 471) as a small bronze knife or dagger with tang, 4 inches in length, found at Nordhouse, Sulem, Northmavine. So here we have the very thing surviving "in reduced circumstances," a minor example of the class of article described in the saga.

Now a story containing this incident cannot be a

real Icelandic story, for bronze swords are not found in Iceland. But it might be a real Shetland story, for there the bronze weapon was actually attributed to a troll.

Treasures in a giant's cave are common in fairy-tales, but play an important part in this legend. The hero found all sorts of Icelandic wares and linen, gold and great riches; and the theory of the legend is that they were the proceeds of the giant's raids on his neighbours and from shipwrecks. His cave was a Davy Jones's locker. In Shetland the howes were supposed to contain great treasures, especially those of Trolhouland, near Bigsetter Voe. The New Statistical Account interprets this name as "the high land of the Trows"; and Hibbert's description (published 1812) gives the following paragraph:—

"Several Shetlanders, among whom are warlocks and witches, have enjoyed a communion with the *guid folk*, and by a special indulgence have been transported in the air, whenever occasion served, from one island to another. On their visits to Trolhouland or any other knoll of a similar description they have been allowed to enter the interior of the hill at one side and come out of it at the other; and in this subterranean journey have been dazzled by the splendour exhibited within the recesses through which they have passed. They report that all the interior walls are adorned with gold and silver, and that the domestic utensils of the place, peculiar to Fairyland, resemble the strange implements that are sometimes found lying abroad on the hills."

That is to say, objects of the prehistoric ages, found in graves and sometimes loose in the soil, were explained as dwarf-wrought or fairy implements; as indeed is well known to all folk-lore students. Fairyland might be almost described as the antiquarian museum, treated poetically. Fairy-tales are to archæology as alchemy and astrology to chemistry and astronomy. But here again we have distinct local colour in our legend, attributable to Shetland, but not attributable to an Icelandic origin.

Another important feature is the giant's bed in his cave. It is represented as enormous every way, to suit the size of the giant; but it is not impossible that it may

have been suggested by the famous Dwarfie Stone of Hoy, described and figured in full by Mr. A. W. Johnston in the "Reliquary" for 1895. We know from the Latin account, written by "Jo. Ben.," that so long ago as 1529 this curious artificial dwelling or sepulchre, carved in the solid rock was attributed to trows—"gigantes" is his word, though the real scale of it is diminutive. Such a story as he tells may have grown in the telling, and passed from Orkney to Iceland by way of Shetland, so coming into our legend. But as Mr. Johnston points out to me, the real cave might be paralleled in Shetland in the Orkneyman's cave (*i.e.*, the Seal-man's, from Icelandic *örkn*, a seal), in which there are halls and cupboards enough to accommodate a real giant family, if such tenants could be found. The giant in our story, however, was no seal-man, for he did not like wetting his feet.

The name of the place does not appear to survive. The cave was Geitishellir, the crag which contained it bore the name of Geitishamarr, and the mountain above was Geitissúlur. One would like to find a Gaitshellier or Gateshammar on the map of Shetland, but it is no great disappointment to fail in the search. In Orkney there is Gaitnip, which Dr. J. Anderson ("Orkneyinga Saga," p. 110) identifies with the Geitaberg of the Viking Age, but this place has no claims to be the scene of our story.

It will be news to students of history that Shetland in the middle of the tenth century was ruled by an earl named Björgólf, and he may well be considered as fictitious as Geitir the Giant. At the same time there must have been local chiefs, concerning whom we know very little. The curious point is that we have two distinct stories about an actual Icelandic family, both containing romances, and both giving the same set of names; but the earlier saga has the corroboration of Landnámabók, and its romance is not impossible; the later saga is, on the face of it, fictitious, but drags in this legend which evidently comes from Shetland.

The meeting-point of the two accounts is in the home-
stead of Arneidarstadir, in East Iceland. The place was
so called, according to the fairy-tale, from Arneid of
Shetland, the mother of the rescued Droplaug, whom
she accompanied to her new home. But in the earlier
Droplaugarsona Saga (i.) and in Landnáma (iv., 2) the
origin of the name is otherwise told. Ketil, the son of
Thidrandi, travelling east to Jamtaland in Sweden, found
there a captive girl, Arneid, the daughter of Earl Ásbjörn
Skerjablesi (Skerryblaze), who had ruled the Hebrides
after Tryggvi and before Guthorm.¹ Ketil bought Arneid
and married her. When they were in Víkin (south of
Norway) she went ashore to gather nuts, and found a
hoard of buried treasure. With this they went to Ice-
land and built Arneidarstadir. Their son was Thidrandi,
father of Ketil and of Thorvald, the husband of Drop-
laug, about whom no strange adventures are told. The
real romance occurred in the previous generation, and
it may be noted in passing that it was not without con-
nection with Scotland, for Arneid was born in the
Hebrides.

The later saga makes this Thorvald Thidrandason,
husband of Droplaug, into the hero of the romantic
episode. He is described as very handsome, melancholy,
inoffensive, and trustworthy. His brother Ketil, by-
named Thrym (as his grandfather Ketil is by-named in
the earlier saga), was dark and ugly, but lordly and

¹ This Tryggvi, a name which is merely a familiar form of Sigtrygg, is
made by P. A. Munch to be the first Earl of the Hebrides after Harald
Fairhair's great invasion (see "*Det Norske Folks Historie*," I., i., p. 506),
but one does not see what his relations with Ketil Flatnef, who also
ruled the Hebrides at that time, could have been, and the passages from
"*Landnáma*" and "*Droplaugarsona Saga*" seem to be the only authorities
for this series of Hebridean earls. Guthorm is identified by Munch
(*ibid.*, p. 507) with the son of Earl Sigurd of Orkney, who succeeded his
father, but died childless after a year's reign. The story of Arneid's
youth, doubtless founded on fact, must date about the end of the ninth
century; Tryggvi cannot be the father of King Olaf, for he was not in
the Hebrides until fifty years later.

imposing, and from an early age taciturn and cold. The two brothers lived at Njardvik, in Eastern Iceland. There was little love between them. Ketil would have his own way in everything. At last Thorvald asked for his share of the goods that fell to him, and sold off what he could get.

Then the saga goes on with the chapters which I have translated in the following pages, and I may add that the translation is as literal as I can make it.

* * * * *

A ship arrived in the district of Fljótsdal over against the eastern fells at the place called Unaóss (the mouth of the Selfjót, halfway between Seydisfjord and Vopnafjord). Thorvald took his goods and joined that ship and set forth. When they put out to sea they got unfavourable winds and tossed about all the summer long. When summer was far spent they met foul weather and a fierce storm, which drove them out of the high seas, and brought them by night to Shetland. There was a strong ebb-tide, and they sailed in among the breakers. Their ship was broken to flinders, and everything they had was lost, though the crew got ashore with their lives.

Among the rest Thorvald landed, with nothing but the Iceland clothes he stood in. Not a scrap of his goods washed up, except a big spear, which he rescued; and though he waited for two nights on the beach, hoping that some of his property would be saved, nothing of any value was found. It was no good, he thought, to sit there and starve; and so one day he left the spot.

Shetland was then under the rule of an earl named Björgólf, by that time an old man; and to his court Thorvald determined to betake himself. He sat at the door all night, and in the morning went before the earl. Now this earl was greatly beloved of his people, and yet he was sad. When Thorvald offered his greeting the earl received him kindly, and asked who he was.

"I am an Icclander," said Thorvald, "a freedman, of

no good family, new come from shipwreck, and penniless. Grant me, lord, shelter for the winter, for I would fain abide with thee."

"It seems to me thou must need it," said the earl: and when Thorvald asked for his place in hall, the earl told him, "Sit on the lower bench, between the thralls and the freemen; see that thou be no meddler, and be pleasant in thy dealings with all men."

Thorvald went to his seat, and there he sat the winter through. He did as the earl bade him, and was pleasant with his bench-mates. In a while they would give him a friendly answer, and many a question he asked them. So the winter passed on toward Yule, and then the household folk became very downcast, and the earl was most melancholy, although he had a young wife and two sons, lads in years, but with a look of promise. One afternoon Thorvald asked his neighbours what was the reason of their heaviness. Nobody would tell him, and yet it was now drawing on for Yule-tide.

Once, at night, the men who lay next Thorvald heard him toss and shout in his sleep: they wanted to wake him, but the earl bade them let him dream his dream out. When he awoke they asked what he had been dreaming, but he would not tell.

Two nights before Yule he went up to the earl with a fair and courteous greeting, and the earl answered kindly. Said Thorvald, "I have come here to ask what no one else will tell me. I want to know the reason why everybody here is dismal; for they enjoy neither sleep nor food, and it makes me unhappy. You, of all here, are most likely to tell me, I think, for you are the chief of them all."

"There is no need for thee to pry," said the earl, "for it is no matter of thine. Have nothing to do with it, and no thanks for thy question. It is an idle curiosity and quite useless. Indeed it would be right if it cost thee something."

Thorvald said he would not have asked if he had

known that it vexed him. "Let me change the subject," he said, "and ask you to rede my dream."

"I am no man of dreams," said the earl. "I cannot rede them, because I never talk of such things. And yet thou mayst tell me, if thou wishest."

"I thought," said Thorvald, "that I was walking seaward in this same dress I wear every day. I thought the way was clear, and I saw my path. I had my spear in my hand. I thought the foreshore was not flooded, and I went out toward the sea over great sands at ebb-tide. When I had crossed the sands there was a green cove in front of me, and when I went through the cleft of the rocks great tangles of seaweed had grown there. Then shorewards and upbank I saw a great height or fell. In the fell yonder were crags looking toward the sea, and a great high rock. And I thought there were shallows beyond, and deep sea. Then I came to gravel-beds, and walked along them between the sea and the rock. Then in front of me was a great cave, and I went into it. I saw there a light burning, of such a kind that it threw no shadows. I saw an iron pillar in the cave, standing up to the roof, and to that pillar was tied a girl. Her hands were fastened behind her back, and her hair was wound about the pillar. A chain of iron was round her; there was a lock at each end, and she was locked in with them. I thought I tried to set her free, and got the chain loose. I saw nothing there alive but herself. I went out and away with her. I thought I went out into the shallows and escaped. Then I thought some living thing was chasing me; it frightened me dreadfully. We met, and I cannot remember which of us won—that must have been when I shouted in my sleep. Then I awoke."

The earl grew so red when he heard the story that he might almost have been bled from one finger; he swelled all over!

"Wonderful impudence," he cried, "to tell me you dreamt what you have picked up by gossiping! It

provokes me enough even if I see no tricks in it, for it brings before me my daughter who is lost. I forbade all to speak of it, and the man who told you ought to hear of it to his cost."

"You shall know all, my lord," said Thorvald. "Not one of your men has told me this story: it was shown me in a dream. I will assure you of that as strongly as you like."

The earl was silent, and after a while he answered, "One of two things will happen to thee—either thou art a foresighted man or thou wilt be a dead one ere long."

Thorvald answered, "I wanted you to tell me the adventures that have befallen here in your homestead: I think I know that much must have happened."

"Why not?" said the earl. "Beside my two boys I had a daughter named Droplaug. They called her well beseen; I loved her dearly. Last Yule she was lost. A giant called Geitir took her. He has the lair where you dreamt you went; it is called Geitir's Rock, and the fell is called Geitir's Pillars. He is the cause of great mischief; he maims both man and beast, and he is the evillest wight in all Shetland. I have said I would give her to the man, if any were so bold, who should rescue her."

Thorvald said he thought it unlikely that she could be rescued.

"It was not my choice," said the earl, "that she went into that peril. As you have chosen to meddle in the matter, I think you ought to take the risk."

"I wish I had never asked about it," answered Thorvald, turning away and going to his seat.

After supper men went to their beds. When Thorvald found that all were asleep, he rose and took his spear in his hand. He crossed certain sands and aimed to the north, much the same way that he had seen in his dream. He went to the place where the green cove spread out, and the cleft in the rocks, and the great tangle of seaweed: there before him lay the gravel-beds. He went on to the place where the shallows were, and waded

through them. At last he came to the spot he had seen in his dream, and climbed up to the cave, and entered it. He saw the light burning; on the further side he saw a bed-place, much bigger than he had ever seen such a thing before; and thought that although he lay down in that bed with another man as big as himself, and they spurned one another with the soles of their feet, even then it would be quite long enough: and Thorvald was a very tall man. This bed was no less in other ways: it had hangings on one side only, and over it was a broad velvet counterpane. The bolsters were huge, high up above the bed.

Over it he saw a great sword hanging. He took it down, and then followed a mighty fall of stones. The sword was well fitted with its sheath; its pommel and guard were of iron, most beautifully ornamented. He drew the sword, and it was green in colour, but brown at the edges; there were no flecks of rust on the sword. He had never seen a weapon like it.

On the other side of the cave he saw a heap of goods, all sorts of Iceland wares and linen, and many kinds of gear he saw lying there and noted by their names. There were all sorts of good things which were better to have than to lack.

In the middle of the cave he saw an iron pillar, and there, tied to it, a girl in that same plight he had seen in his sleep. She sat in a red kirtle; and so fair as she had seemed to him in his dream, now he thought her much fairer. He went up to her, and she greeted him. He answered courteously, and asked who she was. She told him that her name was Droplaug, and that she was the daughter of Earl Björgólf; but said he must not talk much with her.

"Thou art in great danger of thy life," she said, "for thou art in worse case than thou thinkest. The master of this place is a giant so big that no other like him can be found. I am fast prisoner here," she said, "but thou mayest get away from me."

He said she must go with him. She said she could not.

"He is a much bigger giant than men-kind can raise shield against. He will be coming home soon, because he goes out of nights to plunder, and ties me to the pillar while he is away; but by day he lies in his bed and plays with me, throwing me from hand to hand and catching me. And then when he wants to sleep he gives me gold and treasures for toys. He gives me nothing to eat that I do not like, and never a whit does he think of ill-treating me as he might."

Thorvald answered. "Both of us shall go hence, or neither!"

He drew the sword and hewed the iron fetters off her, and it bit so well that forthwith they fell asunder. Then he led her out of the cave; he took no goods away but the sword.

So they went out over the gravel-beds and through the shallows. He found that her strength was failing, for she was overtired; and he took her up in his arms and waded into the shoal water, which now seemingly was deeper than before because the tide was flowing strongly. He found that a little upwards in the rocks over against him there was a notch, like as if a quarry had been cut there; but he did not go to it. He saw the lights of heaven, and the day began to dawn. He had almost come to the green cove; they were travelling very slowly, when he heard a great outcry behind him at the cave.

This uproar startled the girl terribly, and she bade him let her down. "I told thee before," she said, "that thou must not stay chattering with me: thou art trying more than thou canst do. Now he has come home, and he will be wanting me. He will not hunt after thee if he finds me."

"That shall never be," he answered; "one fate shall overtake us both as long as I can hold thee fast."

So he took off his shaggy cape and wrapped her up

in it ; then set her down in the cleft of the rock, laid the spear beside her, and turned back in the path. Then he saw that the giant's head reached heavenward, much higher than the rock. He was aiming at her so big a stone that she could not have escaped. Then he took the sword and went to meet the giant.

The giant shouted loud, bidding him lay down his giant-bride. "Thou thinkest to carry much in thy grasp, thou worthless wretch, when thou wilt take from me her whom I have owned so long."

Then he stepped up to the notch in the rock, where Thorvald had set himself, but his other foot was in the green cove, and he was not wetshod. Thorvald saw that the notch had been cut as a step, so that the giant might not have to wade the water. At this moment Thorvald came at him, and ran in under him. The giant spread out his paws and tried to catch him. Then Thorvald hacked at him, reaching the middle of the giant's thigh ; he took off the left leg just below the knee, and the sword came down into the sand. The giant fell.

He groaned with pain, and said, "Fouly thou hast tricked me ; it was more than I looked for that thou shouldst take the only weapon that could hurt me. I fared unfearing after thee, for I never thought small folk would be my bane. Now thou wilt think thou hast won a great victory. Thou wilt reckon to bear that weapon, and thy kinsmen after thee ; but this curse I lay on it :—it will help them least when need is greatest."

Thorvald looked to it that he should speak no more needless words, and hewed at his neck so that he took off the head. This he did not try sooner because the giant groped about with his hands, and Thorvald could not get within reach of him until he was quiet. Then he went away to the place where she lay, and found her strengthless and senseless. He took her up and ran off with her swiftly, just as in his dream, until he came back to the hall.

At that time men were at their drinking after

breakfast ; they had missed Thorvald, but gave little heed to it. And now he came into the hall, with Droplaug on his arm and a sword in the other hand. He went up to the earl and spoke to him, saying he was bringing him his daughter. The earl was exceedingly glad of her, and so were many others. The earl asked with what danger or adventure he had found her, and he told the whole story, saying that it had gone much according to his dream.

"Great is thy good luck and fortune," answered the earl, "if thou hast conquered one who has been the greatest enemy in the country ; however, we shall soon see that."

The henchmen said that it could not have been so big a giant as people had thought ; "he has made one conquest, and that may be one lie."

After that, Thorvald meant to return to his seat ; but the earl called after him and bade him sit on the fore-bench in front of the high seat. "As to thy lot henceforth," he said, "thou must either be worthier than I reckoned thee, or else thou wilt not be a long-lived man. One thing is plain, thou hast brought us a welcome offering ; thy journey has ended happily, and we are now as well off as when no man ventured to take the risk. I, at least, will never deny that we are glad to get this girl back, even though we are not sure that the enemy is overcome."

After that men drank, but made more haste than was their wont. When the tables were cleared Earl Björgólf bade them take their weapons and go to see what had happened. They went, and Thorvald with them. When they came to the place they all saw what a fight had been gained. Many would not venture near—they who at first said that it had been no daring deed. The earl bade them fell wood, and drag it together ; he made them heap a bonfire and then haul the giant out upon it and burn him to cold ashes ; after that they threw the ashes out into the sea. Then they went to the

cave in boats, and carried thence much treasure, and all that was of value, and brought it home. The place is now called Geitir's cave or Geitir's crag; and they say it has never since been haunted by giants.

When they came home the goods were divided. Among them, it is said, were most of the wares from the ship in which Thorvald had been; he found all his property there. He and the earl let every man have what he knew to be his own; even then there was much over, which no one claimed, because Iceland wares were little worth beside that which was won, for it was the treasure of many men. Thorvald richly rewarded all who had been put to trouble on this account.

Thenceforward he stayed in Shetland, a famous man. His adventure was reckoned a deed of the highest courage. The earl gave him the greatest honour, and so did all the rest. He stayed there throughout the following year, and in the summer his fame in Shetland reached Iceland. Many in the east firths were glad when they learnt what had happened—except his brother Ketil, who pretended to know nothing about it. People thought Thorvald in luck after being disinherited by Ketil.

Thorvald stayed in Shetland until Yule. Then he went to the earl and spoke to him, asking whether he remembered anything about that Yule before. He said he certainly remembered it.

"Then I will claim the promise which you yourself made, when I told my dream. You said you would give your daughter to the man who rescued her. Now I want to have my answer. I will not stay here unless something is done for me."

"On that matter my mind is the same now as it was then," said the earl. "Thou art the right man to have her, I think, if it is to thy liking. But I think the match is not so much to thy advantage now, for this girl's temper would not suit everyone, while thou art able to pick and choose at thy will. Still I will hold to my word, and pay my debt, even if there is a crack in the coin.

It is likely to turn out well, for her heart is set upon thee; whenever thou art named she says there is none like thee. Now I will give thee the earldom until my sons are old enough to take the rule."

"I do not wish for that," said Thorvald, "because I think it best for you to keep it until they can take it. Indeed it is not meet for me, because I am not of noble birth."

On that they sent for Droplaug's mother. Her name was Arneid. Her brother was Grim, and her father was Helgi, a Dane; their mother was Hallerna. Arneid and Grim came, and when they heard of the match, they agreed that no other man would be more suitable to have the girl, and they said that their goodwill would be added to the wedding gifts. Upon that, Droplaug was betrothed to Thorvald with a great dowry. Then they set going a handsome feast; it was not short of victuals nor of company, and all went merrily forward. At that meeting Thorvald gave good gifts to every one; he got so much friendship that nearly everyone wished him well, and he stayed there that winter until spring came on.

Then he bought a ship that had arrived at Thurso (Thórsá), and set on board of her his wealth and his wife. They made good companions, for each wished the other well, though with other men she was cold and lofty; other women she was far beyond both in looks and in learning.

Arneid, her mother, had many children in wedlock; she was a widow before she had this daughter Droplaug. That spring she sold her homestead to her sons and married another daughter named Gró; and then took ship with Thorvald, desiring to follow her daughter to Iceland. Her brother Grim also went with them.

So when they were ready they put to sea, and getting good weather and fair, they reached Iceland early in the summer.

WESTERN INFLUENCE ON THE EARLIEST VIKING SETTLERS.

By JÓN STEFÁNSSON, Ph.D., Vice-President.

A VIKING of the ninth century differs as much from a Scandinavian before the Viking time as a Japanese of 1907 from a Japanese before 1868, when they threw off feudalism. As long as the Vikings remained in their homes, Roman and Celtic civilisation remained dim and distant. Their knowledge of it was chiefly through trade. Vikingry, warfare, to them a high and holy calling, brought them into close contact with a different civilisation. They learnt from it with a rapidity unsurpassed in history, even by the Japanese. At the siege of Paris we find they used battering rams, catapults or mangonels hurling stones and lead balls, oak sheds running on wheels or rollers, the roof covered with hides, mines in which they set wooden beams on fire. They must have improved on the appliances which the Franks got from the Romans, for the monk who relates the story of the siege says of some of their machines that they were unknown to Paris. Yet in 885 it was not so very many years since they began their raids into France. They had surpassed their masters.

We must remember that we rely upon the writings of their enemies for the story of their conquests. It is only when the monkish lies are too gross and palpable, *e.g.*, the Danes roasting and eating the bodies of their slain foes, the Norwegians, in Ireland, that we can certainly label them as the falsehoods they are. The breaches of treaties and of peace of which the Vikings are accused

can always be explained. Sometimes the money due to them was not paid at the appointed time, or in full. Sometimes new Vikings arrived who were not bound by the terms made by an earlier host. Moreover, we know how the subtle Scandinavian mind delighted in detecting flaws in the law, especially if it was for their own advantage.

Many little things show how highly organized the Viking armies were and what an iron discipline prevailed in their ranks. Their plunderings and burnings were always done with a purpose, never wantonly. At St. Omer, in France, some Vikings took away silver from an altar, deposited there as an offering to the local Saint, but were hanged by their leaders, when found to be guilty. They plundered churches and monasteries by preference on Saints' days, since all the treasures of the Christians would be exhibited on such occasions. It is repeatedly told how, when they drank the holy wine, they went mad. May not this be due to an admixture by the pious monks of some less innocent liquid? Books were not invariably burnt by the Vikings. A beautiful MS. of the Gospels in the Royal Library of Stockholm, bears on its title page an inscription to the effect that an alderman bought it of the heathen army, in England, in the tenth century. In the Loire prisoners escaped with Bibles carried away by the heathen army.

It was in many respects an effete civilisation they were destroying. King Alfred himself bears testimony to the illiteracy of the English clergy. In France many deserted the Christian religion and joined them. The Vikings selected and borrowed in these countries all that they found useful, and their transformation in a short time into cathedral builders and crusaders is one of the marvels of history. Professor Alexander Bugge has shown how the France of Charlemagne, directly or through England, influenced their institutions at home, their social life, their dress and habits, in many ways. I shall choose one well defined department, *coinage*, to

show their adaptability, and how they succeeded in making their own that which was foreign, adding new touches, altering, substituting.

The earliest Viking coin found in England is one coined by Halfdan, in London, in the very years when the first Norwegian settler, Ingolf, took land in Iceland. Rough as it is, it is yet an improvement on the mechanical imitations of the Frisian coins of Durstede, made at Heiðaby (Sleswick), unintelligent and corrupted reproductions of the originals. This Viking chieftain has his own name put on his coins, while on the reverse of some of them stands that of his Frankish mint-master, Frankish to judge by the form of the name. The Vikings were still at school.

The next Viking coins are those of Guthrum (Guthorm), coined in East Anglia 880-890. The rival of Alfred calls himself Æthelstan on all his coins, the name he received when Alfred stood godfather at his baptism, never by his heathen name, and the type of his coins resembles those of Alfred's more than it does Frankish types. All his mint masters have Saxon names except two, Guntere and Judelberd, Frankish names. In his great piety, possibly to show his repentance for the slaying of the martyr-king, St. Edmund, in 873, his mint produced a number of coins with the martyr-king's name on them. Not less than 593 of these, with the names of about 100 mint-masters, have been preserved. The mintmasters are mostly Frankish, except Asten (Hástein) and Sten, Stien (Stein), the two earliest examples of Viking mintmasters. Out of Frankish, English and Scandinavian elements a new civilisation was rising, and we assist at its very birth throes.

The Vikings ruled Northumbria for about three quarters of a century, 875-954. Until the reign of the Viking kings copper coins, stycas, were the native coinage of that part of England, but now silver coins only were issued. Here the transition stages may be traced more easily than in East Anglia. At first through the overpowering

Frankish influence, the monogram of Carolus, and the names of the two well-known Frankish mints, Quentovic, and Cunetti, were put on the coins without any reason, except that the imitation of Frankish coinage was as yet too slavish. King Alfred, Elfred Rex, also occurs on Northumbrian coins, because the Northumbrian kings had not yet emancipated themselves from Anglo-Saxon influence. Not till we come to king Siefred, 894-898 (?), do we find that they had learnt their lesson. He puts SICURT, SIEUERT on some of his coins. Sigurd is the *first Scandinavian to use Latin letters to write a Norse word with*. The commonly accepted theory is that the introduction of the Latin alphabet in the North took place in the eleventh century; but this king has mastered it and wishes to be known to his Norse subjects as Sigurd, to his Saxon subjects as Siefred. On the coins of king Sigtrygg, 921-926, the Norse element is full-fledged, no longer at school. While no Anglo-Saxon mintmaster had been daring enough to substitute the native *cyning* on coins for the Roman *rex*, he puts Sitric Cununc (konungr) on some of his coins, Sitric Rex on others. His mintmasters Eric and Ascolv (Höskuld) have Norse names, but they could not have made this change in the time-honoured tradition of centuries without the express permission, or command, of the king. Sigtrygg also introduces the Viking standard, the raven, on his coins, a bold innovation. The A.S. Chronicle mentions the raven standard under A.D. 878, and it is used as late as the battle of Clontarf. Various other symbols are found on Sigtrygg's coins.

In variety and in workmanship Northumbrian coins now begin to surpass contemporary English coins. A strange admixture of Christianity and heathendom appears. The hammer of Thor is found along with the cross, in the spirit of the Iceland chieftain who believed in Christ ashore, but called on Thor in seafaring. The Ragnvalds, the Olafs, the men of Eric Bloodaxe have learnt from their teachers and strike out new lines. As they had improved

on the art of entrenchment and made impregnable camps, *e.g.*, in the Oissel at the mouth of the Seine, thus they also showed their originality in the arts of peace. Law and trade were by them put on a new footing. The Viking whose grave was found in Colonsay had a pair of scales buried with his weapons ; trade was an honourable calling, often carried on in the intervals of fighting.

The Viking colony of Iceland was founded at the same time as Normandy. It affords an example of the building up of a new culture out of the elements of two different civilisations. Most of the great chieftains who were the first to settle there had lived for a time in the West, *i.e.*, in the Celtic West, had seen and heard Irish Christianity, been attracted by the tenderness and beauty of the Columban worship and the lives of the hermits who followed that rule, had listened to Irish songs and sagas, been steeped in the Irish spirit. Let us see in detail from which parts of the West came these early settlers, to whom the differentiation of the Icelandic stock from the Norwegian is due.

One of the earliest and most important settlers was the widowed queen of Dublin with her grandson, Olaf feilan (faelan, Celtic), 20 freemen, and many slaves and freedmen. She settled in the West of Iceland. It is in this part of Iceland that the main body, the finest part, of its literature is produced. The following settlers come directly from Ireland: Askel hnokkan, Ásólf alskik, Avangr, Bekan, Bresi, Kalman, Kýlan, Þorgeir meldun, Vilbald. Strange to say the great chieftains, Helgi bjóla, Björn austræni, Geirmund heljarskinn, Helgi the Lean, etc., sailed from the Hebrides. The following is a list of those early settlers who came from the Hebrides, some of them bred and born there, others living there just long enough to come under the spell of Columba. Atli, Alfarinn, Auðun stoti, married to Mýrúna, daughter of king Maddað, Örlyg Hrappsson (with 4 freemen), Kjallak, Alfdís from Barra, Úlf Skjálgi, Steinólf the Short, Eyvind the Eastman, married to Rafarta, daughter

of Kjarval, Snæbjörn, Asmund and Asgrim, sons of Öndótt kráka, Önund Wooden Leg, Þrand the Sailor, Balki Blæingsson, Orm the Wealthy, Ófeig grettir, Þormóð skapti, Hallvarð súgandi, Sæmund of the Sodor Isles, Bárð of the Sodor Isles, Kampa-Grím, Ketil flfski, Þórunn of the Isles, Þorstein Leg. Add to these the chieftains named above and it will be seen that both in quality and in numbers the Hebridean settlers in Iceland surpassed those who came from other parts of the West. These islands were not only a safe refuge to issue from for Vikings bent on gaining riches and renown in the neighbouring countries, but every hall of a Viking in them was a meeting-place where heathendom and Christianity, where Celtic and Norse ideas, jostled each other, and where their advantages and disadvantages were discussed. Out of this crucible came Icelandic culture. The power of selection which had stood them in good stead in England and France did not fail the Vikings here.

We only find 3 settlers from England, Auðun Skökul, Þorgils Gjallandi, Þórd Skeggi, Vikings who had acquired knowledge of Anglo-Saxon civilisation, since as early as the time of King Alfred we find Viking monks with Scandinavian names. Caithness sends one settler, Svartkel; Shetland 2, Óleif hjalti and Þórir snepil; Orkney 4, Einar, a grandson of Torf-Einar, Vestmaðr, Vémundr, Þorbjörn jarlakappi. Of the names of the settlers, 4 are distinctly Anglo-Saxon: Valbjóf, Vilbald, Osvald, Mábil. Thord Skeggi is married to Úlfrún, daughter of Játmund (Eadmund), king of the English. We do not know of any English king of that name about this time except St. Eadmund of East Anglia, the martyr.

The following gives a list of Celtic place-names found in Iceland, the Irish words from which they are derived being shown in italics.

Bekanstaðir, *Baccan*; Brjánslœkr, *Brian*; Dímun or Dímon, (5), Dímunarklakkar, Dímunarvágr, Great Dimon,

Little Dimon, *Dimont*, (*double peak*); Dufansdalr, *Dufan*; Dufþaksholt, *Dubhtach*; Dugfúsdalr, Dufgusdalr, *Dubhgus*; Írá, Íragerði, írska leið (the *Irish* channel in Hvammsfjord); Kalmanstunga, Kalmansá, *Colman*; Katanes (2) from a Pictish word; Kjallaksstaðir, Kjallaksá, *Cellach*, *Ceallach*; Kjaransvík, Kjaransey, *Ciaran*; Kolkumýrar, from Þorbjorn kolkan, *i.e.* *Colcan*, gen. of *Colcu*; Kuðafliót, *Cud* (ship); Kýlansvatn, Kýlanshólar, *Coelan*; Melkorkustaðir, *Mael Curcaigh*; Lunansholt, *Lonan*; Minnþakseyrr, *min-tach*. Papós, Papey, Papafjörðr, Pappýli, (*Pab-býli*), *Papa*; Patreksfjörðr, *Patric*.

The place-names compounded with *papa*, the native name of the Columban hermits—the so-called Culdees—are found in the east of Iceland. Now the Viking settlers must have been familiar with these hermits in order to call those places by their names, and the only reason for giving these names could have been that the Culdees lived in these places. Whether the hermits left the country because they would not live with heathen men, as Ari the Wise says, or whether some of them remained, which one would expect from these missionaries, this much is certain, that in the period of somewhat more than a century which elapsed before Christianity was accepted in Iceland, many Vikings believed that the White Christ was stronger than Thor. It was a leaven that worked, with the result which appeared when the Parliament of Iceland unanimously adopted Christianity as the religion of the country.

Here in the distant isle the Viking had the time and peace, which he had not in other Viking colonies, to work up and weld together the impulses and influences which he had met with in his wanderings. Home-keeping youths have ever homely wits. Those who remained at home in Norway did not produce a literature. Nor would the adventurous spirits who scoured the seas have done this, after settling in Iceland and being compelled to work hard for their living, but for coming into touch with the breath of Celtic romance. The

heavy Teuton needed a Celtic infusion to be able to look through—

Charmed magic casements opening on the foam
Of faerylands forlorn.

Here again, in the spiritual as in the material world, the Viking adapts in his own way, and that which is borrowed is hardly recognizable. The turgid extravagance of the Celt is curbed and bitted, and romance is hidden away as an invisible, vague undercurrent, which only crops up now and then, rarely, in pregnant phrases. The restraint of the artist is everywhere apparent, and when he breaks it, be it never so slightly, it thrills one. The even flow of the narrative is like a mighty river whose waters flow along a rocky and precipitous bed, the force and volume of its current only made visible by tiny whirls and eddies. Out of heterogeneous elements gathered on his wanderings the Viking forged an instrument to help his native art of story-telling to produce lasting works. Pent up in his deep valleys, cut off from the civilisation of the West—the heir of Rome—it is safe to say, judging from Norway, that no outburst of literature would have taken place.

One source of mutual knowledge which tended to make the peoples of the West and the Vikings acquainted with each other has been overlooked, especially by those who pretend they could not influence each other while at war. The prisoners made on both sides, especially by the Vikings, would teach language, customs, manners, industrial arts, recite poetry and tell stories to wile away the hours of their masters, would, in fact, be the literary medium through which the races learnt to know each other intimately. The frequent marriages between Vikings and high-born women in the West were another source of knowledge, for these ladies would know by heart the legends and lore of their native country, and their husbands and children would thus have direct access to the literary treasures of that country. Melkorka teaching her son Olaf is a good example of what must often have happened in those days.

The tolerance of the Vikings in religious matters was so great that many subjected themselves to the ceremony of *prima signatio*, prime signing, in order to be permitted to trade with Christians. Others, weighing the two religions against each other, came to the result that they would believe in their own strength (*trúa á mátt sinn ok megin*), leaving it in doubt which of the gods was strongest. The minds of people were unsettled, as in the time of the Renaissance, and daring innovations followed in both cases. It was this state of mind that made it possible for the Christian Icclander piously to preserve and copy and write down the literature of heathendom. It made the Viking broadminded and unprejudiced, deeply religious as he was at bottom. It helped in creating literature.

Every Viking felt himself a Rollo, with a Normandy waiting for him to conquer. With a Frankish sword in his hand, an English cloak on his shoulders, a Russian hat on his head, yet he did not lose his strong individuality. "A man dies, his cattle and his kinsmen die, but good fame never dies of him who gets it." No Viking would willingly let his exploits die when they could be recorded, not only in faithful memories, but in writing. And the art of story-telling and of skaldship was so highly developed among the Celts that the Vikings would have failed to show their usual power of adaptation and selection, if they had not gained points from it. To what degree they did this, must to some extent remain a matter of opinion.

In the foregoing pages we have advisedly dealt only with the influence of the West on the Northmen as set forth in Professor Alexander Bugge's great book on that subject.¹ The influence of the Northmen in the West, South and East of Europe and their part in moulding the destinies of nations, though correlative to the other, is a much larger subject, and one which does not come within our present scope.

¹ See the notice in Part I, pp. 186-187.



WOODEN BUCKET FROM THE OSEBERG FIND WITH BRONZE AND ENAMELLED MOUNTS.

From a photograph.

NOTES ON A DECORATED BUCKET FROM THE OSEBERG FIND.

By Prof. GABRIEL GUSTAFSON, Hon. Life Member.

THE wonderful burial-find, which during the summer and autumn of 1904 was dug up from a huge mound at Oseberg, in the parish of Slagen, near Tønsberg in South Norway, has already twice been the subject of provisional notices in the Proceedings of the Viking Club.

It is therefore known to the members of the Club that the find belongs to the Viking Age, that the mound was raised over a woman, that this woman, certainly a rich and powerful woman of high birth, was buried in a ship, and that, although the burial-chamber itself had unfortunately been plundered in ancient times and robbed of the jewels and valuables which had presumably been deposited there, the rest of the grave-goods, with which the fore and after parts of the ship were packed full, were of a quite unusually rich order. These finds, though closely pressed together and injured by the heavy weight upon them, had not been disturbed by the robbers.

It is also known that among the finds there are a number of really splendid articles. True, none of the things found were of gold or silver; but on many of the objects there is lavished such artistic and careful work that they can rightly be called treasures of beauty, though the material is only mere wood. It may indeed be said that it is just the fortunate circumstance that so many

wooden things are preserved, that throws a new and unexpected light upon the culture of the period; and it is especially the ornamentation in wood-carving, hitherto an almost unknown branch of art, that opens out new vistas for the understanding of the early history of Norway and the North.

The whole find was happily brought safely to Christiania just before Christmas, 1904. When all the many difficulties in connection with its purchase had been overcome, and the find had come intact into the possession of our museum, thanks to self-sacrifice in several directions, I found myself in March, 1905, in the following somewhat bewildering position. The whole of the ship lay stored in many thousand fragments in a magazine at the fortress of Akershus, together with the planks of the burial-chamber and a quantity of other rough timber. In the cellars of the new buildings at the museum were placed quite a number of tanks, in which 379 packages of wooden articles were deposited in water, as these could only be preserved by being kept continually wet: and in addition there were a quantity of other things, which did not demand this troublesome method of preservation. All these things had been well and happily rescued from the earth's custody and brought to a safe place under lock and key, and, with the purchase, the free right of disposal was also obtained. They had now, by careful handling, to be made safe for the future.

For the greater part of the year 1905 nothing further could be done, owing to the political situation. But after this we vigorously embarked upon the difficult task of putting the ship together and preparing the soft wooden things so that their pieces could, as far as possible, be put together in their original form.

The work of reconstructing the ship succeeded beyond expectation, and after nearly a year's work the 68 foot vessel (22 m.) stood ready set up in its original form. Since June of the present year it has been accessible to all in a temporary shed.

We are still busily occupied with the preparation of the remaining things, and, while several of them are ready prepared, either wholly or in part, there are still many to be done, especially of the largest and most beautiful things. Seeing that, by the method of preparation which is most generally used, it takes about four months before the treatment of one of these wooden articles is complete, and owing also to the fact that it takes a long time to piece together all the broken bits, a work which will not bear either haste or forcing, it will be understood that no complete account can as yet be given. Even though a quantity of things have been prepared in the course of the last two years, yet it would not have been possible to allow of the publication of successive accounts of them. As one by one the objects are got ready, a light is often thrown on those prepared before. One helps to explain another. The whole will constitute a picture of a civilization which cannot properly be understood and appreciated before everything is accessible and all the details can be compared.

I must apologize for troubling the members of the Viking Club with these explanations, which do not concern the contents and significance of the find itself. But I have felt myself in duty bound to explain why I have not been able to meet the desire for a more detailed description of the treasures of the find, which Mr. A. F. Major expressed to me on behalf of the Club, when I had the pleasure of showing him and his wife this summer some of the antiquities from the Oseberg find which were ready. As soon as the work of preservation and restoration is finished I hope to proceed with the publication of a full description of the ship and the whole find, with the necessary illustrations. And to this forthcoming publication I must refer the many who have expressed their interest in the matter and their desire for fuller information.

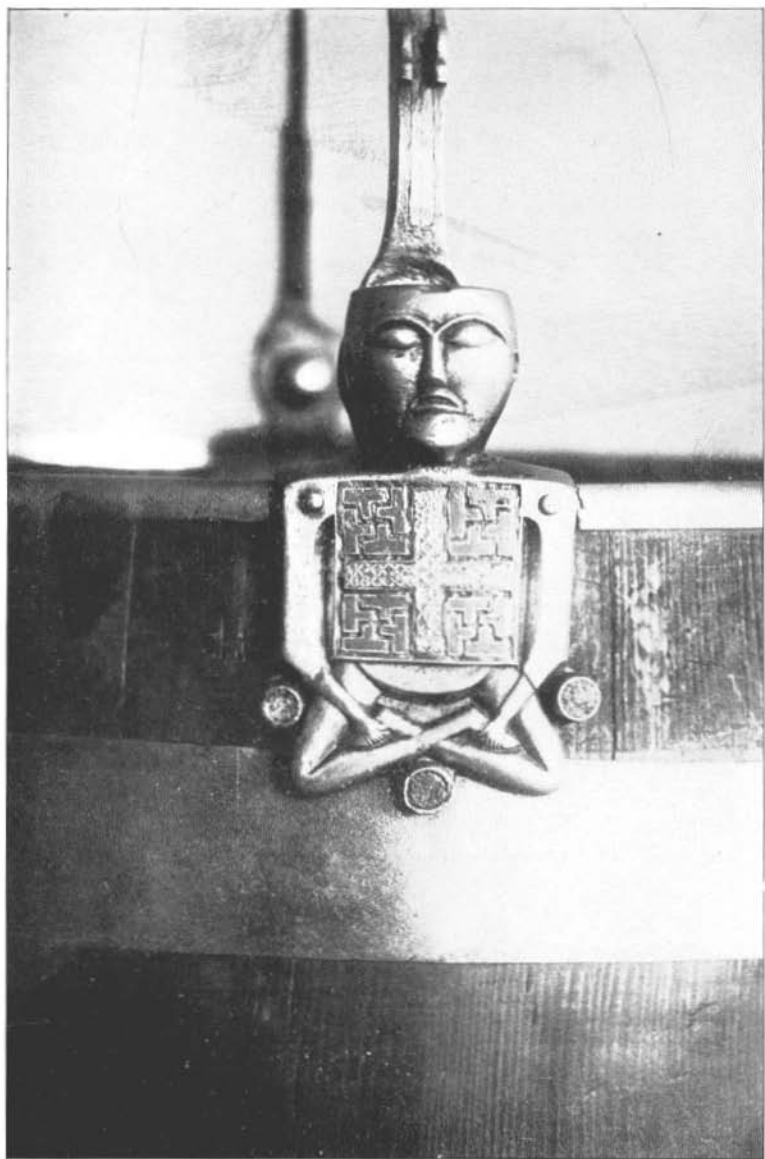
However, Mr. Major and I were agreed that it might interest the members of the Club to have a short account

of a particular object from the find, which ought also to be of special moment for the Club, seeing that not only was it found in Norway, but—at least in my opinion at present—it came to Norway from the Celtic world in the west. I have therefore the honour to lay before you a couple of illustrations of this object, to give a short description of it, and to set forth briefly my idea as to its significance.

Among the equipment of household articles which were discovered in the find, the wooden vessels are specially prominent. These consist of a whole series of wooden buckets, from quite small vessels, sometimes provided with lids, to great barrels or tubs, all made of wooden staves with hoops round them. Some of them are quite ordinary coopers' work; others are of finer workmanship. Very beautiful is a charming little pail with handle and hoops of fine bronze. I have an idea that this is of foreign, probably of British origin. Another large wooden vessel, with four carrying-rings on its rim, is richly covered with openwork bands of bronze. Perhaps this too is not of native manufacture.

The most beautiful of all these vessels, however, is the, in many ways, remarkable and interesting article which is the subject of these notes. This is a bucket made of thirteen wooden staves, in all probability of yew (*taxus baccata*), and 36 centimeters, or 14 inches, in height. As is usually the case, it widens out downwards, so that the exterior diameter of the outlet is $26\frac{1}{2}$ centimeters ($10\frac{1}{2}$ inches), and that of the bottom $31\frac{1}{2}$ centimeters ($12\frac{1}{2}$ inches).

The bottom of the bucket is made of three strips of wood, fastened together with hidden tenons, and let into the staves about 3 centimeters above their lower ends. The vessel is held together by three smooth hoops of bronze, and its upper edge is bound with bronze. Attached to the rim, opposite each other, are two fairly large mounts, in the form of human beings, to which the handle of the bucket is fastened. This also is of



HANDLE MOUNT OF BUCKET, WITH HUMAN FIGURE IN BRONZE AND COLOURED ENAMELS.

From a photograph.

bronze, and made up of three parts; the two lower portions end upwards in slightly indicated animal-heads.

The most remarkable features are the mounts, or ears, in human form which I have mentioned. The face with large eyes, in which the pupils are not marked, large curved eyebrows, straight nose, melancholy down-drawn mouth and prominent chin, gives a stiff and solemn impression. Above the head is flat; a furrow goes right across, with close, curving streaks on each side, clearly representing the hair. On the edge above the middle of the forehead is a most peculiar little indentation.

The shoulders are broad, the upper part of the arms going down in a straight line without any modelling. The greater part of the trunk is fashioned as a square plate, which is filled with decoration in enamel, exceedingly well preserved. The legs protrude from under this plate, with the shanks bent upwards and set cross-wise. The lowest part of the arms are laid across the thighs, so that each hand grasps a foot.

The plate is fastened with five rivets, the three lower of which end in cylindrical buttons showing traces of enamelling. These rivets go right through the wood, and are fastened on the inside to bronze plates, which are not decorated. The square plate of enamel displays a central equal-armed cross, blue, with small white crosses on it. The four square corner-fields are surrounded by a narrow red edging: the fields themselves are yellow, with ornamentation upon them in a form resembling swastikas, in red. The red and white colours are less conspicuous, so that the chief impression of the colour-scheme is one of yellow and blue. Everywhere between the enamelled fields are very fine thin lines of bronze. These thin plates, or lamellæ, are so sharp and rectilinear that it seems marvellous for the work really to have been executed by chasing (*émail champlevé*). One is reminded of real *cloisonné* work, but that is assuredly less likely. I have not risked making any attempt to examine this point.

The above is a brief description of this remarkable vessel. I imagine that the illustrations will give a better representation of it, though for a clear idea of it one needs an illustration in colours.

The first impression one gets of the peculiar human figures leads one's thoughts involuntarily to the East. My first exclamation, when the vessel was brought to light during the work of excavation, was: "This is Buddha, of course!" The disposition of the legs, the placing of the hands, the stiff expression of the face, and the strange indentation above the forehead, were bound to lead the thoughts in that direction. But although I still by force of habit call it "the Buddha bucket," and although I have not quite given up the idea of some connection, yet I now think that its origin must be sought in a nearer quarter. But my examination is not completed, and I can only declare my provisional opinion, based on the investigations that I have been able to make so far, with but little time at my disposal for the purpose and inadequate help.

The vessel cannot have been of Norwegian workmanship. It must have been imported. In itself there can certainly be no reason why enamelling should not have been carried on in Norway in ancient times, though it appears less likely that such fine work as, for example, *millefiori* patterns, could have been known. But there are several other circumstances which settle the point conclusively. Enamel does not occur in connection with the form of antiquities specially characteristic of the Norwegian Viking Age. It is not found, for example, on the oval, trefoil, and other kinds of brooches. Among the many hundreds, perhaps nearer a thousand, which are now known from Norway, there is not a single one with any sign of such decoration. The same is the case in Sweden and Denmark. Furthermore, the forms of antiquities found there, in which enamel sometimes appears, are generally differentiated from our own by the very nature of the metal. It has a different colour,

and gives the impression of being solider and of finer quality. Probably it is real bronze, whereas for our native Norwegian objects of art brass was generally used at that time.

Nearest to hand we have the theory that these objects come from the Celtic world in the west, and, if so, then most probably from Britain. I will briefly try to give an account of the grounds for this supposition.

The closest parallels to the ears on our bucket are those which are met with on the well-known bronze kettle which was found over thirty years ago at Møklebust in Nordfjord in West Norway. Here, too, the ear is shaped in human form with a head and beneath it a square enamelled plate. But the figure here has no arms, and the legs assume an ordinary position, and are not set crosswise. Similar enamel is met with on several other ears of bronze kettles, and our bucket is thus allied to a group of finds which, so far as I know, has hitherto been represented in Norway by about fifteen specimens. This is a kind of vessel of thin bronze with three ears, which are either round, shield-shaped, or bird-shaped (in one case animal-shaped), and the metal of which is often tinned over, or, more rarely, decorated with enamel. In these finds metal mountings of gilded bronze, purely Irish, sometimes occur, and this was also the case in the Oseberg find. The range of these kettles is of importance for the determination of their place of origin. Only a very small number have been found in the east of Norway, from Sweden I know of but one specimen, from Denmark none, whereas twelve such finds come from the west of Norway. This dispersion of the finds points conclusively to a western origin.

It is at the same time peculiar that this kind of bronze vessel seems to be little represented among English, Scotch and Irish finds. With the altogether inadequate acquaintance I possess with English finds from this period, I have not come across more than a couple of objects belonging to this class.

In 1788, at the excavation of a tumulus on Middleton Moor, Derbyshire, there were found the remains of a skeleton with three bronzes. One of these (only a fragment) is regarded in the old description ("*Archæologia*," ix., 189) as part of a breast ornament, or a kind of helmet, and another as "a bulla or other amulet." This last, round in form and ornamented with enamel, is, however, without doubt an ear of the same kind as a couple found in Norway, and the objects first named are the remains of the bronze vessel to which it has been fastened. Some corresponding pieces, all enamelled, were also found at Chesterton in Warwickshire.

I find considerable likeness to our bucket in a bronze vessel¹ which was found in 1832 at Hexham, in the south part of Northumberland, some miles west of Newcastle, although the square enamelled plate is wanting, and there are other great points of difference. The very form of the vessel reminds me much of ours, although this is of wood and that of bronze. The handle is fastened to ears of human form, which, it is true, are of another and peculiar shape lower down, but whose heads seem to me to have much in common with the Oseberg specimen, so far as I can judge from the illustration in "*Archæologia*," xxv. This object is of special interest, because it can be dated fairly accurately. It was found full of Northumbrian "stycas" of the end of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century. This agrees not at all badly with the period to which I conceive the Oseberg find can be assigned.

One other point of which I should remind you is the likeness which can be shown, both in form and colour, between the enamels which have been referred to as found in Norway and various ornaments in Irish illuminated manuscripts; for instance, in a Gospel of St. Luke, in the British Museum, in the decoration of the base of a door-frame (Westwood, Pl. 14). An argument in support of the western origin of the object we are

¹ Now in the British Museum.

considering seems to me to be found also in the fact that the decorating of the handles of a vessel with human heads seems to have ancient precedents in the Celtic world. It is found as early as the pre-Roman time (late-Celtic).

I expect, too, that many more parallels can be found than those I have met with more or less by chance. It would be pleasing if the publication of our find could give an opportunity for British antiquities of a similar kind to be brought before the public in a collected form, if this has not been done already.

As regards the age of the bucket in question, I have long since expressed the opinion that the Oseberg find must be put at about the year 800, that is at the beginning of the Viking Age. It is, in the first place, the ornamentation which must decide this question. In such a great find it is, however, probable that all the objects are not of the same age. It is also possible that on closer study it will appear that some of them may come from the close of the eighth century, whilst we cannot again exclude the possibility that some may belong to a later period in the ninth century. The middle of the last-named century will, in my opinion, be in any case the latest period we can suggest as the time when the find was deposited.

In conclusion I shall venture to give a short supplement, which does not concern the bucket of which we have been speaking, but which is of importance for the find as a whole.

In the grave-chamber two individuals had been lying. At the plundering of the grave at some distant date, already referred to, both the corpses were dragged out, and the remains of them were found scattered among various fragments of things which had likewise originally had their place in the grave-chamber itself. When the fragments were examined and compared neither of the skeletons appeared to be complete. A considerable portion of one of them was preserved, and a great deal

of the skull could be pieced together: of the other person there remained but a little heap of fragments of bone, and of the skull only an inconsiderable portion. These bones have now been sorted and studied by Dr. G. A. Guldberg, Professor of Anatomy at the University of Christiania, the same savant who twenty-five years ago investigated the animal bones found in the Gokstad ship. The results he has arrived at will soon appear in a special publication, and the matter has already been discussed before the Medical Society in Christiania and before the Scientific Society.

Anatomy and anthropology have been able to confirm what we, on archæological grounds, could surmise by reason of the nature of the find, namely, that the grave was made for a woman. Both the individuals found are female, but there are various circumstances from which it may be considered as certain that one of them was a serving-maid, who has had to accompany her mistress to the grave.

The best preserved of these individuals is in all probability the mistress. She must have been a middle-aged woman, about fifty years old, of slight and medium stature, graceful and elegantly built. But she has suffered from stiffness in the back and other rheumatic diseases, according to the conclusions one may draw from morbid changes in most of the joints. Curiously enough, similar arthritic changes in the structure of the bones could also be observed upon the man found in the Gokstad ship. There are besides points about the skull which have led some Norwegian anthropologists to the view that they point to a foreign nationality, whilst others suppose that she was a Norwegian woman.

The other individual was a younger woman, at most thirty years old, of strong, healthy and powerful build. These bones, however, are, as aforesaid, too badly preserved for a decided anthropological opinion to be offered upon them.

In a brief discussion which followed, in which Miss C. S. Rücker, Mr. W. F. Kirby and Mr. Harry Lowerison took part, the former observed that the figure on the bucket had a great resemblance to figures found among the Mayas in Yucatan. Swastikas of somewhat irregular form were also found there. The figure on the bucket had apparently the eyes closed, and, judging from the illustration, there appeared to be a tear in one of them. There was a bucket with human heads on it in Devizes Museum, which was found at Marlborough. Mr. Kirby and Mr. Lowerison referred to the common occurrence of the swastika in the North and elsewhere, and the latter, who thought the figure was undoubtedly Buddha, said that the mark above the meeting of the eyebrows in the figure of a Buddha was usually a very distinct knob.

NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.—Since my paper was written I observe that the distinguished archæologist, J. Romilly Allen—all too early lost to the world—has given just such an account as I have referred to of the metal bowls found in England in "*Archæologia*," lvi. It appears to me, however, that he has dated them very early. I am inclined to believe that most of them belong to the seventh and eighth centuries.

The Marlborough bucket, referred to in the discussion, is, as well as the renowned bucket from Aylesford, far older, dating from the pre-Roman time.

Nothing like a tear is to be seen in the original.

THE LAST OF THE ICELANDIC COMMONWEALTH.

PART I.

By EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A., Vice-President.

THE blood-relationship between Icelanders and Norwegians necessarily engendered from the beginning that kind of confident familiarity which distinguishes the intercourse of relatives from that of strangers. Icelanders in Norway and Norwegians in Iceland felt that they were not among strangers, but among kith and kin. They were brothers by descent, they spoke the same language, shared from the first the same traditions, and to a large extent the same or similar laws. But the reciprocity of their fraternal intercourse was due to very different causes. The Norwegian went to Iceland in pursuit of commercial gain alone; while the Icelanders' visits to the mother-country aimed not at commercial purposes only, although Norway's supply of necessities such as cereals, timber, articles of manufacture, was a potent attraction, but far rather at social distinction, acquisition of courtly manners, recognition of talent by kings, earls, and mighty magnates.

The reason of this difference is obvious. The mother country was the pattern, the poor colony the imitator. They were mostly plebeians who engaged in trade with Iceland from Norway; mostly men of high birth who went into foreign trade from Iceland. Norwegians were well aware all along how the Icelanders looked up to Norway, how with enthusiastic filial piety they worshipped, ennobled, beautified and preserved the great memories enshrined in the temple of Norway's Saga,

which was reared stately and kept in repair only in Iceland. One all-important impulse caused Icelanders to flock to Norway, namely the desire to meet at the court the demand for men capable of committing to memory by means of a highly technical poetic art the history of the sovereign's reign. From the latter part of the tenth century the supply of this product was, so to say, exclusively in the hands of the Icelanders.

The Icelandic sagas bear, over and over again, testimony to the fact that it was regarded as a matter of importance, if not indeed of imperative necessity, that on attaining to manhood the sons of chiefs, in view of their eventually becoming chiefs themselves, should go abroad for the purpose of getting acquainted with the manners and customs of foreign lords, and should finish their military education by enlisting in this or that captain's army, or in this or that viking fleet. For such, as for most other purposes, Norway was the nearest land to go to. Once there the Icelander had all the ways of the world, so to say, open to his aspiration. Hence the fact that, as a rule, Norway was the Icelander's one goal when he went abroad, his last halting station on his return to his native soil from the adventures of his "wanderjahre."

In these respects there was, of course, no reciprocity on the part of Norway. Although the Icelanders possessed an indisputable superiority over their eastern kinsmen, as well as over the rest of the Scandinavian populations, in their mental culture, learning and high literary attainments, there is nothing to show that advantages derivable from such a state in Iceland ever attracted a single Norwegian thither. At the court of King or Earl the visiting Icelander, if he behaved properly, always met with kindness and consideration. As a rule he was admitted to the body-guard, if he expressed a desire for such a distinction. Icelanders could rise even to the highest positions in the realm, such as Sighvat the poet and Wolf Ospakson, marshalls, or prime ministers,

respectively of Kings Olaf the Holy and Harald Har-drada. A nobly born Icclander, seeking to pay his respects to the King, could always count on being treated as a welcome guest, whom to honour with preferments, gifts, or other marks of kindness was a matter of course.

It was therefore only natural for the Icelanders to view the court of Norway as the centre towards which their aspirations aimed, while on the part of Norway it was equally natural to regard this relationship as an excuse for this or that ruler's tentative intervention in Iceland's internal affairs. When the stronger brother realized that such interventions were not resented by the weaker, or were but meekly and courteously remonstrated against, it was a foregone conclusion that this policy of intervention, when circumstances should happen to favour it, would develop into a determined attempt to bring about a political union of the two nations.

And so it is that from the very beginning of the history of Iceland we can point to a policy on the part of the court of Norway which steadily aims at one and the same thing: closer union between the island and the mother-continent. In order to understand properly the historical trend of this policy, it is necessary to review the matter from the beginning of the history of Iceland.

Already in the colonizing period Harald Fairhair showed that, notwithstanding the many and serious matters that claimed his attention in Norway, he had also time to occupy his thoughts with Icelandic concerns. Ingimund the old, who had fought on the side of Harald in the battle of Hafrsfirth, Harald persuaded to go to Iceland and try what luck was in store for him there.¹ It could not but be a matter of interest for Harald to have among the colonists men of importance on whom he could count as friends, even if circumstances should call for no proofs of their active friendship. In a similar manner Harald interested himself in the fate of Hrollaug, the son of his bosom friend, Earl Rognvald

¹ Landnámabók, ed. 1900, p. 59, 182.

of Mere.¹ But Harald found an opportunity to mix up in the internal affairs of Iceland in a more direct manner than by advising special friends to settle there.

Two events, both set forth in the *Landnámabók* in some detail, come here into consideration, namely, the affair of Uni, called the Dane, and the dispute in the southern countrysides of Iceland between prior settlers and later arrivals, in both of which Harald had his hand. I place the affair of Uni first in time, because by statements in *Landnámabók* the part of the country that formed the scenes of his exploits, the east, was the first, while the south country was the last settled, on account of the difficulty of finding landing places there.

Uni the Dane was not a Dane, but a Swede possessed of estates in Denmark; he came to Iceland and landed in the east of the country, appropriating to himself a large tract of land in Fljótsdalshérað. This was at an early date even in the eastern land-take period, since no one had as yet touched the land he made his own. He was the son of Gardar, one of the early discoverers of Iceland. "He went," says the *Landnámabók*, "by the advice of Harald Fairhair to Iceland for the purpose of subduing the land to himself; should he accomplish this the King promised him to make him his Earl. But when the settlers came to know what Uni purposed they began to treat him resentfully, refusing to sell him live-stock or provisions, and thus it was impossible for him to maintain himself in his settlement. He therefore had to clear out of his land-take, and went to Swanfirð the southmost; but neither there was he allowed to take up his abode." The long and short of Uni's story was that he was killed by an angry father in revenge for the outraged honour of his daughter. Chronologists are agreed that this must have happened as early as 895. How Harald took this miscarriage of his plan is not on record. This is the first open declaration of the policy which the court of Norway secretly harboured

¹ *Ib.*, 97, 210.

towards Iceland, and in some 360 years after this event carried out successfully.

The second intervention of Harald in the internal affairs of Iceland is thus related in the *Landnámabók* :--

From Hornfirth to Reekness (*i.e.*, in the South country) the land was last settled; as there weather and surf decided landing, there being no harbours or havens. Some of the earliest settlers took land nearest to the mountains, for thither they observed live stock would drift, the land being better. The men who came later thought the prior settlers had taken up too wide countrysides. But King Harald set them at one on the terms that no one should take a wider land than what he might carry fire round in one day with his crew. Fires should be made when the sun was in the east; other smokes should be made so that one could be seen from the other; but the fires that were made when the sun was in the east should go on burning till nightfall; thereupon they should walk till the sun was in the west and there make up other fires.

The statement is not very clearly worded, but the drift of it is obvious: a fire should be made in the morning of the day at the eastern extremity of the intended land-take. This done the crew, under the direction of the settler, divided into two gangs, one going round the settlement by the north, the other by the south, both lighting fires at proper distance from each other as they went on until, when the sun was in the west, they joined at the western extremity of the land-take and lighted the last fire of the day.

The *Landnámabók* seems clearly to infer that the later arrivals, who had this grievance against the previous landgrabbers, were Harald's friends, or at least men who trusted him to right the wrong they complained of. Equally warrantable seems the inference that, since the plaintiffs had brought Harald into the case, the defendants, mindful of the *Uni* affair, chose rather to make the great King their friend than their foe in the dispute; for they must have realized clearly enough, that though, for the time being, they were rid of Harald's tyranny, it did not follow at all that he regarded them as beyond the sphere of his kingly might; the arm of that might was long, as Harald had proved in his

dealings with the western isles. Moreover, the parties to this dispute were Norwegians; probably no born Icelander in the south-country had as yet reached years of discretion, or come to occupy any position of prominence. Is it a matter of certainty that these Norwegians did not regard Harald as in theory their King? I think not. For what can it mean that Harald appeased these men, but that he had both parties summoned to his presence, and as their liege-lord gave his decision? It is possible that to this enactment of Harald's may be linked the regulation affecting women settlers, which provided that a woman might secure as much land as she could lead a two-year heifer round in a springlong day between sunrise and sunset.

After the affair of Uni the Dane things went on between Iceland and Norway in the usual way; and some thirty years after this event Harald and his court must have learnt, with satisfaction, that Iceland sent to Norway a commissioner, in the person of Ulflot, a Norwegian by birth, and grandson of the mighty Hordakari, for the purpose of framing a code for Iceland out of the body of laws which obtained throughout the legislative sphere of the Parliament of Gula (Gulaþings lög). It was an agreeable evidence of the strong brother, Norway, still standing in the traditional attractive relation to Iceland, and that in a matter of paramount importance.

From about 895, for more than a hundred years no attempt was made by Norway to press its political attention upon Iceland. The anarchy created in Norway by Fairhair's division of the realm between fourteen lawless sons, with the fatal omission of the ablest of them all, Hakon Athelstan's foster-son, and the no less fatal elevation to the dignity of overking of Eric Bloodaxe, provided the rulers with such plenty of home-made business that they had no time to turn their attention to other things.

It was first in the days of that ruthless Christian

missionary, the grandest personality of all Fairhair's great-grandsons, Olaf Tryggvason, that Iceland came to know again the mind that harboured in the breast of the Norwegian court. Olaf came to Norway in 995, and had in his suite many Icelanders, who had joined his standard during his foreign war-raids. Soon after he had established himself as king in Norway he called to him one of his Icelanders, Stefnir, the fourth in direct descent from Ketil Flatnose. Stefnir had seen much of life, both in Byzantine and western warfare and travels. King Olaf charged him to go to Iceland to convert his countrymen to Christianity, and explained his plan and purpose.

"I shall endeavour," he said, "by every means in my power, to lead to God the people that inhabit Iceland and the other Northern countries that are subject to our realm in respect of trade voyages and importation of such goods as we cannot do without," etc.

The quotation, though short, is long enough to prove that Olaf included Iceland in the group of such northern lands as Orkney and Shetland, which did the bulk of their trade with Norway, as already subject tributaries. This apostle of Olaf's brought more of sword and fire than of gospel to Iceland; and when he had succeeded in destroying certain temples of gods and goddesses and in smashing a goodly number of idols, the heathens there gathered a force against him, and he barely escaped with life to his relatives, being expelled the country in the summer following as a guilty outlaw.

But Olaf had another missionary, the German nobleman Thangbrand, ready to take over the thankless task. In the picture gallery of our sagas he figures as "a man great of growth and mighty of strength, smart of speech and a good clerk; a bold man and stout of heart in all manly exploits in spite of being a clerk; not of aggressive habits, but ruthless and unsparing both of word and deed when he got wroth."¹

¹ Olafs saga Tryggvasonar, Forn m. sögur II. 120. Snorri is less sympathetic, Saga Library, III., 323.

Thangbrand's mission resulted in the conversion to Christianity of many people and of important chiefs among them; but it also brought with it conversion of a few from life to death by the fatal eloquence of Thangbrand's swift sword. The Icelanders resented this kind of apostolic teaching. Thangbrand withdrew after three years with such an unfavourable report to King Olaf that he had a number of Icelanders seized and condemned to torture and death, which was averted only by the intercession of Icelandic chiefs whom Thangbrand himself had converted, and who were able to prove that Thangbrand's unpopularity was due to his unapostolic use of the sword instead of milder methods. These chiefs, Gizur the White, a relative of Olaf, and Hialti Skeggison, Gizur's son-in-law, then undertook to convert their people at the King's behest, but in the meantime he seized as hostages the sons of four Icelandic chiefs, each of whom was a representative magnate in each of the four quarters into which politically Iceland was divided.¹

In these dealings of King Olaf with Iceland we see clearly that he looks upon the island as already an integral part of his realm of Norway. Much, of course, of his unceremonious intervention must be ascribed to his burning zeal for Christianity, his loathing of paganism, and his imperious disposition of mind. But the real explanation lies in the deep-rooted feeling of the court that Iceland must be looked upon as one with Norway. King Olaf never lived to know the successful issue of his last mission to Iceland. But had he lived longer there can be little doubt that further political developments would have ensued.

Fifteen years of non-interference by Norway in Iceland's internal affairs passed away until Tryggvason's kinsman, Olaf Haraldson, the Holy, ascended the throne.

¹ Saga Lib. III., 354. The hostages were Kiartan Olafsson, W., Haldor Gudmundson, N., Kolbein Thordson, E., and Sverting Runolfson, S. Quarter.

Already in the second year of his reign he began turning his attention to Iceland. He soon learnt from his favourite poet and future marshall, Sighvat Thordson, as well as from other Icelanders at his court, that the compromise between paganism and Christianity of the year 1000, by which clandestine exposure of children and eating of horse-flesh were not forbidden, was a blot on the Christianity of Iceland which must be wiped out. From these Icelanders he also learnt who were the men of most influence in Iceland.¹ Next year, 1017, he sent words with tokens to Hialti Skeggison to come to him to Norway; and to the Speaker-at-law, Skapti Thorodson, and other important men he sent such amendments of the Christian law, or canon right of Iceland, as seemed needful to him. These proposals he accompanied by friendly message to all the people of Iceland.² The King's amendments were adopted by the Althing. And probably in graceful acknowledgment of the Icelanders' accommodating attitude, the King sent them timber enough to build a church at Thingwalls, and therewithal a great bell, which was there still in Snorri Sturluson's days. The King would be sending messages to, and making friends in, Iceland, with the result that many men of worship betook themselves to King Olaf and entered into service in his household, whence sprung up exchanges of friendly gifts between the King and many of the chiefs of Iceland.

"But," adds the historian, "in this mark of friendship which the King showed towards Iceland there abode more things (than pure friendship) such as afterwards came to light."³

To the period during which these signs of mutual goodwill were being exchanged we must assign two very remarkable documents, the first defining the right of the King of Norway in Iceland, the second that of the Icelanders in Norway.

¹ Saga Lib. IV., 69.

² Ib. III., 73.

³ Ib. III., 241-242.

I give you a translation *in extenso* of the first document, but only of the more salient points of the second.

I. THE RIGHT OF THE KING OF NORWAY IN ICELAND.

This is the right of Norway's King in Iceland, that his law suits can be taken without summons and proceeded with according to the law of the people of that land. His subjects shall be entitled to the same recompence for wrongs personally inflicted on them as the folk of the land. Inheritance (after a Norwegian) in Iceland shall fall to his kinsman, or partner. If there be none such, the inheritance shall await there the coming forth of the heir.

II. CONCERNING THE RIGHT OF ICELANDERS IN NORWAY.

In Norway, Icelanders shall enjoy the same right as a franklin (in respect of atonement for personal wrongs inflicted on them). Inheritance falling in Norway may be entered upon by second cousins from Iceland or nearer relatives, men and women alike. . . . Icelanders shall pay no duty in Norway save land-dues and fees to warders in market-towns. Men who are entitled to full personal recompence for personal wrongs done to them, shall liquidate land-dues by six rugs and six ells of homespun, or by half a mark in silver. . . . Icelanders are in Norway entitled to water and timber. But all the timber they want they must cut only in a royal forest. Icelanders (who happen to be in Norway) are in duty bound to do military service to the King, when of a certain there is a hostile army in Norway and a general levy is called out; in such a case every third man (of them) shall remain behind, but every two go forth. Icelanders (in Norway) are in duty bound to defend Norway with the King, but not to go on any further warfare. Inheritance that Icelanders have entered upon in another Kings's realm shall not be taken from them in Norway. Icelanders are free to leave for Iceland, except when a hostile army is of a certain in Norway. But their own land the Icelanders are free to leave for any land they please. If Icelanders pay land-dues in Orkney or Shetland, they are not liable to fresh payment thereof in Norway, unless they have been to Iceland in the meantime. Every male who is hale and sound, and can pay land-dues, is free to go from Iceland to Norway; but free to leave Iceland for Norway in order to be domiciled there are only such as are able to maintain their destitute relatives and to equip themselves properly for war. Free to go from Iceland to Norway is further any woman accompanying her husband, or father, or son, or brother, provided she is possessed of property of three marks' value. . . . If a man suffer loss of property to such an extent that he cannot pay land-dues in full, he is not bound to pay. If such men as have been to Greenland, or have gone out in search of new lands, or have been torn by storms from Iceland while taking their craft from one harbour to another, be cast upon the coast of

Norway, they are not bound to pay any land-dues. This right and law King Olaf the Holy gave the Icelanders as it is here set forth. Bishop Gizur, (1082-1118), and his son Teit, Marcus, Hreinn, Einar, Biorn, Gudmund, Dade, Holmstein, swore that Bishop Isleif, (1056-1080), with other witnesses, took their oath on this right which here is written: that such an one, or even a better, King Olaf bestowed upon the Icelanders.¹

Norges gamle Love I., 437-8, Grágás V. Finsen, II, 195-7, Dipl. Island, I., 54, 64-70.

These documents must be the outcome of that *entente cordiale* which, as already pointed out, manifested itself after 1017 and until 1024, when, as we shall see presently, the eastern horizon of Iceland became politically overcast. We can guess pretty accurately at the time when the documents were drawn up. In the second the Orkneys are referred to as a Norwegian province, which they became when the Earls of the Isles, the brothers Brusi and Thorfinn II., made their submission to Olaf in 1022. Not before, nor later than, 1023 can these documents be dated. I talk of them as two documents because their contents make them so; and it is possible that King Olaf had the document dealing with the Icelanders' right in Norway drawn up early enough in the year it dates from to be ready to go to Iceland when the sailing season opened, and that in response the Althing at its sitting in June of the same year passed the laconic Act which goes by the name of the right of the King of Norway in Iceland. If this were so then the mission of Thorarinn Nefiolfson in 1024, to which I come directly, would be easily explained as having for object an extension of the limited privileges the Althing of its free will was ready to grant the King. But the possibility is not excluded that we have here to deal with one document, a tentative treaty drawn up by King Olaf with the counsel of the Icelanders present at his court, who, of their own competence, could extend the King's privileges in Iceland no further than the document shows, and that Thorarinn Nefiolfson was sent to the Althing

¹ Bishop Isleif was born A.D. 1006; Bishop Gizur 1042.

with the extension of them which the King desired. At any rate the paragraph in what I have called the second document which reads: "But their own land the Icelanders are free to leave for any land they please," is obviously an Icelandic amendment, betraying a naïve anxiety and diplomatic simplicity in a matter of course on which the King had no power to legislate, or to make a treaty stipulation.

In one respect, not connected with the subject immediately before us, the second document is of especial interest, being a contemporary evidence of the Icelanders' explorations to America or Vineland, which otherwise we know only from sagas some 200 years younger; for the words: "men . . . gone out in search of new lands" can have reference to nothing whatever else.

These documents teach us how close by this time had become the political relations between Iceland and Norway; so much so, indeed, that Icelanders on a visit to Norway are now, in certain contingencies, subjects of the kings. Accidentally we have a corroboration of this point, and at the same time an evidence to the authenticity of this document, in a speech delivered to save a life by priest Jon Ogmundson, afterwards first bishop of Holar, before King Magnus Bareleg, in Nidaros, about 1097, or seventy-five years after the date of the instrument. There were some 300 Icelanders in Nidaros in whose name the priest spoke, saying, *inter alia*: "Lord King, we (the Icelanders) are thy subjects equally with the people, here within this land (= with the natives of this land)." The meaning is obviously that, being in Norway, Icelanders were practically subjects of the King, because circumstances might at any time create such a state.

But Olaf the Holy's plans went still further. The things which Snorri told us were hidden behind King Olaf's manifestations of friendship came out in 1024, when he sent to Iceland a trusted agent, Thorarinn Nefiolfson, an Icelander, with the following message to

the Althing: "King Olaf Haraldson sends to this land God's greeting and his own, to all chiefs and all such as bear rule in the land, and therewithal to the whole commonalty of men and women, young and old, rich and poor, adding thereto that it is his will to be your lord, if it be your will to be his subjects, each being friends with the other and furtherer of all good things."

The answer from the assembly was friendly: "All were fain to be friends with the King, if he wished to be the friend of the people of this land."

Thorarinn spake again: "With the greeting of the King goes the request that the men of the North of Iceland be so friendly as to give him the island or rock that lies off Eyja-firth, which is called Grimsey; in return he is willing to give such goods from his own country as people like to mention. But having heard that Gudmund of Madderwalls has most to say in those parts the King sends him word to lend the matter his support."

"I am willing," Gudmund answered, "to be in friendship with King Olaf, for I deem it would be of advantage to me a great deal more than that outlying rock for which he bids. Yet the King has not been rightly informed that I have more to do with it than others; for of late it has been turned into a common. But now will we who derive most gain from the island have a meeting together."

At the parley Gudmund, more famed for wealth than wisdom, was in favour of granting the King's request, and many seconded him therein. But there were men present who asked what the matter was that Gudmund's brother Einar had nothing to say about this subject. "For he," they said, "seems to us to see most clearly through things."

Einar answered: "I am few-spoken about this matter because no one has called on me to speak. But if I must speak my mind, then I have to say this, that my

opinion is that the only way open to the folk of this land is not to submit to any payment of taxes to King Olaf, or to all the imposts he levies on the people of Norway. Such a slavery we should, if we yielded, impose not upon ourselves alone, but both upon ourselves, our sons, and all our race inhabiting this land. And that thralldom would never lift from this land. Now though this King be a good man, which I am quite willing to believe, yet thenceforth will happen what has happened hitherto, when there is a change of kings, that they will differ, some being good, some evil. But if the people of this land are bent on retaining the freedom they have enjoyed since this land was peopled, then the only way open is not to give the King any hold either of landed property here, or of any settled dues payable out of this country, such as may be counted as public charges. On the other hand I deem it well fit that those who are so disposed should send the King friendly gifts, hawks or horses, or tents or sails, or such other things as may be worth sending to him, for such would be well bestowed, if friendship came in return. But as to Grimsey this is to be said, that if from that island nothing in the way of food-stuffs is exported, it can support an army of men; and should that army consist of foreigners, and should they issue forth from the isle in their longships, I am of opinion that many a small householder would find things in a thronged enough state at his door."

When Einar had said this, all the people were unanimous to decline the request.

But Thorarinn had not disclosed the whole of his errand yet. The next day he mounted the Lawrock and promulgated this publication:

"King Olaf sends word to his friends in this land, to wit Gudmund Eyolfson, Snorri Godi, Thorkel Eyolfson, Skapti, the Speaker-at-law, and Thorstein Hallson; he sent you words to this end that you should come to meet him and accept from him an invitation to a friendly

feast. And on this he laid stress that you should not neglect to undertake this journey, if you set any store by his friendship."

The chiefs invited said they would let Thorarinn know their decision at leisure. Discussing the matter among themselves, Snorri and Skapti were against accepting the invitation, on the ground that it was dangerous in the face of the attitude of Norway that all the most important chiefs in the country should leave it at one and the same time; for they feared that the King harboured a plan to submit the Icelanders to hard treatment if he saw his way to it. The others were in favour of accepting the King's invitation; from such a journey much honour would be sure to accrue to them. However, this summer, 1024, no chief of Iceland availed himself of the King's invitation. But Thorarinn went to Norway in the autumn, and in reporting the result of his mission told the King that in response to his word the invited chiefs would come, or else their sons.

The next year, 1025, in spite of the suspiciousness which had now taken a firm hold of the chiefs of Iceland, four of the invited sent their sons to King Olaf. These were: Stein, son of Skapti, bearer of a long laudatory poem by his father on King Olaf, which His Majesty refused to listen to; further Thorodd, son of Snorri Godi; Gellir, son of Thorkel Eyolfson, and Egil, son of Hall of Side. They were well received by the King and entered his household. They soon found that their treatment was more in the nature of detention than of friendly entertainment. As the sailing season of 1026 opened, they petitioned the King for leave to return to their relatives in Iceland. The King at first vouchsafed no decided answer, but as summer wore on called them to his presence to impart to them his decision. He declared to them that he had decided to send Gellir, son of Thorkel, with his commission to Iceland, "and none of the other Icelanders who were in Norway would be permitted to go to Iceland

until he should hear how the commission entrusted to Gellir, was received by the Icelanders."

"But," adds Snorri, "when the King had made this enunciation, the Icelanders, who were yearning to go on the journey, but were forbidden it, thought they were treated very shabbily, and considered their sojourn an evil one and a captivity."

The tenor of the message from King Olaf, which Gellir pronounced to the Althing in 1027, was to this effect: he requested the Icelanders to accept the laws which he had framed for Norway, and grant him all fines for manslaughter (*þegngildi*) as well as a poll-tax amounting to a penny, of the value of one-tenth of an ell of homespun. To this was added that he held out to the people friendship in return for their acceptance of these proposals, but in contrary case hard treatment when he should be able to bring it about. After a long consultation over the matter the Icelanders refused unanimously all tax payments and imposts such as the King demanded.

Gellir returned to Norway this same year (1027) and met King Olaf in Sarpsburg returning overland late in the year from his disastrous encounter with Knut the Mighty of Denmark at the Holy River in Scaney. How he received Gellir's disappointing report we are not told. He had now more pressing matters to occupy his thoughts than the subjection of Iceland. He was beset with troubles on every side. His realm was seething with disaffection, fostered by the inexhaustible supply of Knut the Mighty's gold. His call to arms of his people in 1028 took no effect, and early in the following year he had to flee the country. For about 200 years after this no repetition of King Olaf's plans on Iceland is heard of. The old friendly relationship went on as if nothing had happened. Olaf's half-brother, Harald Hardrada, was a special friend of the Icelanders, and did for them what no King of Norway had done before, sending a substantial relief to the island in a season of

famine. His great-grandson, Eystein Magnusson, was also particularly friendly to the Icelanders. But offers of political friendship of the type of those of Olaf the Holy they abstained from.

In the years 1203 and 1204 two events took place, both of which were pregnant with troubles for Iceland. On Easter day, April 13th, in the former year, the priest Gudmund Arason was consecrated to the see of Hólar in northern Iceland by Archbishop Eric of Nidaros in Norway. In the summer of the latter was born to the throne of Norway Hakon, the reputed son of King Hakon Sverrison. The history of the lives of these two men is the history of Iceland's freedom lost; the story of Gudmund's life forming the introductory, that of Hakon's the concluding chapters. When Gudmund was ten years of age, 1170, a great English prelate, Thomas of Canterbury, came to a tragic end after eight years' incessant struggle with a great English King, Henry II., over the immunity of the clergy from secular courts. By the time that Gudmund was forty years of age, or about 1200, I have shown, in the Rolls edition of "Thomas saga," that the lives of the Canterbury saint were already in the form of a saga current in Icelandic in the north of the island. Thomas was an immensely popular saint in Iceland. The saga of Bishop Gudmund by Arngrim, abbot of Thingeyrar, from the middle of the fourteenth century, proves very distinctly that Gudmund must have been an ardent student of the literature relating to Thomas. To his narrow and fanatic mind it brought a new revelation. Thomas fought and suffered a martyr's death for his unswerving insistence on the immunity of the clergy from secular courts. Gudmund fought with an absolutely reckless pertinacity for the same principle in Iceland, but was denied the glory of a martyr's death, though he was granted plenty of adversity and contempt for his needless trouble. Before his day nothing had been heard of this Pseudo-Isidorian contention.

Gudmund did not take the trouble of gently initiating his meaning to the chiefs. He flung it in their faces without warning. They controlled the judicial authority in the land, as in their power lay the nomination of all judges. It was a fixed tradition that admitted of no exception, that every subject of the law was equally amenable to the law. But Gudmund's insane and violent pushing-on of his own new law, aided by the chiefs' reverence for a consecrated person, brought the aristocratic constitution to such a deadlock as to give the Archbishop of Nidaros in Norway an opportunity of an *ultra vires* interference in the internal affairs of Iceland, which ultimately he passed on into the more powerful hand of the King. King Hakon, in his turn, keeping a watchful eye upon the anarchical state of things in Iceland, made so relentless and tenacious a use of the opportunity as in the year 1262, the year before his long reign of 46 winters came to an end, to have effected the submission of Iceland to his crown.

Before he was elected bishop, on the 1st of September, 1201, an election which, *more Islandico*, was made by the leading men of the diocese, as neither of the Icelandic sees ever had a cathedral chapter of dean and canons, Gudmund had been in holy orders for 16 years, and during that time had had charge of no less than seven livings. At this time he was priest at Víðimýrr (Willowmere) in Skagafirth, in the North of Iceland, which place happened to be the seat of the greatest chief of the firth, Kolbein, the son of Tumi (Thomas), and of Thurid, daughter of Gizur, son of Hall, whose wife Gyrð was first cousin of Gudmund (their fathers being brothers). It is not unlikely that Gudmund's position now was that of a chaplain to his kinsman-in-law.

The most remarkable thing about Gudmund during his priestly career was that he was roaming about the country, singing chaunts of exorcism, healing man and beast, and consecrating fords, waters and springs of all description. People ran after him for his cures, and what

he called his almsfolk, a rabble of beggars and vagabonds, flocked to him and made themselves unceremoniously at home with the goods of his neighbours when his own supplies ran dry. He was as renowned for his living saintship as for his thriftlessness and incapacity for taking care of his goods and property. And rumour ran that his election was in the main due to Kolbein's pleading, because the latter intended for himself the management of the temporalities of the see of Hólar, in case the election should turn out in Gudmund's favour. The event proved that this rumour was well-founded.

No sooner had Gudmund begun his reign at Hólar than many matters, as the saga has it, turned up between the bishop and Kolbein on which they held different views, and great dissensions sprang up between them. The first dispute arose out of a lawsuit that Kolbein had with a certain priest with relation to a debt, for which Kolbein summoned him (1206) in the usual manner before the court. The priest sought counsel of Gudmund, who promptly put on full canonical vestments, went to the court, and declared that Kolbein was incompetent to prosecute such a case, since he, the bishop, was the proper authority to adjudicate it. The judges appointed by Kolbein took no notice of this to them incomprehensibly lawless proceeding, but sentenced the clerical misdemeanant to outlawry according to the provisions of the common law. The bishop now forbade Kolbein, the judges and witnesses to go to any divine service, and took under his protection the condemned priest, who thereby came to commune with many more persons than the law permitted to an outlaw. So Kolbein went to Hólar and summoned the bishop's house-carles for breaking the law in communing with the outlawed priest. And Gudmund promptly excommunicated Kolbein.

Strange to say, this blow seems to have stunned Kolbein so thoroughly that, yielding to the advice of friends, he gave the bishop full powers to settle this matter as might seem good to him, and at the Althing,

the following year, 1207, he, by the counsel of Bishop Paul of Skalholt, inflicted a fine on Kolbein amounting to the value of 1,200 ells of homespun, or, if an ell was worth, say, 1/6, no less than £107. One half of this Kolbein paid down, the other half, which was taken up by his liegemen, he told the bishop to gather in himself, which the prelate refused to do, and so never got it.

In the meantime two prominent chiefs of Eyafirth, Sigurd Ormson of Madderwalls and Hall Kleppiarson, had this very year got into trouble with the prelate of Hólar for high-handed dealings with two persons whom the bishop deemed it his duty to protect, and he forthwith excommunicated both chiefs. With these excommunicates Kolbein at first shunned communing, but after a while got tired of that sort of discipline and communicated with them as if nothing had happened. For this he fell under a new excommunication from the bishop in December of the same year (1207). Unable to stand this attention on the part of the bishop any longer, Kolbein went after Easter, 1208, with a band of 80 armed men to Hólar and laid siege to the see. Bishop Gudmund in full canonicals pronounced once more an excommunication against his kinsman-at-law, and this time in the Icelandic language, so that Kolbein's men should understand it. Thanks to Kolbein's self-restraint, infers the old historian, battle and bloodshed were averted at this time. But when spring of this same year wore into May, the term for the local spring Assemblies, Kolbein summoned from all his dominion an armed host, and was joined by his mother's brother, Thorvald Gizurson, with his men from the south country. When matters threatened to develope into a hostile attack on the bishop, friends of both parties intervened, and realizing how impossible it had proved hitherto to bring the bishop to recognize the authority of the law of the land in any case to which directly or indirectly he was a partner, suggested that the whole matter in

dispute between the bishop and Kolbein should be referred to the Archbishop of Nidaros. To this both sides agreed.

But before the agreement could take effect a new difficulty arose. A priest named Skæring was reported by aggrieved parties to Kolbein for serious trespasses against the law, and he, as godi, and constitutional protector of the rights of his liegemen, was obliged to have the clerical misdemeanor prosecuted. He fled for safety to the bishop and handselled him all his property. Kolbein got the priest condemned, as the law required. But the bishop fulminated a new excommunication at him, his judges and all his supporters. By this time the lavish prelate had so thoroughly glutted the market with excommunications that their punitive value had sunk down to zero, and no one heeded them in the least.

In the summer of this year the bishop, accompanied as usual by lawless crowds, visited the northern districts of Thingey and Eyafirth. His following, zealously indignant at Norwegian traders having communed with excommunicates, punished the hapless foreigners by plundering them of their goods, while the bishop seized from the church of Madderwalls its ornaments and relics, lest his excommunicate, Sigurd Ormson, since 1204 the tenant of the holding and guardian of the church's property, should defile them beyond the possibility of redemption to proper sacredness. Public resentment was loud and general. Three chiefs of Eyafirth, Arnor Tumason, brother of Kolbein, Sigurd Ormson, and Hall Kleppiarnson, as well as Kolbein Tumason in Skagafirth, whipped up their men-at-arms, intending to set on the bishop in all earnest. Kolbein, the first in the field, besieged Hólar and demanded that all the guilty persons in the bishop's ward should be delivered into his hands. The bishop refused; and at the suggestion of his men, and unhindered by Kolbein, he rode away with a following 360 strong, consisting of three abbots, two monks, nearly forty priests and many clerks; many doughty men were

there, but the rest were vagabonds, beggars and tramping-women.

"There, Kolbein," said a priest, "rides the bishop away with the honour of both of you."

Kolbein immediately commanded his band to intercept the further progress of the prelate, and a battle took place on the 9th of September, 1208, at the place called Willowness (*Víðines*), in which Kolbein lost his life and his band all heart, and surrendered or fled away. When at this time the Eya-firth gathering rode up it was seized with a similar fit of disheartenment, and Arnor and Sigurd fled away from their men under cover of night, while Hall came to terms of peace with the bishop, who thus had won such a victory as he never could have dreamt of at the outset. Of his own accord he now proposed to submit all matters in dispute to the Archbishop of Nidaros, but his opponents declined such a solution, being, no doubt, more impressed than the bishop by a sense of the impropriety involved in delivering into the hands of a foreign prelate the competence possessed by the legal authority of their own land.

No wiser in victory than in defeat, the bishop now persecuted Kolbein's adherents with such vigour that he drove a number of them into the arms of Kolbein's brother-in-law, Sighvat Sturluson, a Sturlung as proud and mighty as he was ruthless when he had to wreak his wrongs. The wise and peace-loving bishop of Skalholt, Paul Jonson, a grandson of Lopt, son of Sæmund the learned of Oddi and of Thora, daughter of King Magnus Bareleg, seeing that the whole country was in a state of ferment, and that a general rising was preparing by the mightiest chiefs against the intractable prelate of Hólar, sent his chaplain with messages to urge on Gudmund the wisdom of proceeding with humanity and prudence. But he resented this as an act of hostility, and went on as before, regardless of all signs of the time. In the spring of 1209 eight of the most powerful and influential chiefs in the land marched

with a host of 840 armed men upon the see of Hólar and laid siege to the place. In the night after the arrival of the besieging force many deserted the bishop, and but slight defence was offered by the few who remained, of whom the most guilt-bitten sought asylum in the cathedral.

The chiefs having the bishop in their power offered him these alternative terms: (1) that he should rescind all his excommunications in return for their sparing the lives of some who were in the church; (2) the bishop to leave the place never to return thither again, or else they would slay all the refugees in the church, leave nothing in peace at the see, and carry the bishop off ignominiously.

Gudmund had his *Non possumus* ready; he said it was not in his power to undo excommunications. But at the insistent prayers of his protégés, who knew that death awaited them if the bishop would do nothing to save them, he sang *Miserere* over the besiegers, but declared when he had done it that they were no more absolved than they had been before. And thus he left to their fate the men who in his service had incurred the punishment that hung over them, the lives of some of whom he might have saved, and might have mitigated the punishment of others. The consequence was that the punishment inflicted on the bishop's adherents was as ruthless on the doomed as it was ruinous to those whose lives were spared. Arnor Tumison and Sigurd Ormson took charge of the temporalities of the see, dealing with them as they thought fit and proper.

Snorri Sturluson invited the expelled prelate to his house at Reykholt, and his acceptance of the invitation shows that he regarded Snorri more in the light of a friend than a foe. After one winter's residence at Reykholt, 1209-10, Bishop Gudmund set out for his see, but being watched by the Northland chiefs was warned not to proceed, and so he retired to the West country, where he signally distinguished himself by overcoming a haunting

fiend, Selkolla, and spent in Steingrimsfirth the winter 1210-11. An overture to peace between him and Arnor Tumison in the spring of 1211 broke down on Arnor's insisting that a return to Hólar could only be contemplated on condition that the bishop should have nothing to do with the temporalities of the see. Soon afterwards the prelate turned up all of a sudden in Eyafirth, throwing himself upon the hospitality of Hall Kleppiarnson, who from a foe had converted himself into a friend of Gudmund at the debacle of Willowness (1208). Immediately Arnor and other Eyafirth magnates rose to stop the bishop's progress towards Hólar, and he was obliged, as his friend Hall was not inclined to draw the sword for him, to retire from the firth into more distant countrysides in his diocese, where with his following he sang masses in tents instead of churches, as the mother church was in a state of defilement.

In the summer, 1211, letters arrived in Iceland from Thorir Gudmundson, the Archbishop of Nidaros, summoning to his presence Bishop Gudmund and six chiefs who were singled out as his special enemies, namely, Arnor Tumison, Sigurd Ormson, Thorvald Gizurson, Jon Sigmundson, Hall Kleppiarnson, and of all people in the world his late host, Snorri Sturluson.

This letter was not only *ultra vires*, but the whole procedure of the archbishop was contrary to custom. The *forum delicti* was Iceland. The archbishop had no jurisdiction whatever over the independent chiefs in the island. His plain duty, in accordance with custom, was to send a legate or legates to inquire into the case on the spot, armed with any powers he might have thought fit. But here we see once more how the stronger brother ventures to take familiar liberty with the weaker to try how he should take it. Only two of the summoned chiefs however obeyed, and it is not certain that they did not obey rather the call of other duties in going.

The bishop himself, according to the best of the conflicting authorities, did not go to Norway till 1214, the

year in which, on the 8th August, Archbishop Thorir died ; so plaintiff and judge did not meet, as the former spent the autumn and winter of 1214-15 in the south of Norway. This time Gudmund stayed four years in Norway, three of which were spent, apparently, at Nidaros, where, if we may believe the saga of him by Arngrim,¹ he assisted at the consecration of Bishop Magnus Gizurson to Skalaholt by Archbishop Guthorm in the spring of 1216. At the court of the new archbishop Gudmund pleaded his case so ably that apparently he returned in triumph to his see in 1218, fortified by Archiepiscopal missives both to the new bishop of Skalaholt and to the people of the diocese of Hólar generally.

In one way he now made a new departure from former courses. He set up a school at Hólar, and appointed one Thord Ufse, a Norwegian, as it seems, headmaster of it. We shall probably not be very far wrong if we surmise that in this matter the bishop acted on a suggestion, or perhaps a peremptory order, by the archbishop, who could not but have found out that Gudmund neglected utterly education within his diocese. But Gudmund's alms-people once more flocked to their protector in such numbers that to the neighbouring communes it was a matter plainly to be foreseen that all the substance of the see would be speedily devoured, whereupon the turn would come to the bishop's neighbours. At the request of the population Arnor Tumíson, the guardian and protector of their rights, went with an armed following to Hólar and laid hands on the bishop, and literally carted him off to his own house of Ass. The whole crowd of his alms-people were unceremoniously sent about their business. In the summer following, 1219, Kolbein conveyed the prelate with, apparently, little consideration for his comfort, on a rickety kind of waggon, or barrow, over-land all the way south to Whitewater in Burgfirth, Arnor, who himself was going abroad,

¹ Biskupa Sögur II, 105.

having made up his mind to export him to Norway willy nilly. But Gudmund always had friends, and this time by a ruse they succeeded in kidnapping him from Arnor's custody.

And now began for him a new period of wandering through the land. With his deliverer, Eyolf Karson, he went first to Narfere in Swanfirth, where they got on board a craft, and went west to Flatey in Broadfirth. After a short rest they went north to the Bardstrand district and lay in hiding among the woods in Carlinefirth, until they learnt that no search for Gudmund would be set on foot. The good bishop made the best of his stay in this locality, putting an end to the much haunting by evil wights which greatly impeded traffic about the locality before. After this useful stay in Carlinefirth the Bishop returned to Flatey with a large following, to provide for which taxed his friend Eyjolf's resources to the utmost. In the spring of 1220 he quitted Flatey under an escort of Eyolf with several picked men, and got all the way north to Hólar; but after a while the bishop with his guardians left Hólar and crossed the mountains over to Svarfadardale, a countryside on the western shore of the mouth of Eyafirth. But the men of Eyafirth would have nothing to do with him and his following, so he crossed the mouth of the bay and landed at a place called Hofdi, in the district of Thingey, and marched on until he reached the extensive tract of Reekdale, with a gathering of one hundred alms-people. From one homestead to another throughout this valley he went, making himself and his followers at home with the provisions of the husbandmen, until they could stand the proceedings no longer, and called in the help of the chiefs Arnor of Skagafirth and Sighvat Sturluson of Eyafirth. With their combined forces they attacked the bishop just as he had consecrated the church of Helgistead, on the 29th of August, 1220. Defeated, with some loss of life, the bishop had now to clear out of the district.

East he wandered to the northeasternmost ness of Iceland, called Sheepness, and performed there his wonted consecrations during the Ember days (Wednesday to Thursday, Sep, 16-18). Hence he wandered west to Axefirth, thence again to Reekdale, whence, making sure the Eyafirth men were going to forbid him passage through their country, he set out over the central wildernesses of the country, and went all the way to the mighty Sæmund Jonson of Oddi, who took him in for the winter of 1220-21. From Oddi he went in the summer of 1221 west to Burghfirth, and kept about there till very late in autumn, when he betook himself to his ever-faithful friend Thord Sturluson. This summer Arnor Tumison went abroad to Norway, so now the road to Hólar was open, and Thord Sturluson seized the opportunity of escorting the bishop once more to his see.

Bishop Gudmund still exercised his old attraction on beggars, tramps, and even some doughty men. His substance was speedily wasted. The whole neighbourhood was in dread lest the hungry army of the episcopal alms-people should once more fall upon them. Their nominal chief, Thorarin Jonson, from the east country, was young and untried, but a Sturlung in the person of Tumi Sighvatson the elder was in eager quest of a chieftain's dominion and came forward, offering the men of Skagafirth to put himself at their head and defend them against the danger brewing in the numerous household of Hólar. The householders of Skagafirth sent a peremptory request to the bishop to betake himself speedily away from his diocese, and with this request he deemed it wisest to comply.

By the advice of his trusted captains, Eyolf Karson and Aron, son of Hiorleif, Bishop Gudmund now made a new departure from his wonted ways of exile and gathered a fleet of boats throughout the littoral of Skagafirth, on board which, with his following of 70 able-bodied men and thirty beggars and women, he embarked for the island of Malmey in the mouth of the bay, where

he set up his hopeless household. In this household removal the bishop was engaged during Advent, 1221. As soon as the bishop had evacuated the see Tumi Sighvatson entered it and made himself unceremoniously at home there, treating the temporalities thereof as if they were his own property. As famine soon stared the ill-assorted company of the bishop in the face thirty of the bravest and boldest among the bishop's entourage volunteered a foray on Hólar in two boats on the 3rd of February, 1222. They surprised Tumi in the dead of the night, set fire to the room where he was sleeping, seized him, and after mishandling him slew him besides two others, and cut off the feet of two more. Then they loaded their craft with provisions and returned to Malmey.

The bishop had enjoined them not to slay Tumi, but to secure his person and bring him captive to Malmey; and knowing well what he had now to expect of Tumi's father, Sighvat, was highly displeased with the deed done. Now there was no abiding place any longer in Malmey, which lay in close proximity to the mainland. After Easter this year (1222) the bishop removed his whole household from Malmey to Grimsey, a small island under the Arctic Circle some 54 miles from Malmey. Sighvat, with his son Sturla and Thorarinn Jonson, the young chief of Skagafirth, gathered a fleet together, and with 360 men attacked the bishop in his new stronghold, and after an easy victory seized the person of Gudmund and forced him to leave the country that summer (1222) for Norway. Before his departure there arrived from Archbishop Guttorm letters summoning before him Bishop Gudmund and the chiefs of the Sturlung family, none of whom heeded the summons.¹ That among these letters there must have been also a missive or more to Bishop Magnus of Skalholt is rendered almost certain by the fact that the next year (1223) he sent two of his clerics, Jón Arnþorson and Arnor

¹ *Biskupa Sögur* II., 114-115, 118.

Biornson, with letters to the archbishop, who, however, died before he could give them official attention (in February, 1224).

At this juncture Iceland experienced an unprecedented attitude on the part of the arch-see at Nidaros, in that the canons, independently of the arch-prelate, arrogated to themselves his authority, and returned a definite reply to Bishop Magnus's letters, which they gave in charge to priest Arnor Biornson, Bishop Magnus's emissary.

Bishop Gudmund landed at Bergen, and from there made his way north to Nidaros, probably late in 1223, for in 1224 he was in Nidaros and pleaded his case before Archbishop Guttorm with such effect that his grace seemed to be entirely on his side, and Gudmund became a great favourite of the archiepiscopal entourage. That year, however, a letter to the archbishop arrived from the bishop's enemies, the Sturlungs, prominent among whom must have been Sighvat Sturluson and his son Sturla, setting forth in no less than thirty articles their charges against his reverence of Hólar. The letter carried conviction with it to such an extent that, when the bishop had been confronted with, and cross-examined on, the charges contained in it, the archbishop declared he could not be responsible for upholding Gudmund in his office without an order from the Pope. Gudmund lost all favour with the archiepiscopal circle and was sorely distressed, especially for want of money.

Archbishop Guttorm died 6th October, 1224, before taking any steps to consult the Pontiff in Gudmund's case, and it seems most likely that Gudmund then resolved to make use of the vacancy while the archbishop elect, Peter, was fetching his pall, to approach the Pope directly, thus forestalling the archbishop, who would have been bound to send an impartial report of the case of either party to the quarrel. So he sent one of his clerks, called Ketil, with a letter to the Pope, presumably late in 1224 or early in the following year, and had the satisfaction of receiving a reply, apparently, however,

directed not to him but to the archbishop, which contained the decision: "*si cedere vult, cedat*," which greatly delighted Gudmund, who put on it a construction as if it read: "*si cedere non vult, ne cedat*." Archbishop Peter did not return to Nidaros from Rome until October (or perhaps later), 1225, and died October 9th, 1226, while Gudmund departed from Nidaros for Bergen "early in the spring,"¹ and returned to Iceland in the summer of the latter year, probably after the session of the Althing, so that only for a space of some seven months could he have had an opportunity of pleading his case before the new archbishop. This, however, he did so ably, fortified no doubt by his interpretation of the pontifical missive, that he was bearer of letters from Archbishop Peter which deposed Bishop Magnus Gizurson of Skalholt and summoned him and his brother Thorvald together with the Sturlungs Sighvat and Sturla to his presence. To these letters, which seem to be "the evil writs," as the annals say, that were read at the Althing, 1227, no heed whatever was given by any of the parties cited.

Bishop Gudmund went once more to his see and remained there through the winter of 1226-27. In the summer of 1227 he rode from the north with 30 men to the Althing, and there read out the evil writs. But after the Thing he could not venture on a return to his see, but wandered into the west country, where he turned up in all sorts of places attended by more than a hundred of his well-known alms-people, a veritable plague to the country. In Advent he fell ill, and his old friend Thord Sturluson fetched him to his home where he remained till Lent 1228 with never less than 120 beggars. Thord, having now had enough of the privilege of entertaining the bishop, got rid of him through the mediation of friends, who persuaded the bishop's enemies, Sighvat and Sturla, to give him leave to return to Hólar with his following. At Hólar he remained this time until the summer, when

¹ Biskupa Sög. II., 131.

the Skagafirth men drove him and all his pack away. He now wandered to the northmost tracts of his diocese to a well-to-do goodman in Husavik, where he quartered himself with his unruly rabble. With the bishop were the two sons of his old bosom friend Raven Sveinbiornson, Grím and Einar, whom the bishop appointed to do police service among his followers. When the bishop broke up from Husavik the brothers did their duty so radically as to search every man, even the bishop himself, for stolen goods, and found a quantity of such, all of which were restored to their respective owners. He now drifted with his following east to Axfirth and neighbouring countrysides; then, when the goodmen got tired of him, he turned westward and back ultimately to Eyjafirth. In this wandering his men were seditious in temper and even murderous in deeds, one of the bishop's priests being slain by them.

In this wandering was spent the time from Advent 1228 to spring time 1229, when on Maundy Thursday, April 12th, Kolbein the Young intercepted the progress of the returning prelate at Vidvik, a short distance down below Hólar, and sent all his mob about their business. The bishop was allowed to go to his see attended by two clerks only, and was kept in confinement in one chamber which served him as bed-room, dining-room and chapel, where he sang all hours with the exception of the canon or secreta. He was deprived of all power to dispense with even the smallest item of the temporalities of the see, and was treated as one who had forfeited the rights of a free man. In this manner he spent his life until the summer of 1232.

Meanwhile Bishop Magnus had been summoned by Archbishop Thorir to Norway in 1228 together with the Sturlungs, Sighvat and Sturla. He obeyed the summons and went to Norway the next year (1229), and stayed the winter in Bergen. In 1230 he went north to Nidaros, but Archbishop Thorir II. had already died on the 7th of April that very year. How far the archbishop was

concerned in a new move on the part of Norway, may therefore be doubtful. This new move marks in a certain sense the end of Bishop Gudmund's fatal mission and the beginning of King Hakon's direction of affairs.

We have seen how futile have been hitherto all summons abroad of Icelandic chiefs by the archbishops or the canons of Nidaros. It must have dawned on them by this time that it was a proceeding lacking all reasonableness of form, that a foreign prelate should assume jurisdiction over foreign, independent secular chiefs. Formally, therefore, it would be a more defensible move, and more promising of success, if this jurisdiction was assumed by the King. That pourparlers to this effect must have taken place between the archbishop and the King would seem to be certain from the fact that this year "King Hakon and Earl Skuli summoned the chiefs of Iceland," involved in the Gudmund affair, while "the canons of Nidaros summoned Bishop Gudmund" alone.¹ This is the first instance of summons issued by a King of Norway to Godar in Iceland to submit the administration of the law of their own land to his arbitration.

This, then, is Bishop Gudmund's great work: He sets up in the land a new law, the immunity of clerics from secular law courts. He follows it up with a one-sided stringency and hierarchical arrogance that reckes of no consequences. He exasperates hot-livered, proud guardians of the constitution into acts of violence and illegality, and excommunicates with an unsparing hand those whom he himself has thus provoked beyond endurance. The temporalities of the see he wastes on a crowd of what in his irrational bigotry he termed and treated as "God's alms-people," a host of lawless hungry tramps who, when they had beggared him, fell upon the defenceless peasantry, who in their turn fled for protection to their liege-lord. The latter, by duty, was compelled to rid his dominion of such a pest.

Ever incorrigible and unyielding, the prelate chose to

¹ *Annales regii*, 1230.

submit to indignities of the most galling description rather than to come to peace with honour with the chiefs of his diocese, such as obtained between the wise bishops of Skalholt and the chiefs of that diocese. He set the constitution at utter defiance, and created such a deadlock that at home no solution could be discovered. So the only road open was that which led to Nidaros, hated as much by the chiefs, as it was desired by Gudmund. From Nidaros it further led to the royal court, where the fate of Iceland's independence was ultimately sealed.

These remarks are in full consonance with the views of wise and even moderate men among the bishop's own contemporaries.

ICELAND AND THE HUMANITIES.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

By W. P. KER, President.

THE Humanities in the ordinary professional sense, the humaner letters of Greece and Rome, have sometimes been rather intolerant of studies further afield, in barbarous Northern or Western regions; they have taken "Gothic" as a general term of disrespect for things with which they refuse to deal, and so their serene temples are defended from the tumult and misrule of the Northern forests. But it is pleasant to remember that there are exceptions; even in the heart of the Renaissance a relenting towards the art and poetry of the less favoured nations.

"All our understandings are not to be built by the square of Greece and Italy . . . Nor can it but touch of arrogant ignorance to hold this or that nation barbarous, these or those times gross, considering how this manifold creature man, wheresoever he stand in the world, entertains the order of Society, affects that which is most in use, and is eminent in some one thing or other, that fits his humour and the times."¹

If this liberal way of thinking were more generally known and appreciated it might lead to some interesting discoveries, even in places not far from our doors. The Island of Britain has never yet been thoroughly explained to its inhabitants. Few people know anything of the poetical traditions of Wales, of the ancient and elaborate art of verse as it is still practised there, where a postman is quoted as an artist in metre,² and

¹ S. Daniel, "*A Defence of Ryme*," 1607.

² Cf. J. Morris Jones, "Welsh Versification," in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* IV., p. 140 (1903).

a policeman writes the history of literature.¹ Does not even a casual glimpse into this unfamiliar order of studies add something to one's knowledge, add something to the character of Britain?

Then there are the Highlands of Scotland, with their old language. I speak without knowledge, except of the most accidental kind, but I know there are pleasant surprises waiting for anyone who takes up the study of Gaelic romance and poetry. There is a volume, published last year, on the "Poetry of Badenoch,"² which has many unfamiliar beautiful things in it; songs that "dally with the innocence of love, like the old age"; laments for the fall of great men—one of those elegies, quite in the fashion of the Middle Ages, composed by a juggler (Punch and Judy showman), on the "Loss of Gaick," the death of Captain Macpherson in the great snowstorm of Christmas, 1799.

We may remember Dr. Douglas Hyde's editions and translations of the poetry of Connaught before we steer for Iceland.

On the voyage we are reminded of the amazing differences of fortune in the progress of the modern world; to pass from Shetland to the Faroe Islands is to go from one group to another, which in their early history were closely related, which are still alike in many features of their daily business, and yet how different in their education, in the contents and habits of their mind! Shetland, in spite of its separation from Scotland, is, I suppose, interested in the same things, and has been so for many years past—interested in the Disruption, in the Free Church Declaratory Act, in the House of Lords (various aspects), in Irish Home Rule, and in Tariff Reform. Out to the North-west all those things are forgotten; though I am told that Mr. Chamberlain in the Faroes has been turned into the wicked person

¹ Charles Ashton, Editor of the works of Iolo Goch.

² Collected and edited by the Rev. Thomas Sinton, Minister of Dore (Inverness, 1906).

of a poem on the Boer War—figuring, I suppose, as something like Thrond of Gata in the Faroe legend, a crafty and malignant adversary. It is well in every way to stop at the Faroes on the way to Iceland. The old manners, Dr. Jakobsen tells us, are slowly changing,¹ but they are still alive, and they will always be wonderful to think of. Much has been written about the dances and songs of the Faroes, and more is still to be told, in the book that we are expecting from Mr. Hjalmar Thuren.²

For the present it is enough to remember that these old fashions surviving in the islands are those that once belonged to the whole of Christendom; they are the carols and ballads of the Middle Ages, not revived as a curiosity, but coming down in unbroken tradition, keeping the forms of eight hundred years ago, and matters that are older still. There, if you have luck, you may hear the tune of the Volsung ballad—how Grani, the horse of Sigurd, bore the Nibelung treasure from the heath; there you may see faces “kindle like a fire new-stirred” at the name of Sigmund Brestisson. There is no end to the wonders of those islands, and it is no mere fanciful conceit to say that you meet with the ghosts of old romances there. Not only the themes of Northern tradition; not only the island story of Thrond and Sigmund, but the heroes of the South—you have only to look at the titles in the Faroese Anthology to find them. One of the first things offered to me by the bookseller in Thorshavn was the ballad of Roncesvalles.

One reason for stopping at the Faroes is that the Icelanders rather look down on the Faroese as comparatively illiterate, and have reasons, if not a complete justification for this loftiness of theirs. The difference between Iceland and the Faroes is nearly as great as the difference between the Faroes and Shetland. Ice-

¹ See SAGA-BOOK, Vol IV., Part 1, p. 52.

² Now published (April 1908), *Folkesangen þaa Færøerne*.

land has had an education of its own, and therefore a consciousness and character of its own. Its temper in some things is like that of the old Humanists, who were proud of their knowledge and despised the uninstructed multitude. There is a story of a famous scholarly Dean of Christ Church, who, in a sermon explaining the advantages of Greek, gave this among other arguments, that a knowledge of Greek enabled you to look down on your fellow-creatures. The Icelanders had this sort of spirit from the first, and mainly through pride in their own language. The glory of the Icelandic Commonwealth in old days, the present distinction of Iceland as against the ruder life of the Faroes, is largely due to grammar. This is what makes Iceland so interesting to a student of the Humanities. He recognizes there an instinct for language like that which he finds in Greece.

There is a self-conscious principle of style and good grammar in Iceland by which the people are kept together as articulate speaking men, through all the difficulties of their climate and their history—through famine, plagues, earthquakes, and oppression, still these people, holding up their heads, are able to look down on a large number of their fellow-creatures. It is this self-conscious pride in good language that has kept the old Norse tongue in Iceland from degenerating into boorish dialects; their language is indomitable. No doubt there are signs of age and weathering in the things that are beyond control, the phonetic changes; but in the things that are present to the linguistic consciousness, in the grammar and idiom, Iceland has held its own. It is a mistake, as Gudbrand Vigfusson pointed out, to regard the modern Icelanders, or even those of the fifteenth century, as living in the old world of the heroic poetry of the sagas:—

It has long been taken for granted that Iceland is and has been a land of antiquaries, a place where the old traditions, nay more, the old poems and myths of the Teutons have lingered on unbroken;

and glowing phrases have painted its people as a Don Quixote of nations, ever dreaming over the glorious reminiscences of the gods and heroes. It is to the credit of the Icelanders as a living people that it is not so.

But it is also true that their lives and thought are still governed by the intellectual virtues of their ancestors, the poets, scholars and historians of the early days. How otherwise could they have kept their old language, so that *Njála* is no more difficult to the children there than the *Pilgrim's Progress* is to the children here? What else is it that distinguishes them from the simpler people of the Faroes, or Norway, or Jutland?

It is plain on the face of European history, though like many obvious things it is often forgotten, that the spirit of the Northern nations (commonly called Scandinavian) was needed to quicken all the rest. We know what was done in England by the Normans, and it is a commonplace that Russia (*Garðariki*) was made by the Varangians. Iceland was a political experiment of another sort, and the meaning of it was to show what the Northern genius could do on bare unbroken ground, picked out and colonised by a few adventurous families from Norway. Elsewhere Norwegians might become Norman, might work as leaven in the lump, in France, Italy and England. Here, in Iceland, they were to show what they could do when left to themselves.

The Icelandic settlement was (and remains in history) a protest against all the ordinary successful commonplaces of the world. The settlers cut themselves off from the progress of Norway, which was on the way to shape itself into political strength under a new monarchy. They made a commonwealth of their own, which was in contradiction to all the prejudices of the Middle Ages and of all ancient and modern political philosophy; a commonwealth which was not a state, which had no government, no sovereignty. And this republic, or association, without political coherence, likely, one might have thought, to fall into mere disintegration from its

want of proper equipment in the struggle for existence, was held together, and survived by force of intellect; and proved itself superior to Norway, took the lead of Norway, in certain important matters belonging to Norway itself. You see what I am coming to; the Icelanders wrote and interpreted the history of the Norwegian kings, of the country from which they had severed themselves. They also provided that country, and its kings, with a supply of poets. From the remote island there came back to Norway its consciousness of itself in historical writings, and its poetical spirit in the staves of the Icelandic artists. In the whole record of humanity there are few things stranger, and since the time of the Giant who had no heart in his body, few things more confounding to ordinary theories of physiology. It is somewhat as if the Pilgrim Fathers had undertaken the literary work of England, as if Milton, Dryden and Swift had come from Massachusetts, while the mother-country produced the genius of Cotton Mather, and Michael Wigglesworth. (This comparison is a little hard on Norway, and must not be looked at too closely.)

In Iceland the Humanities flourish most notably in the historical form. History is one of the arts; we call Herodotus and the Muses to witness; it might also be possible to *sub pœna* a Regius Professor or two, who write elegantly, as men of letters, to prove that history is not literature. It is worth while to consider a little the work of the Icelandic historians.

To begin with, as one might imagine, they were disqualified for dealing with any large matter, like the history of a kingdom. Their own origin and their way of life was a protest against kingdoms, even against all politics as usually understood. There are none of the large masses, the generalities, the statistics, with which the politician deals; the remarkable thing in the sagas, the real secret of the Icelandic mind, is that nothing is really valuable except the individual character.

It is the dramatic point of view. Shakespeare has been criticised sometimes on account of the selfishness of his *dramatis personæ*—so many of them having nothing to think about except their own private futures. The criticism will apply to the Icelandic sagas. Public motives, great interests and causes, are not unknown there, but the motives are chiefly of a personal sort; the men and women are not representatives of abstract ideas; what they represent is mainly themselves: *Every man in his Humour*. Their stage management makes little provision for the crowd—much less than Shakespeare's. Hence the strength of their action and dialogue; hence the inexhaustible beauty of their story-telling. It is founded on a sense of reality, an imaginative knowledge of character; on whatever it is that makes a difference between the true dramatist and the preacher.

The point of view in the Icelandic sagas might be described as being the diametrical opposite of philanthropy. It is altogether taken up with particulars. It is desperately limited. There is no use in talking to the Icelander about the human race at large when he is thinking of Grettir at Drangey. He will not take anything in exchange for Grettir, and you will not put Drangey out his head by talking to him of any larger islands. The moralist or the economist may be perplexed by this excessive devotion to a particular person or scene; they are thrown out by the Icelandic historian, as Ajax was by the infatuation of Achilles when Briseis was taken away. "I can get you half a dozen as good," said Ajax—but his values were wrong, or Achilles thought them so, which came to the same thing.

This intense limitation of interest, this dramatic view, makes Iceland in the sagas (down to the end of *Sturlunga* and even further) utterly different from all the rest of the world. It is not that Iceland is the only place where such things are found—luckily there are sagas of one sort or another in every language under the sun, from Genesis to the memoirs of Sir Evelyn Wood. But

in Iceland there is next to nothing left when you have taken away the personal drama, and no other country can show such a multiplicity of stories where the characters all stand out clear.

Now this kind of clearness, it might be thought, would hardly do for one of the larger fields of history, where life is more complex, and where principles and problems appear which have no place in the unpolitical condition of Iceland. For all that the Icelanders turned their historical minds to Norway, never turned their minds away from Norway for any great length of time; and the result is the second great achievement of their narrative art, the "Lives of the Kings," the work of Ari, Snorri and Sturla, to name only the chief among a great number of historians, a companion series to the family histories of Iceland, rendering in the same way the life of the kingdom, which to those rebel colonists was still always the mother-country.

It is strange how the Icelanders never seem thoroughly at home in their colonial island; Norway, and not Iceland, is always the focus. Iceland is outside; to go to Iceland is to "sail out"; while they "sail home" (*fara útan*) to Norway. They keep the old popular Norwegian names for the points of the compass, placing N.E. and S.E. *inland* ("land-north" and "land-south"), an arrangement which works well enough for the greater part of Norway, but of course is a geographical fiction in Iceland.¹

The Norwegian histories are among the great things made by the Icelanders, and only short of the greatest. They have everything that is to be found in the best of the sagas, except possibly one thing. That, it is true, is one of the chief qualities in *Njála*, *Laxdæla*, and the rest, namely, the tragic tension that gives unity to the jarring elements of fact and popular tradition in those noble stories. The Norwegian chronicles have a lower vitality, and their material is more cumbersome; the

¹ Cf. SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV., Part I., p. 235; Part II., pp. 426-7.

tragedies of Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf the Saint are not as clear and strong as those of Njal, or of Kjartan Olafsson. But the mode of imagination is still the same; and considering the difficulties of the ground, it is even more wonderful how the historian manages to keep hold of the frequently intricate plots; how he weaves in the conversations dramatically, using them not simply as ornament, but as an essential part of his fabric. The dialogue in those lives is not mere quotation from memoirs, brought in to keep the reader awake when he is dropping off under the influence of serious political argument. It is all part of the life that is described, and of the historian's mind in writing. I do not mean, of course, that everything in the Book of Kings is closely wrought and careful; fortunately there are many careless episodes that never were anything more, or wanted to be anything more, than digressions. But some things are otherwise, and I will single out especially one part of the story of St. Olaf that stands by itself—the fortunes of Asbjörn Selsbani. It has all the best qualities of the Icelandic saga; the sense for character and for plot, the humorous dialogue, the tragic situation, in which St. Olaf himself is involved. Abstracts of stories are dull things, but you will let me pass over the beginning of this one shortly; if it is painful now, it may perhaps be of some value later, merely by calling attention to one of the fine passages of the history, which may be studied comfortably afterwards at leisure.

The story is this: Asbjörn belonged to the great northern house of Bjarkey; his father lived and kept great state at Throneness in the island of Hindö, the aspect of which is well known to many summer travellers on the way to the North Cape. When his father died, Asbjörn had no means to keep up the establishment in its old splendour and hospitality; but he did his best. Stores ran short, so he took a ship and went south for corn and malt, and came after a time to

Augvaldsness, another place often seen and little noticed from the deck of the steamer as it passes through the Karmsund between Bergen and Stavanger. At Augvaldsness lived the king's steward, Sel-Thorir, a churlish person. From him the young man learned that there was an embargo on corn; the king had forbidden all shipments of corn to the Northland. Asbjörn sailed on further till he came to Erling Skjalgsson, at his house at Sole in Jæderen. Erling, his mother's brother, was one of the greatest men in Norway, commonly called the King of Rogaland; and Erling, though with some difficulty, got him the corn and malt that he required.

On the way back he called at Augvaldsness again; there the king's steward not only had all the freight cleared out of Asbjörn's ship, but took away Asbjörn's sails and gave him an old set, "good enough for you, now you are sailing light."

Early the next year (1023) Asbjörn came south to Augvaldsness again. He landed on the outside (west) of the island of Kormt, where there are few houses, and walked across to Augvaldsness, where at this time King Olaf himself was visiting his steward. Asbjörn listened as the king sat at meat, and heard people questioning Sel-Thorir as to what had passed between him and Asbjörn, and how Asbjörn had borne himself. The steward said that when the ship was being unloaded Asbjörn kept his countenance in a sort of way, "but when we took the sails from him he wept." When Asbjörn heard this he drew his sword, and ran in and cut off Sel-Thorir's head, so that it fell on the table before the king, and the body across his feet.

So the story goes on, with the mixture and conflict of motives, right and wrong, law and freedom, such as is well understood in many literatures, but nowhere with more impartiality than in the Icelandic. The fall of St. Olaf, seven years later, is largely traceable to this adventure of the high-spirited young gentleman from the Northern island.

I shall take another example from a later history, Sturla's life of Hacon, to show how the Icelandic manner comes out in treating a Norwegian theme. I have a particular reason for choosing this, because I once spoke rather disparagingly of *Hákonar Saga*, and now I am sorry. This that follows, the scene between King Hacon and Queen Margaret, might have saved me from rash judgment.

It is part of the story of the rivalry between Hacon and his father-in-law, Skule the Duke. The news came to Hacon that Skule was up against him; there were few men with the King when he heard of it, and he was silent for a while. Then he said:

"God be praised that now I know what to be at from this time henceforth, for it has been a long time coming what now is brought to a head." Then he went to the Queen's room, and she rose from her bed and put on a red mantle over her gown, and placed a cushion for the King to sit on; but he would not sit down, though he answered her greeting cheerfully. She asked if any news had come for the King.

"Nothing much," he said; "only there are two kings in Norway now." Then said the Queen: "But one of them must be the true king, and he is where you are; so may God grant it to be, and the blessed King Olaf the Saint." Then Hacon told her that her father, Duke Skule, had allowed himself to be hailed as King at the Parliament of Thronðheim.

"Nay, but it cannot be," said the Queen, "and O, for God's sake, believe it not, so long as you can forbear"—and with that the sobbing came and choked her, so that she could not speak a word more. The King comforted her, and said that she should never suffer change on his part by reason of her father's treachery. Then he went out, and sped the arrow of war north and south from Bergen.

It is a high order of intelligence that sees life as it is seen by these historians. The question will not be

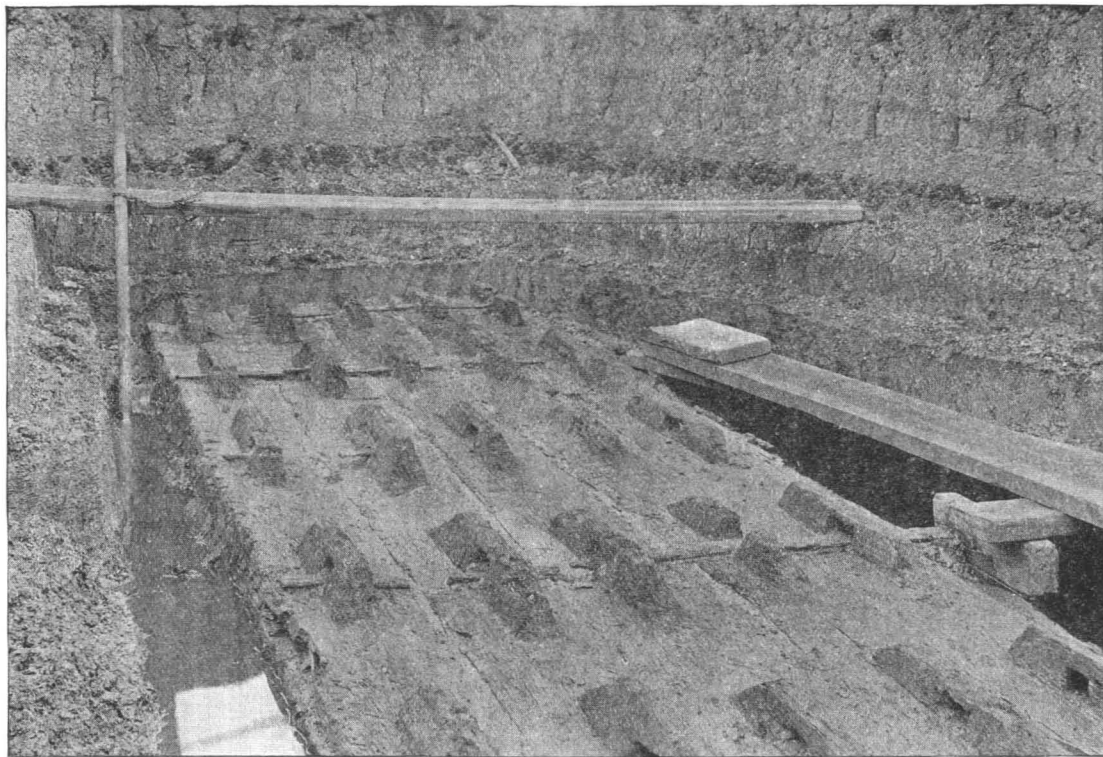
asked here, "What is the use of it all?" It may be difficult to explain in what consists the value of Icelandic literature to the great world, which gets on so easily without it. But there is the same sort of difficulty with regard to Greece, and you cannot argue with Mr. Cobden or any other successful man when he prefers *The Times* to "all the works of Thucydides." You cannot justify the study of the Humanities by any argument except those drawn from the Humanities themselves; the use of them is that they teach a different sort of judgment, a different standard of values, from the judgment and the standard of the ordinary worldly success. It is the glory of Iceland to the present day that it has kept its ancient heritage of literature, and it has its reward, in being itself. There are about 100,000 Icelanders in the world; counting the 20,000 in Winnipeg and other parts of Canada, who have made Icelandic one of the languages of the British empire. There are many towns about the world that could easily take in the whole population of Iceland; there can be few that produce so many men of ability, and so high an average of intellectual power. It is a subject that might be recommended to students of heredity and professors of Eugenics. One thing at least is certain, it is the Icelandic fashion of thought, a thousand years old at the present day, which makes the difference between the people of Iceland and the inarticulate multitudes of Nineveh, that cannot discern between their right hand and their left.

Our last meeting was saddened by anxiety for the life of the great Norwegian scholar, Sophus Bugge, whose son was to have addressed us that evening. Our hopes, sincerely and warmly expressed at the time, were not fulfilled, and now we have to pay another tribute to the man who has done so much for Northern studies of every kind, and much for other branches of learning both by his definite writings, and by his example of scholarly perseverance.

A month after Sophus Bugge, another of the older generation, Benedikt Gröndal, passed away. Like his father, Sveinbjörn Egilsson, he lived for the Humanities—only that in his case the meaning of the term must be liberally extended, so as to include the study of the birds that he loved. Few things in the history of learning are finer than the devotion of the father and son to their books and their gentle recreations. Sveinbjörn Egilsson's work at the Latin School—a little University—of Bessastaðir, has been praised by many of his pupils; I remember particularly how Gudbrand Vigfusson acknowledged his debt to him, and particularly for his teaching of Homer. What Sveinbjörn began in his translations, prose and verse, of the *Odyssey*, Benedikt Gröndal continued. In the little book published last year¹ in honour of his eightieth birthday, it was made plain that his learning was sometimes too various for the more exact and painful methods of modern philology. In temper and taste he belonged to a much older generation, and to the family of Pantagruel. He was a humourist in all senses of the word; glorious, exorbitant, in his ambitions and fancies, and at the same time a close and laborious student of the things that pleased him. There are many subjects and very quaint forms of expression in the catalogue of his works; it includes his translation of the *Iliad*, his *Clavis Poetica* (a key to that poetical dictionary which was his father's great achievement), poems of all sorts, comic romance. I remember with pleasure how the first of many gifts I received from him was his list of the birds of Iceland.

This address is called "inaugural," and ought not to have anything in it to spoil the augury, such as it may be. But we know that in the North it has never been thought ill-omened, even at the feast, to remember the valiant men that are dead, and those two, Sophus Bugge and Benedikt Gröndal, each in his own way, were heroes.

¹ *Benedikt Gröndal áttíðir*, 1826-1906; containing essays by Jón Jónsson, Guðmundur Finnbogason, Finnur Jónsson, Helgi Jónsson, Þorsteinn Erlingsson, and a poem by Sigurður Kristjánsson.



THE VIKING PONTOON BRIDGE, OR RAFT.

THE VIKING RAFT OR PONTOON BRIDGE.¹

MADE TO RISE AND FALL WITH THE TIDE. DISCOVERED IN
1886 NEAR GLAMFORD-BRIGG, NORTH Lincs.

By THE REV. ALFRED HUNT, M.A.,

President of the Lincolnshire Naturalists' Union, Vicar of Welton, Lincoln.

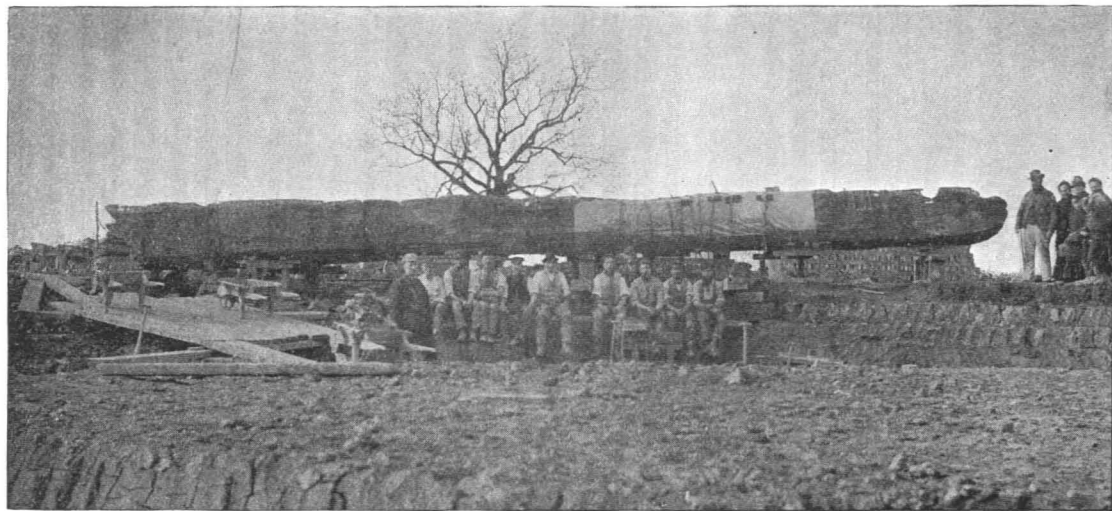
THE FINDING OF THE RAFT.

IN the year 1886 some workmen digging for clay on land belonging to Lord Yarborough near the east bank of the new channel of the river Ancholme discovered, about three feet below the surface of the soil, some logs of wood with cleats cut in the solid, and having transverse tie-rods. When fully uncovered it proved to be something unique in construction, so far as discoveries have been made in England. It has been called a raft, the bottom of a boat, etc., but we believe it to be a Pontoon Bridge of the Viking Age, made and used for crossing the old river Ancholme well-nigh a thousand years ago.

HOW THE RAFT IS MADE.

In length it is forty feet, its width at its widest part is nine feet, and it tapers off at the fore end to a width of six and a half feet, and at the after end to five and a half feet in width. It is made of five long oak trees split down the middle. The under side of the structure is fairly level, but on the top side (that exposed by the workmen) it was found to have ten cleats in each plank, cut out of the solid, the cleats being perforated with

¹ The blocks from which the illustrations are taken are kindly lent by the Rev. A. M. Claye, M.A., vicar of Glamford-Brigg.



THE BRITISH DUG-OUT BOAT.

48 feet long and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. Discovered in 1884 at Castlethorpe, near Glamford-Brigg, North Lincolnshire.

holes for the passage of tie-rods or bars. These cleats are cut at regular intervals or spaces, and are in parallel rows across the structure. The cleats at both ends finish flush with the ends of the planks.

The tie-bars, numbering ten, were secured by wedges driven in at each end of the bar, and also by a wedge driven in along the middle row of cleats, apparently to keep the pontoon taut. The joints were caulked with moss, and the sides of each plank were pierced with holes three-eighths of an inch in diameter, and two to three inches apart. The joints were covered with straight pieces of wood, two inches in diameter, like the halves of young sapling trees, split down the middle. These were fastened down over each joint in the pontoon by lacings or lashings of hide, which passed through the holes spaced at every two or three inches throughout the length of the pontoon or raft, thus making it very taut and strong.

Further eastward, about 300 yards away, and on the west bank of the old river Ancholme, an old British "dug-out," forty-eight feet long and five and a half feet wide, was discovered two years earlier (May, 1884). This vessel had a large hole in its side, but this had been repaired with a plank six feet long, and fourteen inches in width at the widest part, but tapering at each end to a point. This repairing plank is, like the logs of which the pontoon is constructed, made out of oak, cut out of the solid in such a way as to leave three projecting cleats, and has also holes, three-eighths of an inch in diameter, along its edge, spaced two or three inches apart, through which lacings or lashings of hide were passed. The caulking all round the edges and holes was done with moss. Evidently this repair to the old "dug-out" was done by those who made the pontoon bridge, as it is carried out in exactly the same manner, by lacing or lashing together, while the caulking is done in the same manner, and with the same kind of moss.

A COMPARISON OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE VIKING
RAFT OR PONTOON BRIDGE WITH OTHER NAUTICAL
CONSTRUCTIONS IN DENMARK AND NORWAY.

In the Museum at Kiel is a canoe, or "dug-out" boat which was found at Valermoor, Denmark. This vessel has been repaired with a plank in the same manner as the old boat at Brigg, with cleats cut out of the solid plank, which cleats pass through the hole in the side of the boat, while pins pass through the cleats on the inside of the boat. It is also lashed in position through holes along the edge of the repairing plank made every two or three inches apart. The same construction is to be seen in the Nydam Moss boat.

The Viking ships discovered at Tune and Gokstad, in Norway, are also made with cleats cut out of the solid plank, in exactly the same manner as the pontoon or raft, at Brigg, in the Danelagh of Southumbria. These facts point to a common origin of construction.

WHO MADE THE VIKING RAFT OR PONTOON BRIDGE?

This is a very natural question to ask. We may reply, certainly not the British before the Romans, as we have not a single trace of their workmanship in wood of this character. They apparently, as far as we can learn, never constructed anything with the cleat and tie-rod—possibly because they had not arrived at that stage of building construction. Their coracles were very simple in make, and show no trace of this boat-builder's skill.

If it be asked—Is it Roman? We at once reply that we think not. The trireme of the Romans was completely different in construction from this method of building, judging from what we may see on the Roman coins or carvings.

If we ask—Was it made by the Saxons? we can only reply that we have no remains of Saxon ships or wood-work with which to compare it. They were not

skilful at bridge-building or boat-building, so far as we can learn.

There remains then the period of the Vikings, who we know invaded our shore in their light, long ships, which were of similar construction to the Raft, or Pontoon Bridge, and it is to this period we date the building of this structure, so unique in character as far as English discoveries have been made.

PROBABLE DATE OF THE VIKING RAFT OR PONTOON BRIDGE.

When we consider the construction of the raft or pontoon we are led to believe that it is of the Viking period—that the date of its construction lies between the eighth and tenth centuries, say A.D. 800 to 1000. If we try to be more precise, and ask if there is any incident or historical event during that period in English history to account for this Viking raft or pontoon bridge being found where it is, we reply that we believe that there is.

In the year 937 A.D. Southumbria was invaded by a fleet of 615 vessels under Anlaf. The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, written about 1100, records the fact that

"Anlaf, the pagan king of the Irish and of many islands besides, at the instigation of his father-in-law, Constantine, king of the Scots, entered the mouth of the Humber with a powerful fleet." "Southwards they must have marched" (says Baron Ramsay) "until they found their progress arrested by Athelstan's supporters."

Now, to invade England from the river Humber, the invaders must cross the Ancholme valley, and pass the place where this raft or pontoon was found, at the only possible crossing of the valley, at its narrowest part, that at Glamford-Brigg, the ancient "Glam Ford," or "Slippery Ford," the clayey nature of the soil accounting for the name given to the crossing-place.

Turning to the Egil's Saga, or the "Story of Egil Skallagrimsson," we find in chap. lvii. that Egil and Thorolf, who had accepted service under Athelstan, King

of England, were placed in command of the defensive troops and of their own mercenaries, while Athelstan went south to bring up all the troops possible to resist the invasion. Their plan in dealing with the enemy was to hold them in check, and thus gain time for the king's return.

Athelstan's advanced guard occupied the en hazelled field on "Vin-heath by Vin-wood," while the main body lay near the town in the south (Glamford). Here we find the pontoon bridge or Viking raft, made so that it could rise and fall with the tidal waters, made after the manner of Viking ships, out of solid timber with cleats in the solid, held together with long transverse pins, but, if necessary, free to be lengthened by drawing forward one half, and as the cleats are equi-distant, running the transverse pins through the two parts of the pontoon that would be left together. What more probable than that Egil and Thorolf should have made such a raft or pontoon, while the king was bringing forward his troops to this valley crossing, where the pontoon bridge still lies buried? I have elsewhere given in detail substantial reasons for the location of Brunanburh at Burnham (formerly Brunham), North Lincolnshire.¹

Further, in their search for timber they seem to have discovered the old British "dug-out" near the ford, and seeing that it was out of repair, set to work and placed a large patch of timber, with a cleat cut out of the solid, over the damaged side of the vessel, caulked it with moss, and used the old boat again at the ford in addition to the raft.

These works, which we would assign to men well known to have been able to make and use, both in wood and bronze, a cleat cut in the solid for pins, seem to give us the clue to the date of the bridge or raft. We therefore think the date of this structure is that of the

¹ See Architectural and Archæological Society's Reports, vol. xxviii. p. 28 and ff. Also "Lincolnshire in 20th Century," vol. xxii., Historical Section, pp. 15 and 30, and SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV., Part I., pp. 18-20.

invasion of A.D. 937, and that it was made under the direction of the famous Viking warriors, Egil Skallagrímsson and his brother Thorolf.

Other invasions of the Danes in Lincolnshire are on record. In the year 867 the Danish host, which had wintered in East Anglia, left it, and went "over Humber mouth" to York. In 873 the Danes came up the Humber and Trent, "wintering at Torksey," some 30 miles from Glamford-Brigg. In 937 Anlaf's invasion took place, to which date we ascribe this pontoon or raft. In 993 the Danes from abroad "entered the mouth of the Humber, and there wrought much evil." In 1013 Sweyn entering the Humber, came up the Trent and wintered at Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, some 20 miles from Glamford-Brigg; but there is no record of the Danes crossing the Ancholme Valley except in the invasion of A.D. 937.

THEORIES AS TO ITS VERY GREAT ANTIQUITY.

Locally at Brigg, and in North Lincolnshire, various dates have been given to the raft on account of the geological conditions under which it was found. These need some explanation. The channel of the Humber is even now frequently changing. The place where the Viking raft or pontoon bridge was found, eight miles south of the Humber, in the Ancholme Valley, has been subject also to great changes. For lengthened periods it has been open to tidal inundations; then the channel of the Ancholme has been deepened, and the sea shut out for a time. Then the river silt has covered the ground, to be in turn overwhelmed with sea-water again. Finally, when the New Cut was made for the river Ancholme, the debris and soil excavated seems to have been thrown out on the banks of the new channel, and thus on the top of the place where this pontoon bridge was ultimately discovered in 1886.

With such changes as these, the geological conditions may be accounted for, and that quite apart from seismic disturbance, though this may also have had some effect

in causing subsidence and elevation from time to time.

The pontoon or raft, after being exposed to view for some weeks, was left *in situ* and again covered up with soil, and is still there now, December, 1907.

In the brief discussion which followed, the President deprecated any debate of the vexed question of the site of the battle of Brunanburh. Mr. Albany F. Major, replying on behalf of the author of the paper, said, in answer to Mr. Harry Lowerison and other speakers, that though one hesitated to accept finally the author's ascription of the raft to a definite historical event, the speaker personally thought there was good reason to think Mr. Hunt might be right in considering it of Viking origin, seeing that its mode of construction could be paralleled in Denmark and Norway, and that it was found in a locality which was settled by the Danes. Without entering on a forbidden discussion, he felt bound to remark that, while Mr. Hunt made out a good case for Burnham (formerly Brunham), in Lincolnshire, as the site of the battle of Brunanburh, another member of the Club, Mr. Francis W. T. Tudsbery, had a work in hand placing it on the opposite side of the kingdom, also on strong evidence, much of it new. He thought judgment should be suspended, at any rate till Mr. Tudsbery's arguments were before the public.

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THE GAEL AND THE GALL:
NOTES ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF
IRELAND DURING THE NORSE PERIOD.

By ELEANOR HULL,
Hon. Secretary, Irish Texts Society.

I DO not propose in this paper to deal at any length with the large political events connected with the Norse and Danish period in Ireland, but to use the larger portion of the space at my disposal in a more modest, but perhaps not less useful fashion, in gathering together some notes (I fear, rather fragmentary notes), such as can be gleaned from the Irish Annals regarding the social condition of the country at the time of the earlier Norse settlements and the modifications brought about by intercourse with the foreigner. What it may be necessary to say in regard to the political conditions is only to be regarded as explanatory or preparatory to this.

A number of theories, rooted more in prejudice than in knowledge, have grown up in Ireland regarding the effect of the Northman's sojourn in that country. To the Danish invader every possible evil and cruelty has been attributed. To him is ascribed the loss of the Irish manuscripts, the wanton destruction of churches and monasteries, the wholesale slaughter and degradation of men, women and children, the enslavement of the entire country, and the extinction of Christianity.

Moreover, the Dane is popularly supposed to have been the cause of the decay of Irish literature and of

the suppression of the poets, who are said to have come to an end under Norse sway, and who are commonly believed to have been slaughtered by the Northmen, just as, with possibly equal truth, the Welsh bards are imagined to have been put to the sword by Edward I. Hand in hand, in unholy alliance, the Norseman and the Dane are supposed to have combined to bring havoc upon Ireland, upon its civilization, its learning, its religion, and its prosperity. To the present day "The Danes did it" is the natural explanation of every disaster that has befallen church or religious edifice, and it is difficult to say whether "the Dane" or "Cromwell" bears off the palm in the national estimation as the author of the greater number of evils which have befallen the country.

Yet we begin to have our suspicions that all is not precisely as it is represented, when we find the primitive Ireland of the eighth century, with its scattered villages and simple monastic settlements, its wars of sept against sept, and even monastery against monastery, grown in the eleventh century, at the close of the Norse period, into a country with several well-established towns, with an extensive merchandise and fleet of ships, with stone-built forts and bridges, with Christian churches and schools, and with a line of Danish bishops of Dublin. And in respect of literature, not only were Irish bards welcomed at the courts of the Danish King of Dublin, but it was during the period preceding the battle of Clontarf that the Fíli or Official Poets and Genealogists were at the height of their power, and from these centuries comes to us much of the finest poetry that Ireland has produced.

There has been a tendency to confuse the period of raiding and reconnaissance with the period of settlement and mercantile energy. These two periods have no exact line of demarcation; raiding went on into the eleventh and even the twelfth centuries, but it was as much raiding upon the Norse settlers as upon the original inhabitants; fighting and internecine war was carried on from

beginning to end of the Norse period, but it was as frequently the war of Dane against Norseman, or of allied Irish-Dano or Irish-Norse armies against each other, as of the Northman against the Gael. The condition of things was vitally altered even by the close of the ninth century. The Irish septs no longer looked upon the Northmen as their natural enemies, to be driven at all costs out of the country; they thought of them as allies of their tribes, whose help was to be sought for against other native tribes, whose friendship was to be propitiated, and whose alliance was to be desired; for were not Norsemen in numberless instances the husbands of their women and the fosterers of their children?

We have, indeed, to divide the Danish or Norse period in Ireland into several distinct sections. In order to make clear the portion of the history with which we shall be occupied to-night, I will briefly sum up these divisions so far as I understand them at the present moment.

I. Generally speaking, there was, first, from towards the close of the eighth to the first twenty years of the ninth century, a series of efforts made by small bodies of Vikings all round the coast, apparently with a view to finding out the chief waterways and the most likely spots for pushing their conquests inland.

When they first appeared, towards the close of the eighth century, on the shores of Ireland, that country had been reduced to a condition of weakness and misery rare even in her deplorable history. A succession of pestilences in the middle and close of the seventh century, both among human beings and cattle, had devastated the land, and had been succeeded by a terrible famine, from the results of which it must have taken years to recover; even Kings and Abbots fell victims to the plague. No strong ruler arose between the close of the seventh and the close of the eighth century; it is an absolute blank so far as great names or great deeds are concerned. On the east coast the Saxons were making descents, and, as the Venerable Bede tells us, were

"miserably wasting that harmless nation which had always been most friendly to the English." There is little doubt that, having effected extensive conquests in England, they thought to push their arms further and extend their sway over Ireland. About the same time began those sacrilegious burnings of monasteries, of which I have hereafter to speak, which the Northmen copied, but which were inaugurated by the native Irish themselves. The original founders of the religious houses had all long since passed away, and with them seems to have passed away much of the reverence in which their foundations were held. Chief warring against chief, and monastery against monastery (for the monks were all warriors, and appeared even at church councils fully armed), had reduced the unhappy country to a state of universal anarchy; she lay open and defenceless at every point to the coming of the new invader. No central power, no strong and purposeful leader, stood in the gap to save her.

It is thus the more remarkable that shortly after the coming of the Northmen we find not only on the throne of the central monarchy of Tara (which seemed just before to have sunk out of recognition under a succession of inert princes), but also on the provincial royal seats of Cashel in Munster and Aileach in Donegal, as well as in the province of Leinster, a series of monarchs of strenuous and determined purpose, of marked ability, and of such force of character and completeness of organization, that it was only by slow degrees, and after repeated efforts, that the Northmen succeeded in establishing their power over Ireland. At three different times they had poured down their warriors in fleet after fleet upon her shores, but were forced to retreat discomfited. More than one northern chief of renown fell in war in Ireland, and again and again, when the invader believed his foothold upon Ireland to be so strong that Dublin might be looked upon as the capital of an extended dominion, was he driven out of the stronghold

and forced to fly across the seas. Maelseachlann the I. and II., Nial Glundubh ("Black-knee"), Brian Boromhe or Boru ("of the Tributes"), Murtough of the Leather Cloaks, Cormac MacCuileanan, Cearbhal or Karval of Ossory were all men of unusual power, and their country has reason to be proud of having produced them. It is a remarkable instance of the effect of an appeal made under stress of a great necessity to the finer and more purposeful elements in a nation. The Norse Period is, indeed, so far as her rulers are concerned, the golden time of Irish independence.

II. After the first unorganized appearances of the Northmen on the coast, we reach a second period extending up to about the year 850, during which a much more systematic attempt was made to penetrate and lay firm hold upon the country. Fleets of boats, carrying armed warriors, penetrated in every direction up the rivers and into the lakes of the interior, the boats being evidently often carried overland where no direct waterway existed and launched again upon the interior lochs.¹ The monastic establishments that lay in their way were devastated, and a network of forts gradually spread itself over the country. We find them in Louth and Dublin, at Linn Duachail in Co. Down, in Loch Ree in Connaught, at Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and many other centres. In these places food was stored, and the camps of the Northmen lay in and around the fortresses. In 836 Dublin (or Ath-Cliath "the Ford of the Hurdles" as it was called in Irish), fell for the first time into the hands of the Norsemen.

Three Norse chieftains came to Ireland to endeavour to consolidate these conquests, (a) Turgesius (Thorgils?), who confined his efforts to the north of Ireland, Ulster, Meath, and northern Connaught, and who made Armagh

¹ An excellent map of the advance of the Northmen up the waterways, marked by the destruction of the monasteries on their routes, will be found in Miss Margaret Stokes' "Early Christian Architecture in Ireland."

his capital; (b) Earl Tomar (mentioned as slain in the battle of Sciath-Nechtan in 847), of whom we know little, though we hear of a wood called after him "Tomar's Wood," north of Dublin, and of the "Ring of Tomar" as one of the royal treasures still preserved in that city at the close of the tenth century; while the family of Tomar's descendants is mentioned in the Book of Rights as a patronymic of the Gaill or foreigners of Dublin; and finally (c) Olaf or Anlaff the White, who appears to have come for the definite purpose of rallying the Norsemen together on the arrival of the Danes to dispute their conquests with them. Like Tomar, he abandoned the idea of retaining Armagh, the Primordial See, and hitherto the chief city of Ireland, as his capital, and transferred the seat of power to Dublin, a place more accessible, and standing on a fine and capacious bay, infinitely superior from a strategical point of view to St. Patrick's inland northern city of Armagh. Here Tomar built a fortress, and it became henceforward the chief centre of importance and the Danish capital of Ireland.

The historical significance of Earl Tomar's short suzerainty lay in the fact that he possessed the capacity to see the advantages of the position of the unimportant village that lay on either side of the Hurdle Bridge which crossed the tidal waters of the Liffey, and fixed upon it as his central stronghold. Henceforth Dublin was to become the pivot of the western conquests of the Northmen, the centre of their power and the military station whence were drawn many of their strongest forces, whether for their wars in the north and centre of England, or for their sea-fights among the islands and off the coast of Scotland. We may probably regard it as almost exclusively a Danish or Norse city for the next two centuries or more, while the Irish would still continue to regard Armagh as their natural centre.

III. The date 847 A.D. brings us to an important event in the history of the period; by far the most important that had occurred since the coming of the Norsemen to

Irish shores. That year saw for the first time the arrival of a Danish fleet upon the eastern coast.

I wish to linger a little at this point, because the history of what follows seems to me to have been completely misunderstood. It is usually taken for granted that the arrival of the Danes, or Dubh-Ghaill ("Dark Foreigners"), as they are termed by the Irish, in 847, was merely an accession of friendly forces to the ranks of the Norsemen come over for the same purpose, and ready to unite their armies with those of their predecessors in a combined attack upon the Irish.

But this seems to be quite contrary to the teaching of the Annals.

It would not appear that the Danish incursions were at first directed against the Irish at all, but against their Norwegian predecessors. Their purpose was not to oust the Irish, but to follow up and dispute the mastery of their Irish possessions with their neighbours and fore-runners, the Norsemen. "A fleet of seven score ships of the people of the King of the foreigners," so runs this important entry of the year 847, "came to contend with the foreigners that were in Ireland before them, so that they disturbed Ireland between them." The Norwegian footing in Ireland was quite sufficiently strong to awaken a feeling of envy in other marauding and expanding peoples. Though we need hardly suppose that Turgesius had established an actual suzerainty over the North, he had stretched a line of forts across the country from Carlingford Lough in the east to Connaught in the west. Everywhere the North was in a distracted condition; for the more lawless bodies of Irish, taking example by the Northmen, and finding occasion in the unsettled state of the country, had gathered themselves into fortified strongholds, such as Loch Ramor, in the present Co. Cavan, whence they issued out "at the instigation of the foreigners" to plunder the surrounding districts. These banditti were the terror of the peaceful inhabitants, and are suggestively called

"The Sons of Death." Even more formidable was the discontent spreading through Ireland itself; the foreigners were persistent in their endeavours to alienate the septs from their natural allegiance to their chiefs and to attach them to their own interests; and the formidable Munster rising of 854, which Maelseachlann, King of Tara, crushed, is said to have been also stirred up at "the instigation of the foreigners." When, in 836, Dublin had fallen into the hands of the Norse, it might well have seemed as though the whole country would speedily pass under their sway.

The tidings of these Norse successes seems to have whetted the appetite of the Danish armies, who were at this moment ravaging the southern and eastern coasts of England, and gaining their first settled footing there. To subdue the Norse of Dublin and the north of Ireland, and to enter into the fruits of their conquests, must have appeared to the Danes a satisfactory way of filling up the gaps that occurred in the course of their attacks upon Kent and Sussex. Ireland in itself they made no war against, but it became the accidental battle-ground between the opposing Northern nations. When the Danes arrived in Dublin they proceeded to attack the Norwegian fortresses; indeed, all the reports of their early deeds are records of attack by the "Black Foreigners" upon the "White Foreigners," not of the Black Foreigners upon the Irish. In the Annals of the Four Masters we read: "849 A.D. The Dubhghaill (Dark Foreigners) arrived at Ath-Cliath (Dublin), and made a great slaughter of the Finnghaill (Fair Foreigners), and plundered the fortress, both people and property"; and (Ann. Uls. 850) "Black Foreigners came to Dublin and committed great slaughter upon the White Foreigners, and spoiled the city, both men and goods."

849 A.D. (Four Masters). "Another depredation of the Dubhghaill upon the Finnghaill, at Linn-Duachaill (near Magheralin, Co. Down), and they made a great slaughter of them." On the other hand we hear, in 850 A.D.,

"A fleet of eight-score ships of Finnghaill arrived at Snamh-Eidhneach (Carlingford Lough) to give battle to the Dubhghaill, and they fought with each other for three days and nights, and the Dubhghaill gained the victory, the Finnghaill leaving their ships to them."

It has usually been supposed that the names "Dark Foreigners" and "Fair Foreigners" was a distinction made by the native Irish on account of a difference in the complexion and colour of the hair in the two races.¹ This has never seemed to me a satisfactory explanation, for the Danish race are not dark, but fair and ruddy; the difference in appearance between the two Northern peoples can hardly have been sufficient to account for their recognition as different races wherever they went. Yet the distinction is throughout most rigorously maintained by the Irish annalists, who seem never to have mistaken the Danish troops for those of the Norsemen, although they occasionally mistook the nationality of their princes. The distinction between the Norse and Danes seems to have been much more clearly recognised in Ireland than it is in the records of the English Chronicle.

My own view is that it was from a difference in the fighting gear of the two nations that the Irish recognised one from the other. We must remember that the Irish troops wore no armour, they fought in their ordinary shirts and mantles, without protection of any sort save that of their large shields, often made out of hides stretched over wicker-work, while the Danes fought in dark metal coats of mail. They were indeed probably the first mail-clad warriors that the Irish had ever seen, and many of the historical tales lament the disadvantage under which the unarmed tribesmen fought when opposed to the metal-clad ranks of the Northerners. All that the Irish could do in the way of defence was to form a sort

¹The Scribe, Duaid Mac Firbis, in his Book of Genealogies, says: "The writings of the Irish call the *Lochlannaigh* by the name *Gaill*; they also call some of them *Dubh-Lochlannaigh*, i.e., 'Black Gentiles,' which was applied to the Danes of Dania, or Denmark; *Finn-Lochlannaigh*, i.e., 'Fair Gentiles,' the people of Ioruaighe, or Norwegia."

of phalanx round their leaders, by hooking their shields over each other, or attaching them by their broad belts strapped together. For instance, in the wars of Prince Callaghan of Cashel, a Munster chief who came to the throne in 934, we read that the Irish troops "had nothing to protect their bodies and necks and gentle heads, save only elegant tunics with smooth fringes, and shields, and beautiful finely-wrought collars," for they had "neither blue helmets nor shining coats of mail," whereas the Danes of Limerick (called here 'Lochlanns') who were opposed to them formed "a solid, skilful and firm rampart of strong coats of mail (like) a thick, dark stronghold of black iron, with a green polished wall ('cathair') of battle-shields around their chiefs." The writer bewails that in consequence of this difference in their armour the encounter was but a one-sided battle:

For the bodies and skins of the bright champions of Munster were quickly pierced through their fine linen garments, while their sharp blades did not take effect on the Northmen ('Lochlannachs') because of the rough solidity of their blue coats of mail, nor did their clubs harm the enemy, or their swords inflict wounds on their heads on account of the hardness of the helmets that protected them. "*Caithreim Cellachain Caisil*," edited by Dr. A. Bugge, pp. 64, 65.

The dark colour of the Danish armour is frequently commented upon, and I cannot help thinking that it was the general appearance of the troops, and not the complexion of the individuals, that impressed the Irish. This is, of course, to suppose some distinction between the arms of the Norse and the Danes in the ninth century.

It seems to have been the persistent attempt on the part of the Danes to rob the Norse of the fruits of their victories, acquired during nearly a century of struggle, that brought over to Ireland, in 853, A.D., the Prince known as Olaf Hvide, "the White," or Amlaibh, as he is called in Ireland. Whoever this "war-lord" may have been, and his Northern genealogies do not make this very clear, he

was certainly in Ireland believed to be a Prince of the Royal House, come over as representative of the King of Norway, and to collect taxes for him. He is called Amhlaith Conang (Konungr = King ?) and "son" or elsewhere "tanist" (*i.e.*, heir and successor) to the King of Lochlann. I think it is likely that he was a chief of high, perhaps royal descent, who had been harrying or living as a settler in Scotland, and who felt himself called upon to save and strengthen the weakened Norse settlements in Ireland, now for seven years (since Tomar's death in 846) left without a responsible leader. His frequent visits to Scotland, and his marriage with Aud "the Deep-minded," daughter of Ketil Flatnose, who had settled in the Hebrides, points to a connection with that country. On the death of her husband, Aud returned to the Western Isles, sojourning for some time among her kindred there before she set sail for the Faröes and Iceland.

Although he seems to have established himself in Dublin, and though "all the foreign tribes in Ireland" are said to have submitted to him, Olaf gained no permanent hold upon the country. When he died, the short-lived Norse supremacy came to an end, and a Danish sovereignty took its place. No coins bear the head or name of Olaf, nor had he any successor. Ivar, with whom, much against the Norse interest, he had made alliance for the pleasing purpose of for the first time "exacting rents and tributes from the Gael," was not a Norseman but a Dane, and the future kingdoms of Dublin, Waterford and Limerick were Danish and not Norse principalities. The Irish, indeed, seeing these two princes often leading their troops together, imagined that they were brothers, but this seems to me to be contradicted by all that we know of the general trend of events at the time, and also of the family history of these two men.

It would, perhaps, have been impossible for the Norsemen to have sustained a permanent kingdom in Dublin, for Olaf was practically isolated, except as

regards the settlers in Scotland, from his own people. It was otherwise with Ivar and the Danes. The Danish kingdom of Northumberland was at their back, and the two sovereignties were united under one crown, forming a powerful and lasting coalition. The interchange between the North of England and Ireland was continual, and the sons of Ivar occupied both thrones; whereas no son or descendant of Olaf's ever sat upon the throne of Dublin. Ivar is styled "*Rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniæ et Britannicæ*" (873 A.D.), and there are coins believed to bear his legend, as well as those of his descendants. In point of fact the Norse power gradually waned before the growth of the more centralised and organised kingdom of the Danes of Ireland and Northumbria. Regarded from the Northman's point of view, all that had gone before was but preliminary to the establishment of Ivar's kingdom.

Unsettled as the kingdom often was, broken down by foreign defeats, distracted by the contention for supremacy of rival Danish chieftains, who were again and again driven into the sea by the brilliant feats of arms of Irish kings, it is nevertheless from this time that we may date the slow rise of more settled conditions, whose reflection was to be seen in the gradual advance of the country to prosperity. This advance continued unbroken, until the twelfth century brought a fresh incursion of foreigners to Ireland, themselves also descendants of Northmen, namely, the Norman Lords of South Wales and Pembrokeshire.

Let us now turn from external events to internal conditions, in order that we may get some idea of the social state of the country during the troublous early period of the Norse and Danish influx and settlements. Some of these social features are, I think, quite peculiar to this epoch and to Ireland. They arose out of the strange conditions of a country in which not only were there three parties, Irish, Norse and Danish, continually warring against each other, but where it was equally

common to find the curious spectacle of Irish kings and chiefs seeking the aid of the foreigners against their own clansmen, or against the Irish of some neighbouring sept or province. Thus in battles of this period we frequently find Danish and Norse troops employed on different sides by Irish chiefs who were engaged in waging their perpetual internal wars against each other.

THE GALL-GAEL.—It was out of this mingling of the races that the people known as the Gall-Gael, or mixed foreigners and Irish, had their origin. This name is usually applied only to the race of mixed Norse and Gaelic stock in the Hebrides and Western Isles, the “Innsi-Gaill” or Isles of the Foreigners, as they were called, and it is used exclusively to denote the race springing from intermarriages between people of the two nations after the western coasts of Scotland became largely inhabited by Norse. But in the Irish records the word is applied to a mixed race living in Ireland itself, who seem from very early times to have formed a considerable portion of the population in some districts. They had their own fleets, and were formed into bodies of fighting troops, who warred sometimes on their own account and sometimes on behalf of the Northmen.

Another cause of the rapid multiplication of this mixed race, besides that of intermarriage, is to be found in the custom of fosterage which was common to both nations, and which brought the families of the two races into the closest and most familiar contact at the most impressionable age of life, the period of childhood and youth. Children thus fostered seem to have frequently adopted the nationality, religion, and customs of the Norse families who brought them up, and to have become detached from the general body of their Irish fellow-countrymen. The matter seems worthy of attention. In MacFirbis’ “Fragment of Annals,” edited by O’Donovan, we read, under 852 A.D. :

“A battle was fought by Aedh, King of Aileach (a

prince of the Northern O'Neills of Donegal), the most valiant king of his time, and the fleet of the Gall-Gael. These were Scoti (*i.e.*, Irish), who had been foster-children to the Northmen, and at one time they used to be called Northmen."

And in a later passage, about 912-913, describing at great length the attack upon Chester¹ by the Danes and Norsemen of Dublin in the time of the spirited Queen Æthelflæd, daughter of Alfred the Great, who was defending the city during the mortal illness of her husband, Æthelred, Ealdorman of the Mercians (called here "King of the Saxons,") we learn that the dying king and his queen sent an appeal by ambassadors to the Irish who were fighting on the side of the Danes and Lochlanns to remember the old kindness shown to the Irish soldiers and clergy in England, and to forsake the pagan troops among whom they were fighting and come to the aid of the Saxon Queen. It is said that she "sent envoys to the Gael who were among the pagans; for the Lochlanns, then pagans, had many a Gaelic foster-son."

This system of fosterage among people that were their country's enemies must have begun very early, if the mixed race had become a distinct body with their own troops and fleet so early as the year 854-5. It suggests that even during the earlier period of the Norse incursions, before the kingdom of Dublin had been formed, or what we usually consider the period of settlement had begun, a good deal has to be taken into account that is not covered by the theory of perpetual feuds and enmity. A parent would not place out his young child to be brought up during the whole of his or her youth (for the separation from the actual parents was often so complete that the child considered itself the offspring of its fosterers), unless a feeling of confidence and friendship had already been established between the races. No father would desire to have his son nurtured

¹ or Leicester? called "Ligceaster" in the *English Chron.*, 907 A.D.

up in enmity to his own tribe or people, or to become in his later years the cut-throat of his own relations.

I am led by this fact alone, if we had no other, to believe that the Norse races had penetrated into Ireland, and had established a not entirely unfriendly footing there, long before the period at which the Annalistic records notice their advent. It does not appear to me that the space of 50 to 60 years was sufficient, even under favourable conditions, to breed up this race of semi-Normanized Gaels. Yet, if we are to believe the Annals, the attacks during the first 20 or 30 years were merely raids upon isolated portions of the coast, followed during many subsequent years by incursions, always purely destructive and hostile in their purpose, up the rivers and further into the interior. This account does not explain the recognized existence of large bodies of Gall-Gael in the year 850, that is, at the close of this first raiding period. It was not among the ravagers of his home and village, coming once and returning no more, that the Irish father would choose to place out his children; it was among a people more or less settled amongst themselves, and on friendly and familiar terms with his tribe and people, that he would desire to foster his family. We are led thus to conceive of the peaceful and gradual settlement of considerable bodies of Northmen long before and quite independent of the organised coast attacks of the unfriendly invaders.

This intermixture of races led to many results. Its first and obvious consequence was the relapse of the larger number of these fostered children into paganism, or rather their adoption of the religion, habits and beliefs of the pagan families among whom they grew up. This natural and almost inevitable tendency is frequently bewailed by the later Irish historians. About the year 854 we learn that, probably owing to the irresistible desire to join the Norse in their raids on the churches and share their booty, perhaps partly through a belief

that the Norse were gaining power and that the Christians could expect little mercy at their hands—

In this year many forsook their Christian baptism and joined the Lochlanns, and they plundered Armagh and carried away all its riches ; but some of them did penance and came to make satisfaction. (Fragment of Annals, p. 126-7.)

In a later passage the writer is even more loud in his hatred against this relapsed race of Gall-Gael. He says, at year 858 (?):

Though Maelseachlann had not come on this expedition to take this kingdom of Munster for himself, he ought to have come to kill all the Gall-Gael who were killed there, for they were a people who had renounced their baptism, and they were usually called Northmen (Normannach), for they had the customs of the Northmen and had been fostered by them, and though the original Northmen were bad to the churches, these were by far worse, in whatever part of Erin they used to be. (p. 138-9.)

INTERMARRIAGES.—Another of the singular domestic features of the Danish period is the frequency with which Irish women of position were re-married, sometimes without any apparent compunction, to the deadliest foes of their former husbands. Queens and the wives and widows of chiefs were passed on, often to chiefs or kings taking sides opposed to their former husbands, sometimes even from Irish to Norse husbands, with a frequency that is surprising to our ideas. The short lives of many of these princes must have helped to make re-marriage common. The case most familiar is that of the powerful and intriguing Princess Gormliath or Kormlöð, who married successively Maelseachlann II. (called Malachi II.), King of Ireland, his successor King Brian, and Olaf Curan, his Norse foe, father of Sitric, Norse King of Dublin. But it is a curious coincidence that about sixty years before her time, another Queen Gormliath had gone through a very similar succession of experiences. The daughter of one High King of Ireland, Flann Sionna, son of Maelseachlann I., she married in turn a King of Munster, a King of Leinster, and finally Nial

Glundubh, or "Black-knee," another monarch of Ireland.

In spite of all these alliances she was, we learn, in her old age "forsaken by all her friends and allies, and forced to beg her bread from door to door, thankful to be relieved by her inferiors."

There is something very touching about the history of this Gormliath, who was a very different type of woman from her later namesake. She was not at all an ordinary woman, for she was a scholar and a sweet poetess, and her own verses, some of which still remain, show that she suffered bitterly under her ignominious and cruel fate. The "Annals of Clonmacnois" speak of her as a "very fair, learned, and virtuous damozelle," and some of her "learned and pitiful ditties" are found not only in Irish collections, but also in the Scottish collection of Gaelic poetry made in the Western Highlands by the Dean of Lismore in the sixteenth century. Of her first husband, the wise and learned Abbot-King, Cormac MacCuileanan of Cashel, in whom she must have found a spirit congenial to her own, I shall have to speak in another connection, but early in life she was parted from him and wedded to his former foster-brother, but now sworn enemy, the turbulent King Cearbhal (Karval) of Ossory. Political motives may have dictated this step, or possibly the dignity of Abbot-Archbishop of Cashel, which Cormac combined with that of monarch of East Munster, did not admit of his retaining his wife. King Cearbhal, prince of Ossory in Leinster, is the king named in *Landnámabók* as being contemporary in Ireland with King Alfred the Great in England and Harold Fairhair in Norway. There is little doubt that he aspired to the kingship of Tara. He had established some sort of suzerainty over Leinster, of which his own principedom formed a part, and he is called in *Landnámabók* King of Dublin, though we do not find him so styled anywhere in the Irish Annals. It is however probable that he assumed that title in the year 900, when, in one of those magnificent moments of effort which

occur at intervals in the course of this history, he gathered together the forces of Leinster and of Breagh in Meath and attacked the Norse fort of Ath-Cliath with such fury that for the time being he "expelled the Gaill" from their headquarters, driving them completely out of Dublin. In hopeless confusion they attempted to push off in their ships, but the Annals say that, "leaving great numbers of their ships behind them, they escaped half-dead across the sea." They endeavoured to take refuge in the little island of Ireland's Eye, lying off Howth, outside the Bay of Dublin, but they were hemmed in and almost completely cut off. For the time being the Dublin kingdom of the Danes was absolutely wiped out.

When Queen Gormliath returned from Munster she was re-married to this warlike prince. It must have been a strange and delicate position, for much of Cearbhal's short career was spent in war with Munster, and it was in conflict with him that King Cormac, her first husband, met his death. Cearbhall treated his gentle and learned wife with the barbarity that might have been expected in such times from a rough and ambitious soldier of fortune. There was a legend afloat in Ireland, and preserved in the "Annals of Clonmacnois," that he on one occasion so cruelly ill-used her that she was forced to appeal to the noble and princely monarch of Donegal, Murtough of the Leather Cloaks, to come to her assistance.

The story cannot be accepted, as Murtough must have been a mere child at this date, and did not succeed to the princedom of the Northern King Nial in Donegal until many years after the death of Cearbhall, but it shows that the tradition of her sufferings was well known. Another story tells us that when she heard of the death of the learned and pious Cormac MacCuileanan, her former spouse, on the return of her second husband from the battle in which he was slain, she ventured to expostulate with Cearbhall for having allowed his head to be

severed from the body, whereupon Cearbhall, angry at her interference, roughly threw her on the floor in presence of her attendants. She left his court immediately, and fled for refuge to her father; but Flann, so far from avenging his daughter's insult, sent her back to his ally. But the Prince of Ulster, Nial Glundubh, the father of Murtough,¹ heard of the ill-treatment inflicted on Gormliath, and gathering his clans he marched into Leinster and offered her his protection. He secured for her a separation from Cearbhall and royal maintenance in her father's court. A year later Cearbhall was slain. There is some difference in the accounts of his death. Her own lament on his death coincides with the usual record that he fell in battle with the Norse-Irish of Dublin at the hands of one Hulbh or Ulbh, but the "Fragments" give us a circumstantial account of his death by an accident in the town of Kildare. He had been riding one day on a spirited steed up the "street of the stone step" in that city, when his horse was startled by the movements of the machine of a fuller, who was sitting at work inside the door of his shop, and whose instrument was thrust out just as the horse was passing. Rearing violently, the horse threw the prince backwards, and his javelin, which was being held in the hand of his horse-boy, struck him in the back, wounding him mortally. After lingering a year in pain he died and was buried at Naas.²

Then at length, after his death, there came a few years of happiness to the unfortunate Gormliath. She gave ear to the reiterated entreaties of her deliverer, the brave Nial Glundubh, and married him; and on his accession to the throne of Tara a few years later she reigned

¹ There is little doubt that Murtough has been mistaken for his father in the story mentioned above.

² Three princes of Ossory of the name of Cearbhall succeeded each other between the years 853-902, and it is difficult to keep their stories distinct. All were engaged in wars with Munster and with or against the Norse.

with him in prosperity and splendour. But her happiness was brief. After three years' reign he was slain in the great battle with the Norse at Kilmashog, near Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin, and then it was that the sad queen fell again from her high estate and was forced to beg her bread from door to door. Surely someone might have pitied that thrice-widowed queen and given her shelter and food! There is unnecessary bitterness in the entry of the Four Masters under 946 A.D.: "Gormliath, daughter of Flann, son of Maelseachlann, queen of Nial Glundubh, died after intense penance in her sins and transgressions." More touching than any other event in her sad history is the story of her death. One night as she lay upon a rude unqueenly bed, she dreamed of other days, and thought she saw her husband, King Nial, come into the room where she had taken refuge. Eagerly she lifted herself up upon her bed to greet him, but thought he turned away in anger from her, and made as though he would go. In her anxiety to catch his mantle, and keep him with her, she stretched out her arms and gave a snatch at him, and in so doing she fell upon one of the sharp bed-posts of the humble couch on which she lay, which pierced "into her very heart, which received no cure until she died thereof." The story is as pitiful as her own sad ditties!

Her poems are laments upon the deaths of Nial and of her only son by him, Prince Donell, who was drowned. Many of them were written during the lingering illness that ensued upon her "long and grievous wound," and which ended in her death.

One out of three poems on the death of Nial Glundubh ascribed to Gormliath, and preserved in the Dean of Lismore's book, reads as follows:—

GORMLIATH'S LAMENT FOR NIAL BLACK-KNEE.

Move, O Monk, thy foot away!
Lift it from the grave of Nial!
All too high thou heap'st the pile;
All too deep thou diggest the clay.

Brown-haired Monk, most gentle friend,
Press not with thy foot the soil
Nial to cover, heavy toil,
Of thy labours make an end.

Mournful Priest, thy prayers delay !
Close not yet the prince's tomb !
Make an opening, for I come ;
Move, O Monk, thy foot away !

Not my will that brought thee bound,
Black-kneed Nial, with heart of gold !
When my arms his form enfold,
Raise his stone, and smooth his mound !

Gormliath I, a Queen commands,
Daughter of King Flann the brave ;
Press not then upon his grave ;
Move, O Monk, thy foot away !

These intermarriages were sometimes so extraordinary and perplexing that it is almost impossible to make them out, and the rapidity with which we pass from one generation to another in an age when few men of position lived out half their natural life increases our perplexity. Such strange, and in many cases only temporary political marriages, in which the inclination of the ladies does not seem to have been consulted at all, must have led to endless complications and confusions among the members of the same family. A scarcely less curious instance of this is found in the history of Lann, the sister of an earlier Cearbhall of Ossory, an active and intriguing woman, who was married, first, to a King of Leix Gaithen, by whom she had a son named Kennedy, who plays an active part in the affairs of this epoch, and is said to have been "the fiercest and most victorious man against the foreigners in Erin in his day"; secondly, to Mael-seachlann I., King of Tara, by whom she had her son Flann Sionna, father of Gormliath; on his death (in 876) she was handed over along with the sovereignty of Tara, to his successor and lifelong enemy, Aedh Finnliath, a prince who succeeded peacefully to the throne on the decease of Maelseachlann.

It seems to have been at her instigation that a battle was fought near Drogheda¹ between Aedh Finnliath, monarch of Ireland, and his own nephew Flann, chief of a tribe in Meath, a prince who had aided his uncle to attain the kingdom, and in every way deserved better treatment at his hands. Flann was slain, and after the battle his head was brought to his uncle, who, though he had compassed his death, now so bitterly bewailed the fruits of his ingratitude that his courtiers had to expostulate with him for letting his family regret and affection for Flann outweigh his satisfaction on the death of his enemy. One of the eleven poems preserved by the "Four Masters" about this battle is written by the mother of Flann, who was also the sister of Aedh. It expresses pathetically the mixed sorrow and joy that must in those days often have contended in the hearts of the women when, as here, the triumph of one relation meant the loss of another.

Good news! Bad news! Gladness! Sadness! Lo, a battle-field
triumphant!

We applaud a King made joyous, but we wail a King defeated.
Mighty hosts of Meath have fallen, fallen by the Sprites of Slaini;
Glad the reign of Aedh the mighty, sad the loss of Flann the vanquished!

The same idea appears again in another snatch of song preserved about the same battle:

"The Fire! the Fire! that ran o'er the plain through the brave son
of Conang.

Oh King and Protector! I pray thee to strengthen the mother who
bore him!"

CLERICAL TROOPS.—Turning from these personal and family arrangements, I would like to draw your attention to the regular part taken at this time in warfare by the clergy. In nearly all the battles of the period of which details are given we find the names of clerics, and frequently of bishops and abbots, among the lists of the slain.

¹ The Battle of Cill-na-n-Dairghri (Killineer?) near Drogheda, (866, Four Masters).

The combination of functions was common at certain periods in other countries of Europe, especially in France, where the clergy took part in warfare up to the ninth century; ¹ in Ireland it seems to have been the regular custom for bodies of clerical or monastic troops to march into the field. In earlier days the members of different monastic establishments are frequently found at war against each other; in the time of the Danes they turned their arms against the common foe. Nor was this extraordinary, considering that during the earlier period of Norse incursion the chief attacks of the Northmen were directed against the monasteries. They were, in fact, the only points of attack. Villages were few and far between, and their destruction had little to offer by way of bait to the invader. Walled towns there were none, and the monastic establishments, with their large bodies of men congregated in one place, and with certain treasures in the way of vessels and vestments to be obtained, offered more of a temptation than the huts of the populace.

In connection with the subject of fighting-monks, arises the question of the destruction of monasteries by the Norsemen. So much attention has been fixed upon the depredations committed on the monasteries by the Norse, that I wish to state my own views on this subject in some little detail. That the monasteries formed a usual object of attack is not to be denied. They were, as we said, the chief points of attack in a country which had few, if any, towns in the interior, and they were so spread over the country that wherever the Northman pushed his way up the rivers he must necessarily have met with these settlements. I call them "settlements" advisedly, for the rapidity with which they were rebuilt, after being burned to the ground, sometimes three times in a single year, shows that they had not far advanced beyond their original condition of groups of little

¹ In 803 the chiefs of the army solicited Charlemagne to prevent abbots, bishops, and clergy from fighting.

separate huts in the midst of the agricultural and pasture lands which the monks tended, and in the midst of which arose the simple, tiny churches or oratories for prayer. The chief's fort or the humble monastery, each surrounded probably by a peasant village, was the choice which lay before the Northern raiders.

It is as unnecessary as it is absurd to point to the devastations of Charlemagne in North Germany and Saxony, made in the name of Christianity, as an explanation of the Norseman's animosity shown against religion in Ireland. Even if a few survivors of Charlemagne's ruthless zeal in the cause of religion may have reached our shores, to ascribe to their memories of a black past on the Continent the systematic attacks on the monasteries in Ireland is, though it is gravely stated by nearly every historian, ludicrously to overstretch the bounds of probability. The attacks arose out of the natural conditions of the country, combined with the equally natural contempt and repugnance felt by the pagan for a form of religion not his own, and which expressed itself outwardly in forms that, to the proud and rough Viking, must necessarily have seemed mean and contemptible.

It is only fair, too, that Irishmen should remember, what they seem entirely to have overlooked, that the burning and destruction of monasteries did not originate with the Norse; it was a system in which the Irish themselves had set the pagan all too prolific an example. We can hardly turn over any page of the Annals during the eighth century, that is, before the first arrivals of raiding Norse, without finding entries of raids made by chiefs and tribesmen upon monasteries, or of raids made by one monastery upon the other. The burning of churches and destruction of "termon" or church lands was in full swing before ever a pagan Viking adopted the sacrilegious system from the example of the Christian Gael.

The Four Masters are usually too good churchmen to admit into their pages events so disgraceful to their

country and to religion, but the Annals of Ulster are honest enough to record numerous instances of monastic feuds, and of the burning and raiding of monasteries by the Gael. It is abundantly evident from these entries that the Norsemen, so far from inaugurating a new system of things in attacking the monastic settlements, were only following an established system long recognised in Ireland. Let us take a few of the entries in the Annals of Ulster during the last half-century before the coming of the Norsemen to Ireland.

In 743 A.D. we read of "The killing (*i.e.*, by violence) of the abbot-bishop of Saighir (Seirkieran, King's Co) and of the abbot of Lessan, in the same county." In 745 we hear of the "profanation of Domnach-Patraic (Donough-Patrick, Co. Meath) and six prisoners tortured." In 749 of the burning of Fobhar (Fore, Co. Westmeath), and of Domnach Patraic. In 754 of the burning of Cluain-mic-nois (Clonmacnois); in the next year of that of Bangor Mor, on the festival of St. Patrick; in the next, of the burning of Cill-mor-dithraibh (Kilmore, Co. Roscommon). In the same year a battle was fought among the Munstermen at Cenn-Febrat, in which the superior of Mungairt, Co. Limerick, was slain. In 759 we read of a conflict between the "families" (*i.e.*, the monastic establishments) of Clonmacnois and Birr; in 763 of a severe battle between the families of Clonmacnois and of Durrow, in which fell 200 monks of the family of Durrow; in 774 there was a conflict between the King of Ireland, Donnchad, and the family of Clonard, and in the year following a destructive battle was fought between the O'Neills and the Munstermen, in which the family of Durrow, which seems to have been a particularly belligerent foundation, took part.

The burning of monasteries went on in a lively fashion all this time. Armagh, Kildare, and Glendalough were all burned in 774. Clonmacnois was burned in 777, Kildare in 778, Armagh and Mayo in 782, Derry in 787, Clonard and Clonfert in 788, beside a number of lesser

foundations destroyed during the same period. We read, too, of a priest killing a bishop in the oratory of Kildare; of a quarrel in Armagh, which led to a man being killed in the oratory; and of a battle between an abbot of Ferns and the steward, which show a disordered and irregular condition of things in the church of the eighth century. It was in the year 803 (Ann. Uls.) that the clergy of Ireland were for the first time set free from the legal obligation of attending warlike expeditions and hostings, but it would seem to have been a privilege little valued by them, for feuds and battles seem to have been as common afterwards as before. Only three years after this exemption we read of a severe battle between the families of Cork and Clonfert, "among whom there was a countless slaughter of ecclesiastical men, and of the noblest of the family of Cork"; while in 816 the King of South Leinster united with the family of Taghmon against the family of Ferns, and four hundred persons were slain in the battle. Probably the clergy took advantage of the legal exemption to withdraw gradually from the tribal feuds in which they had formerly been obliged to take part, and confined themselves to matters belonging to their monasteries and termon-lands; but it was only very slowly that the old tradition of arms died out among them, and while they were subject to constant raids and destruction by the chiefs or clans, it is difficult to see how they could have withdrawn from warfare. They do not, however, seem to have made an effective resistance to the Norsemen's attacks on their possessions.

The history of King Cormac MacCuileanan (reigned 896-903) and his restless and turbulent counsellor, Flaherty (Flaithbhertach), Abbot of Scattery Island in the Shannon (Inis-Cathaigh), throws much light upon these matters. King Cormac occupied a peculiar position, for he was not only King of Cashel, the royal seat of the Kings of East Munster, but also Abbot-Archbishop of Cashel. This combination of the royal and ecclesiastical functions seems to have been peculiar to the south

of Ireland. The offices were united in Cashel not only in the person of Cormac, but in that of his successor, Flaherty, who came to the throne in 908 (910 Ann. Clon.), and who died in 944; while, soon after, another Cormac MacCuileanan, who must have been a brother to the King of Cashel (d. 918), combined the office of King of the Decies with that of Bishop of Lismore. The union of the secular and clerical dignities seems thus to have been a feature of the Munster dynasties.

Cormac was happier in the pursuit of his ecclesiastical duties than as King of Cashel. He was of gentle and unwarlike disposition, and as the writer of the Annals, in lamenting his death, says (Ann. Four Masters 903): "his loss was mournful, for he was a king, a bishop, an anchorite and scribe, and profoundly learned in the Scotie (Irish) tongue."

He was indeed a scholar of great distinction; he was the author of a remarkable glossary of old Irish words, with explanations, which comes down to us under his name, and which is invaluable, not only for its preservation of old words which might otherwise have been lost or misunderstood, but for the scraps of curious antiquarian and mythological information that it contains, many of which are not, so far as is known, to be found elsewhere. It throws a great deal of light, for instance, on the early mythology of Ireland, in explaining the names of the ancient deities and their functions. When he came to the throne he carried his peaceful avocations into the affairs of the kingdom, for he revised the laws and the ancient lists of tributes and customs of Ireland, besides adding other national records which were committed to a great compilation, not now existing in its entirety, known as the Psalter or Saltair of Cashel. One portion of it, which has fortunately been preserved, is known as the Book of Rights, and in it are entered in verse and prose the tributes of the provinces to their provincial kings and to the High King of Erin. Its preservation of the tributes given by the Norsemen to

the Irish kings is particularly interesting to us, as it shows that at some period of their sojourn in the country they, like the Irish, owned fealty and paid taxes to the native kings.

It was an unfortunate fate that called the Abbot from his useful and patriotic work to the troubles of the throne, and a more unfortunate circumstance still which gave him as chief counsellor and friend the warlike Abbot of Scattery, who forced the quiet student into struggles from which, had he followed his own wishes, he would have kept free. We can easily imagine the supremacy that a vigorous, practical, intriguing mind like that of Flaherty would acquire over the saintly and rather timid mind of Cormac. The King had not the strength to resist the evil influence that brought his reign to a too early conclusion. The author of the "Fragment" has no good word to spare for Flaherty. He tells us that when he returned to Kildare monastery after the battle of Ballymoon even the clergy of Leinster gave him great abuse, for they knew that he alone had invited the expedition and battle, and that Cormac came against his own will, and he quotes the saying of a cowardly prince who fled out of the fight very soon after the beginning of the battle, exclaiming:

"Nobles of Munster, fly speedily from this horrible battle, and leave it to the clergy themselves, who could not be quiet without fighting."

It seems quite true that Cormac shrank from warfare, and was forced into active strife against his inclinations; for before the actual battle began, and when the hosts on both sides were drawn up in array, Cormac was rejoiced by the coming of ambassadors from Céarbhall and the men of Leinster offering honourable terms of peace. Gladly would the King have accepted the offered truce, but when he went to report it to his counsellor, Flaherty was greatly horrified, and said: "This shows the littleness of thy mind, and the feebleness of thy nature, because thou art of plebeian birth," so taunting

and insulting the gentle King that he was forced to declare war, although he was convinced that it would be a battle fatal to himself and to his country.

The army of Munster marched across Slievemarague in the south-east of Queen's Co., to Leithglinn Bridge, where the baggage was deposited under the charge of a detachment of militant clergy, under the leadership of the Abbot of Emly (Ailbhe), with their retainers and horses. The rest of the army moved forward to Moy Emly, a wide plain in the south of Kildare, where they took up a position with their back to a wood. They were, however, dispirited, not only by their general disinclination to a fight which did not appeal to them, and by the omens that had preceded it, but by the news that Flann, King of Ireland, had reached the camp of the Leinstermen with large reinforcements, making the forces of the enemy three or four times the number of those of Munster. Multitudes of the Munstermen, on learning this unwelcome news, slipped quietly away from their comrades and returned home. The main body of the troops advanced unsteadily, and the sudden defection of two of their leaders, who turned and fled, leading their people after them, resulted in a rapid and complete rout of the host. Cormac himself, turning to follow, was twice thrown from his horse, which slipped on the bloody sod, and the second time the horse seems to have fallen on him, for his neck and back were broken. Exclaiming "In manu tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum," he gave up his spirit; and it is added in the "Fragment": "The impious sons of malediction came and thrust darts through his body and cut off his head."

In the terrible rout which followed clergy and laity were killed indiscriminately, and among the list of clerics who fell was the Abbot of Kinetty in Kings County. Among the laymen fell Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, King of Ossory, and Cormac, King of the Deisi.

We cannot here pursue the subject further. The inter-marriages, the system of foreign fosterage, the warfare

of the clergy, the combination of civil and ecclesiastical offices in one person, are only some of the many curious features of the social life of Ireland during the Norse period. The fortunate survival of some little-known but detailed historical fragments enables us to a large extent to realize the conditions of life at this time, as we could not have realized them had our knowledge been derived exclusively from the larger chronicles, with their brief and often dry entries of events. Such details as those we have here gleaned out of many similar narratives present us with pictures of the ordinary life of the day, which, when combined with those which we derive from other sources, artistic, literary, and ecclesiastical, bring before the mind a very clear conception of the manners and ways of life of a remote period, interesting alike from its Norse and from its Gaelic side.

VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITOR.

THE present number of the SAGA-BOOK will complete Vol. V. The Title-Page, Table of Contents and Index will be issued with the next number.

PROFESSOR T. N. Toller has at last brought out the first part of the Supplement to his *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* based upon the work of the late Dr. J. Bosworth.

THE Right Hon. Lord Strathcona, K.C.M.G., has presented to the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland a collection of rare brooches and other ornaments from a Viking burial place in Oronsay.

MR. W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., contributed a paper to *The Antiquary* for May, 1907, on "Some Antiquities of Tiree," with illustrations, in which he described some of the brochs and ancient chapels found in the island.

MR. Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A., Scot., in a paper on the Goads of Furness recently read at the Technical School, Barrow, pointed to the place-name Goadsbarrow, near Roosebeck, as suggesting that the surname was Norse and derived from O. N. "goði." The family name dates back to at least 1292.

MISS Bray's translation of the "Edda," which has been unavoidably delayed, is now nearly printed, and will be ready shortly. Intending purchasers, who have not yet subscribed, will greatly assist the Council by sending in their orders at once. A prospectus and order form will be found at the end of this number.

THE December number of *The Antiquary* records the repair by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland of the ruins at Clonmacnois. It was in the principal church at Clonmacnois that the Danish chief Turgesius is said to have enthroned his wife in 845 upon the high altar, whence she delivered oracles to the people.

DR. H. J. Dukinfield Astley has edited "Memorials of Old Norfolk," contributing to it among other articles the general Historical Sketch, in which he brings into prominence the position of the county lying exposed to the attacks of the Anglo-Saxon and later Danish invaders, also an article on Castleacre with its Anglian "burh."

WORK has been proceeding in the nave of Hexham Abbey, which has disclosed, according to *The Antiquary* for May, 1907, the finest known

example of a hog-backed stone grave-cover. It is ascribed to about the year 800 A.D. *The Globe* of April 1st, 1908, also records the find of part of the walls of the original nave of St. Wilfrid's Cathedral, built in the year 674.

AN article on Captain Roald Amundsen's discovery of the North-west Passage in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, for April, 1908, points out how the explorer was only following in the footsteps of the early Norsemen, who were constantly pushing in the same direction, discovering first Iceland, then Greenland, then the mainland of North America, and penetrating through Davis Straits into Baffin's Bay, and perhaps even yet further north.

MR. P. M. C. Kermode read a paper before the Isle of Man Anti-quarian Society in December, 1906, on a cross found in Maughold Churchyard, inscribed with runes of Anglian type. He considered this as proof of the existence of an Anglian population in the district, and dated the runes between the 7th and 9th centuries. The subject is further discussed by Mr. W. G. Collingwood in his review of Mr. Kermode's "Manx Crosses," on pp. 406-9.

ATTENTION has been drawn in previous SAGA-BOOKS to Mr. Harper Gaythorpe's researches into the evidence afforded by place-names, &c., of Scandinavian settlement on the Furness coast.¹ Bearing on the same question, a paper by Mr. W. B. Kendall appears in Vol. XVIII. of the *Annual Reports of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club*, in which he deals with the "Waste of Coast Line, Furness and Walney, in 1,000 years," and illustrates it by a map of Barrow Harbour in the Viking Age, A.D. 900.

AMONG articles of interest in *The Antiquary* we note one by V. B. Crowther Beynon, F.S.A., in the number for February, 1907, on Rutland Antiquities. This refers specially to finds in the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at North Luffenham. Among the finds described and illustrated in the paper are a very fine bucket, a shield-boss and various fibulae of typical Mercian forms. In the July and August numbers of the same periodical Charles Dawson, F.S.A., writes on the Bayeux tapestry and its various "restorations." This article also is well illustrated.

"THE Lineage Library, British Series, vol. 1, Orkney," by Roland St. Clair, Hon. Vice-President, author of "The Saint-Clairs of the Isles," is announced for issue to subscribers at the end of the present year. Besides dealing with the leading Orcadian families, the book will give an account of the Kings and Rulers of Norway, who were Suzerains of Orkney, and with the Orkney Earls, and will bring into relief the intimate relations that formerly existed between Norway and the British Isles. The genealogical portion of the book will be treated on new and better methods than those usually employed in such works.

¹SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., p. 469; Vol. IV., p. 240.

MR. Axel Olrik in his recently published "Nordisk Aandsliv i Vikingetid og tidlig Middelalder," draws a sharp line between the Anglo-Saxons and the Low-German nationalities. He says that before the Folk-Wandering Age the Jutes stood in close linguistic relationship to the Anglo-Saxon-Frisian group of languages, and his view is that after that period Holstein and the neighbouring lands on the Baltic lay for a time almost empty. At a subsequent date they were repeopled, together with Hanover, by Low-Germans and Slavs from the south and east, so that the "Saxons" of the Middle Ages are not "Anglo-Saxon, English," but a Low-German folk.

A NEW and valuable feature will be found in the present number of the SAGA-BOOK in the shape of reports from two of our Hon. Corresponding Members. Mr. H. St. George Gray's wide knowledge of the antiquities and antiquarian records of the country has enabled him to collate information on the subject of "Danes' Skins," which, we think, conclusively proves that there is a substantial basis for the legends of Danes having been flayed and their skins affixed to church doors to be found in various parts of the country. We are also greatly indebted to Mr. Magnus Olsen for his treatise on the newly-discovered Runic inscription at Stenness, on whose value we need not enlarge.

MR. H. St. George Gray informs us that in the Norris Collection in Taunton Castle Museum is a circular "sticking-stone," diam. 22 ins., composed of blue-black bottle glass; used at South Petherton for smoothing the surface of dowlas whilst in the loom. Dowlas-weaving was a South Petherton industry in the Eighteenth Century. Mr. Gray remarks that these smoothers, although not common, may be seen in various Museums, such as the Guildhall and Horniman's, London, and in the National Museum at Edinburgh, while amongst those in the latter collection it is interesting to find a similar glass smoother, which was discovered with a Viking interment at Ballinaby, Islay.

To the localities where Ship-Burials have been found, which are recorded in Dr. Schetelig's papers on Ship-Burials in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV., Part II. (p. 360), and Vol. V., Part I., pp. 172—174, we can add England and France. For the latter see the record on the next page of a discovery made last year in Brittany. The English example was found at Snape, in Suffolk, as long ago as 1862, and is described in *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd Series, Vol. II., p. 177, and in G. H. Boehmer's "Prehistoric Naval Architecture of the North of Europe," Smithsonian Institute, Washington, 1893. In this case the body had been buried in a boat 48 feet in length, 9 feet 9 inches beam and 4 feet deep. It is particularly interesting, as the grave-goods found with it seem to be Anglo-Saxon rather than Scandinavian. We understand that this find will be further dealt with by Mr. Reginald Smith in the Suffolk volume of *The Victoria County Histories*.

MR. W. R. Prior informs us that a few months ago a prehistoric boat was found in Broksó Bog, near Haslev, Zealand, some four feet under the present surface, almost at the bottom of the former lake at the place. The boat has now been closely examined by the Authorities at the National Museum, whither it has been transferred. It is a canoe, about one yard in width, one foot deep and six yards long, hollowed out of an oak trunk. The peculiarity of this canoe consists in the bow being pointed, but the stern being cut off right across the boat. The stern piece itself is missing, but close by in the bottom of the canoe are found some round holes. According to archæological opinion the stern was formed by a piece of hide, fastened at the sides and bottom with thongs, passed through these holes. The boat seems therefore to be partly a coracle, or kajak, partly a canoe. It seems to have been made for two persons using short paddles, and to have been intended for fishing in the lake. A stake was found close by, to which the boat possibly used to be fastened.

AN important ship-burial, the first which has been discovered in France, was found and examined last year in the Ile de Groix, Department of Morbihan, by M M. Paul du Châtellier, President of the "Société Archéologique du Finistère," and Louis le Pontois, Frigate Captain in the French Navy. The mound in which the burial was made was so close to the sea that it had been partly destroyed by high tides, but the grave goods found were both rich and numerous. They had however suffered from fire, as the ship and remains had been burnt before burial. In its general character and the nature of the finds this grave closely resembles the great ship-burial by cremation at Myklebostad in Nordfjord, described by Dr. Schetelig in his paper on "Ship-Burials," in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV., Part II., pp. 343-4, and there can be no doubt that it contained the remains of a distinguished Norwegian Viking chief, who had fallen or died while raiding on the coast of Brittany, if indeed it is not a relic of settlement. We are indebted to the courtesy of Captain le Pontois for the foregoing details, and hope to be able to give in a future number of the SAGA-BOOK a fuller account of this valuable find.

THE Rev. C. W. Whistler sends us the following instance of persistence of Viking tradition on the south coast :—

Twenty years ago, the extreme insult which could be offered to a Hastings fisherman was, and probably still is, to call him a 'Choppy.' The men themselves applied the term to their rivals of Folkestone, whom they despised altogether. The name in extreme cases of intended insult was amplified to "chop-back" and its use was considered as full justification for assault. That the term to the users had a definite meaning is evident from the action of a semi-piratical crew from Hastings, in the year 1768.¹ They had boarded a Dutch hoy, named the "Seven Sisters" off Beachy Head, and had chopped the master down the back with an axe. The men betrayed themselves by boasting of the deed, and four of them were hung after the

¹ Sussex Arch. Collections, Vol. X. p. 89.

next Assizes. From information which I gathered in Hastings I have reason to believe that the atrocity was not unprovoked, but was in revenge for some treachery toward the smuggling fraternity on the part of the Dutchman. My fisherman informant told me that the man was held on the gunwale and so executed. Practically this is the ancient "carving of the Blood Eagle,"¹ and could hardly have been invented on the spur of the moment, but must have been traditional. It is possible of course that this was but one of a series of such retributive executions reaching back to the Viking period, but the only case recorded or even brought to public notice.

IN *The Reliquary* for January, 1908, there is an account, with illustration, by Dr. G. A. Auden of a pre-Conquest wheel-headed cross, which now stands in the churchyard at Rolleston, Staffordshire. For many years this cross formed part of the floor of the church porch at Tatenhill, near Burton-on-Trent. Most of the ornamentation has disappeared in consequence of this treatment, but the outer circumference of the lower arm on each side is decorated with a single cord interlacement forming two Staffordshire knots, united by their free ends. This gives place further on to a chevron ornament, which, however, can only be traced for a short distance. Traces of an interlacement forming a triquetra can be distinguished on the front of the left limb, and the outlines of a rectangular panel on the front of the shaft. A plait-work design, enclosed in a panel, can also be made out on the left side. Dr. Auden says that the wheel-head is of an unusual type, and he thinks it is a development of Mercian rather than of Northumbrian art. From the finished workmanship of the cross, he suggests the latter part of the tenth century as a possible date for its erection, following also Mr. Collingwood's view that these wheel-headed crosses are later than the Danish Conquest. He quotes a tradition that a cross formerly stood not far from the confines of Needwood Forest at Horninglow Cross, near the boundary of Tatenhill, but there is no evidence as to whether this may have been the cross he describes.

WE have received from Mr. William Brown, F.S.A., the following report of the occurrence at a very late date of the personal name Weland :—

One of the most striking phenomena in the history of personal names in England is the rapid disappearance of names in vogue before the Conquest, whether English or Norse, and their supersession by names favoured by the Norman invaders such as Robert, William, Thomas, Nicholas, etc., so that by the middle of the thirteenth century the occurrence of a pre-Conquest personal name is worth indexing as a curiosity. A striking exception to this rule is found in a document, belonging to Colonel Gascoigne, of Parlington Hall, near Leeds. The deed is undated, but was probably executed sometime not long after 1250. It is a grant by Thomas de la Cressoner to Sir Robert de Multon, Chaplain, of land at Great Stodeley, now called Studley Royal, a few miles to the S.W. of Ripon, and the seat of the Marquess of Ripon, K.G. The document itself, except for the names of the two last witnesses, calls for

¹Cf. death of Halfdan High-leg, *Heimskringla*, c. xxi.

no special comment here. The witnesses in question are "William the Smith, and *Weland*, his son." The occurrence of the name *Weland* at such a late date is very remarkable. It shows that the legend about Wayland Smith was still current in the Ripon district, and that William the Smith had enough faith in his having been a real person to impose his name on his child. It is somewhat difficult to understand how the priest, who baptized *Weland*, allowed his father to give him such a heathenish name.

VÖLUNDR, *Weland* or *Wayland* are extremely rare as personal names, but there is evidence, both from literature and sculptured monuments, to show that the *Wayland* legends were well-known and retained their popularity at a late date. Professor Gollancz, in his paper on "Gringoleet, Gawain's Horse," in Part I. of the present volume of the *SAGA-BOOK*, pp. 104-109, gave us further evidence on the subject. The documentary evidence which Mr. Brown has discovered shows in a striking manner how well-known and popular these legends were among the people.

IN the publications of the Royal Norwegian Scientific Society, No. 8 of 1907, Mr. Th. Petersen gives an account of "A Celtic Reliquary found in a Norwegian Burial-Mound." This valuable discovery was made in the autumn of 1906 in a large grave-mound at Melhus in Namdalen, some eighty or ninety miles N. of Trondhjem, from which various finds had previously come to the Museum as the result of local exploration. The reliquary is in the shape of a small house with a high-ridged roof, and is made out of two solid pieces of yew-wood. The walls and roof were originally covered with thin unornamented plates of bronze. These are comparatively well preserved on the front, and show three circular medallions with raised borders. The only remaining one of the plaques which formerly filled these spaces is of silver, and decorated with chased Celtic spiral or trumpet designs. Mr. Petersen is only aware of four others reliquaries of the same type as this. Of these one is preserved at Monymusk House, Aberdeenshire; another was found in 1891 in Lough Erne, and is now in a private collection; another was found in the Shannon, and is now in the Museum at Edinburgh; the fourth is now in the National Museum at Copenhagen, but was brought thither from Norway, its previous history being unknown. Last year Mr. Petersen was able to make an examination of the mound at Melhus, on behalf of the Museum of the Royal Norwegian Scientific Society at Trondhjem, and found that it had contained a boat-grave. From the nails which remained in place he judged the boat, which had been buried, not burned, might have been some 28 feet long, while from the relics found at different times it was evident that both a man and a woman had been buried there. The burial belongs probably to the early part of the ninth century, and is valuable, among other reasons, as evidence that the inhabitants of this part of Norway took part in the early raids of the Vikings on Ireland or the West Coast of Scotland.

MR. PERCY MAYLAM (Canterbury), kindly sends us the following further note about the Hoodening Horse :—

In the last number of the SAGA-BOOK (Vol. V., p. 182) there is a reference to the hoodening horse custom, which is still practised in Thanet and other parts of East Kent, the horse being taken round by a party of men on Christmas Eve. It consists of a horse's head (*not* the head of a real horse, but rudely carved of wood) fixed to the end of a staff about 4 feet long. To the head is affixed a cloth, under which a man conceals himself, thus making a crude resemblance to a horse. The lower jaw works on a hinge, and by means of a string can be made to open and shut, making a loud snapping noise. There are three or four men more or less "grotesquely attired," who play on primitive musical instruments, such as the triangle, tambourine, or concertina, and there is a man dressed up in woman's clothes, known as "Mollie." I note that the Rev. C. W. Whistler refers the custom to the "survival of some Odinic Yuletide solemnity." The arguments leading to this conclusion would be of interest, and also the ground for deriving the name of the custom from either Woden or Odin. As regards Odin, this is the Norse form of the name of the god, and substantial reasons should be given for attributing a Norse extraction to a word used by the Kentish peasantry, who are clearly Low-German both in language and race. As regards the attempted derivation from Woden, we see from Grimm's Teutonic Mythology the forms into which the name has developed in Low-German languages (see Stallybrass' Translation, Vol. I. p. 158). The argument founded on the tendency to pronounce "w" as "h" does not apply, for (1) the Kentish Peasant does not elide the initial "w" in words, and (2) he does not aspirate the "h" at all. Dr. Ditchfield, who calls the man who carries the horse's head the "hoodman," is evidently thinking of "hoodman blind." This man is actually called the "hoodener." This custom does not apply "only in Jutish Kent"; there are many examples of customs of a similar nature in England, *e.g.*, the Padstow hobby horse in Cornwall, the Abbots Bromley hobby horse in Staffordshire, the custom of "souling" in Cheshire, and the Welsh custom of Mari Llwyd, referred to in the SAGA-BOOK. In the two last-named customs a real horse's head, or rather skull, is used. Nor is the custom confined to England; in North Germany the custom is known as Schimmelreiten.¹ In the Island of Usedom a wooden goat's head is used (Klapperbock). For several years I have been getting together information on the subject of the Kent Hoodening horse, and I am about to publish a small book with photographs of various parties of hoodeners; before doing so I am anxious to know if any similar custom is extant in Denmark, Sweden or Norway, or if there is any tradition of the kind. If any Scandinavian member of the Club can supply me with information on this point I should be very grateful.

We had occasion in connection with the forthcoming translation of the Elder Edda to consult Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, on the interpretation of a passage in Hávamál. His reply, which was too long for use in a note, is so full of interest that we think it should be recorded in the SAGA-BOOK. Mr. Magnússon writes :—

Upp lita skalattu i orrosto :
—gialti glikir verða gumna synir—
síðr þitt of heilli halir.

¹ See Kuhn & Schwartz, Norddeutsche Sagen Märchen und Gebräuche, 1848, p. 402, and also more modern books on German folk-lore.

Read : Íorrosto skalattu lita upp—synir gumna verða glikir gialti—siðr halir of heilli þitt (vit). In battle shalt thou not look up—sons of men become like "gialti"—lest men bewitch thy wits (sense).

The "gialti" is meant here and in the many other places where it occurs in the literature, to be a dative of "göltr," a boar. This is a complete misunderstanding by the old men. The word is a corruption of the Irish, "geilt," mad, wild.¹ In the description of the battle of Magrath, it is stated how young prince Suibne, hearing the clash of weapons and the terrific roar of the serried legions of the Danes, was so taken with terror as to jump up into the air and perch on helmets and shields, then like a bird taking to the branches of the trees, ultimately growing feathers all over his body and turning into a flying thing, a bird of some sort. The author of the "Speculum Regale" has had access to some rendering of the Irish story, for he states that young men in Ireland are apt to "verða at gelti" from the terrific roar that war-cries and weapon-clash in battle will cause. If young men generally pay too much heed to this (lita upp) they are apt to be turned into "gialti"—become mad—have their wits, sense, bewitched. The author in *Hávamál* has the Suibne story in his mind. Therefore he advises: don't look up (before thee) in battle . . . lest the roar of opposed enemies (halir) bewitch thee. When he has said: don't look up (gaze abroad) in battle, he recollects that his advice arises from young prince Suibne's experience, and to justify the strange advice he brings in two intercalary and supernumerary lines centring round "gialti," in order that readers, at any rate those conversant with the "geilt" or "Suibne geilt" tradition, might guess what he was driving at. I am speaking of the author of the present form of this *visa*; he is not, I take it, the original author of this part of *Hávamál*; he is merely a later copyist, who wants to ease the reader's understanding by explaining, after a fashion, what was in the first author's mind. Hence his interpolation of "gialti glikir verða synir gumna." These two lines do not really belong to the stanza, the last three lines of which, properly speaking, are:

Upp lita
Skalattu i orrosto
Siðr þitt of heilli halir.

The whole verse, preserving in their place the interpolated lines, might be translated somewhat after this fashion:

Gaze not abroad
When battle rages—
For sons of men
Are seized with madness—
Lest warriors charm thy wits.

DEATH-ROLL.

WE regret to have to record a longer list of deaths than usual, including two Past Presidents, one Past Hon. President, and the first Editor of the Club.

PROFESSOR SOPHUS BUGGE.

Born January 5th, 1833; died July 8th, 1907. Professor Bugge was elected Hon. President of the Viking Club in 1895. On his

¹ Cf. Kuno Meyer, *FOLK-LORE* V. p 299, sqq.

resignation of the post in 1899, he was appointed an Hon. Vice-President, and was elected an Hon. Life Member in 1903. For the following account, by one who knew him long and intimately, we have to thank Mr. Magnus Olsen, Hon. Corresponding Member.

To give a complete account of Sophus Bugge's scientific labours would amount to writing many important chapters of the history of Northern Philology in the last fifty years. He has laboured over almost the whole of this domain and has enriched our knowledge with many definite results, but perhaps the greatest importance of his work has been in the impulse he has given in all directions, where he has raised questions, to answer which will need the work of long years to come.

First and foremost among Professor Bugge's many important works in the sphere of Northern philology must be named his edition of the Elder Edda (*Christiania*, 1867), the true *editio princeps*—which laid sure foundations for the comprehension of the old Norse lays of gods and heroes—and his interpretations of the Northern Runic inscriptions from the Older Iron Age (1867-8), with which he opened up for us the history of the oldest speech of the North over a period of 500 years. Soon afterwards he was able, after making an important metrical discovery in 1876, to give positive proof that no Edda lay is older than the ninth century. But not merely the metre and form of speech of the Edda-lays, but according to Sophus Bugge their substance also must be referred to that period of ferment, the Viking Age, the first great springtide of the North, when the native culture was fertilized by the Christian spiritual life of the Western lands. In the eighties Professor Bugge published his epoch-making “Studier over de nordiske Gude-og Heltesagns Oprindelse” (Studies of the Origin of the Norse Legends of Gods and Heroes), in which he maintained with amazing learning and acumen, but not without partiality, that the material of the Edda poems was to a substantial degree of foreign, Græco-Roman, or Jewish-Christian origin. According to his view, the old Northlanders had interpreted the foreign, legendary and mythic material in the light of their own rich fancy, and their poetical, creative craft had shaped these poems, into which they had put the Northlander's whole stern view of life and deep moral earnestness. Many of the earliest skaldic poems, which contain the Old Norse mythology fully developed, could not, according to Professor Bugge, be so old as the Icelandic tradition considers them (from the ninth century), and he sought to show in his book, “Bidrag til den ældste Skaldedignings Historie” (*Christiania*, 1894) [A Contribution to the History of the Oldest Skaldic Poetry] that they were from a far later period and “not genuine.” In a new volume of “Studies,” which has been translated into English and came out in “The Grimm Library,” vol. xi. (*London*, D. Nutt, 1899) he handled the

question of "The Home of the Eddic Poems," which he looked for in the Norse colonies in the British Isles, "the Scandinavian Æolia." Another link in this investigation was his paper on "The Norse Lay of Wayland," in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. II. (1901), and one of the latest of all his works, "Norsk Sagafortælling og Sagskrivning i Irland" (*Christiania*, 1901-8) [Norse Saga-telling and Saga-writing in Ireland] stood in close relation to it.

Professor Bugge was also—besides an Indo-Germanic comparative philologist—an eminent classical philologist as well, and in his earlier years he did much towards the explanation of his favourite author, Plautus. But from the eighties onwards he entered upon a domain bordering on classical philology, the study of Etruscan, which found in him one of its most industrious devotees. He saw in Etruscan an Indo-Germanic tongue allied to Armenian and Lycian. He also found time to take up these two languages thoroughly, and during his Armenian studies he noticed the extraordinary likeness there is between the names of the Runes and the names of the Armenian characters. This gave support to his theory of the origin of Runic writing, which in the last years of his life he set forth in a never-completed introduction to his pioneer edition of "Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer" [Inscriptions in Norway in the Earlier Runes] (Vol. I., 1891-1903; Vol. II., Part I., 1904; Introduction, Part I., 1905). It was Professor Bugge's good fortune to give evidence that the Runic writing arose among the Goths in south-eastern Europe, and was framed on a foundation alike of Greek and of Latin characters.

The central points in Sophus Bugge's scientific endowment were a luxuriant poetical fancy and an ingenious power of combination. Therewith he possessed a well-grounded scholarship, a keen critical faculty and a sense of method which was innate in him rather than the result of cultivation. It was the great periods of upheaval in history that specially engrossed his bold Viking spirit; for many years of his life has he combined the exploration of the spiritual life of the Viking Age with that of the origin of classical culture.

In the University of Christiania, with which Professor Bugge was connected from 1860 onwards till his death, he has left behind him a place which cannot be filled. We miss the indefatigable, conscientious and self-forgetful man of science and teacher, but still more his truly pure and faithful personality. Over Sophus Bugge, with his noble spirit of enquiry and his warm heart, his grateful pupils carve these simple memorial Runes: *Truth in Love!*

MAGNUS OLSEN.

KARL BLIND.

Dr. Karl Blind, Past President, was born in Mannheim, September 4th, 1826, and died at Hampstead, May 31st, 1907. He was

educated at the Lyceum in Mannheim and in Karlsruhe, from which he passed to the Universities of Bonn and Heidelberg. In his youth he led a stirring life, taking part in the Sleswick-Holstein war of 1848, and in the German revolutionary movement. He was imprisoned several times, and narrowly escaped being sentenced to death. Released by a fresh revolutionary outbreak he was appointed a member of the Embassy of Baden and Rhenish Bavaria to France. Arrested by the French authorities in spite of his diplomatic position, he was banished from France, and in 1852 took refuge in this country, where he remained ever since, refusing to take advantage of the amnesty of 1865. Besides taking an active part in political journalism, he was an accomplished classical and Germanic scholar, and wrote much on history, mythology, folk-lore, etc., both in this country and in many German periodicals. He became a member and Vice-President of the Viking Club in 1893, and took a very active part in the work of the Club in its early years. He was President 1895-7, reverted to Vice-President on completion of his term of office, and was made an Hon. Life Member in 1903.

He contributed several papers to the SAGA-BOOK. "The Boar's Head Dinner at Oxford and a Teutonic Sun-God" appeared in the first number, and was followed by "Shetland Folk-Lore and the Old Faith of the Scandinavians and Teutons," "The Earliest Traveller to the High North," and "Discovery of a Pre-Historic Sun-Chariot in Denmark." To strong opinions uncompromisingly expressed he joined a great charm of manner, and members who attended meetings of the Club at which he was present in its earlier years and during his presidency, will remember how his clear scholarship, wide range of reading and vigorous personality imparted a higher tone to all the discussions in which he shared. Many valuable contributions by him to these debates are recorded in the early numbers of the SAGA-BOOK, and he was a frequent contributor to "Viking Notes." In spite of his long residence in this country and refusal to return to his own land under the present political conditions, he remained to the last an ardent German patriot, and it will be remembered how vigorously he combated the suggestion made in the SAGA-BOOK, that "Gothic" should be substituted for "Germanic" or "Teutonic" as a more comprehensive term for the "Teuto-Gothic" elements on the Continent of Europe and in these islands. He was greatly interested in the establishment of "Old-Lore," and his last contribution to the publications of the Club was a note on the name "Pomona" in "Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore" for July, 1907, the proof of which he revised on his death-bed. Unfortunately he never exercised his scholarship on the production of any single volume on Northern literature or mythology, but various contributions which he made to the subject in different periodicals have been noted in the SAGA-BOOK under "Publications by Members." Besides these we give the names of a few others that we can recall, but anything like an exhaustive list is

impossible—"Fire-Burial among our Germanic Forefathers," "The Teutonic Tree of Existence," "An Old German Poem and a Vedic Hymn," and "Wodan, the Wild Huntsman and the Wandering Jew."

JOHN ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, the first Editor of the Viking Club, was born in 1847, and died July 6th, 1907. By profession he was a civil engineer, but his bent lay strongly towards archæology, and for many years before his death he had devoted himself mainly to literary and antiquarian work. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and was Rhind Lecturer in Archæology in 1886. His lectures appeared in the following year under the title of "Christian Symbolism in Great Britain," and at once achieved a position as a standard work. He was for many years editor of *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and edited *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist* from 1895 to the time of his death. In 1896 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Other important works of his were "Monumental History of the Early British Church" (1889), "Early Christian Monuments of Scotland" (1903), and "Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times" (1904), besides numberless articles in antiquarian journals and other periodicals. He became a member of the Viking Club in 1893, and was appointed Saga-Master (Hon. Editor), in which capacity he brought out the first number of the SAGA-BOOK. On his resigning this post he became, in 1895, a Vice-President of the Club. In February, 1893, he read a paper to the Club on "Scandinavian Art in Great Britain," which unfortunately the Club has not yet been able to print on account of the difficulty in the way of illustrating it on the scale required to do justice to its subject. Mr. Romilly Allen, in his study of ornamentation, showed great powers of analyzing and classifying the various elements in early art, and his reputation extended far beyond the limits of the British Isles. His exhaustive work on the "Early Christian Monuments of Scotland" in particular is destined to a leading position among similar works, and when the writer of this notice was in Norway last autumn, Professor Gustafson, of Christiania, pointed it out to him as a work to whose author enduring gratitude was due.

COLONEL GEORGE BERTIE B. HOBART.

Colonel Hobart, Vice-President, was born on February 3rd, 1838, and died October 27th, 1907. He was a grandson of the 3rd Earl of Buckinghamshire, and Colonel in the Royal Artillery (retired). He married the daughter and co-heiress of Colonel Marmaduke Grimston, of Grimston Garth, Holderness, and was a Deputy-Lieutenant, a Justice

of the Peace for the East Riding of Yorkshire and for the County of London, and a member of the Westminster County Council. He had been a member of the Viking Club since 1899, and a Vice-President since 1902, and was also Hon. District Secretary for the East Riding of Yorkshire. Colonel Hobart was an active member of the Club, a constant attendant at its meetings, and at the meetings of the Council, where his kindly presence, his unfailing courtesy, and his helpful advice will be much missed by those who were glad to count him as a colleague.

JOHN BRUCE, of Sumburgh.

Mr. John Bruce of Sumburgh was born July 9th, 1837, and died in Edinburgh, July 4th, 1907. He married a daughter of the late Ralph Erskine Scott of Edinburgh, a descendant of an old Orkney family, and was a Deputy-Lieutenant, Commissioner of Supply and Justice of the Peace for Shetland and a member of the Dunrossness Parish Council and School Board. Mr. Bruce was keenly interested in all Shetland societies, especially in those dealing with the literature and antiquities of the Old Rock. He had been a member of the Viking Club since 1894, and was an original founder of the "Old-Lore" series.

We also regret to record the deaths of Mr. C. Roy Saunders, who had been a member of the Club since 1894, of Mrs. E. Sclater, a member since 1905, who died on the 26th December last, and of Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Past President, who died in February of the present year. We hope to give a fuller notice of Mr. Atkinson, in the next SAGA-BOOK.

REVIEWS.¹

MANX CROSSES. By P. M. C. KERMODE, F.S.A.Scot. London: Bemrose & Sons, Ltd., 1907. £3 3s. net.

READERS of the SAGA-BOOK need no introduction to Mr. Kermode, whose interesting article upon "Saga Illustrations on early Manx Monuments" was contributed in 1895. For twenty years he has been known as an authority on his subject, and the handsome volume now before us contains the results of intimate personal knowledge of the monuments, many of which he has discovered, all of which he has not only examined and studied, but drawn with a fidelity and completeness which bear the test of comparison with the beautiful photographs by Mr. G. B. Cowen. In some cases the half-tone blocks are hardly so clear as to give a reader the opportunity of judging for himself: but then, no reader has a right to judge without knowledge of the originals at first hand, and the mere fact that Mr. Kermode has made these drawings is a guarantee of his unusual acquaintance with the subject of which he treats.

In other ways Mr. Kermode has equipped himself for his task; with the help of Dr. Brate, of Stockholm, he has brought his runology up to date, and the assistance of Mr. Romilly Allen's "Early Christian Monuments of Scotland" has been used to advantage in the work of comparison, without which the study of archæology is hardly possible. His book has an advantage even over Mr. Allen's great work, for it gives a graphic arrangement of the monuments in chronological sequence. Such an arrangement may be open to reconsideration in details, but when it is done with the care evident in Mr. Kermode's work, it is a distinct gain to the reader.

A point of curious interest is raised by the presence at Maughold of several slabs, evidently Anglian in origin, two of them with inscriptions. Mr. Kermode remarks that "we have no historical evidence that the Angles came to the Isle of Man, but it is possible, and not unlikely, that some families may have done so from time to time." In connection with this we might notice a passage in Symeon of Durham ("Hist. Regum,") who says, under A.D. 790, that King Osred of Northumbria, being deposed and tonsured at York, was forced to go into exile; and then, under 792, describes his return from "Eufania" to "Aynburg" where he was slain; his body being afterwards taken to Tynemouth Priory for burial. Now in the Ulster Annals and Tighernac (A.D. 577, 578) Eufania is equated with Eubonia, and this is the name of the Isle of Man in Nennius. And if "Aynburg," otherwise unknown, is *Alynburg*, the modern Ellenborough, where the great Roman road from Yorkshire through Cumberland ended with a well known and frequently used harbour, we easily see how Osred, like so many exiled Northumbrian kings, finding a refuge with friendly Celts, watched the signs of the times from the safe but not distant shores of the Isle of Man.

¹ Members may obtain the books noticed from the Hon. Librarian, A. W. Johnston, 59, Oakley Street, Chelsea, S.W., who will quote prices.

These slabs at Maughold, however, are too early in type to be referred to Anglian work of 790-792. They would be more in keeping with the style of a century earlier; so that, while Osred's exile might supply an instance of Anglian visits to Man, it would not give the occasion we need in order to explain these crosses. The statement of Bede that Eadwine conquered the Mevanian Islands (Anglesey and Man) may be an error through confusion of the name Manau, Manand, with Manau Gododin, the Campus Manand, which Eadwine found more immediately within his sphere of influence. We have, as Mr. Kermodé says, no history to help us; but there is a hint from archæology which may be worth noting.

At Whithern there is a series of crosses, beginning with the Chi-Rho monogram and Latin inscriptions of an early type, though not so early as the Roman occupation. They form a small group, distinct from a later series of Anglian crosses with runes, which carry us through the 8th century, and then break off, evidently at the time when the Anglian bishopric came to an end; or if a few are later, they are imitations of the series by new-come Vikings, who, at Whithern, were not so fierce in their destruction of everything Christian as elsewhere, or the body of St. Cuthbert would not have been carried to that place, on its wanderings to escape from the Danish invasion of the east coast. The question is, what was the period of the break between the two series of Whithern monuments.

It has usually been supposed to be the time when, after Ninian's death (about 400?), his monastery decayed, and the time when (681) the Anglian bishopric was founded. But the earlier Whithern crosses are too advanced in style to be attributed to Ninian's age. They are more like work of the 7th century, before the adoption of the style introduced by Wilfrith, and they might be the work of the earliest Anglian colony, which must have existed in some force before it was worth while to send out a bishop,—a colony of settlers, much mixed with the natives, and not readily adopting the latest fashions in art.

Trumwine had been bishop for three years only when the face of politics changed, and he was forced to leave Whithern. It was not until about 730 that the bishopric was re-established under Pecthelm; and then we get a fresh start with the later series of crosses.

Now the interesting point is that Mr. Kermodé's finds at Maughold fill the gap between the two series. As the reader who will compare his plates with those of Whithern in Mr. Allen's volume can see, they are intermediate between the "Locus Petri Apostoli" slab and the circular-headed but interlaced Anglian stones. The Maughold No. 27 has even, as Mr. Kermodé points out, the Chi-Rho in its last stage of development;¹ and the "Blagkmon" slab, which cannot be much later, has the beginnings of interlacing in the triquetra which fill the arms of the curvilinear cross. We seem to see here the art of Whithern transplanted for a time

¹ See the photograph opposite p. 218 as well as his drawing. In the text the inscription is read (FEC) I IN XPI, etc., but both drawing and photograph seem to read IN IHU
vdr

to Maughold, and the style tallies fairly with the period (684-730) when the Anglian Christians of Whithern were in exile. That they should take refuge there is probable; it is under 20 miles from Burrow Head to the Point of Aire, and this would not be the first or last time when kindly Celts, in spite of occasional racial wars, gave a welcome to Anglian refugees.

Another curious point of contact with the coast across the water, but still in sight of the island, is afforded by the cross which Mr. Kermode attributes to the memory of Bishop Roolwer (Hrólf), who died about 1060. From the little figure of a Madonna, which strangely enough is drawn as nude, Mr. Kermode considers the work as not earlier than the 11th century, and from the figure of a bishop he attributes it to the first bishop on the historical list. There is no doubt that this cross is connected with the Cumbrian series, showing debased imitation of Anglian work; but this series must be placed before the development of the fine style of Scandinavian-British art, which was reached late in the 10th century. The Madonna's figure, but for its nudity, is not without parallel at this period: there is one on a hogback at Oswaldkirk (Yorks.), which seems to be early 10th century, and one on a shrine-tomb at Bedale (Yorks.), apparently still earlier; while at Dewsbury we find a Madonna, much in the attitude of this at Maughold, only draped, and certainly of the 8th or early 9th century. The rude forms may be merely the result of the carver's inability to express his intention on so small a scale with the incumbrance of drapery folds, and the whole monument seems to belong to an age a hundred years earlier than Mr. Kermode's date. That there were unknown bishops in Man before Hrólf is proved by the Maughold Anglian stone, and it seems to be quite unnecessary to believe that the Norse in Man were not Christianized, more or less, until Iceland and Norway were converted. The history of Viking settlement in Britain shows that they were very readily, if half-heartedly, won over to the religion which they found in the countries of their adoption; and if we lose by this argument the personal attribution of Maughold No. 72, we gain what is perhaps more valuable—another contribution to the history of the island.

Maughold No. 51, with the grotesque figure under a circular interlaced head, "intended," Mr. Kermode, says "for a figure of Christ," is rightly connected by him with Northumbrian work. A similar plait is found in Teesdale (at Forcett) and the round-shouldered figure reappears at intervals along the Roman road from York to the Cumbrian coast. One of these figures is the "Bound Devil" of Kirkby Stephen, and it is not uncommon to see figures intentionally ugly placed *under* the cross as if in subjection to it, just as the Christ at Bewcastle stands upon swine-heads. This stone again has a late 9th or early 10th century aspect, and suggests the work of a period in which the Northmen had not yet developed their own fine style. Indeed, Mr. Kermode seems to leave a gap between the series he heads "pre-Scandinavian," breaking off in the 9th century, and the Scandinavian crosses beginning in the eleventh. The facts as seen in Northumbria suggest that the Northmen were

content at first with crosses in imitation of those they found, and came to their own fully developed style but slowly. To most of the Manx crosses from No. 51 to No. 74, the tenth-century date might be given without violence to analogy, and if so, they could hardly be called pre-Scandinavian, though they are earlier than the fully formed Norse ideal.

Coming to the eleventh century series, Mr. Kermode's analysis of Gaut Bjarnarson's work, and his dating, with the help of Dr. Brate's examination of the runes, as well as his interpretation of the Sigurd subjects, are brilliant and convincing. Of the Edda subjects not connected with the Völsung story, Heimdal appears to be identified. The Thorwald cross (102), with Odin at Ragnarök and the "One Mightier," finds a parallel in the Heysham hogback. But in No. 101 it is difficult to see Norse mythology; the "man attacked by an eagle" might also stand for a saint receiving inspiration!¹ This whole design has analogies in Northumbria, where curious forms of crucifixes are not uncommon, even in crosses we may assign to the tenth century. No. 100, again, with its nimbed ecclesiastic—hardly a Christ—and its jumble of animal forms, is not very convincingly explained as representing Valhöll; it reminds one of the play of fancy on many Scottish pieces, which may indeed some day be interpreted, but seem to be done, as Paul Veronese said of his work when the Inquisitioners asked him what he meant by it, "merely for ornament." The same may be said of No. 97, in which the death of Swanhild and two different stories of Thor seem to be almost too much to expect on one stone; and No. 98, in which the hanging of somebody is no doubt the subject, but the exposition in the text does not tally with the picture: it is the hangman, not his counsellor, who has the bird's head, and the robed figure is rather that of a lady:—why should not this be the story of Hagbard and Signy? Once more, in Sandulf's cross (103) Mr. Kermode interprets the lady on horseback, with her left hand on the reins and her right hand stroking the horse's mane,² as Gná, the messenger of the Goddess Frigg. But on stones of this age there are figures which can hardly be viewed otherwise than as portraits; as indeed is but natural. There is nothing to show that this lady is a goddess, this little lady on her high horse with all her dogs around her. Surely it is Sandulf the Swart's Arinbjörn herself, to whom the monument was erected, in the hope, as the birds of resurrection above are meant to show, of life and reunion beyond the grave.

But even with these deductions made there remain six well-attested Sigurd illustrations, and at least two Edda pictures hardly to be doubted. This is no small harvest, and it is a convincing proof of the accuracy of Mr. Kermode's observation, and the value of the inferences he has made from these famous monuments, with which his name will now be honourably and enduringly connected.

W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

¹ As in MS. miniatures of the period, e.g. Westwood's "Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS," pl. 50; or St. John and his Eagle, *ibid.* pl. 16.

² Such is the description in the text: this action is not apparent in the illustration.

ANGLIAN AND ANGLO-DANISH SCULPTURE IN THE NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE. By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A. Reprinted from *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. Leeds: J. Whitehead & Son, 1907.

By his article upon the Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire, published in Part 75 of *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Mr. Collingwood has conferred a signal benefit upon all who are interested in this branch of archæology and, if he can undertake to treat the rest of Yorkshire in the same detail, his work will form the basis for a corpus of pre-Conquest ornament, which is so urgently needed for a proper understanding and appreciation of the early art of the country.

In reading his paper it is difficult which to admire most—his indefatigable activity in collecting the material, or the scholarly way in which he summarises his results. The North Riding is larger than any other English county (the West Riding, Lincolnshire and Devonshire excepted), and yet Mr. Collingwood has traversed the whole area and made drawings of every known stone which may be relegated to the period under consideration, many of these being in places far removed from easy access by railway or high road. No less than 330 separate drawings enrich the article as a result of his energy and enthusiasm.

The number of these evidences of artistic activity in the centuries which preceded the Norman occupation of England is rapidly increasing, and each year adds several to the list. There is much to be said in favour of the argument for the establishment of central, readily accessible repositories, where they may be collected for comparison and protection from further injury, instead of being left to the tender mercies of churchwardens or parish clerks. An increasing recognition of the artistic value of these fragments is undoubtedly prevalent, and many are being rescued from rockeries and walls; yet much still remains to be done, for many of the fragments, which have thus been apparently rescued from oblivion, are exposed to new risks of damage from want of adequate protection and care.

The preponderating Scandinavian influence in Northumbria is reflected in the number of stones, the ornamentation of which is the outcome of the artistic taste of the Northmen and their love for zoömorphie designs. This is perhaps best exemplified by the dragon upon the Levisham stone, or by the Sinnington fragment; but the finest products of this period are doubtless the Brompton hogbacks. An interesting question may be raised in passing, as to the reason why the bears on the hogbacks are so generally represented as muzzled, *e.g.*, those at Brompton, Arncliffe, and Stainton. It is worthy of remark also that upon a coped grave-slab in York Museum (found in St. Denis' Church), which is covered with a typical Scandinavian zoömorphie inter-lacing design, the two bears persist, but are relegated to a corner of one of the panels, where they are represented as erect and facing one another.

No sculptured representations of the Eddaic legends, such as the

Völundar myth upon the Leeds cross-shaft, have yet been found in the North Riding. On the other hand, no other part of England can show the same number of pre-Conquest sun-dials as can be seen within a short radius of Kirbymoorside,¹ the most notable example of which is the inscribed dial of Kirkdale. A point of interest which does not appear to have been previously noticed, arises in connection with the inscription upon the dial at Old Byland, read as "*Sumarledan Huscarl me feoit.*" The name "*Sumarledi*," which is here preserved, is well known to numismatists as that of a moneyer, and it is found upon coins of Ethelred II. (York and Thetford), Cnut (Lincoln and Norwich) and of Edward the Confessor. The moneyer was a very important officer in pre-Conquest times, and held a high social and influential position; it is, therefore, highly probable that the sun-dial at Old Byland commemorates one of these moneyers at the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century, who held land in that neighbourhood.

Some of the fragments, the characteristics of which are Anglian without trace of Scandinavian influence, show marvellous grace and beauty in design and extraordinary power of execution. Even the Acca Cross hardly excels in grace the pieces of the cross-shafts at Croft or Easby, or two beautiful fragments of a shaft which, being preserved at Aldborough just beyond the border of the North Riding, are not enumerated in the present article. The Vine-motif with birds and animals eating the grapes, which forms the design in these examples and in the Hovingham bas-relief, and is seen in its perfection in the Jedburgh shaft has an extraordinarily close analogy with some early Norman work which is to be seen in the porch of the monastery of St. Leonardo, now a farmhouse, some six miles from Manfredonia in Central Italy, the carved jambs of which are ornamented with a design which is almost identical with that at Bewcastle or at Jedburgh.

So carefully has Mr. Collingwood gone over the ground that we have not been able to find any omissions, with the exception of the Arncliffe hogbacks which are now in the Chapter Library at Durham, and which have, therefore, probably received treatment elsewhere. G. A. AUDEN.

OLDSAGN OM GODTJOD: BIDRAG TIL ETNISK KILDEFORSKNINGS
METODE, MED SÆRLIGT HENBLIK PÅ FOLKE-STAMSAGN. By
GUDMUND SCHÜTTE. *Kjøbenhavn: H. Hagerup, 1907.*

"THE Ancient Legend of the Gothfolk," as we may render the title of Mr. Gudmund Schütte's work, cannot be better described than in the opening words of his Introduction, which we translate as follows:—

The object of the present work is to collect and arrange a portion of the original groundwork, on which in the future it may be possible for a picture to be built up of the ideas which our group of nations have had from the earliest times respecting themselves and their neighbours. In other words it is a study of the original sources we possess for the history of the ethnological literature of the folk.

¹ Compare *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. VI.

The author points out that in executing this task he has had to a great extent to plough new ground, which entailed both advantages and drawbacks. On the one hand the way has been comparatively free from opposing theories, but on the other he has been deprived of the help of any text-books on the subject. He accordingly puts forth his work as only a preliminary survey of the subject, various points in which may require modification on closer inspection.

The work falls into five sections, in the first of which he reviews briefly the opinions of the few before him who have broken ground in the same direction, recognising two opposing schools of thought, composed on the one side of Scherer, Kögel and others, who consider that in the remote antiquity of our race no appreciation of historical or geographical questions can be discerned, while on the other hand Wilhelm Müller, Bugge, and others consider that the appreciation of these questions forms a main element in the epic of the early ages. In the second section the author gives his own views upon these controverted points from the negative side, combating some of the prevailing ideas on the subject which he considers erroneous. In the third section he examines the various factors which go to the making and handing down of tradition, and which must be investigated and weighed by anyone embarking on an enquiry based upon tradition. For his own particular purpose he confines himself in the main to the personal factors in the case, which play the most important part in the study of national or tribal origins, namely the individuals or classes among whom tradition has grown up and by whom it has been handed down and preserved. The fourth section deals with the forms and recurring features, which appear in the lists of names, pedigrees, etc., dealt with by the author, and their relative importance. In the fifth section he begins his examination of the various classes of ethnological texts, starting with the tribal legend, but leaving till a future volume the folk-wandering legend, the warfare-legend and legendary lists of various kinds which go to make up the material to be dealt with.

This material is not inconsiderable, beginning with the "Germania" of Tacitus and Pliny's "Natural History," and comprising all the pedigrees, lists of kings, records of folk-wanderings and other matter of a like nature in Anglo-Saxon poetry, Northern Sagas, and the chronicles and histories in various tongues relating to the childhood of the Teuto-Gothic races, which bear upon the author's theme. The whole is dealt with in such detail and with such scientific minuteness that a summary would be impossible and, as the work is still incomplete and any conclusions which Mr. Schütte may have reached are not yet before us, we must content ourselves with the foregoing sketch of its aim and methods. When the work is finished its author will undoubtedly have accomplished the task he set before him, and the students of the early beginnings of the stock we spring from will have every reason to thank him for the valuable matter he has supplied for future research, as well as for the results of his own examination of it.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

KALEVALA, THE LAND OF HEROES. Translated from the original Finnish by W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S.. 2 Vols. Everyman's Library. London: J. M. Dent and Co. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. Cloth, 2s.; leather, 4s.

OUR heartiest congratulations are due to our valued friend on the completion of these volumes. We were long aware that he was engaged on this translation, in the intervals of a strenuous scientific and literary career. Seldom does a man of science of Mr. Kirby's attainments possess the qualifications and patient industry necessary to achieve success in literature of this kind. The magnitude of the task is enhanced by the dissimilarity of the Finnish language from those of the Scandinavian, Slavonic, Latin, or other European groups, of which Mr. Kirby is also a competent scholar. His eminence in the fields of folklore and tradition of East and West has been recognized for very many years. This translation is an important contribution to English literature, and the interesting country and people of Finland, so little known in England, are placed under a deep debt of obligation to Mr. Kirby. We happen to know that several natives of Finland have written to him in most flattering terms, expressive of national pride and pleasure in so capable a rendering.

"Kalevala," the national epic of Finland, consists of a selection from old ballads collected by Elias Lönnrot and others, issued by Lönnrot in 1849 in its present form. Of the fifty *runos* or cantos Mr. Kirby has given a literal rendering in smooth, pleasant verse. Earlier versions exist in several other languages, *e.g.*, in French (by Léouzou Le Duc), in German (by Schiefner and by Paul), Swedish (by Collan and others), and English (by J. M. Crawford), etc., and we have heard of several others, including a translation into Bohemian (Czech). To Schiefner's version the American bard, H. W. Longfellow, was indebted for the idea of the "Song of Hiawatha," and Mr. Kirby points out that characters and incidents appear to be borrowed in some cases, and that some lines are almost identical in both poems.¹ True, the Finnish forests and marshes are not the prairies of North America, over which the buffalo roamed, and local colour and racial peculiarities are diverse. If space permitted we should not find difficulty in finding interesting parallels, *e.g.*, the opening lines of "Kalevala" and of "Hiawatha." Mr. Kirby has furnished abundant help for the reader in his scholarly notes, glossary, and introduction containing a synopsis of the poem. The leading characters are Väinämöinen (venerable magician and minstrel), Lemminkainen (young man endowed with wondrous powers, lively and reckless), Ilmarinen (famous blacksmith), Kullervo (muscular and churlish), Ilmatar (creation goddess), Aino (luckless bride), Marjatta (identified with the Madonna), and Louhi (queen of

¹ Longfellow, however, distinctly denied that he had transferred incidents from the Finnish Epic to the American Indians, and said he could give chapter and verse for the legends, whose chief value was that they were Indian, though in some cases they imitated legends from the Kalevala. Ed.

the drear north). The interest for Norse and Slavonic scholars will, we think, lie more in the path of contrast than of comparison. We regret that the character of this edition did not allow of fuller commentary, but we hope that Mr. Kirby may see his way at some future time to issue a fully annotated edition for scholars.

The religion, says Mr. Kirby, is "a Shamanistic animism, overlaid with Christianity," and many passages in the poem may be compared with the best ethical teachings. Resignation and trust in a righteous Providence are preached by Väinämöinen (*runo* 9) and Vipunen (*runo* 17) in language worthy of a Hebrew prophet. The rite of Christian baptism is clearly indicated in *runo* 50, and grace precedes a wedding feast (*runo* 21). Side by side with these we find the crudest anthropomorphic ideas. The poem abounds in marvelous feats of magic, and pages are occupied with spells and incantations of formidable length. The lengthy discourses on conduct contain interesting details of domestic and family economy in Finland and Lapland.

Two printer's errors in the notes must be mentioned: vol. I., p. 324, *runo* 14, note to line 304, "dear" should be "deaf"; p. 327, *runo* 25, note to line 159, the weapon of the Iclander Skarphedin was a "bill," not a "bell."

We regret that considerations of space preclude us from enlarging on the beauties of this famous epic, which Mr. Kirby has enabled us to study under such favourable conditions. He has endeavoured to combine literality and elegance, and hopes that his rendering may compare favourably with earlier attempts.

FRANCIS P. MARCHANT.

BEOWULF; AN OLD ENGLISH EPIC. (The earliest Epic of the Germanic Race). Translated into modern English prose by WENTWORTH HLYSHE. With Notes and Illustrations. *London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.*

A PROSE translation can never be quite accepted as adequately representing a poem, but allowing for this we have little but praise for this presentation of Beowulf. Except for one critical blunder, to which we will come later, the introduction and notes are excellent, summing up what is known and giving the latest theories as to the origin and subject of the poem. The text is illuminated by illustrations of archæological finds, pictures from M.SS., etc., chosen with great judgment as throwing light on allusions in the poem, or on the manners and customs of the time. The chronological ages from which they are drawn are perhaps somewhat mixed, though we are inclined to think the translator is justified in scouring antiquity for something to the point, without being too precise as to the date. For instance, his suggestion that a "ring-stemmed" ship

may be a ship with rings carved on the stem, as in the illustration he gives from the Bayeux tapestry, is ingenious, and seems not unlikely, though in point of time the poem and the tapestry are centuries apart. His appreciation of the poem is fair in itself, but marred by a very ill-judged attempt to exalt Beowulf by belittling and misrepresenting the Volsunga Saga, and when he invites us to prefer the judgment of Professor James A. Harrison, of the Washington and Lee University, to that of William Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon, we are Goth enough to prefer the English poet and the Icelandic scholar to the Yankee professor. Similarly when Mr. Huyshe professes himself thankful for the "Christian fumigation" which has given us Beowulf in a bowdlerized condition instead of in its original heathen garb, we stand amazed at a confession which detracts so utterly from the value of his work. It is clear, however, that Mr. Huyshe knows the Nibelungen Lied better than the Volsunga Saga, and, as we strongly suspect, "*Der Ring des Nibelungen*" better than either, otherwise he would not have set forth "incest" as one of the main features of the saga. It was reserved for the German musician to exalt what in the Icelandic saga is only an incident into a leading motive in the opera. It would be impossible for a modern poet without wholesale changes to make of "Beowulf" such a noble epic as William Morris, in his "*Sigurd the Volsung*," has turned the saga into, and Mr. Huyshe might have learnt the reason from Professor Ker's criticism of "Beowulf," which he quotes in his Introduction. He gives himself away again by quoting with approbation a condemnation of the "Edda" by the egregious Professor Harrison. But it is tolerably clear that of the Norse mythology also he has only a second-hand knowledge, or he would not tell us, as he does on page 60, that the boar was sacred to "*the goddess Freyr*." The italics are ours. It is a pity that Mr. Huyshe should have detracted from the value of an otherwise excellent piece of work by rash and ignorant judgments and needless comparisons. "Beowulf" is strong enough to stand on its own merits by the side of the Icelandic sagas, in spite of the maimed condition in which we now have it, and we account each in its own way first-rate.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

FORTY YEARS IN A MOORLAND PARISH. By the Rev. J. C. ATKINSON, D.C.L. New Edition, with Portraits, and prefatory memoir by G. A. Macmillan. London: Macmillan, 1907. 5/- net.

THERE are plenty of parish histories, plenty of local memoirs by lovers of some preferred countryside, but few in which observation and erudition, literary effect and careful statement are so evenly balanced as in this favourite book. For the Viking Club there is a further interest in the stress which Canon Atkinson lays upon the Scandinavian element in

Cleveland, to which he attributes little or no Anglian population at the coming of the Danes; he shows (Appendix C) that the area under cultivation at Domesday was so very small that it is impossible to believe in several centuries of pre-Viking colonisation. To this argument and to that from place-names we can now add a third from the remains of carved tombstones in which the North Riding is so rich. Stokesley, Easington and Crathorne are named by Canon Atkinson as pre-Danish oases in a wilderness of moor and forest, hardly touched by Anglian civilisation, though at Whitby and to the south of the Moors the case was different. Now, though Stokesley has not as yet yielded any monuments of the Anglo-Saxon age, Crathorne and Easington can show some rather rude sculptures of this later pre-Danish type, together with many of the Viking period. The same may be said of Great Ayton, Kildale and Stainton, while at Yarm there was evidently—as was natural from its position—a considerable church of the eighth century. But the sculptured stones at Kirkby-in-Cleveland, Skelton, Ormesby, Thornaby, Kirklevington, Ingleby Arncliffe, Osmotherley and Welbury appear to be wholly Danish, or of the Danish period. In this way Canon Atkinson's view receives decisive support from a source apparently unsuspected by him.

To most readers, however, his account of the survivals of paganism, in superstitions and old customs, and his connection of these with Scandinavian folklore will be more interesting. Much that he says is already too familiar to need recapitulation. It may be questioned nowadays whether some of these beliefs, widespread as they are, were so exclusively Scandinavian as he appears to think them; but the "avril" bread, the "arval" cakes of the Lake district, must be referred to the *erfi-öl* (Dan. *arveöl*) of the Viking settlers; and the use of the word "Noaship" (Dan. *noeskæppet*) for the ship-like lines of cirrus presaging change of weather, the "Noah's ark" of the north-west of England, points to a Scandinavian survival, though it is difficult to see with Canon Atkinson that the allusion is to Odin; a survival of the word *nói* or *nór*, a ship, seen in the "Nóatún" of the Edda, is more likely.¹ The suggestion that the burial of a cast calf beneath the threshold of the cowhouse was a sacrifice to Odin seems a little far-fetched, if that is what the author really means; he is rather obscure on this point; but the precautions against the "coming again" of a buried person recall many a well-known passage in the Sagas, whatever be their origin.² "Telling the bees" hardly seems to come into this series; the idea that such a ceremony would forewarn and fore-arm the hives against a *revenant* who wanted honey for mead in Valhöll is by no means convincing. But if the author has now and then laboured his point, the book remains singularly clear from false reasoning and the one-sidedness which mars so much well meant work.

W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

¹ See SAGA-BOOK, Vol. IV. Part I., pp. 191-2.

² See an interesting account of a similar superstition in Denmark in an Article by Dr H. F. Feilberg, on "The Corpse-door: a Danish Survival" in *Folk-Lore* for December, 1907. Ed.

STORIES FROM THE SAGA OF "BURNT NJAL." PART I. THE STORY OF GUNNAR. By BEATRICE E. CLAY, B.A. *London: Horace Marshall and Son. N.D.*

THE children of this age are fortunate in having the treasure-house of the world's best literature unlocked for them, and its stores displayed in a form they can appreciate, and Messrs. Horace Marshall have before now done good service in this direction. The story of Gunnar from Njal's Saga is well worthy a place in school readers, and it has fallen into good hands. Miss Clay has wisely followed the original very closely, removing redundancies but not endeavouring to re-write. The result is an admirably coherent story, which children will readily follow, and which moves on to its tragic close with the stern simplicity and fateful purpose of the Greek drama of the classical age. In a brief introduction Miss Clay gives a sketch of Iceland in the Saga-time, acknowledging her indebtedness to Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon for assistance in compiling it. That it is excellent of its kind goes therefore without saying. Mr. Magnússon, however, can hardly have read the proofs, or he would not have passed the statement that the "god" of the temple was the chief of the Thing. Obviously "godi" is meant, and this should be set right, and "godi" explained in another edition. We wish also that English writers would realise that the claim the actors in and tellers of the Sagas have upon us, is not merely that they are "our nearest of kin among the nations of Europe," but that they are our own forefathers, blood and bone of our race—absolutely so in Orkney, Shetland, and various parts of the British Isles, to a very great extent in England and Scotland generally, and to a lesser degree in Ireland and Wales. We wish we could give the book unqualified praise; but in our view the illustrations distinctly detract from its excellence. The best that can be said for them is that they are fairly correct in detail, though of course the winged helmet reappears, and several of them are not ill-conceived, but they are poor in execution and badly reproduced. Children should also be warned that the Althing at Reykjavík, in the frontispiece, has nothing to do with the Althing of the story. Its appearance in this prominent position is a great blemish, and why a modern building of no historical interest or architectural value should have been so honoured, passes comprehension. It would not have been difficult to obtain actual views of the real Althing and other scenes connected with the story. Surely, from an educational point of view, three or four good illustrations of this description would have been better than the dozen or more indifferent ones used.

A. F. M.

NATIONALMUSEET HUNDREDE AAR EFTER GRUNDLÆGGELSEN. With 50 Illustrations in the Text. By SOPHUS MÜLLER. *Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1907.*

THIS booklet has been brought out under the auspices of the Committee for the Promotion of Popular Education in Denmark to commemorate the centenary of the National Museum, formerly known as the Museum of Northern Antiquities. In the hands of Dr. Sophus Müller, than whom none better could have been chosen for the work, it becomes a scientific treatise, without losing the character of a popular manual. The gift of arrangement and classification, by which Denmark first established pre-historic archæology on a firm and scientific basis, appears no less conspicuously in its pages than in the work still being conducted by the Museum. Beginning with a brief survey of the collections at the Museum it points out the reason for the way they are arranged, and the interest they should have for those who visit them, as well as for scientific research. The progress of the science of archæology is then briefly sketched, and the provisions of the Danish law of treasure-trove are pointed out, and instances given of their value in securing for the State finds of objects in the precious metals, etc. Then comes an account of the foundation and progress of the National Museum, and of the place occupied by its various collections. In a final chapter the author pleads for a reconstruction and enlargement of the building in which the Museum is housed, which would allow its riches to be displayed more worthily, while he shows how their value might be enhanced many times, if there were space to display the various objects in a way that would bring out their use or significance, and to accompany them by pictures illustrating these points. A brief bibliography is added to the handbook, which is accompanied by illustrations admirably chosen to enforce the author's points, and to show by a very few samples the value of the collections in the Museum.

A. F. M.

DIPLOMATARIUM FÆROENSE: FØROYSKT FODNBREVASAVN. I. Miðalaldarbrøv upp til trúðótarskeiðið, við söguligun rannsóknun. By JAKOB JAKOBSEN. With four plates. *Tórshavn; Jacobsen, and Copenhagen; Prior. 1907.*

Members who heard Pastor Axel Bergh's recent lecture to the Club, not to say those who have visited the Færoes, will join in their thanks to Dr. Jacobsen for this gift. It is the first instalment of his collection of documents relating to the islands, and includes all the pre-Reformation records, of which the most important are the laws of 1298, known as "Seyðabrævið" from the regulations for sheep-farmers which form the greater part of the code. These are prefaced by chapters dealing with

(1) early historical notices, other than the well-known Saga, (2) the Bishops of Kirkjubø, and (3) the MSS. here printed, with their place-names and their dialect. This last shows Old Norse in the first stage of its transition into modern Færoese, the language patriotically used by Dr. Jakobsen for his present work. Among much interesting matter may be noticed the proofs of close connection between the Færoes and Shetland at a period when Shetland was politically separated from Orkney and practically disappeared from British history. Photographic facsimiles of the five manuscripts here edited add to the value of a work which promises to be an important contribution to the study of Northern history.

W. G. C.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND OLD-LORE. NOS. 1-4, 1907. *London: Printed for the Viking Club. Annual Subscription, 10s. 6d.*

THE first four numbers of "OLD-LORE" appeared during the past year, and we may claim that the enterprise stands fully justified. The appearance of the publication has been hailed with unanimous praise on all hands, and the Editors have used the abundant material which they found awaiting them with excellent judgment. The series of Records contains the opening parts of a volume of documents collected by Professor A. Taranger in Scotland in 1906, for insertion in a forthcoming volume of "Diplomatarium Norvegicum." These have been placed by the Norwegian Government at the disposal of the Viking Club for issue in the "OLD-LORE" series, on condition that they are printed at once. They are valuable, as showing how late relations between Orkney and Shetland and their Norwegian mother-land were maintained, and to what a late date the "Norn" tongue continued in use. The documents in "Norn" have been translated by Dr. Jón Stefánsson, and Professor Taranger has kindly given Mr. and Mrs. Johnston his valuable help in editing them. Besides these the April and July numbers contain the commencement of a volume of Shetland Sasines. The most interesting articles in the Miscellany referring to the Viking Age (besides Mr. Collingwood's Legend from Fljótsdaela Saga, which is also included in this number of the SAGA-BOOK) are Dr. Stefánsson's papers on "Biarne Kolbeinsson, the Skald, Bishop of Orkney," and on "The Authorship of Orkneyinga Saga," which appeared in the January and April numbers respectively. Dr. Stefánsson gives reasons of considerable weight for his theory that Bishop Biarne was the author of the Saga. The notes and queries also contain many points of interest to students of the period. A complete list of contents to date will be found at the end of this number.

A. F. M.

THE CHURCH IN ORKNEY. Annals of the Church of Scotland in Orkney from 1560. History of the U. P. Church in Orkney until 1906. Episcopal Church from 1694. Compiled by JOHN SMITH. *Kirkwall: W. R. Mackintosh, 1907. Price 4s.*

The author of this work has done good service to the annalists of Church history, as well as to the reading public in general. What has been laid up for the few is now offered to the many, and at a moderate price. From the preface we learn that this work was "intended to give some account of the Church of Scotland in Orkney during the last 346 years, from the time of the Reformation." Mr. Smith's "Introduction" of 33 pages is well written, and gives the reader a vivid account of the ups and downs of the State Church during those centuries of its existence. Of course the "Church" here goes no further back than 1560, or the time of transition from Popery to Protestantism. An interesting account of the last Bishop of the Romish Church is given, showing how this astute leader managed to change with the changing times and secured for himself and the clergy a fat portion of this world's goods. At the restoration of Episcopacy in 1610, James Law was appointed Bishop of the islands, while in 1638 again, "In Orkney all the ministers conformed and subscribed the solemn League and Covenant, and secured their benefices." At the Restoration, "Presbytery was annulled, and Prelacy revived," with this result—"All the ministers except Mr. Lennox in Kirkwall, and Mr. Murray in Sanday, conformed to Episcopacy." At the Revolution, once more the tables were turned, and Presbyterianism was established in Scotland. In Orkney there are about thirty parishes, and Mr. Smith goes over each in rotation, giving short sketches of the various clergymen who have laboured there. In this way he can tell many strange stories and bring in many bits of information which otherwise would be lost. On a smaller scale he treats of the various ministers connected with the Secession Congregations, as well as those of the Episcopal Churches. Altogether the volume is a valuable addition to the Church history of these islands.

A. G.

THE YOUNG NORSEMAN. By WILLIAM BRIGHTY RANDS. Illustrated by M. M. WILLIAMS. *London: David Nutt. 3s. 6d.*

THE Editor of this book, which is a re-issue of a work first published some forty years ago, gives in a note at the end the following as his reasons for wishing to give boys and girls of to-day the opportunity of reading it:—

It gives an excellent picture, a little idealised it may be, of the young Northern hero at the end of the Viking Age, when Christianity having conquered Continental Scandinavia was extending its sway over still heathen Iceland, and it re-tells with equal sympathy and vigour many of the finest stories of the Viking Age, stories which in their way are among the finest in all literature. I do not think that English boys and girls could elsewhere

find a better introduction to the world of Asgard and the gods, and of the heroes who, believing in Odin and Thor, sailed every sea from the Arctic Ocean to the Euxine, and planted their settlements on every shore from Greenland to Sicily.

This praise is perhaps a little overstrained, but we are disposed to agree in the main, though the framework of the story, which is founded on one by the late Baron de la Motte Fouqué, leaves something to be desired, and smacks rather of German romanticism than of the Icelandic Saga. Certainly the passages in which stories from the Eddas and Sagas are re-told leave little ground for complaint, though personally we think it impossible for any modern writer to improve on the originals. We have observed a few misprints, among them the quaint form "Freyga." Is this due to a printer's error, or to the author's knowledge that the goddesses Frigga and Freyja have probably developed out of a single original? The illustrations are excellent, and the artist has evidently studied the archæology of the Viking Age.

A. F. M.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS. Notes and Impressions. By Rev. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., LITT.D. *London: Elliot Stock, 1907.*

THIS booklet is mainly devoted to an account of the Abbey and its history, and to an account of Abbot Samson and his biographer Jocelin de Brakelonde, but the author incidentally adds a note on "St. Edmund the King," dealing with the circumstances of the king's death and canonization, and the historical doubts as to the truth of the legend of his martyrdom at Hoxne. These have lately been exhaustively examined by Lord Francis Hervey in his "*Corolla Sancti Edmundi.*" Dr. Astley notes the destruction of the town and church by the Danes under King Sweyn in 1010, but does not refer to the story that the king was slain by the martyred King Edmund four years later, when he was meaning to attack the town a second time.

A. F. M.

POPULAR TALES FROM THE NORSE. By SIR GEORGE WEBBE DASENT. With an Introductory Essay on the Origin and Diffusion of Popular Tales. *London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. (The London Library). 2s. 6d. net.*

WE record with pleasure the appearance of a cheap edition of this standard work. The value of it does not need to be pointed out in these pages, and we are glad to find it has taken the place it deserves in the popular estimation.

A. F. M.

INDEX.

(VOL. V., PARTS I. AND II.).

- Aarhus, Denmark, New runic stone at, 82.
- Abbeys, Norse, founded from York, 58; Irish, burnt by Irishmen, 387.
- Alphabet, Arrangement of the Runic, 257.
- Aller, Early font at, 40.
- Allen, Mr. J. Romilly, Obituary notice of, 404.
- Ancholme River, Lincs., Canoe found in, 357.
- Animal forms on Viking Age stones in England, 122, 410; in Isle of Man, 409.
- Arason, Bishop Gudmund, Life of, 86 (Vide Gudmund, Bishop).
- Armour, Norse and Danish in Ireland, 372; Skeleton with, found in Norfolk, 234.
- Arval-cake, Note on Northumbrian, 416.
- Asbjörn Selsbani, Story of, 349.
- Athelney, Tradition of fighting from, 242; Visit of Club members to, 38.
- Aud the Deepminded, Wife of Olaf the White, 373.
- Auden, Dr. G. A.—York—Viking ship on a Church door, 247.
- Augvaldsness, King Olaf and Asbjörn Selsbani at, 350.
- Axes, Neolithic, found in Norfolk, 236; Skarphedin's, 76.
- Bangor Abbey, Ireland, Viking raid on, 178.
- Bards, Colleges of, in Ireland, 101; at Danish courts in Ireland, 364.
- Bears, Figures of, on "hogback" stones, 410.
- Bees, "Telling the," Note on, 416.
- Beowulf, Comparison of, with Volunga Saga, 415.
- Bergen, New Runic inscription found at, 73.
- Björgólf, Earl of Shetland in legend of the Sons of Droplaug, 278.
- Blind, Dr. Karl, Obituary notice of, 403.
- Blood-eagle execution, Late survival of, in England, 396.
- Blood "stenting," Transmitted power of, in North Devon, 52.
- Boat, Wade's, and Gawain's horse, 107.
- Boom, of long ship, Note on, 176.
- Bosham, Sussex, Danish Royal Burial at, 228.
- Brettenham, Norfolk, Finds at, 234.
- Bridgwater, Visit of members to, 37.
- Bronze Age in Norway, Scarcity of finds of, 72.
- Brooches, Notes on Cruciform, 188; of Viking Age from Ireland, 178; from Northumbria, 112; Penannular from Westmoreland, 230.
- Bruce, Mr. John, Obituary notice of, 405.
- Brunanburh, Location of, in Lincolnshire, 360; Notes on site of, 193.
- Bucket, Note on find of, at Luffenham, 394; Early from Marlborough, 307; fittings of, from Norfolk, 231.
- Bucket, The Oseberg, 297; Date of, 305; Material of, 300.
- Buddha, Figure resembling, on Oseberg Bucket, 302.
- Bugge, Prof. Sophus, Death of, 353; Obituary notice of, 400.
- Bryce, Rt. Hon. J., Notice of Lecture on Norsemen by, 175.
- Callaghan, Prince of Cashel, Battle with Northmen, 372.
- Canoe, British, found at Glamford Brigg, 357; Early from Denmark, 358, 396; Method of repairing, 358.

- Cannington Park, Somerset, Battle burials at, 237.
- Caspersen, Capt. Hans. H., Obituary notice of, 184.
- Cearbhal, Irish king, Story of, 379.
- Cemetery, Anglo-Saxon, found at Ipswich, 179; at Reading, 176.
- Charlemagne, Influence of his policy on Vikings, 386.
- Charm, Hammer and nail in Somerset, 149; against bleeding, in Devon, 52.
- Cheddar, Visit of Club members to, 40.
- Chi-Rho monogram on early Crosses, 407.
- Churches, Plunder of, by Vikings, 289.
- Cistercian Abbey at Lyse, Norway, 59.
- Clergy, Warlike, in Ireland, 384, 387.
- Cleveland, Note on Scandinavian early population of, 416.
- Clonmacnois, Repair of ruins at, 393.
- Clontarf, Preservation of the mound at, 177.
- Coins, of Archbp. Vigmund, at York, 173; of Ivar of Dublin, 374; by moneyer, Sumarledi, 411; of first Viking rulers in England, 290; Mediæval in Norway, 74; Northumbrian at Hexham, 304; Roman in grave in Norfolk, 235; from Viking grave in Scotland, 174.
- Colchester Museum, Dane's skin at, 222.
- Collingwood, Prof. W. G., Viking Age in England, 111; Lake District Report, 230; Shetland Legend from Fljótsdæla Saga, 272.
- Compass, Use of Norwegian points of, in Iceland, 348.
- Combwich, Somerset, Odinic legends at, 145; Visit to by members, 42.
- Copenhagen, Centenary of National Museum at, 82; Icelandic Exhibition at, 75.
- Copford, Essex, Dane's skin on Church door at, 222.
- Cormac MacCuileanan, Irish king and abbot, 389; Revision of laws by, 391.
- Crosses, Anglian, of Viking Age, 175; in Isle of Man, 304; in Northumbria, 119; in York, 411.
- Crosses, Ornaments of, Chi-Rho monogram, 407; Edda subjects, 130; Galleys on Scottish, 196; Sigurd scenes, 409; Sacred subjects, 133.
- Crosses, Withern series of, 407; Wheelheaded, pre-Danish, 397.
- Croxton, Norfolk, Bronze mount from, 231.
- Culdees in Iceland, 294.
- Cup, The Ormside, 111.
- Curse pole, Horses head on, 183.
- Dances, National, of Iceland, 171; of Norway, 168, 170; of Sweden, 170; forbidden in Denmark in 17th century, 171.
- Danes, The Battle burials of, at Cannington explored, 239; Attitude of, toward literature in Ireland, 364; First descent of, on Ireland, 369; Invasions of Lincolnshire by, 361; Tradition of invasion by, in Somerset, 148; Name of as term of reproach in West of England, 229.
- Danes' skins on Church doors, 221; *et seq.* microscopic examination of, 221; term used as synonymous with freckles, 228.
- Dialect, Note on Scandinavian influence on English, 194.
- Denmark, King of, Address to, on accession, 22; Visit of, to Iceland, 262.
- Denmark, National Museum of, Centenary, 82; progress of, 418.
- Devil's Punchbowl, Hindhead, Surrey, Early sacred uses of, 177.
- Downend Camp, near Bridgwater, Traditions concerning, 242.
- Downing, Mr. W. F., Obituary notice of, 184.
- Drogheda, Battle of, and lament for, 384.
- Droplaug, Heroine of Shetland Legend, 273.
- Dryden, Sir H., Exhibition of Northern Sketches by, 23.
- Dubhghaill and Finnghaill in Ireland, 370.
- Dublin, First capture of, by Norsemen, 367; Irish Bards at Danish court of, 364.
- Dwarfie Stone of Hoy, 276.
- Earls of the Isles, Submission of, to King Olaf, 318.

- Edda, The, Notes on lines in, 399;
Subjects from, on English
Crosses, 130 *et seq.*; on Manx
Crosses, 409.
- Egil's Saga, Extracts from, relating
to Brunanburh, 359.
- Emly, Ireland, Battle at, 391.
- Enamel, Irish, in Norse grave, 173;
of mount on Oseberg Bucket,
301.
- English soldiers, Playing-song
from Somerset, 243.
- Erse, Proof of Viking knowledge
of, 191.
- Essex Churches, Danes' skins from
doors of, 223.
- Ethandune (Edington on Poldens),
Club visit to, 38.
- Eynhallow Monastery, Remains of,
185.
- Eyolf Karsson, Adherent of Bp.
Gudmund in Iceland, 100, 333.
- Eystein, Archbp. of Nidaros, Men-
tion in Brakelonde of, 89.
- Fairies, Norse melody learned from,
162.
- Faroe, Modern cult of ancient
literature in, 343; Relations of,
with Shetland, 419.
- Fibula, Penannular from Kirkby
Lonsdale, 230; of Viking Age
from Broughton, 114; (*see also*
under "Brooches.")
- Finds of Bronze Age in Norway,
Scarcity of, 71; at Forbury,
176; of mediæval coins at
Ryfylke, 74; lost in Somerset,
50; at York, 54; (*see also* under
"Grave goods.")
- Finland, Early religion of, 414.
- Fishing Stone, The, at Gosforth,
136.
- Flaying, Early mentions of, as
punishment, 218; late examples
of, 220.
- Fljótssæla Saga, Shetland Legend
from, 272.
- Folk-song, Definition of term, 151;
character of Northern melodies
of, 156; earliest Scandinavian
collection of, 155; early dis-
tributors of, 152; student dis-
tributors of, 166; refrain of
Northern, 159.
- Forbury, Reading, Finds at site of
Danish Camp at, 176.
- Fosterage of Irish children by
Norsemen, 376.
- Frankish mintmasters in England,
290.
- Gollancz, Prof. L., Gringolet,
Gawain's Horse, 104.
- Gall-Gael, Mixed race in Ireland,
375; Relapse to Paganism of,
377; present in England with
Danish hosts, 376.
- Geitir, Shetland giant in story of
Droplaug, 281.
- Gellir Thorkelsson, sent to Iceland
by King Olaf, 323.
- Ghosts, Quantock legends of, 145.
- Giants in Iceland and Shetland,
273; Bed of, in Shetland
romance, 275.
- Glamford-Brigg, Lincs., Viking
Age Raft found at, 355.
- Gleemen and Minstrels, Early
position of, 153; Instrumental
skill of, 154.
- Goad family, Derivation of name,
393.
- Gormliath (Kormlóð), Story of
Queen, of Ireland, 379.
- Gosforth Cross, Date of the, 130.
- Gower, "Hodening" in, 183.
- Grave goods, of Viking Age from
Ireland, 178; Anglo-Saxon at
Ipswich, 179; from Jutland,
180; from Melhus, Norway,
398; at Oseberg, 297; Roman
from Norfolk, 234; with Ship-
burial in Scotland, 172.
- Grimsey, Iceland, Asked for by
King Olaf, 320.
- Gringolet, Gawain's horse, 107 *et*
seq.; Name of Wade's boat,
106.
- Gudmund Arason, Bp. of Holar,
Iceland, Scenes from life of,
86 *et seq.*, 324 *et seq.*; ship-
wreck of, in Iceland, 97; con-
secrated to Holar, 324; Policy
of resembling Becket's, 90, 325;
Summoned to Norway, 332;
Progresses and following of,
325; Fall and flights of, 330 *et*
seq.; Death of, 102; Story of
the Trolls and, 103; Summary
of work of, 339.
- Gudmund, Eyolfsson, Leader of
King's party in Iceland, 321.
- Gustafson, Professor Gabriel.
Notes on a decorated bucket
from the Oseberg Find, 297.
- Guthrum, King of East Anglia,
coins of, 290.

- Guttorm, Archbp. of Nidaros, Authority in Iceland claimed by, 335.
- Haakon, King of Norway, Address to, on Accession, by Club, 27.
- Hakon Hakonsson, King, Submission of Iceland to, 325.
- Hakonar Saga, Story from, 351.
- Halfdan, King of Northumbria, Coins of, 290.
- Halling Dance, The Norse, 168.
- Halls, Norse, Orkney cottages on same plan, 186.
- Halton, Lancs., Sigurd Cross at, 140.
- Hamdon, Somerset, Suggested site of Battle of Ethandune, 38.
- "Hammer-Bone" charm used at Whitby, 178.
- Harald Fairhair, Policy of, with regard to Iceland, 310.
- "Hardangerfele," Description of the, 169.
- Harp, Special instrument of the Skalds, 155.
- Hastings, Late Viking survival at, 396.
- Hart, Representations of, on Crosses, 122.
- Heimdal, On Gosforth Cross, 136.
- Helgastadir, Incident of fight at, 86.
- Helmet, Portions of, found in Norfolk, 236; of Viking Age in Ireland, 51; Note on "winged," 51.
- Hermits, Columban, in Iceland, 294.
- Herston, Orkney, Cist-burial found at, 251.
- Hexham, Bronze vessel found at, 304; Hogback stone at, 394.
- Heysham, Lancs., Hogback stone at, 136.
- Hindhead, Surrey, "Devil's Punch-bowl" at, 177.
- Hobart, Col. G. B. B. (Vice-Pres.), on Athelney campaign, 38; Obituary notice of, 404.
- Hodening, Notes on Kentish custom, 182, 399; In Gower, 183.
- Hogback Stones, at Hexham, 394; at Heysham, 136; at Lowther, 136; Notes on, 394, 410.
- Holar, Iceland, Sieges of See of, 327, 330.
- Holkham, Norfolk, Exhibition of flints from, by Mr. Lowerison, 29.
- Hope, Orkney Place-name, Origin of, 185.
- Horse, Gawain's "Gringolet," 104 *et seq.*; Models of white in Germany at Christmas, 177; Skull of, on "curse-pole," 183; Skull of, in Kentish "Hodening," 399.
- Hull, Eleanor, The Gael and the Gall, 363.
- Hull Museum, Notes on wooden images in, 176.
- Humber River, Changes in channel of, 361; Line of Danish marches from, 359.
- Hunt, Rev. Alfred, The Viking Raft or Pontoon Bridge discovered at Glamford-Brigg, N. Lincs.
- Hunting Scene, on early pottery from Jutland, 180.
- Icarus, Northern form of myth of, 109.
- Iceland, Archæological Society of, 75; Character and individuality in, 346; Cult of literature in, 344; Excavations at Gösár in, 262; National dance of, 171; Exhibition of private Museum from in Copenhagen, 75; Visit of King of Denmark to, 262.
- Iceland, Early Celtic settlements in, 78; Celtic Place-names in, 293; Christian hermits in, 294; Missions to, 314; Nationalities of settlers from Great Britain in, 292; State of, in Twelfth Century, 87; Troubles of Bp. Gudmund in, 86 *et seq.*, 326 *et seq.*
- Iceland and Norway, Comparison of Sagas of, 349; Commerce between, 309; Ecclesiastical relations between, 324; Feeling of bond between, 345; Early political tension between, 325 *et seq.*
- Icelanders, Definition of rights of, in Norway, 317; Position of, 309; Present number of, in Canada, 352.
- Images, Pagan, in England, 116.
- Ingimund the Priest, Shipwreck of, 97; Lost in Greenland, 100.
- Ipswich, Anglo-Saxon cemetery found at, 179.
- Ireland, Anarchy of, in eighth century, 366; First Danish descent on, 369; Danish destruction in, over-rated, 364; Early Norse

- and Danish leaders in, 367;
First settlements in, probably un-
noticed, 376; The Gall-Gael in,
375; Intermarriages in, 378;
Laws of, revised by Cormac
MacCuileanan, 389; Method of
fighting in, 371; Notes on early
poetry of, 191; Pagan relapse
in, 377; Racial wars in, 366,
374; Religious feuds in, 387;
Viking Age grave goods found
in, 178.
- Iron Age, Grave-goods of the Early,
found in Jutland, 180; In
Jäderén, 267.
- Ironwork, Scandinavian type on
English Church doors, 249.
- Ivar, Danish king in Ireland and
Northumbria, 373.
- Jäderén, Norway, Early Iron Age
dwellings found in, 267.
- Jutes, Note on linguistic relations
of the, 395.
- Kæmpeviser Songs, Origin of, 156;
Dance rhythm of, 158.
- Kalevala, Longfellow and the, 413.
- Kent, Notes on early inhabitants
of, 179; Notes on Hodening in,
182, 399.
- Ker, Prof. W. P., The Life of
Bishop Gudmund Arason, 86;
Iceland and the Humanities, 341.
- Kettles, Bronze, from Hexham, 304;
Range of finds of, in Norway,
393.
- Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, Ship-burial
at, 172.
- Kirkby Lonsdale, Fibula from, 230.
- Kirkoswald, Brooch from, 113.
- Kitchen midden, First find of, in
Norway, 266.
- Kolbein Tumason, Relations of,
with Bp. Gudmund Arason, 91;
Slain at Willowness, 329.
- Kraghede, Jutland, Grave-goods
found at, 180.
- Kynwich Castle, Notes on, 49.
- Land-taking in Iceland, Laws regula-
ting first, 312.
- Langeleik, The Norse modern substi-
tute for Harp, 155.
- Lann, Irish queen, Story of, 383.
- Lake District, Note on early popula-
tion of, 187; Silver Fibula found,
230.
- Lochlann, The, in Ireland, 372.
- Loki, Representation of punishment
of, on Cross at Gosforth, 131.
- Lowther, Westmorland Hogback
stone, at, 127.
- Lyse, Bergen, Remains of English
Abbey at, 59.
- Magnusson, Eiríkr, The Last of the
Icelandic Commonwealth, 308.
- Madonna, Early representations of
the, 408.
- Man, Isle of, Anglian Crosses in, 406;
Anglian refugees in, 408.
- Margaret, Queen, and King Hakon,
351.
- Margaret's Hope, Orkney, Note on
derivation of name, 185.
- Mari Llwyd, Welsh term for
"Hodening," 183.
- Massacre, Danish, Evidences of, at
Cannington, Som., 240.
- Maughold, Isle of Man, Inscribed
slabs at, 407.
- Mayer, Hendrik, Story of Troll music
told by, 162.
- Melhus, Norway, Celtic Reliquary
found at, 398.
- Mellitus, Bp. of London, Quarrels of
with pagan princes, 245.
- Middleton Moor, Yorks., Bronzes
from, 304.
- Mints, Viking, in England, 290.
- Möklebust, Bronze kettle from, 303.
- Monasteries, Feuds between, in Ire-
land, 385; Burning of, in Ireland,
366, 385.
- Moncrieff, Col. Sir A., Obituary
notice of, 183.
- Mounts, Bronze, from Yorks., 304;
Human form of Oseberg bucket,
303; Irish metal, 303.
- Naterstad, Norway, Ship-burial at,
73.
- National songs of the three Northern
kingdoms, 154 *et seq.*
- Nial Glundubh, Irish king, Lament
for, 382.
- Nidaros, Archbp. of, claim of author-
ity in Iceland by, 331, 336; Ice-
landers at, in 1097 A.D., 319.
- "Noah's Ark" as weather sign, Note
on origin of, 416.
- Nordfjord, Inscribed ship on stone at,
268.
- Norfolk, Bronze bucket fittings from,
231; Flints from, 29; Grave-
goods from, 234, 236.

- Northumbria, Relations of, with Ireland in 9th Cent., 374; Scandinavian Influence on Art of, 410.
- Norsemen in Ireland, The, Attacked by Danes, 369; Distinctive names of, 371; Early leaders of, 368; End of Supremacy of, 373; Inter-marriages of, 378; Organised Invasion by, 367; Settlements of, 376.
- Norway, National Dances of, 168; Rights of King of, in Iceland, 316; Suzerainty over Iceland established, 325; Stone Age in, 69, 266.
- Norway, King Haakon of, Address to, by Club on Accession, 27.
- Nyerup, Professor, Founder of the Danish National Museum, 84.
- Odin, a late importation, 193; "Hoddeing" and, 182, 399; On a "hogback," 139; in Wessex Legend, 146.
- Ogam characters, Notes on, 28.
- Olaf, Saint, Chapel of, at Porlock, 48; Church Dedications to, in Great Britain, 181; Representation of, on screen at Barton Turf, 57; In window at York, 55; Policy of, in Iceland, 316 *et seq.*; Tragedy of, 349.
- Olaf Stones, Legend of the, 55.
- Olaf Tryggvason sends mission to Iceland, 314.
- Old Lore, Orkney and Shetland, Inauguration of, 208.
- Orkney (and Shetland) Churches, Architecture of, 24; Open fires in cottages, 186; Origin of place-names in, 185; Ship-graves in, 174 (note); State Church in, 420.
- Ormside Cup, The, 111.
- Oseberg, Bucket from Ship-grave at, 297; Grave-chamber, contents at, 305.
- Osred, King of Northumbria, Exile of, in Isle of Man, 406.
- Papae, The, in Shetland, 67.
- Patronage, Lay, in Icelandic Church, 90.
- Peddar's Way, Norfolk, Roman use of the, 235.
- Pixies, The, in Quantock District, 144; Last seen in, 48.
- Plainsfield, Somerset, Battle Traditions of, 143.
- Pomona, Orkney, Origin of name, 185.
- Porlock, Somerset, Traces of Norsemen at, 48.
- Pottery, Anglo-Saxon with battle-burials in Somerset, 241; Early decorated from Kraghede, Denmark, 180.
- Prime-signing, as evidence of Viking Tolerance, 296.
- Quantocks, Traditions of the, 143.
- Sacrilege, Punishments of, in early times, 221.
- Sagas, Wide distribution of, 347; Norse and Icelandic local, compared, 349; Power of recording life shewn in, 94.
- Santon, Norfolk, Stone hide-softener from, 237.
- Saxons, Raids on Iceland by, 365.
- Scales and weights found at Colonsay, 173; As evidence of status of trader, 293.
- Schettelig, Haakon, Ship-burial at Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, Scotland, 172.
- Scotland, Modern cult of romance and poetry in, 342; Ship-burial in, 172.
- Sea-level in Norway, Changes in the, 70.
- Selkolla, Icelandic troll, 103.
- Sel-Thorir, slain by Asbjorn Selsbani, 350.
- Shetland, Dialect of, 65; Finnish influence on, 69; Legend of, in Fljótsdæla Saga, 273; North isles of, 68; Papae and Pechs in, 66; Sacred sites in, 67; Traces of Sun-worship in, 68.
- Ship, Representation of Viking, on Church door, 247; on Hogback Stone at Lowther, 127; On Stone in Nordfjord, 268; Restoration of the Oseberg, 298; "Ring-stemmed" of Beowulf, 414.
- Ship-Burial, At Snape, Suffolk, 395; First example from France, 396; At Naterstad, Norway, 73.
- Shipwreck, Bp. Gudmund's in Iceland, 97.
- Sighvat Sturlusson, Opponents of Bp. Gudmund in Iceland, 329.
- Sigurd, Scenes from story of, on crosses 140, 409.
- Sigurd, King of Northumbria, Coins of, 291.

- Skalds, Social position of, 154.
 Skallagrim, The sons of, in Lincolnshire, 360.
 Skarphedin's axe, Notes on, 76.
 Skimmington ride, The, Survival of, in Devon, 53.
 Sleipnir, Traditional colour of, 177.
 Smoothing-stone, Weaver's glass, Modern, and from Viking grave, 395; Neolithic found in Norfolk, 237.
 Somerset Men in London, Joint Meeting with, 26.
 Song of the Sea, Irish Viking poem, Story of, 191.
 Songs, Northern patriotic, and their composers, 165.
 Southumbria, Danish invasion of, 359.
 Stefánsson, Jón, Western Influence on the Earliest Viking Settlers, 288.
 Stefnir, Tryggvasson's envoy to Iceland, 314.
 Stenness, New Runes found at, 253; reading of, 258; Preservation of Standing Stones of, 60.
 Stillfleet, Yorks, Viking ship on Church door, 247; Dane's skin on, 227.
 Stoke Courcy, Som., Club visit to, 42.
 Stone Age, In Norway, 69; Weapon of, in skeleton of Urus, 79.
 Stone, Dwarfie, of Hoy, 276; Note on hogback, 410; Runed at Stenness, 252; Thor's at Hindhead, 177; Weapons from Norfolk, 236.
 Stones, Sculptured, Anglian in Isle of Man, 406; Cross-marked with ship-burial, 173; Pre-Danish in Cleveland, 416; With Ship forms, 196, 268; Standing in Nordfjord, 268; of Viking Age in England, 122.
 Student songs in the North, 166.
 Sturla Sighvatsson the Historian, Knowledge of his subject, 89.
 Sturlungs, The, and their times in Iceland, 95, 337.
 Suffolk dialect, Scandinavian traces in, 44 *et seq.*
 Sumarledi, Early moneyer in England, 411.
 Sun-dials, Note on early in Yorks, 411.
 Sverre, King of Norway, Attitude of, toward clergy, 91.
 Swastika designs on Church Doors, 249; on Cross, 125; on Oseberg bucket, 307.
 Sweden, King of, Club address to, on Accession, 208.
 Sveinbjörnsson, Sveinbjörn, Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish Folksongs, 151; The Royal Visit, 262.
 Sweden, Part-singing in, 167.
 Sword, Giant's bronze, in Shetland story, 274, 282; The Ormside, 112.
 Taunton Castle Museum, Dane's skin preserved at, 222.
 Thangbrand, Mission of, to Iceland, 314.
 Thetford, Find of armoured skeleton at, 235.
 Thomas of Canterbury, St., Parallel to policy of, in Iceland, 324.
 Thorlak, St., Bp. of Skalholt, 90.
 Thor, Hammer of, with cross, on English coins, 291; on a stone, 136.
 Tomar, Turgesius and Olaf the white in Ireland, 367.
 Traders, Plunder of Norse, in Iceland, 328; Honourable status of, in Iceland, 292.
 Treasures in Caves, common in, fairy tales, 275.
 Treaties, Reasons for apparent breach of, by Vikings, 289.
 Trolls, In Drangey, Bp. Gudmund's exorcism of, 103.
 Troubadours and Minnesingers, Social position of, 153.
 Tumason, Kolbein, Contemporary of Bp. Gudmund, 90, 325.
 Uni the Dane, Early Colonist in Iceland, 311.
 Urus, Skeleton of slain, found in Denmark, 79.
 Viking burial found in Brittany, 396.
 Vikings, The, Acceptance of Christianity by, 408; Adaptability of, 288, 295; Coins struck in England by, 290; Forefathers of Modern British, 417; Influence of their captives on, 295; Religious tolerance shewn by, 296.
 Viking Age, Charm dating from, used at Whitby, 178; Raft of, at Brigg, Lincs, 359; Remains of, farms of, in Jadesen, 267; Ship-burial of, in Scotland, 172.
 Vikivaki, Icelandic National Dance, 171.

- Vineland, Early documentary reference to, 319.
 Vine-motif on English Crosses, 411.
 Viste, Norway, Kitchen midden at, 266.
 Wade, Father of Wayland Smith, 105 ;
 The Boat, 106.
 Wales, Cult of Poetry in Modern, 341.
 Wayland Smith, in Somerset, legend, 146.
 Weland, Late use of name in England, 397.
 Wellington, Somerset, Lost find of Scand. Type at, 50.
 Westminster Abbey, Skin on Door of, 227.
 Whitby, "Hammer bone" Charm used at, 178.
 Whistler, Rev. C. W. Tradition and Folklore of the Quantocks, 142.
 Wick Barrow, Excavations at, 209 ;
 Scandinavian Type of Legends of, 48.
 Wild Hunt, The, Rood as safeguard against, 242.
 Willowness, Iceland, Battle at, 329.
 Winstone, Dr. B., Obituary Notice of, 184.
 Withern, Lines of Crosses at, 407.
 Wizards, Powers of Shetland, 275.
 Women Interred in Ship at Oseberg, 306 ; at Naterstad, 73 ; Transmission of Occult Powers by, 52.
 Worcester Cathedral, Skin on doors of, 226.
 Yinnstay, Orkney, Underground chamber found at, 180.
 York, Norse Abbeys founded from, 58 ; St. Olaf Memorials at, 55 ;
 Viking-Age relics from, 53, 111.
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