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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
JÓLAKÖTTUR, YUILLIS YALD AND SIMILAR EXPRESSIONS. By A. S. C. Ross, M.A.	1
THE PROPORTION OF SCANDINAVIAN SETTLERS IN THE DANELAW. By Eilert Ekwall	19
THE BEGINNINGS OF NORSE STUDIES IN ENGLAND. By J. A. W. Bennett, B.A.	35
THE CULT OF S. OLAVE IN THE BRITISH ISLES. By Bruce Dickins, M.A. Illustrated	53
EYRBYGGJA SAGA. By G. N. Garmonsway, M.A. . .	81
GRETTIR IN THÓRISDAL. By Mary Sandbach . . .	93
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LAXDÆLASAGA. By Professor James Drever	107
LIGGJA FYLGJUR ÞÍNAR TIL ÍSLANDS. By G. Turville-Petre	119
SCANDINAVIAN PERSONAL NAMES IN THE LIBER VITAE OF THORNEY ABBEY. By Dorothy Whitelock, M.A. . .	127
THE CONVERSION OF THE EASTERN DANELAW. By Dorothy Whitelock	159
RUNES AND THE GOTHIC ALPHABET. By Joan Blomfield, M.A.	177
THE FIRST THREE HANDS OF THE REYKJAHOLTS MÁLDAGI. By G. Turville-Petre	195
VIKING SOCIETY JUBILEE. By Dorothy Whitelock . .	207
RUNES AND THE GOTHIC ALPHABET. By Joan Blomfield, M.A.	209
THE OPPONENTS OF HARALDR HÁRFAGRI AT HAFRSFJÖRÐR. By Alistair Campbell, M.A.	232
SOME ENGLISH AND NORSE ALLITERATIVE PHRASES. By E. S. Olszewska	238
POEMS FROM THE FAEROESE OF J. H. O. DJURHUUS . .	255
JOHN SELDEN IN CONTACT WITH SCANDINAVIA. By Ethel Seaton	261
FRIEND AND FELLOW. By E. S. Olszewska	272

REVIEWS.

	PAGE
Viking Settlers in Greenland. By Paul Nørlund	43
Das Südjütische Dänentum. By Gudmund Schütte ..	44
Bishop Guðbrand's Vísnaþók. Edited by Sigurður Nordal	44
Íslenzk Fornrit VII. Edited by Guðni Jónsson	45
The Personal Names of the Isle of Man. By J. J. Kneen ..	46
The Vikings of Britain. By D. P. Capper	48
Danish-English Dictionary. By J. Magnussen, O. Madsen and H. Vinterberg	49
English-Danish Dictionary. By H. Vinterberg and B. Ladgaard	49
Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages, I-V ..	49
Hjaltland Miscellany. Edited by E. S. Reid Tait and Christina Jamieson	50
Old Caithness Maps and Map-makers. By John Mowat	51
London Mediæval Studies	51
The Orkneyinga Saga. Translated by A. B. Taylor ..	154
Iceland: A Land of Contrasts. By Hjalmar Lindroth ..	156
The Battle of Brunanburh. Edited by Alistair Campbell	205
Stories of the East Vikings. By G. Bie Ravndal ..	246
Hudūd Al-'Ālam "The Regions of the World." Translated by V. Minorsky	247
Sharaf. Al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India. Edited by V. Minorsky	249
The Old Norwegian General Law of the Gulathing. Edited by George T. Flom	250
The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England. By C. E. Wright	250
Scandinavian Archaeology. By Haakon Shetelig and Hjalmar Falk	252
Íslenzk Menning I. By Sigurður Nordal	277
Anglo-Saxon England. By F. M. Stenton	278
Puteshestvie Ibn-Fadlana na Volgu. By I. Krachkovskii	279
Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht. By A. Zeki Validi Togan ..	279

JÓLAKÖTTUR, YUILLIS YALD AND SIMILAR EXPRESSIONS.¹

By ALAN S. C. ROSS, M.A.

THE *locus classicus* for the 'Christmas Cat' of Iceland is a passage in Jón Árnason's *Íslenskar þjóðsögur og æfintýri*; I quote this passage—in translation—from the edition of 1862-4 (ii, 570):—"Nevertheless people could not enjoy Christmas festivities altogether without anxiety for . . . there was a belief that the monster which was called the 'Christmas Cat' (*jóla-köttur*) was on his wanderings then. He did no harm to those who *had* some new garment to put on on Christmas Eve, but those who had got no new garment 'all put on [went into]² the Christmas Cat'³ so that he took (ate?) them, or at least their 'Christmas fox'—and they thought themselves well out of it if the Cat contented himself with the latter. Now the 'Christmas fox' meant that which was apportioned on Christmas Eve to each member of the household for Christmas—meat, dripping, and so on. For this reason, in their work, they all vied with each other—both children and servants, so that they should earn some new piece of clothing from their masters before Christmas in order that they should not have to put on [go into] the devilish Christmas Cat, nor should he take their Christmas fox; and when both children and servants had succeeded in getting a new piece of clothing, a substantial Christmas fox . . . and thus (the most

¹ I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Professor Bruce Dickens, E. S. Olszewska and Mr. E. O. G. Turville-Petre for advice on various points connected with the present research.

² *fóru allir í jóla-köttinn*; *fara í* means 'to put on' but there is a pun here—with *fara í* in the sense 'to go into,' i.e. 'be eaten by.'

³ "Eða '*klæddu jóla-köttinn*' sem sumir kalla fyrir norðan." Mr. Turville-Petre has made some enquiries in Iceland about the phrase *klæddu jóla-köttinn* which is not to-day confined to the North. Clearly it can only be construed as meaning 'clothed the Christmas Cat,' but all Mr. Turville-Petre's informants were unanimous in saying that the phrase meant the exact opposite, 'clothed themselves with the Christmas Cat,' and was in fact identical in meaning with *fóru í jóla-köttinn*.

important) were not obliged to put on [go into] the Christmas Cat, no wonder if it was merry at Christmas in the old days."

I do not propose to discuss the Christmas Cat from the folk-lore point of view. Here I can only say that somewhat similar beliefs are found elsewhere in Scandinavia. In his book *Jul*, H. F. Feilberg records that in Søndmøre (Norway) the 'New Year's Goat' (*Nyårsbukken*) is supposed to get those who have not had new clothes for the New Year (ii, 59); in Salten (Norway) the fabulous 'Yule-Lads' (*Julesvendene*) are supposed to take those who have no new clothes for Christmas; in Senjen (Norway) they merely put on those garments which are not quite ready for Christmas in order to spoil them and make them wear badly (ii, 51-2). Feilberg also mentions that in the country in Denmark new clothes are considered essential for Christmas (i, 114).

An English parallel to the Christmas Cat of Iceland is afforded by a phrase in Dunbar's poem, *The Petition of the Gray Horse*, Auld Dunbar.⁴ We are fortunate in being able to reconstruct the events which must have led up to the writing of this poem with a considerable degree of accuracy. Dunbar received a salary from King James IV but in addition he was apparently entitled to a gift of clothing at Christmas, for, in the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, it is recorded that he received five pounds on 27 11 1506 and again on 4 11 1507 in place of 'his gown' (Mackenzie, *op. cit.* pp. xxii-iii). In the poem the poet likens himself to an old horse, worn out by long service; it is Christmas-time and he petitions the king for a Christmas present. The poem is in stanzas and each stanza ends with the refrain:—

"Schir, lat it never in toune be tald
That I suld be ane Yuillis yald;"

which is quite clear except for the phrase *Yuillis yald*.

⁴ W. M. Mackenzie, *The Poems of William Dunbar* (1932), p. 46 ff

In his edition of Dunbar (1834), D. Laing makes the following comment (ii, 327):—"My friend Mr. R. JAMIESON, informs me 'that a superstition prevailed in Morayshire, about 50 years ago [*i.e.* c. 1780], to the effect that no female would leave her work *in the draik* (*i.e.* unfinished) on Christmas Eve, for fear she should be *Yule's yaud*. Every girl was to finish the stocking she was knitting, the flax upon her rock, &c., in good time upon Christmas Eve, and then put every thing in order, all over the house, before going to bed, otherwise she should be *Yule's yaud* during the next year.' "

And in his edition (1893), J. Small says (iii, 295):—"It was a custom that every one should wear a piece of new dress at Christmas. The name of 'Yeel's Jade' was given to the one that was not fortunate enough to enjoy such a piece of dress. The name bore a little reproach in it. The name is still [*i.e.* c. 1890] in use in Banffshire. In parts of Aberdeenshire the one who was not fortunate enough to have some piece of new dress on Christmas morning was called 'Yeel-shard.'⁵ I remember well the dread we all as children had of being 'Yeel's Jade.' "

The phrase *Yuillis yald* in Dunbar's poem now appears to be clear; it corresponds to the *Yeel's Jade* or *Yule's Yaud* of MnScots; the word *jade* is used in its ordinary sense, and of the word *yaud* it will suffice to say at this juncture that it is a Norse loan-word in Scots, here used with approximately the same meaning as *jade*.

Dunbar's use of the phrase in his *Petition* is very

⁵ Doubtless an alteration of [ji:ls ja:d] 'Yeel's Jade,' showing change of [sj] to [š] and folk-etymology with *shard* 'puny or deformed child, especially a petulant, mischievous one' (EDD, s.v. *Shard*, sb.¹ 7).

⁶ I wanted to find out whether any trace of this superstition yet remained in Scotland, so I wrote a letter to the *Banffshire Advertiser and Buckie and Moray Firth Fishing and General Gazette* (7/10/1937) asking for information on the point. I received only one reply—from Mrs. Margrit Wood of Portknockie, who said that she last heard the expression *Yeel's Jade* on Christmas Eve, 1918.

apt; not having received the customary Christmas present in lieu of his gown, he asks the king for it in order that he may not be a *Yule's Jade* by lack of it. His request was apparently granted for the last stanza of his poem is entitled *Respontio Regis* and reads:—

“Efter our wrettingis, thesaurer,
Tak in this gray hors, Auld Dumbar,
Quhilk in my aucht with service trew
In lyart changeit is in hew.
Gar hows him now aganis this Yuill,
And busk him lyk ane bischopis muill,
For with my hand I have indost
To pay quhatevir his trappouris cost.”

The *jøl-jager* of the Shetlands affords a further parallel to the *Jólaököttur* and the *Yuillis yald*. In his *Etymologisk ordbog over det norrøne sprog på Shetland*, J. Jakobsen glosses the word *jøl-jager* (I translate) as ‘person, particularly boy, who has not had new clothes, or something else new, for Christmas’; the meaning is thus exactly the one under discussion here. Jakobsen suggests that *-jager* in *jøl-jager* is the same word as *jager* meaning ‘pedlar; one who buys on the Q.T. (particularly of a buyer of fish).’ This latter word *jager* is clearly a normal derivative of the Shetland verb *jag* ‘to buy on the Q.T. (particularly of fish).’ Jakobsen’s etymology for *jøl-jager* is thus hardly satisfactory as regards meaning. But in the Orkney Norn there is a word identical in form with our Shetland *-jager*; this is the word *yaager* glossed by H. Marwick, *The Orkney Norn* s.v., as ‘horse, strong man’ and taken by him as the same word as OIcel. *jalkr* ‘gelding’ MnIcel. *jálkur* ‘gelding; nag, jade’ MnNorw. *gjelk*, *jalk* ‘gelding’: MnSw. dial. *jälk* ‘stallion.’¹ If

¹ And with this last sense we may compare OIcel. *Jalkr* as one of Odin’s names; an epithet ‘stallion’ is far more appropriate to Odin than ‘gelding’—to quote the *Völsungsrímur* (ed. by F. Jónsson in *Rimnasafn* I) I. stanza 47.

“War suo Oden uifen gramr,
uarlla feckz hans jafne,
marga sonv gat fylkir framr,
fæ ma merkia nafne.”

we assume that *-jager* in Shetland *jøl-jager* has a meaning similar to that of Mlcel. *jálkur* as 'nag, jade,' then the *jøl-jager* of the Shetlands is an exact parallel to the Yule's Jade of Scotland.

We have seen that three different words for *jade* are used in the expressions of the type Yule's Jade, viz. *jade* itself, Shetland *-jager* (= OIcel. *jalkr*) and ME. *zald*. These words all present philological problems of some difficulty, which I shall now discuss. I begin with the most difficult of the three words, ME. *zald*—surely unique in offering phonological difficulties in English, Norse and Finno-Ugrian at the same time.

MIDDLE ENGLISH *zald*.⁸

ME. *zald* is a Norse loan-word (: OIcel. *jalda* 'mare') and this Norse word is itself a loan-word from Finnish. Admittedly its etymon is not extant in recorded Finnish but the cognate is found in two other languages of the Finno-Ugrian family (to which Finnish belongs) namely Mordvin⁹ (*äl'd'ä*, *el'd'e* 'mare') and Lappish (*al'do* 'reindeer-cow').¹⁰ But the problems presented by these two borrowings—Finnish into Norse and Norse into English—are of some complexity and have not hitherto been discussed.

I. Data.

(A). ENGLISH. The word is rare in ME. and, at a later date, is confined to the dialects of Northern England and Scotland. It is apparently first recorded

⁸ Abbreviations:—BN. = J. Brøndum-Nielsen, *Gammeldansk grammatik*; EDD. = J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*; EDG. = J. Wright, *The English Dialect Grammar*; Md. = Mordvin (M. = Moksha dialects, E. = Erzja dialects); NED. = *New English Dictionary*. The names of English counties, etc., are abbreviated as in EDG.

⁹ Spoken in the Middle Volga district.

¹⁰ The statement that ME. *zald* is a borrowing of ON. *jalda* is found in NED. s.v. *Yald*. In his *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, s.v. *Gjelk*, A. Torp states that OIcel. *jalda* is a loan-word from 'Finnish'—apparently meaning 'Finno-Ugrian'—and mentions the Mordvin word.

as the first element of a Yorkshire place-name, *Yaldesik*, occurring in a charter of 1307 which is an inspeximus of an earlier one.¹¹ Apart from *Yuillis yald*, the word occurs twice elsewhere in Dunbar, viz. in *yaid-aver*¹² at v. 25 of the Petition discussed above and in *yadswyvar*, *Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie* v. 246, probably meaning 'one who commits bestiality with mares' (ME. *swive*). In the Maitland Folio Manuscript (ed. W. A. Craigie) *jaid* occurs at v. 75 of the poem *A complaint anent Meiris* (i, 437 fl.), apparently in the sense 'old mare.' And in the *Morte Arthure* (ed. E. Björkman) the opprobrious epithet *zaldsons* is applied to the Saracens at v. 3809. The word is recorded in two sixteenth century documents, viz. J. Raine, *Depositions and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings from the Courts of Durham* (*Publications of the Surtees Society* XXI) 60/22: *yawd*; and *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling A.D. 1519-1666* (ed. R. Renwick) pp. 40-1: "You leid that said Annapill Grahame wes ane freris get and freris yawde."

In the modern dialects the word is plentifully recorded in Scotland and Northern England¹³; in the literature¹⁴ I have noted the following (written) forms:—*yad*, *yaud*, *yade*, *yaid* (Scotland) and *yaud* (*yawd*), *yode* (*yoad*), *yowd*, *yod*, *yāad* (Northern Counties). It will suffice to say here that, with the exception of Scots *yaid* (on which see p. 18), all these forms apparently descend from a ME. *zald* (cf. EDG. §41.2). The chief meanings are

¹¹ *Calendar of Charter Rolls* iii, 95/27. (I owe this reference to Dr. H. Lindkvist). After this article had gone to press Dr. A. H. Smith kindly called my attention to another early place-name reference viz. the place-names *Yaldeflete*, *Yaldfletegarth* (Yks.) mentioned in various fourteenth-century documents; see C. T. Flower, *Public Works in Mediaeval Law* vol. II. (*Publications of the Selden Society* XL), General Index s.vv.

¹² NED. *Arer*. sb. 3 'an old or worthless horse.'

¹³ For indirect evidence of the presence of the word in other parts of the country see p. 18.

¹⁴ In general it will suffice to refer the reader to EDD. s.v. *Yad*. sb. 1 and to the standard dialect glossaries for the details of the dialect material

'(old) mare' (Sc. Cum. Yks.) and '(old) horse' (Yks. n. Lan.); in Nhb. the sense 'work-horse or -mare' is also attested¹⁵; the specific sense of 'riding-horse' appears in n. Lan. Yks.; a connotation of inferiority—thus 'nag, jade'—is often present in Yks.; the word is sometimes applied as a term of abuse to women¹⁶ in much the same sense as standard English *jade* and, in view of *Ásbjörn jalda* (below), it is of interest that in Cleveland the word is recorded as being sometimes applied to a man (Atkinson, *loc. cit.*).

(B). NORSE.

(i). *Icelandic*. The word *jalda* 'mare' is only recorded in Old Icelandic and even here it is rare. The standard dictionaries only give four occurrences, three in verse, *viz.* (1) in the *níð* about King Harold Blue-tooth¹⁷ v. 7; (2) in the *níð* about Kormakr and Steingerðr v. 2 (*op. cit.* A. i. 178, B. i. 168); (3) in a verse from Gréttissaga (*op. cit.* A. ii. 438, B. ii. 469: stanza 26, v. 5)—and one place-name, *viz.* *Jöldu-hlaup á Irlandi*¹⁸ in the *Landnámabók*¹⁹ (ed. of F. Jónsson, 1925: 2/8). To these occurrences I may add the following:—*Ásbjörn jalda*²⁰ (*Heimskringla*, ed. F. Jónsson, 1911: p. 606, line 27); the place-names *Jöldu-steinn* (*Landná-*

¹⁵ Further applied to women in this sense in the expression *bait-yauds* 'women who gather bait for fishermen' (O. Heslop. *A glossary of words used in the county of Northumberland and on the Tyneside* ii, 801).

¹⁶ Sometimes to other female animals than horses, cf. J. C. Atkinson. *A glossary of the Cleveland dialect* s.v. *Yaud*, *Yode*.

¹⁷ F. Jónsson. *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning* A. i. 176; B. i. 166.

¹⁸ J. Fritzner. *Ordbog over det gamle norske sprog* s.v. *jalda* offers two explanations of the name *Jöldu-hlaup*; but it may well be a translation from the Irish—*Léim an eich* 'horse's leap' is a common place-name in OIr. (E. Hogan. *Onomasticon Goedelicum* s.v.).

¹⁹ The *Melabók* has the v.r. *Øllduhlaup* (ed. of 1921: p. 2, line 9).

²⁰ Despite his name we are told that *hann var vikingr inn mesti*; for the word applied to a man, see above and, for its use as a personal name, cf.—possibly—ONorw. *Iallupuæt* (p. 8), Dan. *Hjold-crup* (p. 8).

mabók, *ed. cit.* p. 9, line 2 and p. 12, line 13)²¹; *Jöldu-hólmar*, *Jöldu-hólar* (mentioned in c. 1274 and 1387, respectively).²²

(ii). *Old Norwegian*. The place-name *Iallupuœit*²³ may perhaps contain our word (*Iallu-* for gen. sg. ONorw. **Jaldu* = OIcel. *Jöldu*?), possibly used as a personal name—but this is very doubtful, see O. Rygh, *Norske guardnavne* vi, 105.

(iii). *Swedish*. The word *jäldä* 'mare' is recorded from the dialect of Gotland by J. E. Rietz, *Ordbok öfver svenska allmoge-språket* s.v.

(iv). *Danish*. Stednavneudvalget kindly inform me that our word may possibly be preserved in Danish place-names such as *Hjoldelund* (Nørre Gøs Herred, Husum Amt) and *Hjolderup* (Bjolderup Sogn, Rise Herred, Aabenraa Amt)—in the latter case doubtless as a nickname (*-rup* = OIcel. *þorp*—see BN. §287 note 1).

(C). FINNO-UGRIAN.

(i). *Lappish*. In his *Lappisk Ordbok—Lapp Dictionary*, K. Nielsen records the word *al'do* 'full-grown female reindeer which has a calf in that year'; Polmak: also 'full-grown female of reindeer in general.'

(ii). *Mordvin*: Erzja dialects *el'd'e*, Moksha *äl'd'ä*, *jäl'd'ä* 'mare'; the word can also be applied to women as a term of abuse.²⁴

²¹ This is clearly the rock called *Qldusteinn* in *Njálssaga* (ed. F. Jónsson, 1908) ch. xx. and the latter name has survived into Mnlcel. where it is applied to a rock (alternatively called *Lausalda*) in the Rangárvalla district of S.W. Iceland, situated in approximately the position the OIcel. references would lead us to postulate; it is, however, possible that the name has been shifted from the original rock to another in the immediate vicinity. See further P. E. K. Kálund, *Bidrag til en historisk-topografisk beskrivelse af Island* i, 257-9; P. Sigurðsson, *Safn til sögu Íslands* ii, 508; S. Vigfússon *Arbók hins Íslenska Fornleifafélags*, 1888-92, p. 38. (On *Jöldu* : *Qldu*-, see below).

²² *Diplomatarium Islandicum* ii, 116 and iii, 398. I owe the last two references to Professor A. Jóhannesson (Reykjavik).

²³ H. J. Huittfeldt, *Biskop Eysteins Jordebog (den røde bog)* p. 64.

²⁴ From information kindly placed at my disposal by Professor D. V. Bubrikh (Leningrad); cf. also J. Budenz, *Nyelrtudományi közlemények* v, 160.

II. Evidence of route of borrowing.

(A). That ME. *zald* is a borrowing of ON. *jalda* is suggested by the absence of any OE. or WGmc. cognate and by the similarity of the English and Norse words, both in form and meaning; this view is further supported by the distribution of the word in English (Scotland and Northern England).

(B). That ON. *jalda* is a Finno-Ugrian loan-word is suggested by the absence of any Germanic—or even Indoeuropean—cognate and by the similarity of the Finno-Ugrian and Norse words, both in form and meaning. The only two FU. languages from which the word could have been borrowed are clearly Lappish and Finnish. We may safely reject the first of these suggestions: in Lappish the word is applied exclusively to reindeer—perhaps the most significant feature in the national economy of the Lapps,—in Norse exclusively to horses.²⁵ We must thus accept the suggestion of Finnish²⁶ origin for ON. *jalda*; a cognate to Md. *äl'd'ä* 'mare' is admittedly not recorded in Finnish or in Baltic Fennic generally and we must therefore assume that the word existed at one time in Finnish but became extinct before the—comparatively recent—period of our written records. One of the chief problems before us will be the reconstruction of a PrFinn. form corresponding to the Mordvin and Lappish words.

²⁵ Icel. *Qldu-* in *Qldusteinn* beside *Jöldusteinn* (see above) is at first sight reminiscent of Lapp. *al'do*. But this is only apparent; *Qldu-* is probably an alteration of the unfamiliar *Jöldu-* by reason of a folk-etymology with Icel. *alda* 'undulation of the ground'; to this view the alternative Mnlcel. name *Lausalda* gives strong support. *Øllduhlaup* (Melabók) for *Jölduhlaup*, if not an error, is perhaps to be similarly explained.

²⁶ There is no general work on the Finnish loan-words of Scandinavian; it will suffice to refer the reader to an exhaustive study of one aspect of the problem, R. Saxén's *Finska lånord i östsvenska dialekter* (*Bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmälen och svenskt folkliv* xi, 3). For Finnish-Scandinavian relations see the relevant sections in *Suomen Suku* (i, 264 ff.) and J. Jaakkola, *Suomen varhais-historia*

III. The Vowel.

The *ä* of Moksha Mordvin *äl'd'ä* and the *e* of Erzja *el'd'e* entitle us to postulate a PrMd. form with *ä* (H. Paasonen, *Mordvinische Lautlehre* p. 72).²⁷ The normal Finnish correspondence of PrMd. *ä* is *ä*²⁸; cf. Md.M. *k'äd'*, E. *k'ed'*: Finn. gen.sg. *käden* 'hand.' The normal Finnish correspondence of Lapp. *a* is *a*²⁹ (cf. Lapp. *dal've*: Finn. *talvi* 'winter') but there are undoubtedly a number of cases in which the correspondence Lapp. *a* = Finn. *ä* obtains e.g. Lapp. *daw'lle*: Finn. *täplä* 'spot' (Wiklund, *op. cit.* p. 147). It is thus clear that the *ä* of PrMd. **äl'd'ä* and the *a* of Lapp. *al'do* can only correspond to an *ä* in PrFinn. The postulated correspondence, PrFinn. **ältä*/**äl'dän*³⁰: Md.M. *äl'd'ä*, E. *el'd'e*: Lapp. *al'do*, would in fact be exactly paralleled by the correspondences Finn. *tähti*: Md.M. *tästä*, E. *tešte*: Lapp. *das'te* 'star' (Wiklund, *op. cit.* p. 148) and Finn. *järvi*: Md.M. (j)*är'k'ä*, E. *er'k'e*: Lapp. *jaw're* 'lake.'³¹

The *e*-phonemes of Scandinavian are of two kinds, those derived primarily from PrGmc. *e* and those due primarily to the *i*-umlaut of PrGmc. *a*. In the various languages both phonemes ultimately fell together: in OIcel. both are written *e*, though the grammarians of the twelfth century still distinguish them,³² but in ONorw. they are kept distinct: *e* < PrGmc. *e* and *æ* < PrGmc. *a*³³; in East Norse both phonemes are in general written *æ* (BN. §161); thus we have OIcel. ONorw. *bera*, OSw. ODan. *bæra*=OE. *beran* (PrGmc.

²⁷ The *j* of *jäl'd'ä*, found in many M. dialects, is paragogic and of secondary origin (Paasonen, *op. cit.* p. 66).

²⁸ A. Genetz, *Ensi taruun vokaalit suomen, lapin ja mordran kaks- ja useampitaruisissa sanoissa* (Suomi III. 13. iii), p. 30.

²⁹ K. B. Wiklund, *Entwurf einer urlappischen Lautlehre*, p. 124.

³⁰ On the consonants see p. 12 ff.

³¹ E. N. Setälä, *Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran aikakauskirja* XIV. iii. 39, and T. Lehtisalo, *Finnisch-ugrischen Forschungen* xxi. 30.

³² A. Heusler, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch* §57 note 1.

³³ A. Noreen, *Altisländische und altnorwegische grammatik* §117.

e); OIcel. *selia*, ONorw. OSw. ODan. *sælia* = Goth. *saljan* (PrGmc. *a*).

PrFinn. *ä* must have been an open *ä*-phoneme doubtless very similar to its MnFinn. descendant; this is clearly attested by the uniform *ä*-character of the corresponding phoneme in the other Baltic Fennic languages and even in the more distant branches of Finno-Ugrian, cf. Finn. *käsi* (gen. sg. *käden*) Karelian *käsi* Valtja *tšäsi* Estonian *käsi* Veps *käzi*, Md.M. *k'üd'* Vogul *kät* 'hand'.³⁴

OIcel. *jalda* clearly shows the breaking of an *e* of the type derived from PrGmc. *e*; a form **ēlda* with the other type of *e*-phoneme, that derived from the *i*-umlaut of PrGmc. *a*, could not have been broken to *jalda*.³⁵ Originally, of course, the second *e*-phoneme (that due to the *i*-umlaut of a PrGmc. *a*) must have been an open *æ* or *ę*. The chronology of *i*-umlaut and breaking—both absolute and relatively to each other—is one of the most discussed problems of Norse philology (for literature see BN. §78 note 1, §93 note 1) but, on any theory, it is safe to say that the open quality of the umlauts-*e*-phoneme was present up to—and no doubt long after—the time of breaking caused by a preserved vowel. If PrFinn. **ältä* **älðän*, with its open *ä*, had been borrowed *after* the period of the earliest *i*-umlaut of *a* in Norse, it could only have appeared in Norse with the open umlauts-*e*-phoneme and could not therefore have given *jalda*, with breaking; it must have given OIcel. **elda* (cf. OIcel. *kelda* < PrGmc. **kalðjōn-*

³⁴ H. Ojansuu, *Karjala-aunuksen äännehistoria* p. 90; L. Kettunen, *Vatjan kielen äännehistoria* (Suomi IV. 15. i) p. 116; *Viron kielen äännehistorian pääpiirteet* p. 70; *Lönnarepsa häälik-ajalugu* ii. 1.

³⁵ It has been suggested that breaking of the second *e*-phoneme (umlauts-type) is exemplified in ONorw. *Hælg* OSw. *Hælg*hi and related words (see further BN. §93 note 4); this is very doubtful (see E. Wessén, *Namn och bygd* xiii, 47-51)—and, in any case, the umlauts-*e*-phoneme though certain (cf. ONorw. *Hælg*) is here of secondary origin, being due to the shortening of a PrN. *æi* (< PrGmc. *ai*)—cf. OIcel. *heilagr* (A. Noreen, *Altisländische und altnorwegische grammatik* §128).

. Finn *kaltio*). Our word must therefore have been taken over from Finnish *before* the period at which any open umlauts-*e*-phoneme was present in Norse; i.e. probably before c. 700 A.D.³⁶ PrGmc. *e* may well have been fairly open³⁷ but, in any case, ON. *e* (< PrGmc. *e*) would have been the only *e*-phoneme of any kind available as a 'lautersatz' for PrFinn. *ä*—or any other short *ä*- or *e*-phoneme—before the earliest *i*-umlaut of PrGmc. *a* had begun.

Turning now to the English side of the question we see at once that the representation of an ON. breakings-*ja* by ME. *ja* (Oícel. *jalda* : ME. *zald*) is unusual, the usual correspondence being ME. *e* : ON. breakings-*ja* (as in ME. *fell* : Icel. *fjall*). This unusual correspondence can, however, be paralleled; cf. ME. place-name *Hyarlesholm* : Oícel. *Jarl*³⁸; place-name *Yanwath Wm.* : Icel. *jafn*³⁹; further ME. *zoten* : Icel. *jötunn*, etc. In a forthcoming article entitled "The Old Norse diphthongs in English," I show that, by reason of the nature of the Old English systems of diphthongs and triphthongs, the correspondence ME. *ja* : ON. breakings-*ja* is to be expected in the initial position; here it will suffice to refer the reader to this article.

IV. The Consonants.

Corresponding to Md.M. *äl'd'ä* E. *el'd'e* we should expect in standard modern Finnish a form showing the alternation *lt'/ll*, thus **ältä* gen. sg. **ällän*; cf. the parallel Md.M. *kyrda* E. *kirda* : Finn. *kerta*' gen. sg. *kerran* 'time.' At first sight it appears that neither of the MnFinn. groups *lt*, *ll* could correspond to an Icel. *ld*.

³⁶ A. Heusler, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch* §59.

³⁷ Cf. K. Luick, *Historische grammatik der englischen sprache* §130.

³⁸ A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* p. xxiii.

³⁹ E. Ekwall, *The concise Oxford dictionary of English Place-Names* s.v.

But with regard to the Finn. *lt* (nom. sg. **ällä*) it may be noted that a Finnish *t* is usually heard by Scandinavian speakers as *d* after *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*; cf. Finnish loan-words in the Finland-Swedish dialects such as Nyland *paldur* < Finn. *palturi* 'bad tobacco' and the 'högsvensk' forms of Finnish place-names such as *Sordavala* < Finn. *Sortavala* (Saxén, *op.cit.* on p. 9, §46). This representation is doubtless due to the relative phonetic positions of the Scandinavian *t*- and *d*-phonemes compared to that of the Finnish *t*-phoneme (there is no *d*-phoneme in this position in Finnish).⁴⁰

And MnFinn. *ll* (gen. sg. **ällän*) in forms such as gen. sg. *pellon*, nom. sg. *pelto* 'field' derives from an earlier *lð* by assimilation; the alternation *lt/lð* is in fact merely an example of the Finno-Ugrian alternation *t ð* as in MnFinn. nom. sg. *käsi* < **käti* gen. sg. *käden* (*käden* in some dialects) Lapp. *gieltâ* -ð- (= Md.M. *k'äd* E. *k'ed*) 'hand.' " Despite the widespread distribution of the assimilation *lð* > *ll* in the Baltic Fennic languages (Finn. nom. pl. *pellot* = Karelian *pellot* Votja *pellōD* Estonian *põllud*),⁴² it is apparently of fairly recent age in Finnish for a few forms with *ld* (i.e. *lð*) occur, beside those with *ll*, in the earliest texts; cf. *Mustakirja a. 1375 Waldas*.⁴¹ At the date—before c. 700—when the word was borrowed into Norse we may thus safely assume that the 'weak grade' still had *lð*, not *ll* (thus gen. sg. **älðän*).

The genesis of the Scandinavian *d*-phoneme presents problems of extreme complexity, particularly as con-

⁴⁰ This peculiarity of the Finnish *t* doubtless goes back some long time; *ld* (for modern *lt*) in early Finnish, e.g. in Agricola (*walda* for MnFinn. *valta* 'might, etc.'—see H. Ojansuu, *Mikael Agricolan kielestä* (Suomi IV. 7. i), pp. 14-5) is perhaps to be similarly explained.

⁴¹ J. Szinnyei, *Magyar nyelrhasonlítás*, p. 36.

⁴² H. Ojansuu, *Karjala-aunuksen äännehistoria*, p. 22; L. Kettunen, *Vatjan kielen äännehistoria* (Suomi IV. 15. i), p. 57; *Viron kielen äännehistorian pääpiirteet*, p. 33.

⁴³ H. Ojansuu, *Suomen lounaismurteiden äännehistoria: Konsonantit*, p. 39.

cerns the combination $l\delta$; the subject has been studied in detail by H. Celander in his excellent *Om övergången av $\delta > d$ i fornländskan och fornorskan*. Here a brief discussion must suffice. The Norse d -phoneme is derived from PrGmc. δ . We have already seen that ON. *jalda* must have been borrowed from Finnish at some date prior to c.700 (p. 12). At this period there can hardly have been a d -phoneme in existence, at any rate in a medial position; in Tjurkö (VII) *Helðar* (= OIcel. *Hialdr*—cf. Gaulish *Celtus*), the δ -rune presumably indicates a spirant, not a stop.⁴⁴ At the time our word was borrowed then there were only two possibilities:—(A) the ‘strong grade’ with lt (as nom. sg. **ältä*) was borrowed, the Finnish t being replaced, not by Norse t (this would have given Icel. **jalta*) but by Norse δ ; or (B) the ‘weak grade’ with $l\delta$ (as gen. sg. **ülðän*) was borrowed, the δ naturally being replaced by Norse δ . Of these two possibilities it is obvious that we must prefer the latter; however discrepant the Finnish and Norse t -phonemes may have been, it is hard to believe that Finnish t was nearer to Norse δ than to Norse t . As regards the change $l\delta > ld$ in Norse, our word **elða* would thus fall into the same category as PrN. *Helðar*, giving OIcel. *jalda* like OIcel. *Hialdr*; this change, which took place irrespective of the quantity of the preceding vowel, is usually⁴⁵ attributed to c.700.⁴⁶

On the above view of the word the English d of ME. *3ald* presents no difficulties, for the PrN. δ (<Finn. δ)

⁴⁴ A. Jóhannesson, *Grammatik der urnordischen runeninschriften* §97.

⁴⁵ A. Noreen, *Geschichte der nordischen sprachen* §61a.

⁴⁶ Supporting evidence that OIcel. *jalda* is similar to OIcel. *Hialdr*, showing an early change $l\delta > ld$, rather than to OIcel. 1st. sg. pret. ind. *talða*, *talda*, showing the same change at a much later date, is afforded by the spelling *jalda*, with ld , in the níð about King Harold Bluetooth (p. 7) in MS. A.M. 291.4^o, for this manuscript is one which preserves the distinction of ld (Type *Hialdr*) and $l\delta$ (Type *talða*); see Celander, *op. cit.* p. 52.

had presumably become *d* some long time before the word was borrowed into English.

V. The Norse flexion.

We have seen that it was the weak grade (as in gen. sg. **älðän*) with *lð*, not the strong (as in nom. sg. **ältä*) with *lt*, that was borrowed from Finnish into Norse. And on general grounds there is nothing surprising or unusual in this; in the great majority of the Finnish cases the weak grade occurs. But there is another factor which was probably decisive and which moreover determined the Norse declension. This was the fact that the PrFinn. 'genitive-accusative' ended in *-n* (with weak grade) and so also did the genitive and accusative of the weak feminines in Norse; cf. gen. sg. *iðinon* Stenstad (early VI): Goth. acc.gen.sg. *tuggon*, *tuggons* (= Icel. *tungu*). The last forms in Norse with final *-n* preserved are apparently this *iðinon* and the gen. sg. masc. *þrawiñan* Tanum (VI). It is therefore safe to say that at the time our word was borrowed from Finnish (before c.700) there was, if not an actual *-n* in Norse, at least sufficient nasalisation to render the similarity between the Finn. gen.-acc. and the PrN. gen. and acc. of the weak feminines the determining factor.

And this view receives strong support from the form in which another early Baltic Fennic loan-word appears in Norse. The name of the god of the Bjarmar was **jumala* in 'Bjarmian' (i.e. Old Northern Karelian)⁴⁷ and this appears as *Jomali* in OWN. by reason of the similarity between the Old Northern Karelian gen.-acc. sg. **jumalan* (cf. Finn. *jumala* 'god,' gen.-acc. sg. *jumalan*) and the nasalised endings of the OWN. gen. and acc. sg. of the weak masculine declension. I discuss *Jomali* in some detail in a forthcoming article in *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*.

⁴⁷ See my 'Terfinnas' and 'Beormas' of *Ohthere* (in the press).

OLD NORSE *JALKR*.

I have given above (p. 4) the Scandinavian data for this word. There is further a rare English word which is obviously related. EDD. s.v. *Yolk* sb.² records a noun *yolk* 'spayed pig' (Kent), the only reference being to J. C. Morton, *A cyclopædia of Agriculture* (1855) ii, 727.⁴⁸

There are two possibilities with regard to the relationship of the Norse and English words: the English word may be a Norse loan-word, or it may be native. On the first hypothesis we should have to assume that the modern dialect form derived from a ME. **jalk* < ON. *jalkr*, just as ME. *jald* < ON. *jalda* (p. 12).

On general grounds it is improbable that the Kentish word is of Norse origin and its phonology is definitely against this suggestion; for *yolk*—presumably indicating a pronunciation [jōk]—could hardly be a Kentish development of ME. **jalk*; cf. se.Ken. [tʃɔk] 'chalk' < OE. *cealc*; se.Ken. [tɔk] 'talk' < ME. *talken* (= E.Fris. *talken*).⁴⁹

The etymology of the words is difficult. OIcel. *jalkr* clearly cannot be connected with OIcel. *jalda* if we accept the suggested Finno-Ugrian etymology for the latter, for a *k*-suffix formation in the case of a loan-word would be most improbable. A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok* s.v. *jalk* 2, suggests that MnNorw. *jalka* 'to castrate' is etymologically the same word as MnNorw. *jalka* 'to chew' (hence with sense-development 'to bite' > 'to castrate by biting') < **jakla* (cf. MnNorw. *jagla* 'to chew laboriously at (something)'); but the native Kentish form cannot possibly be derived from such a base for the original *kl* would have been preserved in English.

I suggest the following derivation:—OIcel. *jalkr* <

⁴⁸ In order to ascertain whether the word still survived in Kent I published a letter in *The Kent Farmers' Journal* (xliii, 12) asking if anyone had ever heard it. The fact that I received no affirmative reply probably indicates that it has long been obsolete.

⁴⁹ See EDG. *Index* s.vv. *chalk*, *talk*, and §38.

PrGmc. **elka-* < IndE. **el-go-*, with -g-suffix as in Icel. *maðkr* OE. *bulluc* Skt. *turaga-* 'horse',⁵⁰ to the root *el-*⁵¹ found in various animal-names, e.g. Icel. *elgr* Wakhi *ruš* 'Ovis Poli',⁵² Greek *ἐλαφος* MnE. *lamb*. Kentish *yolk* can then be derived from a closely parallel Pr.Gmc. **eluka-* > OE. **eoloc*; the development 'to *yolk* would then afford an exact parallel to that attested by OE. *eowu* > ME. *zow* > MnE. dial. [jau], [jou], [jō], [jau], etc., beside ME. *ewe* MnE. *ewe*.⁵³

ENGLISH *JADE*.

According to NED. s.v. *Jade* sb.¹, the word *jade* first occurs in the *Canterbury Tales* (ed. W. W. Skeat) B 4002, where it rhymes with *glade* 'to gladden.' This rhyme clearly indicates a pronunciation with *ā*⁵⁴ and the Modern English pronunciation with [ei] is thus the direct descendant of Chaucer's form.

It has sometimes been suggested⁵⁵ that *jade*, too, represents a borrowing of ON. *jalda*, either direct or via Anglo-Norman. The suggestion that it is a direct borrowing, i.e. a parallel form to ME. *zald*, may at once be dismissed on the ground that Chaucer's *ā* and MnE. [ei] could not possibly derive from an earlier *ald*. (We need not therefore discuss the question whether an exceptional development ME. *ɜ* > MnE. [dʒ] might be possible.⁵⁶) If ON. *jalda* had been borrowed into Anglo-Norman it would have appeared as **jaude* and it would

⁵⁰ K. Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende grammatik der indogermanischen sprachen* §407. 2; F. Kluge, *Nominale stammbildungslehre der altgermanischen dialekte* §61b.

⁵¹ A. Walde and J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes wörterbuch der indogermanischen sprachen* i. 154.

⁵² Cited, for example, by G. Morgenstierne in D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language* i. xxiv.

⁵³ K. Luick, *Historische grammatik der englischen sprache* §360.

⁵⁴ *glade* vb. (< OE. *gladian*) always rhymes long in Chaucer, viz. *Canterbury Tales* E 820-2, F 633-4, F 967-8; *Book of the Duchess* 563-4, 1171-2; *Troilus and Criseyde* ii; 1542-4-5, 1574-5; (*Romaunt of the Rose* 497-8).

⁵⁵ H. C. Wyld, *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language* s.v. *jade* (II); W. W. Skeat and A. L. Mayhew, *A glossary of Tudor and Stuart words* s.v. *yawd*.

⁵⁶ NED. mentions *jolly-boat* (s.v.) in connection with MnSw. Mn.Dan. *jolle*.

again be impossible to derive Chaucer's *ā* and MnE. [ei] from this form. Moreover there is no trace of such a word in Anglo-Norman,⁵⁷ Norman, Picard, or French in general. This suggestion must therefore be rejected also.

There is thus no etymological connection between ME. *jāde* MnE. *jade* and ME. *zald* MnE. dial. *yaud* etc. But the two words have influenced each other mutually, both formally and semantically. Thus MnScots *jaud*, *jad* (EDD. s.v. *Jade*) can hardly derive directly from ME. *jāde*; they owe their form to *yaud*, *yad*.⁵⁸ On the other hand the Scots form *yaid* (cf. Dunbar's *yaid-aver*) cannot be derived from a ME. *zald*; it is clearly due to the influence of ME. *jāde*. Moreover the connotation 'inferior, worn-out, old' appears to be inherent in the word *jade*; it is not present in ON. *jalda* or in the Finno-Ugrian cognates of its etymon. When therefore this connotation is found in the English representatives of ON. *jalda*, it may well be due to the influence of *jade*.⁵⁹

The etymology of *jade* remains obscure; it is tempting to suggest some connection with Spanish *jadear* (earlier *ijadear*, cf. Lat. pl. *ilia*⁶⁰) 'to breathe with difficulty because of tiredness'; cf. particularly MnE. *jade* v. intrans. and *jaded* adj. But it must be admitted that there are considerable semantic difficulties in this etymology. But if it were accepted it might perhaps be suggested that originally *jade* had no female connotation and that this connotation arose in England under the influence of ME. *zald*.

⁵⁷ Teste Professor J. Vising (Göteborg) in a letter of 29 I 1934.

⁵⁸ NED. gives the form *jaud* only as recent Scots. But this form also occurs in 1564 in a deposition for a libel action at Chester: "then said the said Elizabeth Brerewod, 'had the Jawde no-bodie to put in but me? if the hoore Jawde wilbe a hoore Jawde, let the hoore Jawde be a hoore Jawde. if the hoore Jawde will plaie the hoore Jawde, let the hoore Jawde play the hoore Jawde; and let me alone bie her.'" (F. J. Furnivall, *Child-Marriages, Divorces, and Ratifications*, &c. in the Diocese of Chester, A.D. 1561-6, p. 123, line 10 ff.).

⁵⁹ For the forms of *zald* quoted here see p. 6 ff.

⁶⁰ W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches wörterbuch* s.v. *ilia*

THE PROPORTION OF SCANDINAVIAN SETTLERS IN THE DANELAW.

BY EILERT EKWALL.

A GREAT deal has been written on the Scandinavian settlements in England, and their history may nowadays be considered to have been cleared up in its main outlines. For brief accounts of the present stage of research I may refer to my two articles, *The Scandinavian Element in Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names* (1924), and especially *The Scandinavian Settlement in Historical Geography of England before 1800* (Cambridge, 1936). But important questions still remain unanswered, particularly those dealing with the relative numbers of the Scandinavian settlers and the nature of the settlements.

It has sometimes been asserted that the Scandinavian settlers cannot have been so very numerous, and that they were assimilated at an early date to the native English population. Others have advanced a contrary opinion. Though it is impossible to attain definite results on points of this nature, yet there are facts which give valuable indications. Some of these facts will be briefly set forth in the following notes.

The great numbers of Scandinavian place-names in certain parts of England indicate that the Scandinavian settlers in such parts must have been numerous, but they do not afford figures of a definite or even approximate kind. They may also be in a way misleading. The Scandinavian element in the place-nomenclature of the Lake District proper, to take an example, is very strong indeed and seems to indicate that the Scandinavian settlers must have far outnumbered the English population. But there is good reason to suppose that the Scandinavian language lived on for a long time, doubtless for some generations, in the remote parts of the north-west, and Scandinavian place-names there continued to be formed for at least a couple of centuries.

These names therefore do not give a definite indication as to the relative numbers of the original settlers.

There is reason to suppose that in the Danelaw the Scandinavian settlers on the whole became amalgamated with the English population far earlier than in the north-west. Most of the Scandinavian place-names there probably arose at the time of, or not much later than, the original settlements. Even in these districts the proportion of Scandinavian names is so considerable that the number of settlers cannot have been insignificant. In Yorkshire alone there are some 250 names in *-by* together with numerous other Scandinavian names, and many old English names appear in a Scandinavianized form. In Lincolnshire there are nearly 250 names in *-by*, and the Scandinavian influence is apparent in many other names. But it is not certain that even in the Danelaw the numbers of Scandinavian place-names give an accurate idea of the Scandinavian settlements. There is good reason to believe that Scandinavians frequently settled in villages which have retained their old English names. This is indicated by the numerous Scandinavianized place-names. Such names contained sounds or combinations of sounds unfamiliar to the Scandinavians. Names which offered no such difficulties might be adopted by the Scandinavians without a change. But though Scandinavian place-names do not allow definite conclusions, they are of very great value as indications of the distribution and relative intensity of the Scandinavian settlements. For a full discussion of these questions I refer to the articles just mentioned. The evidence of place-names, fortunately, can be supplemented by other evidence.

Some indication of the relative numbers of Danish settlers in the Danelaw is given by personal names. The earliest sources do not give much help. There are few Old English charters from the Danelaw. Yet there are some important exceptions. One is the well-known document printed in Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*

no. 1130, which mentions a good many people living in the district of Peterborough c. 972-992. The Scandinavian element in the place-nomenclature is not very considerable here; yet, 37 out of some 110 persons mentioned have Scandinavian names. Another document is one of c. 1050, which contains Bishop Ælfrie's festermen (Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, no. 9). The district in question is that of Snaith and Sherburn in Elmet in the West Riding of Yorkshire, a very strongly Scandinavianized district. 45 out of c. 75 individuals have Danish names. Some other late Old English charters may be added. The charters by Eadgar from 958 to 963 in *Early Yorkshire Charters* no. 2 ff. (Birch, 1029, 1044, 1052, 1112 f.), referring to Nottinghamshire and south Yorkshire, have numerous witnesses with Scandinavian names, most occurring in more documents than one. Certainly Scandinavian are: *Oscytel*, archbishop of York, *Gunnere*, *Halfden*, *Leot* (*Leod*), *Morcare*, *Oskytel*, *Urm*, all duces, *Arkitel*, *Cytelbearn*, *Dragmel*, *Forno*, *Hrowald* (*Rold*), *Sumerled*, *Dor* (for $\frac{7}{2}$ *Dor*), *Durkitel*, *Durmod*, *Thurferð*, *Ulfketel*, all ministri. Presumably these were earls or thegns in Danelaw districts. Some scraps of evidence may be gleaned from sources such as Symeon of Durham, the Life of St. Cuthbert, the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*, where people with Scandinavian names are recorded. But the numbers of names are not sufficient for any definite conclusions.

The Domesday Book does not afford very much help here. It generally gives only the names of the chief tenants, not those of small landholders. Yet the number of tenants with Scandinavian names is considerable in the Danelaw counties. A cursory examination of the names of tenants in Lincolnshire in the time of Edward the Confessor gives as result that there are some 140 Scandinavian names, some 80 English, while a few are obscure. I have not ventured to try to determine the numbers of individuals with English and

with Scandinavian names, as many persons held land in more villages than one.

Evidence for the names of the smaller landholders in the Danelaw is offered by twelfth- and early thirteenth-century charters issued by people belonging to the class of free landholders, and by lists of tenants in early landbooks. Most valuable for our purpose are the collections of charters from Lincolnshire, which have been published by Professor F. M. Stenton, especially his *Danelaw Charters*,¹ and the abstracts of charters in his *Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw*.² No material of quite equal value is available for other Danelaw counties. The documents in the collection of Northamptonshire charters published also by Professor Stenton, are chiefly royal or feudal charters. The *Early Yorkshire Charters*, published by Dr. Farrer, contain a good deal of relevant material, but it is scattered and difficult to judge. The earliest Assize Rolls and Feet of Fines are sometimes helpful.

In drawing conclusions from this kind of material, it must be remembered that the documents are comparatively late, few being earlier than the latter half of the twelfth century, and that personal nomenclature may be supposed to have undergone some changes in the time from c. 900. Fashion plays an important part in the field of personal names. Just as Old English names were almost totally superseded by French ones not long after the Norman Conquest, so it is probable that Scandinavian names may have been adopted by English people and *vice versa*. It is worthy of notice that it can often be shown that people belonging to the same family, in the eleventh or twelfth century, could have names of different provenance. Thus in the Lincolnshire Domesday are mentioned four brothers,

¹ *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*. London, 1920.

² Published in *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*. Lund, 1925-6.

who held land in Beesby and Newton le Wold, with the names *Ingemund*, *Oune*, *Edric*, and *Eculf*. *Oune* is certainly, *Ingemund* probably Scandinavian, while *Edric* is certainly English, and *Eculf* probably so (OE *Ecgwulf*). Among lawmen of Lincoln in 1086 are mentioned *Ulbert* and his brother *Ulf*; *Ulbert* is OE *Wulfbeorht*, while *Ulf* is presumably OS cand *Ulf*. In the lists of those who had sake and soke in Lincolnshire in the time of Edward the Confessor, we note Godric son of Toruert, Adestan son of Godran, Toli son of Alsi, where *Godric*, *Adestan*, *Alsi* are English (OE *Godric*, *Æðelstan*, *Ælfsige*), *Turuert*, *Godran*, *Toli* are Danish. Sometimes it is not easy to determine the provenance of personal names. In the same list we find Achi son of Siward and Wilac his brother. *Achi* is ODan *Aki*. *Wilac* may be ODan *Wiglek* or an unrecorded OE *Wiglac*, while *Siward* may be OE *Sigeward* or OS cand *Sigvarðr*.

However, even if the value of the figures given in the sequel must not be over-estimated, yet the fact that Scandinavian names are extremely common in documents of the kind under discussion is significant.

In the introduction to the Danelaw Charters, p. cxiv ff., Professor Stenton gives the number of individuals with Danish names in the charters embodied in the collection as more than half the number of those recorded (266 out of 507), and a good many of the remaining 241 have names of doubtful provenance. The Scandinavian names are stated to be 119.

In *Free Peasantry*, which contains abstracts of numerous charters from various parts of Lincolnshire and some also from other Danelaw counties, Professor Stenton gives no figures for the personal names. An examination of the material from Lincolnshire gives the following results. The grantors of these charters, which generally date from about 1200 or the early thirteenth century, in the greater number of cases have Norman names, but their fathers (mothers) or grand-

parents generally have English or Scandinavian names. The charters thus tell us something about the personal nomenclature about the middle of the twelfth century. Out of the individuals with English or Scandinavian names mentioned, some 240 altogether, about 160 have Scandinavian, about 80 English names. It is true that possibly in some cases the same person may have been counted twice. The number of names used is not so large, altogether some 70 Scandinavian, some 50 English.

Professor Stenton, Introduction to *Danelaw Charters*, p. cxiv, remarks that "an analysis of the native personal names occurring in the Lincolnshire Assize Rolls of 1202 shows 215 Scandinavian against 194 English forms."

A few notes may be added on Yorkshire names. Charter no. 64 in *Early Yorkshire Charters* mentions a good number of persons from Markingfield in the West Riding (1135-53). We find the following Scandinavian names: *Ragnilda*, *Audkill*, *Gamel* (and *Suan* his father), *Stainulf*, *Thor* (father of *Acca*), *Rainkill* (and *Stainbern* his father), *Ketel*, *Ulf*, *Orm*, *Wallef* (father of *Uctred*), altogether 12 Scandinavian names. There are only 5 English names: *Osbertus*, *Siward* (father of *Ketel*), *Heremer* (father of *Orm*), *Uctred*, *Acca*. The remaining names are Norman. Another important charter is no. 931 in the same collection, dating from 1100—c. 1115, which enumerates a number of landholders in the North Riding. Scandinavian names are here: *Ilving*, *Colbrand*, *Leising*, *Turkil*, *Thurkil* (and *Thorald* his father), *Thorne* (father of *Crinan*), *Leot*, *Askil*, *Halthor*, *Kille* (and *Erchel* his father), *Swartebrand*, *Arkil* (and *Thurkil* his father), *Forni* (father of *Helrandus*). *Crinan* is Irish and may be looked upon as Irish-Scandinavian. This gives us 16 Scandinavian names. English are: *Quenilda* (mother of *Turkil*), *?Athele* (father of *Leot*), *Aldred* (and his father *Siward*), *Sceldfrithe*, *Frithegist*, *Duda*,

at most 7. The rest of the names are Norman; *Melgrie* may be corrupt.

I have examined the names in the *Yorkshire Fines* 1109-1214 (Surtees Soc. 94). English and Scandinavian personal names are about equal in number, about 40 each, but the number of individuals bearing Scandinavian names is slightly higher than that of individuals with English names (c. 75 as against c. 60).

Valuable material for Norfolk is found in the collection of charters published by J. R. West in *Abbey of St. Benet of Holme* 1020-1210 (Norfolk Record Society 2), but time has not permitted a careful examination of it. Of the unpublished Castleacre Cartulary (Norfolk), Mr. D. C. Douglas, in the introduction to *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds* (1932), p. cxxi, footnote 4, tells us that "of the names of men of native ancestry in the twelfth-century charters in this cartulary (Harl. MS. 2110) about 40 per cent. are of Scandinavian origin."

In the volume just quoted Mr. Douglas publishes a most interesting document, The Feudal Book of Baldwin, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, 1065-1098. It is to be hoped that some similar documents relating to some more strongly Scandinavianized part of the Danelaw than Suffolk will come to light. The Feudal Book is about contemporary with Domesday Book. It gives the names of the free peasants of a number of Suffolk villages belonging to Bury St. Edmunds. In Suffolk the Danish colonization, to judge by place-names, does not seem to have been nearly as strong as in Lincolnshire or Yorkshire. This is borne out by the personal names in the Feudal Book. Of about 700 individuals mentioned, according to the editor, only some 60 have Danish names, *i.e.* 8½ per cent. The names of Danish origin are given in the Introduction, p. cxviii f.; they number 40. But very likely some names of obscure origin should be added to this number. And some certainly Scandinavian names have

been inadvertently omitted by the editor, as *Osbern*, *Osgot*, *Sparhauoc*, *Sucin*, *Turgod*, probably *Ormer*, though this may be OE *Ordmar*. The following names borne by fathers of tenants should also be added: *Dag*, *Gangulf*, *Grimulf*, *Puse*¹ (*Godric Pusesune*), *Scanche*. It is also a noteworthy fact that in the cases where the father's name is given, this is in several cases Danish, while the son's is English, in at least 14 cases. The opposite case is far rarer (3 or 4 exx.). This seems to indicate that in Suffolk English personal names began early to be adopted by Scandinavians. It is of interest to find a fairly large percentage of Scandinavian names in Coney Weston, whose name is English *Cynningestun*, Scandinavianized. To 11 English names correspond 6 Scandinavian (*Brother*, *Ulfchetel*, *Turchetel*, *Lefchetel*, *Suein*, *Odin*).

An important criterion for the relative numbers of Danish settlers in the Danelaw is offered by the proportion of sokemen recorded in Domesday. A sokeman was mostly of a humble position economically. In Lincolnshire in the eleventh century he might own a whole ploughteam or more, but there are cases where he only had one ox or even less. Professor Stenton, in the Introduction to the Lincolnshire Domesday, p. xx, says that the ordinary sokeman or villein was a man of two or three oxen. But, unlike the villein, the sokeman was a free man. Professor Stenton has discussed the problem of the sokeman in various publications, and he holds that "the sokemen of the Danelaw represent, as a class, the rank and file of the Scandinavian armies which had settled this district in the ninth century" (*Free Peasantry*, p. 79). It is very probable that this view is correct. The sokemen of the eleventh century would then on the whole be the descendants of the late ninth-century Danish settlers, while we should have to suppose that the villeins and bordars represent the native

¹ For *Puse*, cf. the ON by-name *Posi*, identical with ON *posi*, OSwed *upsi* "a bag."

English peasant class. Supposing this to be in the main correct, the following facts will be found to be of importance.

In *Free Peasantry*, pp. 77 ff., Professor Stenton gives the percentages of sokemen to villeins and bordars in each Lincolnshire wapentake. The percentages vary from roughly 73 to 20 per cent. of the peasant class. The lowest figures are those in Elloe wapentake, in the Holland division, where there are no Danish village names. The highest percentages are recorded in those wapentakes where the greatest numbers of Danish place-names are found, as in Bradley and Ludborough Wapentakes in the North Riding, or in Bolingbroke, Candleshoe, Gartree, Hill, Louth Eske in the South Riding. In these districts there are thick clusters of villages with names in *-by*. In Leicestershire from 50 to 27 per cent. of the peasants were sokemen. The highest percentage is found in Framland Wapentake, where place-names testify to a very thorough Danish colonisation. In Nottinghamshire, the figures are from 52 to 10 per cent., the highest percentage being found in Newark Wapentake.

The numbers of sokemen are not given for Lincolnshire, but for Leicestershire Professor Stenton gives the number in Domesday as nearly 2,000, while Nottinghamshire has more than 1,500 recorded (Danes in England, p. 16). Here we get concrete figures, which give some idea of the numbers of Danish settlers. No doubt the figures are too small, for it is unlikely that all the sokemen or villeins got recorded in Domesday. No exact figures for Lincolnshire are known to me, and I have not had time to undertake a calculation. But the following figures for parts of the county may be illustrative. The sokemen on the King's land recorded are alone about 1,275, while the villeins and bordars numbered nearly 1,000. An examination of Bolingbroke Wapentake, which is only a small portion of the Lindsey division, gave as result some 550 sokemen, as

against some 165 villeins and 60 bordars. The figures for Loveden Wapentake in Kesteven are some 410 sokemen, some 350 villeins and 115 bordars. It is clear that the total number of sokemen in Lincolnshire must have been far higher than that in Leicestershire. The sokemen must have numbered several thousands, and this figure would not include women and children.

Of course, the figures for 1066 may have been a good deal different from those of about 900. But if we may assume that the sokemen on the whole represent the descendants of the Danish settlers, the villeins and bordars those of the English peasants, and also that the proportion between the two classes of peasant had remained on the whole unchanged, the conclusion must be that the Danish settlers in Lincolnshire and some other districts were about equal in number with the earlier population. It is true we do not know that all the sokemen in Domesday were really of Danish descent. It is quite possible that also some English peasants reached that status. On the other hand we are hardly justified in assuming that all villeins and bordars in the Danelaw were of English descent. There is every reason to suppose that some Danes had joined the unfree class.¹ All we can say with certainty is that the Danish element must have formed a very considerable part of the population in the Danelaw.

The results of the preceding discussion raise questions as to the nature of the Scandinavian settlements. Did the Scandinavians in England settle in villages or in single homesteads? The Norwegians nowadays usually live in homesteads, not in villages, and there is every reason to suppose that they have done so from of old. They settled in homesteads in Iceland, and we may assume that they followed their old custom, when they settled in England. The Norwegian settle-

¹ This would particularly be probable in the case of the Danish freedman (*liesing*), whose *wergeld* was the same as that of the English ceorl on *gafol-land*. (Treaty between Alfred and Guthrum).

ment in the north-west of England may well have been chiefly of a peaceful nature, carried out with the permission of the earlier population. The Danes, on the other hand, have always lived in villages, so far as our evidence goes. One would suppose that they would not give up this custom when they settled in England, where compact settlements would seem to have been an act of common prudence. Yet it seems to have been tacitly understood sometimes that the Danish settlements in the Danelaw were generally single homesteads. For the name-type characteristic of the Danelaw is *-by*, and *-by* in place-names is often held to mean 'farm.' Thus Dr. Smith, in *Place-names of the North Riding*, regularly renders *-by* by 'farm,' except for such names as Birkby, Danby, Ingleby, whose first element is the genitive plural of a folk-name ('the village of the Britons, Danes, English'). Even Kirkby is taken to mean 'farm by the church', Whitby, 'Hviti's farmstead.' On the other hand *thorþ* is regularly rendered by 'village,' e.g. in Ganthorpe, Howthorpe, Ravensthorpe. Only Towthorpe, perhaps owing to an oversight, is rendered by 'Tofi's farm.'

It is not easy to understand why *-by* is thus regularly taken to mean 'farm,' *thorþ* 'village.' In Danish *by* is the regular word for 'village,' while *thorþ* was used of a dependent hamlet, which, of course, often came to develop to an independent village. In Scania, formerly a part of Denmark, *thorþ* in place-names must have denoted a farmstead, and the same was the case in Sweden. In Modern Swedish, *torp* even denotes 'a croft.' Thus it is obvious that in Danish districts in England we expect names in *-by* to have denoted villages, while those in *-thorpe* were given to farmsteads or dependent hamlets belonging to an older village. It would be more correct really to translate *-by* by 'village,' *-thorpe* by 'farm' than the other way round. In Norwegian districts, on the other hand,

thorp was hardly used, and *by* may quite well have meant 'a farm,' as Old Norse *býr* (*bær*) denoted both 'a farm' and 'a village.' The meaning 'farm' is even more probable, for in Norwegian place-names *by* normally means 'farm.' In the North Riding, where the Scandinavian settlements were mostly Danish, the probable meaning of *by* is 'village.'

But there is one circumstance which may seem to tell against this theory, viz., the fact that names in *-by* mostly have a personal name as first element. There are no doubt a good many exceptions. Some names in *-by* have as first member a word denoting a natural feature or the like, as *Aby*, *Dalby*, *Ashby*, *Skewsby*, *Wauldby*, *Kirby*, *Kirkby*. This is the normal type in Denmark and Sweden. Others contain a folk-name or similar word in the genitive plural, as *Birkby*, *Danby*, *Ingleby*, *Irby*, *Normanby*, *Flotmanby*, *Hunmanby*, or an adjective, as *Newby*, *Whitby*. *Barrowby*, *Borrowby*, *by* the way, go back to Old Scandinavian *Bergabyr*, whose first element I now think is a folk-name derived from *berg*,¹ 'hill' ('the village of the people on the hill'). However, names in *-by* with a personal name as first element are decidedly in the majority.

Unfortunately no material is available that gives us direct information on the original status of Scandinavian settlements. But *Domesday Book* may give some hints. I have again chosen the Lincolnshire part of *Domesday* for an investigation. The Yorkshire part, for well-known reasons, is not so helpful as might be wished. Lincolnshire had not suffered from devastation at the time of the Norman Conquest, and the material for that county is easily accessible in Canon Foster's excellent edition of the Lincolnshire *Domesday* (Lincoln Record Society, 19). An examination of the material reveals some important facts.

¹ Cf. Sahlgren, *Namn och Bygd*, vol. 23, p. 194, who takes a name such as Swedish *Berga* to be a folk-name 'hill people.'

In his illuminating introduction to Canon Foster's edition, Professor Stenton shows that the figures for the carucates ascribed to villages are largely conventional. The scheme was "framed by men who felt that a village ought to be assessed either at exactly twelve carucates or at some fraction or multiple of this sum" (p. xi). If a village is assessed at 12 carucates, we can thus only conclude that it was for fiscal purposes assessed at that figure. A very large village was generally assessed at 24 car., a large village at 12, a medium-sized one at 6, a smaller one at 3, and so on. The number of carucates assigned to a village thus indicates its general size. A closer examination of the figures shows that old villages with English names, especially names in *-ham*, as Bassingham, Hougham, Metheringham, are fairly often assessed at 24 car. There are very many 12-car. villages, especially with names in *-tun*, as Barkston, Branston, Broughton, Dry Doddington, Dorrington, Edlington, etc., and an about equal number of 6-car. villages. A good many are assessed at lower figures, especially 4 or 3 car., and not a few have 2, $1\frac{1}{2}$, 1 car., or even lower figures.

Turning now to villages with Scandinavian names, we find that those with names in *-by* on the whole show lower figures than those with English names. Only Coleby (in Boothby) and Rauceby are of the largest type. There are several 12-car. villages, as Boothby Graffoe, Digby, Dunsby (Flaxwell), Gonerby, Kirkby Laythorpe, Scrivelsby, Thealby, Thurlby (near Lincoln), Welby. Numerous 6-car. villages occur, e.g. Barnoldby, Beelsby, Beesby (Haverstoe), Candlesby, Mavis Enderby, Miningsby, S. Ormsby, Osbournby, Roxby, Scamblesby, Scremby, Stainby, Ulceby, Whisby. Several are assessed at 5 or 4 car., but the greatest number at 3 car. or slightly more, as Aunsby, Asgarby (near Spilsby), Beesby in the Marsh, etc. Several have two car. or slightly more, a few only

1½ or 1 car. (*e.g.* Claxby St. Andrew, Clixby, Fonaby, Fulsby, Ailby, Aisby (in Corringham), Legsby.

We may add that Fishtoft and Timberland are assessed at 12, Langtoft at 6 car. Villages with names in *-thorpe* are generally small. Only a few are assessed at 3 car. or more, and of these some are doubtless English. Some are very small indeed.

The general result is that villages with names in *-by* were not as a rule small villages in the middle of the eleventh century, even if few were very large ones. And it is important to note that many of the 24- or 12-car. villages have names with a personal name as first element, *e.g.* Coleby, Rauceby, Dunsby, Gonerby, Thealby, Thurlby. Most of the 6-car. villages have names of that type.

A few notes may be added here on the carucage of Leicestershire villages in the Leicestershire Survey of about 1125. In Leicestershire *-bys* are generally assessed at about 6 carucates. But Salthv (inclusive of Bescaby) has 20 car., Sileby 15½, Somerby 14, Ashfordby 13, Gaddesby 12½, Rearsby, Welby 12, Freeby, Sysonby 9, Ab Kettleby 9, Stonesby 8; all these have a personal name as first element. Killerby with 3 car. forms an exception. We may add that Kirby Bellars has 24 car., Beeby 12, Great Dalby 12, Frisby 11, Hoby 11½. The *thorpes* are generally small, thus Boothorpe 1, Oakthorpe ½, Osgathorpe ½ car. The figures for the *-bys* are generally somewhat higher than for the Lincolnshire ones.

It is obvious that the results of the investigation are really valid only for the middle of the eleventh century. The figures show that places with names in *-by* were villages at that time, and most of them villages of a respectable size. We cannot, of course, conclude that the conditions of c. 1050 altogether correspond to those of c. 950 or 900. No doubt some villages had grown as regards population, but it is also possible that some had gone down. It is

likely that the total population of Lincolnshire had increased in the 150 years between 900 and 1050, but we should hardly assume that the increase had been very large. If nativity was high in those days, so was doubtless the rate of mortality. And the increase of the population has to account also for the secondary settlements, those on uplands and in fen-land. The Lincolnshire thorpes are largely on low land along the coast and probably represent a later period in the history of settlements. It is unlikely that the villages of c. 1050 on the whole go back to homesteads of c. 900.

If the Danish settlements in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire were chiefly villages, it is obvious that the settlers must have been many times more numerous than the Scandinavian place-names are. And we should, of course, not assume that Scandinavians settled only in those villages which have Scandinavian or Scandinavianized names. A village of 3 or 6 carucates had room for a good many people. Two bovates, *i.e.* a quarter part of a carucate, was a normal holding for a sokeman in the eleventh century. If this holds good for the time about 900, a village of 3 carucates would support some 12 to 20 settlers with their families. A few examples from Domesday Book will illustrate this.

Aisby in Corringham with 1 carucate had 7 sokemen, one bordar.
Clixby with $1\frac{1}{2}$ car. had 14 villeins, 2 sokemen.

Asgarby with 3 carucates had 20 sokemen and 2 villeins.

N. Cadeby with 3 ,, ,, 14 sokemen.

Fulnetby with 3 ,, ,, 12 sokemen.

Grainsby with 3 ,, ,, 13 sokemen, 12 villeins, 4 bordars.

Aunsby with $3\frac{1}{2}$,, ,, 25 sokemen.

Caenby with 4 ,, ,, 20 sokemen, 15 bordars.

Hareby with 4 ,, ,, 33 sokemen, 5 villeins, 5 bordars.

Haceby with 4 ,, ,, 14 sokemen, 3 villeins, 8 bordars.

Miningsby with 6 ,, ,, 36 sokemen, 8 villeins, 4 bordars.

Scamblesby with 6 ,, ,, 27 sokemen, 11 villeins, 3 bordars.

Skendleby with 6 ,, ,, 28 sokemen, 9 bordars.

Revesby (with E. Kirkby) with 12 carucates had 54 sokemen, 14 villeins.

Scrivelsby with $11\frac{1}{2}$ carucates had 50 sokemen, 16 villeins, 23 bordars.

It remains to account for the remarkable fact that many villages (even large ones) with names in *-by* were named from one particular person. This may seem surprising in view of the fact that all the freemen in the Danish army are supposed to have looked upon themselves as equals. Indeed, according to the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum the wergelds of any Danish freeman was to be equivalent to that of an English thegn (1,200 shillings). But in reality it cannot well be doubted that an army like the Danish one must have been organized, and that some men were in a more responsible position than others. Professor Stenton has emphasized the military nature of the Danish settlement. He holds that the Danish landowners were essentially an army established on the soil. At the original settlement some large villages may well have been allotted as manors to leaders of the army with their followers. This would naturally account for some of the large villages with names in *-by* that have a personal name as first element. In other cases villages would be allotted jointly to a group of men, and it is a reasonable supposition that one among these was in some sense a leader, who was responsible for the rest or was their spokesman. We may also suppose that the settlers were not all equal economically. Some more provident people would be able to contribute more capital or a larger number of oxen for the plough than the others. In cases like these villages might well have come to be named from one particular person, even though they were theoretically held in common by a group of settlers.

THE BEGINNINGS OF NORSE STUDIES IN ENGLAND.

By J. A. W. BENNETT, B.A.

I DO not intend in this paper to cover any of the ground which Miss Seaton has recently traversed so thoroughly in her book—*Literary Relations of England and Scandinavia in the Seventeenth Century*. I shall work within much narrower limits than she set herself, and my aim is different from hers. I have been trying to find out simply what was the actual amount of knowledge of Icelandic and Old Norse in general in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For knowledge of Old Norse meant something very different from an acquaintance with Icelandic history, literature and antiquities. That the distinction is not merely an academic one the history of Romanticism clearly shows. But it is always impossible to divorce literature and philology, and I shall suggest that there is some kind of continuity in these studies, that if it had not been for some almost forgotten seventeenth century scholars, William Morris might never have written his *Sigurd*, and there might be no Viking Society. I may perhaps mention in passing that the same considerations apply, with only little less force, to the history of Old English and Middle English studies: all the advances made in the appreciation of medieval literature—advances symbolized by the work of Warton, Percy, Ritson and Tyrwhitt—would have been impossible without the monumental works of Hickes's *Thesaurus* and Wanley's *Catalogue*.

There was no serious study of Old Norse in England until the latter half of the seventeenth century. This is not surprising when we consider that even in Iceland interest in the literature of the vernacular grew slowly.

The Bible was translated in 1584; but it was not till 1651 that Runolf Jónsson published the first Icelandic Grammar, and not till 1665 that Peder Resen published an edition of *Völuspá* and the *Prose Edda*. Fortunately these texts were accompanied by a Latin translation. It is to such parallel texts that we must trace the beginnings of Icelandic studies in this country. Just as Sir Thomas Browne gleaned whatever knowledge of Icelandic he had from a comparison of an English and an Icelandic Bible (some copies of which he received from his correspondent Theodore Jónsson in 1664), so later English writers rely on Resen's translations and on those offered by antiquarians such as Stephanius, Torfæus, and Bartholin, when they quote from the Edda or from the sagas. Robert Sheringham, Daniel Langhorne, Aylett Sammes, Sir William Temple, all owe their knowledge of Norse literature to such sources.

Little further advance was possible without an Icelandic-English or Icelandic-Latin dictionary. In this connexion one inevitably thinks of Francis Junius, whose MS. dictionaries of the Germanic languages are perhaps the greatest contribution to philology made in the seventeenth century. But, though he did much to clear up the confusion between Gothic and Runic script, he had no wide knowledge of Icelandic simply because, as he says in the Preface to his *Gothicum Glossarium* (1665), 'paucissima et valde tenuia earum monumenta pervenerunt ad manus meas.' Late in life he acquired a MS. copy of Guðmundur Andrússon's *Lexicon Islandicum*; but he did not use it for his enormous dictionary of the northern languages which is now MSS. Jun. 2-3 in the Bodleian. Nor did he use a vocabulary of his own making (MS. Jun. 36), based on Runolf Jónsson's Grammar. Instead he drew almost solely from Old Worm's *Lexicon Runicum* (1650). Worm had printed Icelandic words as well as their

transliterations into 'Runic'—which he still believed to be the original literary language. But Junius gives only the Runic forms, with their meanings in Latin, and omits Worm's explanatory quotations. This part of his great work is therefore quite inadequate.

But although Junius's own achievement was not great he left behind materials that were to prove valuable. Interest in Icelandic did not die with him. Bishop Fell, the great patron of Oxford learning, was anxious to publish his dictionary, and he chose wisely in selecting William Nicolson (1655-1727), the future Bishop of Carlisle, to prepare it for the press. Edmund Gibson described Nicolson as a man 'eminent for his knowledge in the languages of the Northern nations.' His knowledge was wide rather than exact. But he knew enough to realise that the dictionary would be incomplete unless it included Icelandic words. He therefore re-arranged it and expanded it by adding Icelandic words which he took from Junius's MS. copy of Andrússon's *Lexicon*, and Andrússon's articles on the letters of the alphabet. The dictionary was never published, but his transcript survives in Bodl. MSS. Fell 8-18.

George Hickes, the writer of the first Anglo-Saxon Grammar to be printed and of the great *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archæologicus* (1705), also made good use of some of Junius's Icelandic materials. In the second part of his *Institutiones Anglo-Saxonicae et Moeso-Gothicae* (1689) he reprints the whole of Runolf Jónsson's Grammar. And to it he appends a *Dictionariolum* which is really nothing more than the word-list Junius had made for himself from this same grammar.

Throughout the *Thesaurus* Hickes puts his knowledge of Icelandic to good use. In his Preface he gives a list of the most recent editions of the Icelandic texts which a beginner should read, and he makes constant reference

to them. He was the first to perceive that Old English and Old Norse drew from a common fund of poetic vocabulary. His spirited rendering of the *Waking of Anganlyr* is the first complete translation of an Icelandic poem into English. The Catalogue of Old Norse books and MSS. which occupies pp. 310-321 of Vol. II of the *Thesaurus* is the earliest attempt at a conspectus of Old Norse literature. And if Hickes was deceived in thinking that the Runic fragment of Hjalmar's Saga which he prints in the *Dissertatio Epistolaris* was authentic, he was only following the general belief of Scandinavian scholars at the time.

To one of these scholars, then visiting England, Hickes evidently owed much of his knowledge of Icelandic. This was Christian Worm, a grandson of the illustrious Ole Worm. Arriving at Oxford late in 1695 or early in 1696 in the course of a European tour, Worm set about the preparation of an edition of Ari Fróði's *Libellus Islandorum*. Hickes was delighted by this project, and hoped to persuade Worm to take charge of the Icelandic catalogue. But early in 1697, whilst the edition of Ari was still in the press, young Worm suddenly 'stepped off.' He had been living lavishly, if not lazily, in Oxford; and his father had to send for him home. The edition was not published till 1716, when it appeared with a curious title-page, and obviously defective in its contents. It has long been held that it was not really Worm's work at all, but that he merely printed the MS. and notes of Arni Magnusson. But we would expect less elementary notes from a great scholar like Magnusson. And there can be no doubt at all about Worm's hand in some parts of the book: only he could have been responsible for the numerous references to English scholars—Somner, Hickes, Junius, Nicolson—and to Junius's MSS. Hickes, in turn, refers constantly in the Icelandic Grammar and elsewhere to the help he has received from Worm and to his edition of Ari.

The actual text of the Oxford edition of Ari is identical with that of the Scalholt black-letter edition of 1688, save that it expands abbreviations and omits John Ellendson's colophon. The translation is on the whole accurate and the notes display a wide knowledge of Old Norse literature.

Hickes knew other Norse texts: *Heimskringla*, *Hervarar saga*, *Thorstein's saga*, besides all the poetry then published; and through Thwaites, his colleague in the production of the *Thesaurus*, he was in touch with other Scandinavian scholars—Peringskiöld, Salanus, Magnusson. This gives a breadth of interest to the *Thesaurus* which is shared by no other work of the time.

But the publication of a catalogue of the sagas did not make them any more accessible to English students. Always we must remember that Icelandic texts were rare even in Scandinavia, and texts with Latin translations, or even more general works like Ole Worm's *Antiquitates Danicæ* or Bartholin's *de Causis Contemptæ Mortis* were almost unobtainable in England. That is one reason why for some time after the publication of the *Thesaurus* English interest in Old Norse seems to cease. Another was the increasing dominance of French ideas of what was 'polite.'

It is customary to ascribe the revival of interest that came forty years later to two works—Percy's *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* (1763), and his translation of Mallet's *Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc*, published seven years later with the addition of Goranson's Latin version of the Edda and a remarkable preface by Percy in which he disposed of the age-old confusion between Celtic and Germanic Antiquities. There is evidence, however, that this revival would have come in any case, thanks largely to the labours of Hickes. The *Thesaurus* was never entirely neglected. About 1740 was published a book with the rather forbidding title of *The Polite Correspondence or Rational Amusement*,

which, though the work of a hack-writer, perhaps helped to fashion public taste. It suggests that the opinion popularised by Temple and others that the Danes were a race of 'low inconsiderable thieves' needed revision; after pointing out that they had a religion 'wonderfully calculated for poetry' the author gives a brief account of the myths which supplied the Danish poets with their 'Machinery'; and borrows through Hickes (cf. *Thesaurus*, Pt. I, p. 217), Ole Worm's account of their metrical technique.

Sixteen years later, and seven years before Percy's *Five Pieces*, Thomas Warton the younger quotes from Hickes two verses of *Krákumál*. His dissertation on the origin of Romantic fiction, in which he points out the interest of the Romantic sagas recently discussed by Miss Margaret Schlauch, abounds in references and quotations largely deriving from the *Thesaurus*, especially from the Catalogue of Norse MSS. French culture did not confer the seal of respectability on Norse studies until the appearance of Mallet's book. But once this happened students went, not to French sources for their texts—apart from Mallet there were none—but to Hickes and the sources which Hickes and the other writers of the seventeenth century had used—Ole Worm, Torfæus, Bartholin, and Peringskiöld. Gray, for instance, paraphrased Torfæus and Bartholin for his versions of *Darradarljöd* and *Baldre Draumar*. There is no evidence for Sir Edmund Gosse's assertion that he knew Old Norse at first hand. The Percy Papers show that Percy's knowledge was a little more substantial, though he owed some of it to Edward Lye, the author of the important Anglo-Saxon Dictionary which appeared in 1772. Lye was in correspondence with the most prominent Swedish scholars of his day and one of them, Benzelius, sent him copies of some of the sagas. Lye perhaps helped Percy to transliterate Egill's *Höfuðlausn*, and *Krákumál*, from Worm's runes.

The Percy papers in the Bodleian show that Percy once thought of publishing translations of other Norse poems besides the five—*Krákumál*, *Höfuðlausn*, *Hákonarmál*, *Harold's Complaint*, and *The Waking of Angantyr*—which appeared in 1763. He made two versions of *Darradarljóð* (more exact than Gray's), and translated several sets of verses from *Heimskringla*. The papers show that for Percy, too, Hickes's *Thesaurus* was the primal source of information; he refers to it constantly, and his version of the *Waking of Angantyr* is based, with a few emendations, on Hickes's translation.

The wealth of imitation and allusion which abounds after Percy and Gray it is not my concern here to explore. It is enough to say that the sins of the first translators of Old Norse verse were visited on the third and fourth generation: Olafson's version of *Krákumál* supplied an age thirsty for Romance with the stock conception of a Viking drinking beer from the skulls of his enemies which, despite Boswell's mild mockery, held sway till after Beddoes. Yet side by side with this Romantic attitude there grew up a more scholarly and more objective interest. It first finds expression in the work of James Johnstone, chaplain, and later secretary, to the British Envoy at Copenhagen. At Copenhagen Johnstone met 'a worthy and ingenious Icelfander' whom he does not name; there is evidence to show that this was Grim John Thorkelin, whose later visit to England created much interest in Iceland and Icelandic. With Thorkelin's assistance Johnstone published in 1780 *Anecdotes of Olave the Black, King of Man, and the Hebridean Princes of the Somerled Family, to which are added XVIII Eulogies on Haco King of Norway*. The prose part of this work is a *páttir* taken from *Hákonar Saga* and it is the first historical Old Norse prose to be printed in English. Johnstone also published further excerpts from this saga, and from

several others. He thus made accessible a whole series of important historical texts which had scarcely been known in England before.

It was reserved for a Fellow of Merton College, William Herbert, to produce accurate translations of the poems of the Edda, based on the originals and not on Latin versions. But by the time his volumes appeared, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the work of the earlier translators and imitators, imperfect though it was, had popularised some of the more obvious conceptions of Eddaic mythology and made it possible for Coleridge and Blake to refer to it as naturally as to Homer.

REVIEWS.

VIKING SETTLERS IN GREENLAND AND THEIR DESCENDANTS DURING FIVE HUNDRED YEARS. By POUL NØRLUND, with a foreword by ELLIS H. MINNS. (Cambridge University Press, London, and G. E. C. Gads Forlag, Copenhagen. 7s. 6d. net).

The literary and historical material for the Icelandic settlement of Greenland, which began in 985 or 986, has long been available, but it is only within the last forty years that archæological discovery has made much progress. The two chief areas, the Eastern Settlement (round the present Julianehaab) and the Western Settlement (round Godthaab) were separated by 180 miles of inhospitable coast. There were twelve parish churches in the Eastern Settlement and four in the Western, and the sites of most of these have been identified; the best preserved is that at the ancient *Hvalsey* (Qaqortoq near Julianehaab). After the establishment of the bishopric in 1126 a cathedral was built at the ancient *Gardar* (on the isthmus between the inner parts of the two main fjords, *Eiríksfjörður* and *Einarsfjörður*) where the Althing was held. By 1308 two monastic houses had been founded in Greenland, one of Austin Canons at *Ketilsfjörður* and the other a nunnery. The total population may at one time have exceeded 3,000, and excavation has taught us a good deal of how the Greenlanders lived, including the fact that the climate may have been rather more favourable in the latter Middle Ages than at the present day. But life was hard enough, and one can trace a progressive degeneration in type till the latest remains are those of a dwarfish race shockingly misshapen and diseased for lack of proper food. Yet some of the exceptionally well preserved and interesting garments excavated at *Herjolfsnes* shows that there must have been communication with Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century—later than one would gather from historical sources. Had Columbus landed in Greenland he might have been welcomed by the latest survivors of this first European settlement in the New World. The Western Settlement we know to have been overwhelmed by the Eskimos in the middle of the fourteenth century; the story of the end of the Eastern Settlement is only preserved in Eskimo tradition.

This excellent book is copiously illustrated and reasonably well translated, but danicised forms of Icelandic names grate on an English ear. Members of the Society may like to be reminded that a rather more detailed survey of the subject, in part by the same author, is available in English in the second of the three fine volumes on Greenland published by the Commission for the Direction of the Geological and Geographical Investigation in Greenland (1928).

B. D.

DAS SÜDJÜTISCHE DÄNENTUM. ZWÖLF WAHRHEITEN. By Gudmund Schütte. Aschehoug Dansk Forlag. Copenhagen, 1937. Pp. 40.

Dr. Schütte has already made more than one study of the effect of Pan-Germanism on the Danish people, and in this timely and lucid pamphlet he brings his wide historical knowledge to bear on the situation in North Schleswig, where there has recently been some agitation in favour of boundary-revision. He makes no extravagant claims, but simply sets forth the evidence in favour of continued affiliation with Denmark. After criticising various party-slogans as vague and unhistorical, he points out that the language of the people is and always has been Danish, save when under compulsion, that certain place- and personal-names are characteristically Danish, and that the two land-divisions—the 'Syssel' and the 'Harde'—also link the country with Denmark. A particularly interesting section, based on Eskildsen's *Dansk Grænselære*, is devoted to types of farm-buildings which are specifically Danish. Dr. Schütte marshals a formidable array of historical evidence, and his essay really resolves itself into a survey of the cultural history of North Schleswig.

J. A. W. BENNETT.

BISHOP GUÐBRAND'S VÍSNAÐÓK: 1612. Published in facsimile with an introduction in English by Sigurður Nordal. (Monumenta Typographica Islandica Vol. V). Levin and Munksgaard: Copenhagen. 1937. Pp. 30 + (viii) + 391. Kr. 24.

The Vísnaðók, besides being an important source for the Icelandic poetry of the time, is 'the monument of a splendid attempt at spiritual reform and of an equally signal defeat,' as Professor Nordal points out in his admirable introduction to the facsimile of what is among the very scarcest books printed in Iceland. For fifty years Bishop Guðbrand Þorláksson strove to complete the work of the Reformation by publishing devotional books from the press he controlled, the only press in the country. He hoped that these would entirely replace the native unprinted literature, the sagas and the even more popular poetry, both Catholic religious verse in honour of the Virgin and the saints and the secular rímur. Towards the end of his life, in the realization that his efforts were being unsuccessful, he collected old and new material which he felt would be acceptable to popular taste and published the Vísnaðók, which included some of the earlier Catholic religious poems to show 'that in the blind papacy many men had a true and sound knowledge of God Almighty' and rímur on Old Testament history. The introduction (of thirty pages) gives an excellent account both of the work of Bishop Guðbrand and of the literary history of Iceland relevant to the subject. I have noticed a few unimportant mis-

prints: on p. 17 for 'vestige' read 'vestige,' on p. 19 for 'clergy-men' read 'clergyman,' on p. 23 for 'af' read 'of,' and on p. 27 for 'capable' read 'capable of.'

E. S. O.

ÍSLENZK FORNREIT VII BINDI; GRETTS SAGA ÁSMUNDARSONAR, BANDAMANNA SAGA, ODDS PÁTRR ÓFEIGSSONAR. Edited by Guðni Jónsson. Reykjavík: *Híð íslenska fornritafélag*, 1936. Pp. civ + 408.

Vol. VII of the present series, which is the fourth to appear, in no way falls below the high standard set by previous numbers. Naturally, among the texts which it includes, greatest attention is paid to *Grettis Saga*, which is thoroughly studied from various points of view. Perhaps the most interesting section in the editor's introduction is section 1 (pp. v-xvi), in which he discusses whether *Grettis Saga*, in its present form is the work of a single author, or whether it has been extensively interpolated and altered by subsequent revisers. It will be remembered that R. C. Boer, in his paper published in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* (XXX, pp. 171 f., 1898) and in his edition for the *Altnordische Sagabibliothek* (Halle, 1900), decided that *Grettis Saga*, which was originally composed about the middle of the 13th century, had later been expanded by two if not three subsequent revisers, reaching its present form about the beginning of the 14th century. With great precision Boer attempted to show where the one author left off and the other took on; a process which, apparently, had sometimes taken place in the middle of a sentence (e.g., ch. LIV, 11). Notable interpolations were said to be the Bárðardalr story, the Hegranes episode and the Spesar Pátrr.

Many critics have argued against this view, though none so uncompromisingly as Guðni Jónsson. In the first place, it must be conceded that the four skin MSS., none of which show any substantial variation, may be taken as evidence against composite authorship. Secondly, it may be stated that the references to Sturla Þórðarson († 1284) need not necessarily have been inserted after the original saga took shape. In fact, they need imply nothing more than that the whole saga was written after Sturla's death. Similarly, though it may superficially appear improbable, it is not impossible that the same author wrote of Grettir's death on Drangey as of Þorsteinn and Spes in Constantinople. Indeed, the present editor, arguing strongly for unity of authorship, demonstrates certain points of contact between the final chapters and the main body of the saga.

Certainly, in taking this view, Guðni Jónsson belongs to the age in which he writes no less than Boer. This is even more clearly apparent when we consider later sections of his introduction.

If we agree that the whole of *Grettis Saga* is the work of a single author, it is evident that it must be a very late composition, made,

indeed, many years after Sturla Þórðarson's death and after the Tristram legends had become known in Iceland. As is shown in section II of the introduction, the author has used many written sources, including *Landnámabók* (*Sturlubók*), *Laxdæla Saga*, *Bandamanna Saga* and *Bjarnar Saga Hitdælakappa*. Clearly, this author was in touch with a good library, and he shows a detailed local knowledge of certain parts of Iceland. In the last chapters he shows a religious turn of mind and most likely he had had a clerical education. It so happens that the central point of his geographical knowledge is Húnaflói and, therefore, if we would seek to identify him, our attention is drawn to Þingeyraklaustur, for a long period the chief centre of learning in northern Iceland. Guðni Jónsson goes so far as to suggest that the author of *Grettis Saga* was none other than Séra Hafliði Steinsson († 1319), for a long time steward at Þingeyrar. The latter suggestion is, of course, a hazardous guess, though it is hard pressed. At least, it will be agreed, it is difficult to find a stronger claimant for the authorship of the saga than Hafliði Steinsson, though his claim would seem to be negative rather than positive. We may remember, in this connection, that on good evidence it has lately been argued that Snorri Sturluson was the author of *Egils Saga* (Sigurður Nordal, *Íslensk Fornrit*, II, pp. lii, ff.), and rather less convincingly that Brandr Jónsson, Abbot of Þykkvibær composed *Eiríks Saga Rauða* (Halldór Hermannsson: *The Problem of Wineland*, pp. 30, ff.) and now, last of all, that Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson wrote *Orkneyinga Saga* (Anne Holtsmark: *Edda*, xxxvii, pp. 1-18).

The introduction to *Grettis Saga* includes sections on the verses, on which the present editor largely agrees with his forerunners, on the chronology of the saga and its MSS.

It is notable that, in dealing with *Bandamanna Saga*, Guðni Jónsson follows Finnur Jónsson and Sigurður Nordal, making the shorter text, according to the *Korungsbók*, the basis of his edition.

This volume, like the previous ones in the series, is illustrated with pictures from the scenes of the sagas, and supplied with maps, genealogical tables and a biographical index.

We look forward to further numbers of the *Fornrit* under Guðni Jónsson's editorship.

G. TURVILLE-PETRE.

THE PERSONAL NAMES OF THE ISLE OF MAN WITH THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY. By J. J. Kneen, M.A., R.I.St.O.O. (Norway). Published by Oxford University Press for the Manx Museum and Ancient Monuments Trustees. 1937. Pp. lx + 295. 10s. 6d. net.

During the last few years Tynwald, the national legislature of Man, has been following the lead of Norway and some of the other northern countries, by giving tangible encouragement to the creators of their national literature.

In 1931 Tynwald paid the expenses of printing and publishing the Grammar of the Manx Language compiled by Mr. J. J. Kneen, and within the last few months the Oxford University Press, has at the expense of the Isle of Man Government, produced another of Mr. Kneen's works entitled *The Personal Names of the Isle of Man*. He had previously written *The Place Names of the Isle of Man*, which was published by the Manx Society in 1925.

Mr. Kneen in his new book gives generous credit to the Speaker of the Keys the late Arthur William Moore, who in 1890 published his pioneer book on Manx Family Names. The present author deals with the earliest recorded personal names on the Ogam and Runic monuments, down to those contained in the parish registers and other sources to the year 1830.

One result of covering such a very lengthy period is that there are included a large number of patronymics that are not native: there are mentioned altogether over 1,500 with their variants. It may be taken for granted that the family names derived from the Gaelic (in O or Mac), Welsh (in Ap) Norman (in Fitz), Scandinavian, and Early English, do not number more than 200.

There is an exhaustive introduction of 40 pp. in which the author describes the types of names found in Man, and he also gives their historical background. He suggests that the period at which Manx patronymics were crystalised was about the same as that in Ireland, namely the 11th or 12th centuries. He reminds us that Highland surnames did not become common until the 16th and 17th centuries, while Manx surnames were generally well established at the beginning of the 15th century.

It is interesting to know that some surnames are traceable in origin to the name of the saint to whom the church in their Treen or Quarterland was dedicated. For instance there was a keeill, or early Celtic church, at Ballavarkish, the farm of the church of St. Mark. The original holder of the land was William MacQuark according to the Manorial Roll of 1515.

About the beginning of the 10th century the Gaelic Manx of the land-owning class, through inter-marriage with the Norse rulers, had become a hybrid race known to history as the Gall-Gael or Stranger Gael. At this period arose such characteristic names as Corlett (Mac Thor Ljótr), Corkill (Mac Thorketill), Corjeag (Mac Svart-eygr = black-eyed), Cormode (Mac Þórmoðr = Thor's wrath), Costain (Mac Thórsteinn = Thor's stone), Cowley (Mac Amhlaobh = son of Amhlaobh, a gaelicised form of Óláfr).

According to Mr. Kneen the Norse borrowed names from the Celts, and the latter borrowed from the Norse, thus forming a series of most interesting hybrid names.

There were three Kings of Man who bore the name of Godred (Goðfriðr). The descendants of these became the present-day

Curphey. There were two kings of Man named Olaf. The oldest form of this Norse name was *Ánleifr* (ancestral relic), who later became *Aláfr*, and lastly *Óláfr*. From each of these we get a surname—Caley = Mac Caley; Callow = Mac Calowe; and Cowley = Mac Aulay.

Reginald was the name of two Manx kings. Their descendants became Mac Regnylt, now Crennell. The Norse influence was strong, as one can well imagine from the fact that the Kingdom of Man and the Isles long prior to the battle of Largs (1263) incorporated the Sudreys. The present-day Manx name Cottier is from Earl Ottar. Kinnish is from Engus, son of Somerled, Coole is from Dubgal third son of Somerled, Allen and Callin are from Alan, lord of Galloway. Kneale is from Prince Nel. Kerruish from Fergus, earl of Galloway.

Quite a number of influential Anglo-Norman families from Ireland probably in the 12th century settled in the south of the Isle of Man. The most important were Fitz Gibbon, now Cubbon; Fitz Walter, now Qualtrough and Watterson; Fitz William, now Quilliam; Fitz Robert, now Crebbin; Fitz Henry, now Harrison; Fitz Stephan, now Stevenson.

Of course there are, as elsewhere, Biblical names, but only fourteen altogether.

There are some surnames which, although the roots became obsolete as forenames before written records, must have originated in Man. One of the most interesting of these is Corlett. The personal name from which the surname was derived was the Scandinavian *Pórljótr*. Prefixed by *Mac* it became Mac Corleod and now Corlett. During the existence of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles one branch of the family emigrated to Cadboll in the Sudreys and another branch to Lewis. There the name was abbreviated to Mac Leod. Both these families quarter the Manx 'Three Legs' and also use the same motto.

Mr. Kneen writes in his usual scholarly style. Under each family name he gives details of a few of those in public life who bore the name. These it seems to us are inadequate. Although the author is far from claiming completeness, this work is an important one and well worth the consideration of students of personal names in other parts of the British Isles.

W. CUBBON.

THE VIKINGS OF BRITAIN. By D. P. Capper. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1937. Pp. 219. 7s. 6d. net.

This is a book for the general reader in which the author's enthusiasm for his subject well conveys the drama of the situations and incidents he describes. Unfortunately accuracy is sacrificed to sweeping generalisations, especially in the last chapter. The illustrations are very good.

E. S. O.

J MAGNUSSEN, O. MADSEN and H. VINTERBERG. **DANISH-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.** Fourth revised and enlarged edition by H. Vinterberg and K. Herløv. Pp. [iv] + 362 + [vi]. 1936. 6s. net.

— **ENGLISH-DANISH DICTIONARY.** Fifth revised and enlarged edition by H. Vinterberg and B. Ladgaard. Pp. [iv] + 400. 1937. 6s. net.

Copenhagen (Gyldendalske Boghandel) and London (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.).

This is the fourth-fifth edition of a dictionary which, although intended primarily for Danes learning English, is at the same time the best-known—one might almost say the standard—work for English students of Danish, whether they are elementary or advanced; and it is a dictionary which is equally useful to the business-man and the philologist. In the present edition both parts have been considerably enlarged (there are 4,500 new head-words in the Danish-English part) and a reasonable quantity of technical words are included. The Danish-English part also presents a new feature intended solely for English students, which will certainly much enhance its value in their eyes: indications as to the inflexion of the Danish words are given, for the first time. It might be suggested that in future editions a key to the pronunciation of Danish should also be added.

A. S. C. R.

LEEDS STUDIES IN ENGLISH AND KINDRED LANGUAGES. Numbers I—V. 1932-1936. *Printed by Titus Wilson of Kendal for members of the School of English Language in the University of Leeds.*

The publication of the title-page and list of contents for the first five numbers of *Leeds Studies in English* makes this an appropriate occasion to review these numbers. They are dedicated to the memory of Joseph Wright "a great Yorkshire scholar and a generous benefactor of the University." Although the majority of the articles fall outside the scope of the present review, there are some valuable contributions to the study of Old Norse. In the Melsted Collection the University Library has exceptional facilities for the advanced study of Icelandic, and this Collection, it may be noted here, has practically doubled during the last seven years by the generosity of public and private benefactors in Iceland and elsewhere. It contains the best collection of Modern Icelandic literature in England and also long series of periodicals unobtainable elsewhere in this country.

The most noteworthy contribution to Old Norse studies is an edition of *Bragða-Ólfris saga* by A. G. Hooper (i. 42). This saga has not hitherto been published. Its editor prints one manuscript with

variant readings from two others, and his introduction summarizes an unpublished thesis deposited in Leeds University Library. (A useful list of theses in the Library is given in *L.S.E.* (i. 55 with additions in the later numbers); those on Norse subjects include two studies in Icelandic topography).

The numbers contain several articles dealing with various Icelandic sagas:—F. Mosby's *Kolli Hróaldsson (Landnámabók) = Dala-Koltr (Lardarla saga) ?* (i. 36), A. G. Hooper's *Hrómundar saga Gripssonar and the Griplur* (iii. 51) and G. Turville-Petre's *The Author of Svarfdarla and the Reviser of Glúma* (v. 74). Bruce Dickins has contributed a note on the interpretation of *Þrymskviða* 81-83 (iv. 79), while two articles on different aspects of Scandinavian influence on English are A. H. Smith's *Old Scandinavian 'lundr'* (ii. 72) and E. S. Olszewska's *Illustrations of Norse Formulas in English* (ii. 76).

E. S. O.

HJALTLAND MISCELLANY. Vol. I. Ed. E. S. Reid Tait, 1934. 4to, pp. 86.

Vol. II. Ed. Christina Jamieson and E. S. Reid Tait, 1937, pp. 166. 12s. 6d. per vol. *Lerwick: T. and J. Manson.*

It was a happy thought of Mr. Reid Tait to preserve and publish different items of information relating to the life of the people of Shetland in the past.

In the pursuit of this object he has in Vol. I printed the minutes of the Lerwick Subscription School, 1839-44, and a collection of documents touching the temperance movement in Lerwick in the first half of the nineteenth century. To these have been added various extracts from *The Aberdeen Magazine*, 1796-8, concerning Shetland, correspondence relating to the riotous behaviour of the sailors of the Greenland Whalers at the time of Sir Walter Scott's visit in 1814, and some references to one or two other happenings of interest.

Vol. II is the joint work of Mr. Reid Tait and Miss Christina Jamieson, and consists of extracts from the Records of the Kirk Session of Walls and Sandness dealing with education in Heritors' and Charity Schools during the period 1741-1789. To these are prefaced two Introductions by Miss Jamieson entitled "*The Business of an Old Kirk Session*," and "*Shetland Education in the Eighteenth Century*." The former is in the nature of a general Introduction which will also cover extracts relating to other aspects of the work of the Kirk Session to be published later. The extracts in this Vol. and the Introductions are full of interest for the light they throw on the social conditions then existing and the difficulties of extending education when money was scarce, dominies ill-paid, and books obtainable only with great difficulty.

It is to be hoped that the material still in hand will soon see the light as the attractive fare already provided makes one anxious for more.

Both Vols. are well turned out by the Press of Messrs. T. and J. Manson.

H.

OLD CAITHNESS MAPS AND MAP-MAKERS. By John Mowat, F.S.A.Scot. Wick: Peter Reid & Co., Ltd., 1938. 4in. × 7½in., 44 pp., 2 maps and 2 full-page illustrations. Price 1s.

This excellent essay will be indispensable to every one interested in the cartography and history of Caithness and the north of Scotland. It commences with John Elder, 1510-1575, a native of Caithness, whose map, which has been lost, probably forms the source of the maps of Ortelius and Mercator. Timothy Pont, 1560-1620, incumbent of Dunnet, Caithness, was, the author states, the projector of the first topographical survey of Scotland, and so on we are carried right down to the 19th century.

A. W. J.

LONDON MEDIEVAL STUDIES. Edited by R. W. Chambers, F. Norman, A. H. Smith. Printed by Titus Wilson and Son, Kendal, for A. H. Smith and F. Norman, University College, London. Vol I. Part i. 1937.

The contributors to this periodical, which will be published annually, are teachers or graduates of the University of London. The field covered includes the mediæval languages and their literatures; in this first number we have two articles on German literary tradition of great interest to Scandinavian scholars:—K. C. King's *Siegfried's Fight with the Dragon in the Edda and the Hürnen Seyfrid* and W. E. D. Stephen's *Þiðrikssaga and Eckenlied*.

E. S. O.

THE CULT OF S. OLAVE IN THE BRITISH ISLES.¹

BY BRUCE DICKINS, M.A.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CULT.

ON 29 July 1030 Olaf Haraldsson fell fighting against his subjects who, with Danish help, had driven him from Norway in 1028; he was carried in secret from the battlefield of Stiklestad and buried in a sandhill close to Nidaros. Zeal for the establishment of the Christian Church in Norway was not perhaps the only reason for his expulsion, but, be that as it may, his death in battle brought him the heavenly crown of martyrdom. At

¹ General acknowledgments should be made to L. Daae's *Norges Helgener* (Christiania 1879), to F. Metcalfe's introduction to *Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi* (Oxford 1881), to Frances Arnold-Forster's *Studies in Church Dedications* (London 1899), and to E. Bull's paper in *Saga-Book* VIII, 135-48 (also in Riksmåal in the Norwegian *Historisk Tidsskrift*, Femte Række, I, 447-61). I am grateful for their help, though I have not always been able to substantiate their facts or accept their inferences. That striking testimony to Norway's devotion to her patron saint, *Nidaros og Stiklestad* (edited by Oluf Kolsrud, *Norvegia Sacra* x), appeared when this paper was practically complete; it has supplied a few details and has relieved me of the necessity of adding a systematic bibliography. Still more recently F. Wörmald's paper on the Launceston Priory kalendar in the *Journal of Theological Studies* XXXIX, 1-21, has dealt with the liturgical celebration of S. Olave, and to him I owe several references. Father Paul Grosjean, S.J., Société des Bollandistes, has most generously read the typescript and suggested some corrections. Other debts are acknowledged (adequately, I hope) in the text or footnotes.

The Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum Julii* VII, 98-131, and G. Storm's *Monumenta Historica Norvegiæ* (Kristiania 1880) are indispensable for the Latin sources of S. Olave's miracles.

Vernacular sources are numerous, perhaps the most important being:—Hom. = *Gammel Norsk Homiliebog*, ed. C. R. Unger, Christiania 1864.

Geisli = *Geisli eða Óláfsdrápa ens helga er Einarr orti Skúlason*, ed. G. Cederschiöld, Lund 1873; Finnur Jónsson, *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning* B i, 427-45, København 1912.

Leg.S. = *Ólafssaga hins helga*, ed. O. A. Johnsen, Kristiania 1922.

Snorri's S. = *Saga Óláfs konungs ens helga* [ed. P. A. Munch and C. R. Unger] Christiania 1853.

Heimskr. = *Heimskringla*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, København 1911.

Flatey. = *Flateyjarbók* [ed. G. Vigfússon and C. R. Unger], Christiania 1860-8.

FMS. = *Fornmanna Sögur*, Kaupmannahöfn 1829.

HMS. = *Heilagra Manna Sögur*, ed. C. R. Unger, Christiania 1877.

Fsv.Leg. = *Ett forn-svenskt Legendarium*, ed. G. Stephens, Stockholm 1847-74.

once miracles began to be performed, and when, a year later, the king's body was dug up it was found to be incorrupt. It was taken to St Clement's Church at Nidaros (Thrandheim), and Olaf was soon adopted as the patron saint of Norway—*perpetuus rex Norwegie*.¹ His fame spread to other Scandinavian lands, and Adam of Bremen, writing c. 1070, could say:

Agitur festivitas eius 4. Kal. Augusti, omnibus septentrionalis oceani populis, Nortmannorum, Sueonum, Gothorum, [Semborum,] Danorum atque Sclavorum aeterno cultu memorabilis (*Gesta* II, 59).

Adam later (*Gesta* IV, 32) remarks on the crowd of suppliants who found their way to S. Olaf's shrine, and the life of S. Olaf in *Heilagra Manna Sögur* (ed. C. R. Unger, II, 182) records the case of a knight "from the West from England" who was freed there from the heavy fetters he wore in expiation of a grievous sin.² Another English beneficiary will be mentioned later (p. 63). During the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was an intimate connexion between the English and Norwegian Churches. Bishops as well as priests from England played a large part in the establishment of Christianity in Norway. For example, the first bishop of Stavanger was an Englishman, and his cathedral dedicated to S. Swithun of Winchester. When the monastic life was introduced the Benedictine foundation of Selje was dedicated to S. Alban, the protomartyr of England. Of the Cistercian abbeys Lyse (1146) was a daughter-house of Fountains and under its immediate direction till 1213, while Hovedø was settled (c. 1147) by monks from Kirkstead Abbey, Lincolnshire. Laurence, abbot of Hovedø³ in the middle of the thirteenth century, was an Englishman who eventually became abbot of Kirkstead.

¹ *Symbolæ ad historiam antiquiorem rerum Norvegicarum*, ed. P. A. Munch, p. 12 (Christiania 1850).

² Miracle I; also in FMS. v, 224, but see Passio, pp. 96 and 102.

³ Hovedø was dedicated to S. Edmund King and Martyr.

Matthew Paris, artist as well as historian, was sent to Norway from St Albans on a mission of reformation,¹ and the influence of English on Norwegian pictorial art during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is well recognised.²

The Viking invasions of the ninth century had left a strong Scandinavian element in many parts of England. In the untroubled reign of Edgar the king was too hospitable to Scandinavians to please his English subjects.³ When the bad times began again Æthelred II had many Scandinavian mercenaries in his service, and to an Icelandic poet of the period London was as much a part of the Scandinavian world as Upsala, Orkney or Dublin.⁴ From 1016 at least the governing and commercial classes were largely Scandinavian by birth or descent. Earls Siward and Morcar of Northumbria both bore Scandinavian names, and Earl Godwine, the most influential personage in England during the early years of Edward the Confessor, was married to a Danish lady, Gytha, whose brother Earl Ulf had wedded a sister of King Canute. Of the sons of Godwine and Gytha four at least bore Scandinavian names—Swegen (Sveinn),

¹ A. Lindblom, in *La Peinture gothique en Suède et en Norvège*, pp. 130-1 (Stockholm 1916), points out that the influence of Matthew Paris is to be found in one work only—the retable of Faaberg; yet he regards his mission as of the highest importance for the history of art, since it offers tangible proof of the intensity of the cultural relations between Norway and England at that time.

² See A. Taranger, *Den angelsaksiske Kirkes indflydelse paa den norske* (Kristiania 1890), and H. G. Leach, *The relations of the Norwegian with the English Church 1066-1399* (*Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* XLIV, No. 20 = pp. 529-560); T. B. Willson's *History of the Church and State in Norway from the tenth to the sixteenth century* (Westminster 1903) is also useful and more accessible to English readers. For English influence on ecclesiastical art in Norway see W. G. Constable's catalogue of the *Exhibition of British Primitive Paintings* (London 1923), pp. xxi-xxii and 9-18, and T. Borenius and E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Painting* (Firenze and Paris 1927), pp. 12-14 and plates 26, 28, 29, 46-49, plate 47 representing S. Olave with axe and book.

³ ASC 959 E; see also M. Ashdown, *Saga-Book* x, 75-99.

⁴ *Gunnlaugssaga Ormstungu*, c. ix, ed. L. M. Small (Leeds 1935).

King Harold II (Haraldr), Tostig (Tosti) and Gyrth (Gyrðr). It is not surprising therefore that the cult of S. Olave should have been firmly established in England within a generation of the saint's passion.

The earliest English reference to Olave as a saint¹ occurs in the C text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 1030, and this annal seems to have been written at Abingdon (Berkshire) about 1050;² no such phrase as *and wæs siððan halig* is to be found in either the D or the E text. In 1055 (ASC 1055 D) Earl Siward of Northumbria was buried in the *mynster* he had consecrated to God and Olave at *Galmanho*, little more than a stone's throw from York Minster. A charter of Edward the Confessor (KCD 814 of 1063) mentions the Exeter church of St Olave, which the Countess Gytha, the Danish mother of King Harold II, endowed with property in Devon (KCD 926 of 1057-65). S. Olave has been added at the end of the list of martyrs in the Exeter Pontifical of c. 1060.³ Also from Exeter is an eleventh-century Psalter followed by a litany in which S. Olave is invoked.⁴ Moreover the Red Book of Darley

¹ Þórir hundr of Bjarkey, one of the king's slayers, was healed by his blood and at once recognised his sanctity. He passed through London on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and seems to have been the first to inform Canute of the new saint's cult. Canute was disappointed that Olave had forestalled him in sanctity, but promised to send money to his shrine (Flaty 11, 372-3; see also *Norges Historie* 11, i, 13-17).

² It is possible that this entry is due to Roðulf (a kinsman of Richard, Duke of Normandy), who accompanied Olaf to Norway in 1015 and worked there till his expulsion in 1028. After a short stay in Bremen, where he met Adam the historian, he proceeded to Iceland. After twenty years' work in Iceland he retired to England, when he was appointed to the abbacy of Abingdon by his kinsman Edward the Confessor (ASC 1050 C) and died a couple of years later. P. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 335, and C. Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel* 11, 234, call him bishop of Nidaros, but he is not recognised as such by Norwegian historians (*Norges Historie* 1, ii, 330 and 360-6; *Rolls Series Historia Monasterii de Abingdon* 1, 463-4).

³ BM. Add. 28188, f. 3, for which see *The Leofric Collectar* (Henry Bradshaw Society LVI, 614ff.). This is of East Anglian type adapted for use at Exeter Cathedral. Vitellius A vii, as Mr. N. R. Ker tells me, is an example of the East Anglian type, probably from Ramsey Abbey; it also has S. Olave in its litany (ff. 17v-18).

⁴ BM. Harley 863, f. 109b, for which see HBS xlv, col. 438 and pl. xv.

(Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 422) includes in its kalendar the feast *S. Olavi* and provides a Votive Mass of S. Olave; this manuscript was pretty certainly written about 1061 at Sherborne (Dorset) in the heart of Wessex.¹

It will save space if I deal with the material in geographical order; alphabetical lists of dedications, liturgical commemorations and representations of the saint in various media follow at the end of the paper.

YORKSHIRE.

There was no considerable Scandinavian settlement in the two North-Eastern counties; but York was for close on a hundred years the centre of a Scandinavian kingdom. I have mentioned Earl Siward's *mynster* which developed into the great Benedictine Abbey of St Mary's, York. The dedication however persisted in St Olave's, Marygate, a church which was badly damaged in the Parliamentary siege of 1644 and largely rebuilt in the seventeen-twenties.² The mid-fifteenth-century glass that survives in the east window of that church is fragmentary and perhaps confused, but in the second light from the south is a crowned figure bearded and moustached and bearing an open book in the left hand; and this is usually identified as the patron saint.³ There are possibly fragments of his battleaxe in the lower part of the centre light. S. Olave appears in the metrical description of windows formerly in St Mary's Abbey,⁴ where, as might have been expected,

S. Olave is also found in the fourteenth-century bishop Grandisson's Exeter Martyrology (CCCC. 93, f. 154a, for which see HBS xxxviii, 420) and *Legenda Exon.* (Exeter Chapter MS. 3505, f. 94a, for which see HBS lxiii, 296).

¹ F. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* 1, 190 (HBS lxxii).

² *Norwegian Club Year Book* 1930, pp. 73-4, with a plate of the exterior. St. Peter's School is just across the River Ouse and its junior department is called St. Olave's. There is a St. Olave's School at Ripon too.

³ F. Harrison, *The Painted Glass of York*, p. 131.

⁴ Heralds' College MS. Arundel xxx, f. 8a:

Olavus nos ope ditet

Christicolas. Ave, salve, rex martyr Olave.

(G. Benson, *Yorkshire Philosophical Society Annual Report for MCMXIV*, pp. 182-4, corrected from the MS.).

he was commemorated liturgically; that is clear from the Ordinal and Customary of the abbey, written between 1398 and 1405.¹

I have not been able to find that he was so commemorated in York Minster, though the upper figure in the south-westernmost light of the vestibule to the Chapter House had formerly a label identifying it with S. Olave.² This figure, of the early part of the fourteenth century, is crowned and bearded but has no emblem characteristic of the saint; a sceptre would be appropriate to any king. It is in fact taken, with slight modifications, from the same cartoon as the figure immediately below, and no one would have ventured to identify that with the Confessor were not the lost inscription of SA. EDVARDVS on record. On the other hand the south light of the fifteenth-century east window of the south aisle of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, York,³ has a crowned figure with moustache and beard, having under the right arm a book and bearing in the left the three petrified loaves which are sometimes used to characterise the saint.⁴

Also of Yorkshire provenance is the story told by

¹ St John's College, Cambridge, MS. D. 27, f. 6r (HBS LXXIII, 11). S. Olave is also found in the Kalendar (f. 14r) and Litany (f. 141r) in Bodleian MS. Lat. Liturg. g. 1; this is a psalter with prayers, hymns, etc., for the use of a Benedictine house—either St Mary's, or one of its cells, most probably the Priory of St Bees (*Summary Catalogue*, no. 31379).

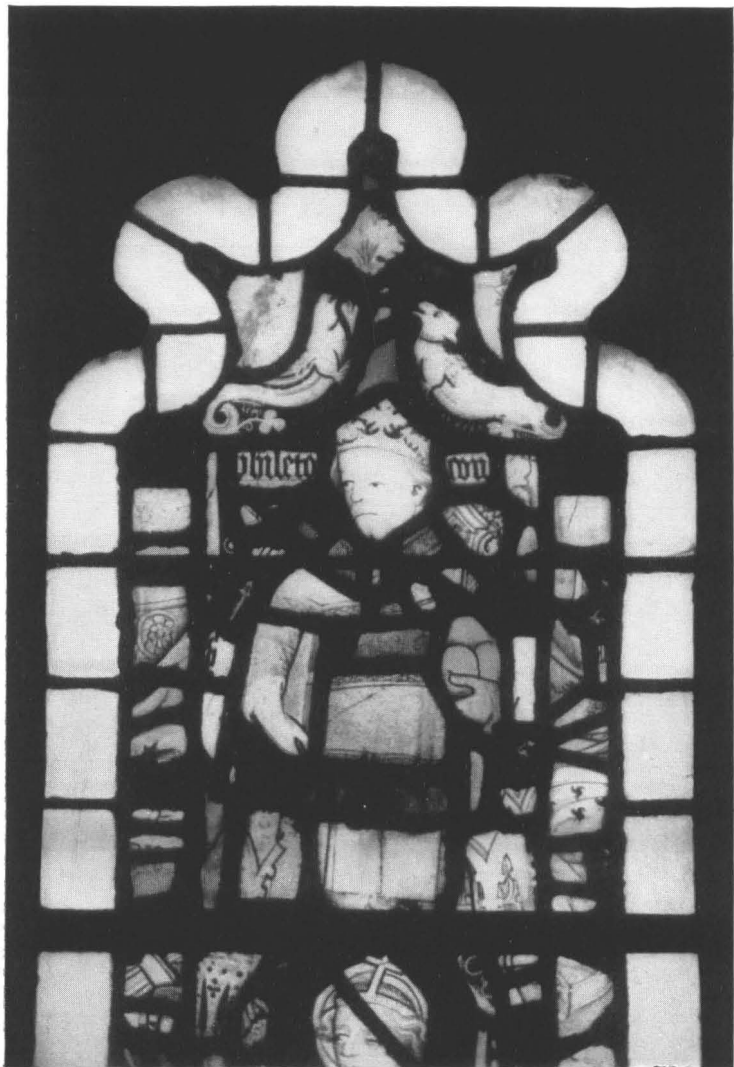
² The label bore the legend SA. OLA—WAS, according to the York antiquary John Browne, *A Description of the Representations and Arms on the Glass in the Windows of York Minster* (1859), p. 24 (Leeds 1915); Harrison, pp. 56 and 204.

³ Harrison, p. 154. See Plate 1.

⁴ Miracle II. A Norwegian servant-girl was forced to bake for her Danish master on S. Olave's Day. He lost his sight, and the loaves were turned to stone in the oven, since which time the Feast of S. Olave has been celebrated in Denmark. But in Einar Skúlason's *Geisli*, one of the earliest references to this miracle, the baker is merely called a Danish woman and there is no suggestion that she was working under orders.

[Passio, pp. 78-9 = Acta (Storm, pp. 136-7); Hom., p. 153; Geisli, 35-36; Leg. S., p. 95; Snorri's S., pp. 243-4; Heimskr., pp. 481-2; Flatey. 11, 381; FMS. v, 139-40; HMS. 11, 176-7; Fsv. Leg. 11, 867; Norwegian Legendarium (Storm, pp. 275-6); Historia Plurimorum Sanctorum (Storm, p. 281); Breviarium Slesvigense (Storm, p. 266).]

PLATE I.



S. Olave from the xvth c. glass in the E. window of the S. Aisle of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, York, from a photograph by Mr. J. A. Knowles.

(facing p. 58).

William of Newburgh, the late-twelfth-century chronicler.¹ Ketell of Farnham (near Knaresborough) was beset by demons and only saved by the apparition of a radiant youth carrying a battleaxe which rang when touched like Gunnarr's bill in "Njálssaga." As I have suggested elsewhere² I should like to identify the radiant youth with S. Olave. The axe is the typical weapon of the Scandinavian and is S. Olave's most characteristic emblem. Thus in all three representations of the saint figured in Bishop Jón Helgason's *Islands Kirke fra dens Grundlæggelse til Reformationen*, pp. 54, 103 and 264 (København 1925) he is shown carrying an axe.³

The late twelfth-century MS. of the "Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi" (in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. 209, ff. 57r-90r), the work of Archbishop Eysteinn of Nidaros, who was in exile in England in 1181 and 1182, belonged to, and may have been written at, Fountains Abbey, the mother-house of the Norwegian Lyse. In the Rievaulx Abbey catalogue is included a *Vita S. Olavi*, which may perhaps have been another copy of Eysteinn's work (Jesus College, Cambridge, MS. 34, f. 4v).

LINCOLNSHIRE AND THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

North-East Lincolnshire is thickly studded with *-bys* and *-thorpes*, and Grimsby, from its association with "Havelok the Dane", is a likely enough place for a dedication to S. Olave. The notes to the Skeat-Sisam edition of that poem (p. 119) state categorically that "Grimsby Abbey was dedicated to St Olaf." The Austin Abbey, alternatively known as Grimsby or Wellow, was founded by Henry I and dedicated to SS.

¹ W.N. II, 21.

² *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society* xxxv, 21-22.

³ In the Icelandic drawing-book of the first half of the fifteenth century he carries also a closed book in his left hand, in the embroidery from Skarð Church the orb in his right hand, and on the painted altar-frontal from Grund Church a sceptre in his right hand. For the iconography of the Saint in Norway and elsewhere see *Nidaros og Stiklestad*.

Augustine and Olave.¹ The second seal of John de Utterby, abbot in 1369, bears S. Augustine side by side with a royal saint² who holds an axe in his left hand (B. M. Cast xliii, 42). The legend, expanded, runs

[SIGILLVM] : COMMVNE : ABBATIS : ET : CONVENTVS :
MONASTERII : SANCTI : AVGVSTINI : DE : GRIMESBI :

but the double dedication to SS. Augustine and Olave is recorded, as, for example, in the late fifteenth-century Ordinale Praemonstratensium (Jesus College, Cambridge, MS. 55) and frequently in the Patent Rolls. It is perhaps worth noting that the abbot of Grimsby visited Norway in 1163 (Surtees Soc. I, 108-9).

The little Wold church of Ruckland,³ six miles south of Louth, is similarly dedicated to S. Olave, and *-by* names are numerous in the neighbourhood. But there is no trace of the dedication in Lincoln itself, nor in any of the Five Boroughs, nor indeed anywhere in the Midlands except in Chester, which will be dealt with later, and at Fritwell (Oxfordshire), where the church has considerable remains of good Norman work and was in existence at least as early as c. 1160, when it was granted to the Priory of St Frideswide, Oxford.⁴ Why this church should have been dedicated to S. Olave I am unable to conjecture. As Dr. Edvard Bull (*Saga-Book* VIII, 147-8) points out the only trace of Norse influence in the neighbourhood is a manor of Barford St Michael some miles farther west, also bearing the name of St Olave. Yet the cult has been tenacious there. The Fritwell Parish Register for 20 November 1720 records a collection of 2/6 "upon St Olave's church near York"—certainly a contribution to

¹ VCH Lincs II, 161-3.

² W. de G. Birch, who described the seal in the *British Museum Catalogue of Seals* I, 573 identified the figure in the sinister niche with Henry I, but Dr. Eric Millar agrees that it represents S. Olave. An impression of this seal was found in Western Norway in 1913 and is preserved in Riksarkivet (the Public Record Office), Oslo (*Saga-Book* VIII, 147): it is poorly reproduced at p. 11 of E. Bull, *Den pavelige legat Stephanus i Norge* (Kristiania 1915). See Plate II.

³ The existence of a church at Ruckland in 1086 is recorded in *Domesday Book*, f. 349 c. The present fabric was rebuilt in 1885.

⁴ See J. C. Blomfield *History of the Deanery of Bicester*, Part VII.



1. S. Olave from the xiith c. seal of Herringfleet Priory, Suffolk (B.M. Cast LXXXI, 114).
facing p. 60).



2. SS. Augustine and Olave from the xivth c. seal of John de Utterby, abbot of Grimsby, Lincs. (B.M. Cast XLIII, 42).
By permission of the Director of the British Museum.

the rebuilding of which I have spoken earlier in this paper.¹ The patronal festival is scrupulously observed on 29 July with Eucharist and Sermon on the Saint, and among the church embroidery is a white altar-frontal (about fifty years old) on which is worked a figure of S. Olave bearing an axe in the right hand and a loaf in the left.²

S. Olave appears in the Kalendar of the Austin Priory of Barnwell,³ Cambridge, and from East Anglia, where a Scandinavian kingdom was shorter-lived than at York, there is a good deal of evidence, though one piece used by Bull has to be discarded. Dr. H. G. Leach (*Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, pp. 63-4 and 393) has shown that the *Synoluys flet* and *pontem Sinolphi* at King's Lynn (A. Bugge, *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* XIX, 568) have nothing to do with the saint. In Norwich itself there were two dedications, St. Olave's Chapel (near Southgate) demolished as early as 1345, and St Olave's, or St Tooley's Church⁴ (at the corner of Pitt Street and Cherry Lane) which was pulled down in 1546.⁵

¹ North Oxfordshire (later Oxfordshire) *Archæological Society Publications* 1884, p. 19.

² I visited Fritwell on S. Olave's Eve 1937 and received much kindness from the Vicar, the Revd. Edgar Glanfield. He could not confirm Bull's statement that the festival was held on the first Sunday after 8 August—that is by the Julian, not by the Gregorian Calendar which was introduced into England in 1752. For three good views of the church from photographs see NCYB 1930, pp. 71-72.

³ B. M. Harley 3601 of 1295-6, edited by J. W. Clark, *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, p. 9 (Cambridge 1907). S. Olave occurs also in Vitellius A vii, which probably comes from Ramsey Abbey, Hunts (see p. 56).

⁴ There is evidence that the *t* of *Saint* was similarly prefixed to Olave at St Olave's Bridge, Southwark, Chichester, Bradford-on-Avon, Chester, Dublin and North Widewall (Orkney); see also pp. 73-74. Useful parallels are the form *St Twosole* recorded by John Aubrey (*Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, p. 29) as the Wiltshire country folk's rendering of S. Oswald; the pronunciation [tu:zi] for St Osyth, in the seventeenth-century *Seinte Toosie* (PN Essex 348); *T'andry cakes*, made in Bucks on the feast of S. Andrew (W. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*, 2nd ed., p. 98); *tawdry*, originally applied to laces (neckties) bought at St Audrey's Fair at Ely; *Tan Gate* (PN. Wilts 22), which was *Seynt Anne Gate* in 1455.

⁵ F. Blomefield, *History of Norfolk* iv, ii, 65 and 475 (ed. of 1806); C. J. W. Messent, *Parish Churches of Norfolk and Norwich*, p. 175 (Norwich 1936).

S. Olave King and Martyr occurs in the martyrology from the diocese of Norwich (B. M. Julius B VII, f. 38r), but not in the kalendar which occupies ff. 2 ff. of the same MS.¹ Just outside the Conisford gate of Norwich stood Carrow Priory, well-known from Skelton's poem on Phyllyp Sparowe. The Carrow Psalter of 1240-50 (now MS. 34 in the Walters Art Gallery,² Baltimore, Maryland) is clearly of East Anglian descent and may have been written, as M. R. James tentatively suggested, at Herringfleet Priory, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and S. Olave. It provides by far the most important single contribution to the iconography of S. Olave on this side of the North Sea, and I am most grateful to Dr. Eric Millar for having called my attention to it. The large capital B³ of the Beatus on f. 42r contains six medallions which represent

1. Olaf lying asleep in bed, crowned but otherwise naked. An angel emerging from a cloud above holds an inscribed scroll.

2. Olaf crowned, with joined hands and a long-helved axe over his right shoulder. He is one of two occupants of a ship which is dividing the rock of Hornelen (or Bremanger) from the island of Marö—a legendary event believed to have taken place on Olaf's voyage from Denmark to Norway in 1015. Storm (pp. 278-9) quotes an account from *Historia Plurimorum Sanctorum* (Louvain 1485), and Metcalfe (pp. 36-44) translates Danish ballads on the subject.⁴

3. Olaf, with a long-helved axe over his right shoulder,

¹ See also Addenda at p. 80.

² No. 90 in S. de Ricci's *Census of Medieval Manuscripts in America*.

³ It is reproduced on plate xxii of *Illustrations of one hundred manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson* IV (London: printed at the Chiswick Press 1914) and described at pp. 12-13; the medallions are discussed in greater detail by M. R. James at pp. 2-11 of *A descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts* (Nos. 51-100) in the collection of Henry Yates Thompson (Cambridge 1902). See Plate III.

⁴ Miracle III.



Miracles of S. Olave from p. 422 of the XIIIth c. Psalter of Carrow Priory,
 Norfolk (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MS. 34).

By permission of the Administrator.

(facing p. 63).

rides from the dexter side. A man in green wounds him in the right leg with an axe. This evidently represents Olaf at the battle of Stiklestad, though Heimskringla, p. 402, says that his first wound was in the left leg above the knee and there is no indication in early sources that he was mounted during the battle.

4. A man, with axe raised, standing over a nude tonsured figure which lies before him with severed hands and feet.

5. S. Olave, on the dexter side, holding a long-helved axe and blessing the nude tonsured figure once again complete in all its members.

These two medallions illustrate another miracle of S. Olave. Two Norwegians mutilated an English priest (called Rikarðr by Snorri, from whom we gather that the miracle took place between 1136 and 1157) whom they suspected of betraying their sister. He prayed to S. Olave and was restored. According to early sources his legs had been broken, his eyes put out and his tongue extracted; but the wording of the *Breviarium Nidrosiense* (Storm, pp. 232 and 237) suggests that, as here and on the altar-frontal from Kaupanger Church,¹ he had lost both hands and feet, which were restored through the merits of S. Olave.²

6. S. Olave, seated full-face, holding a long-helved axe in his right hand and raising his left in benediction.³

The iconography of S. Olave is well illustrated from Norfolk churches. The fifteenth-century portion of the fine South Aisle screen at Barton Turf has a painted figure, crowned, moustached and bearded, carrying in

¹ Now in the Bergen Museum (*Norges Historie* II, i, 15).

² Miracle IV, recorded in *Passio*, pp. 80-2 = *Acta* (Storm, pp. 138-39); *Hom.*, pp. 154-6; *Geisli* 58-61; *Leg. S.*, pp. 96-7; *Snorri's S.*, pp. 249-51; *Heimskr.*, pp. 587-9; *Fletey*, II, 386-8; *HMS.*, II, 179-81; *Fsv. Leg.*, II, 869; *Breviarium Nidrosiense* (Storm, pp. 232, 237 and 244-5); *Danish MS. Breviary* (Storm, p. 271).

³ I am much indebted to the Administrator of the Walters Art Gallery for the gift of a photograph of the page and for permission to reproduce it.

the right hand loaves of stone and in the left a halberd.¹ A scroll reading Sanctus *Holofius* clinches the identification with S. Olave. Again, on the rood-screen at Catfield the figure sixth from the north is S. Olave carrying a battleaxe.² Finally S. Olave is found among the royal saints round the base of the font at Stalham.³

At Herringfleet, in the N.E. tongue of Suffolk, Roger FitzOsbert founded before 1225 an Austin Priory dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and S. Olave⁴. This has given its name to a ferry⁵ across the Waveney (constantly mentioned in records till it was at long last replaced by St Olave's Bridge⁶ under Henry VII) and to St Olave's Railway Station about 300 yards from the remains of the Priory (suppressed 3 February 1536/7). An impression of the seal of this priory shows a crowned figure of S. Olave seated and bearing a single-bladed axe in his right hand and an orb in his left.⁷

The church of St Olave Creting (Suffolk) has long been destroyed, but the dedication is kept in mind by the title of the benefice—St Mary with All Saints and St Olave.

LONDON AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Scandinavian influence was strong in London in the eleventh century,⁸ and the great Benedictine Abbey of Barking (Essex), where the Kalendar and Sanctorale of

¹ C. J. W. Winter and J. Gunn, *Illustrations of the Rood-screen at Barton Turf* (Norwich 1869); A. Vallance, *English Church Screens*, fig. 196. It is reproduced in colour on plate LVII of *A Supplement to Blomefield's Norfolk*, edited by Clement Ingleby (London 1929). See Plate IV.

² M. R. James, *Suffolk and Norfolk*, p. 150 (London 1930).

³ James, p. 150.

⁴ A. Suckling, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk* II, 15-22 (London 1848); VCH Suffolk II, 100-1.

⁵ The account of the Ferry in Suckling can be supplemented considerably from the Close Rolls and the Patent Rolls.

⁶ Edward FitzGerald, writing from Lowestoft in 1875, says "*St. Olave's Bridge and Priory near here are called St. Tular's by the Wherry men &c.*" (*A FitzGerald Friendship*, ed. N. C. Hannay, p. 124, London 1932).

⁷ B. M. Cast LXI, 114, described at *Catalogue of Seals* I, 582. It is reproduced on the plate facing VCH Suffolk II, 108. See Plate II.

⁸ W. Page, *London: its origin and early development*, pp. 49-53 (London 1923).

PLATE IV



S. Olave from the xvth c. portion of the S. aisle screen at Barton Turf,
Norfolk.

Photograph by the late Brian C. Clayton. Reproduced from *English Church Screens* by Aymer Vallance, M.A., F.S.A., by permission of B. T. Batsford, Ltd.

(facing p. 64).

the nuns¹ show that they commemorated S. Olave King and Martyr, was in close touch with the city. A number of dedications, four certain and two possible, to S. Olave are recorded from different parts of the City, not to speak of a chantry in St. Paul's, which, because of its small endowment, was incorporated into the general property of the cathedral in 1391.²

St Olave Broad Street, mentioned in 1244 (map to F. M. Stenton's *Norman London*), was removed by the Austin Friars for the erection of their conventual buildings before 1271. St Olave Silver Street, first recorded in 1181 (map to *Norman London*), was destroyed in the Fire of London and its parish united with St Alban Wood Street; its churchyard, with four flourishing plane-trees, forms a pleasant green oasis at the south-east corner of Silver Street and Noble Street. In *The Diary of Henry Machyn* (at p. 145 of J. G. Nichols' edition for the Camden Society, 1848) there is an oft-quoted reference to this church under 1557:

[The same day, being saint Olave's day, was the church holiday in Silver street; and at eight of the clock at night began] a stage play of a [goodly matter, that continued until] xij at mydnyght, and then they mad an end with a g[ood song].³

St Olave Old Jewry, first recorded c. 1100 (map to *Norman London*) was also destroyed in the Fire but rebuilt by Wren in 1670-79. The parish was united with St Margaret Lothbury by Order in Council (26

¹ University College, Oxford, MS. 169, f. 4r and p. 327 (HBS LXV, 7, and LXVI, 265), the date of which is 1394-1404. To the kalendar in B. M. Harley 745, a psalter written by *Thomas de langley in usum Henrici regis tertii*, a later hand has added S. Olave (f. 4r); perhaps in the same hand are the Orkney S. Magnus (16 April) and the Norwegian S. Hallvard (15 May). Also from London is the thirteenth-century St John's College, Cambridge, MS. 81 which includes Olave in its kalendar (f. 4v). See also Addenda, p. 80.

² *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Richard II, Vol. IV, 421.

³ That the stage play dealt with St Olave is a conjecture of John Strype (1643-1737) in *Historical Memorials Ecclesiastical and Civil* III, 379 (London 1721).

November 1886) and most of the church pulled down in 1888-9, when the tower and part of the West front was incorporated in the Rectory of St Margaret Lothbury, now given over to offices (of the Church Lads' Brigade, etc.). The tower is not visible from Old Jewry, but a dive down Church Lane (earlier Colechurch Lane) will bring it into view.

After this doleful record of destruction it is pleasant to tell of St Olave Hart Street, where Samuel and Elizabeth Pepys worshipped and were buried. One of the relatively few City churches to escape the Fire, it is first recorded in 1109 according to the Rector, Prebendary T. Wellard (*St Olave's Hart Street*, p. 3), in c. 1200 according to *Norman London* (p. 40). The existing fabric is substantially of the mid-fifteenth century with a good many alterations of 1632-3, but the crypt, so lately opened up that it finds no mention in the guide of 1927 quoted above, is E. English. "In the mediæval period there was a large image of S. Olaf in the north aisle" (Wellard, p. 4), but the figure of S. Olave in the north light of the east window of the south aisle is modern, designed by Mr. C. O. Skilbeck and inserted by the Brethren of Trinity House in memory of their dead in the war of 1914-19. The altar-frontal in the crypt, bearing the words of St Olaf—"Forward Christ Men, Cross Men"—is still more recent. The clock which projects from the north face of the seventeenth-century tower originally belonged to St Olave Old Jewry. St Olave Mile End New Town, a daughter-church of St Olave Hart Street, was begun in 1874 and pulled down in 1916, its parish having in the meantime been overrun by foreign Jews.¹

Woodberry Down, N. 4, dedicated in 1892, is evidently

¹ *Ex. inf.* the Revd. C. T. Holdstock, Vicar of All Saints, the parish out of which St Olave's was taken and to which it has since been reunited.

There are at least three hymn-tunes which bear the name of St Olave; the earliest, composed by Robert Hudson (1732-1815) and arranged by S. S.

the Stoke Newington church noted by Miss Arnold Forster and Dr. Bull (*Saga-Book*, VIII, 144).

The Olave in St Nicholas Olave, which stood on the west side of Bread Street Hill, and is recorded as early as 1188 (map to *Norman London*), may have been the name of the founder or of a benefactor. Yet the thirteenth-century reference to the parish of St Nicholas, formerly of St Olave, and the reference of 1361 to the church and parish of SS. Nicholas and Olave (both cited by H. A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London*, pp. 438-9) give some colour to Harben's suggestion that the original dedication was to St Olave. The church was destroyed in the Fire and not rebuilt, its parish being added to St Nicholas Cole Abbey. Finally a parish of St Olave in the Shambles is mentioned in the will (1373-4) of Milo de Wyntoun,¹ and Harben suggests that the church of St Nicholas in the Shambles, first recorded c. 1196 (map to *Norman London*), may have possessed the double dedication to SS. Nicholas and Olave.

Across the Thames, a little to the east of London Bridge (the scene of one of Olaf's most famous exploits), stood the church of St Olave Southwark, which gave its name to Tooley Street. Earl Godwine had land in Southwark, and the parish of St Olave was in existence before 1085 (map to *Norman London*). It was probably at this church that a miracle, recorded in a number of sources, was performed on a cripple who came from France 'on knees

Wesley, is the second setting for *O Splendour of God's glory bright* in *The Oxford Hymn Book with Tunes*, No. 264; Hudson's daughter Mary, herself a composer, was organist of St Olave Hart Street from 1790 to 1801. The second (also called St George), by Henry John Gauntlett (1805-76), organist of St Olave Southwark (1827-46), is the setting for *To Christ, the Prince of peace* (*The Oxford Hymn Book*, No. 157; cf. *The Church Hymnary*, No. 590). The third, by Sir Joseph Barnby (1838-1896), who was born and taught for a time in York, is the setting for *Jesus, the First and Last* (*Methodist Hymn-Book with Tunes*, No. 105). I am indebted for information to Mr. J. T. Aitken, M.A.

¹ R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting* 1, 16.

and knuckles.¹ The Churchwardens' Accounts for 1556-8 show that a statue of S. Olave, with sceptre and axe, was placed in the church during the Marian reaction.² The medieval fabric stood till 1737 when it was rebuilt to the designs of Henry Flitcroft. The eighteenth-century church was damaged by fire in 1843 and afterwards rebuilt to the same design. The tower survived till 1928 when it was swept away and the site of church and churchyard occupied by the head-offices of Hay's Wharf. Part of these new buildings is called St Olaf House, on the front of which is carved a short history of the church. The pleasant classical fountain from the churchyard is preserved in Bermondsey Playground, Tanner Street, E.C.1; and while St Olave's and St Saviour's Grammar School (founded 1560), St Olave's Library, and St Olave's and St John's Mission Room, all in Tooley Street, St Olave's and St John's Institute in Fair Street, and St Olave's Dock are in existence there is little fear that the dedication will be forgotten on the South Side.³

THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES.

A few of the eleventh-century inhabitants of Chichester bore Scandinavian names, and there is in North Street a small but interesting church dedicated to S. Olave.⁴ It was probably built at the end of the eleventh century, but the chancel was rebuilt in the early thirteenth century and the nave has been much altered; there is however towards the west end of the south wall of the nave a plain round-headed doorway (now blocked up) belonging

¹ Miracle V, recorded in Leg. S., pp. 103-4; Snorri's S., p. 244; Heimskr. p. 482; Flatey. II, 381-2.

² W. Rendle, *Old Southwark and its People*, pp. 238-44 (Southwark 1878). On the church generally see VCH Surrey IV, 151-2.

³ The Norwegian Church in Bermondsey is dedicated to S. Olav. In *The Martiloge in englysshe* (printed by W. de Worde in 1526) of the Birgittine house of Syon, Middlesex, S. Olave (misprinted *Olaty*) is added under 28 Sept. (HBS III, 152-3). See also Addenda at p. 80.

⁴ Speed's map of Chichester, reproduced in VCH Sussex III, facing p. 73, calls it St. Toolies.

to the original eleventh-century church (VCH Sussex III, 162-3).

The church of Gatcombe, an inland parish in the Isle of Wight, is also dedicated to S. Olave. In the time of Edward the Confessor a surprisingly large part of the island was held by men who bore such typically Scandinavian names as Ketel and Turchil (Porkell). Gatcombe seems however to have been built as a manorial chapel in the thirteenth century by one of the Esturs, a family of Norman origin.¹ S. Olave was included, as I have said (p. 57), in a kalendar of c. 1061 from Sherborne (Dorset). Mr. Francis Wormald informs me that he is also to be found in a kalendar from Abbotsbury in the same county (Cotton Cleopatra B ix, f. 57b); that is no earlier than c. 1300, but it is perhaps worth noting that the abbey was founded by a Dane—*Orcus* (*Orc* or *Urc*) who was an official of the household of Canute and Edward the Confessor (VCH Dorset ii, 48-53). Still further west is Exeter, part of the *morgengifu* which Edward the Confessor gave to his Lady Eadgyth—daughter of Godwine and Gytha and so half-Danish in blood. St. Olave Exeter² was in existence by 1063 at latest, and was granted by the Conqueror in 1070-71 to the monks of Battle Abbey, who established next to it the Priory of St Nicholas. For liturgical celebration of the saint at Exeter see p. 56.

According to earlier accounts S. Olave was represented on the rood-screen (of c. 1490) at Manaton in the south-east of Dartmoor, but, if so, the painted panel disappeared in the restoration of 1890.³ Also from Devon are very

¹ The thirteenth-century Gonville and Caius College MS 205 has in its kalendar, at p. 7, *Sancti Olavi regis 7 martyris*; it comes from the diocese of Winchester and records the dedication of the parish church of Shorwell, next to Gatcombe.

² B. F. Cresswell, *The Churches of Exeter*, pp. 128-33 (Exeter 1908); J. Stabb, *Some Old Devon Churches* II, 78-79 (London 1911); NCYB, pp. 75-77 (with plate of the exterior).

³ C. E. Keyser, *A List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland having Mural and other Painted Decorations*, p. 170 (London 1883).

questionable identifications with S. Olave of figures on the Perpendicular north aisle screen at Holne and on the south chapel screen (after 1518) at Wolborough.¹

The church of Poughill, in the north-east of Cornwall and at no great distance from the Bristol Channel, is dedicated to the saint, and in the fourteenth-century kalendar of Launceston Priory, to which the church was appropriated in 1269,² S. Olave not unnaturally finds a place.³

I owe to the kindness of Sir Allen Mawer references which show that there was once a church dedicated to S. Olave, and mentioned in a charter of 1329, at Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts. It gave its name to a street called in 1426 *Seynt Olesestret* (Catalogue of Ancient Deeds I, 263), in 1612 *St Toles streete*, in 1660 *Tuley streete* (Wilts Arch. Magazine xli); but about a century and a half ago Tooley Street gave place to Woolley Street.⁴

CHESTER.

Finally there is in Chester a benefice of St Michael with St Olive, but the small church of St Olave,⁵ first recorded in 1101, has long been disused;⁶ dispensations in the Calendar of Papal Registers for 17 Dec. 1414 and 13 April 1459 show that it was poorly endowed in the later Middle Ages. It is not surprising to find the dedication here, for Chester's *xii indices* in Domesday Book show that it,

¹ F. B. Bond and B. Camm, *Roodscreens and Roodlofts* II, 332, 321 and 364 (London 1909).

² *Cornish Church Guide*, pp. 185-6 (Truro 1928).

³ The kalendar from the psalter of the Austin Priory of Launceston (in the possession of Mr. William Berington of Little Malvern Court, Worcester) is printed and discussed by F. Wormald in the *Journal of Theological Studies* xxxix, 1-21.

⁴ W. H. Jones, *Bradford-on-Avon*, pp. 38 and 241 (Bradford-on-Avon 1907).

I should add that Bath had part of *sancte olafes reafe*; see W. Hunt, *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath*, p. lxxiv (Somerset Record Society vii).

⁵ S. Tooloys Church is marked on Speed's map of Chester, reproduced in R. H. Morris, *Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor reigns*, p. 227 (Chester n.d.).

⁶ G. Ormerod—T. Helsby, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester* I, 344-5 (London 1882).

like Lincoln and Stamford with their twelve lawmen, had a strong Scandinavian element in the eleventh century: the Scandinavians were known in Ireland as 'the people of twelve judges.'

IRELAND.

Across the Irish Sea there is a church (rebuilt in the eighteenth century) of St Olave in Waterford, which, like Dublin, Wexford, Cork, and Limerick, was one of the five strongholds of Scandinavian power in Ireland. Waterford's name (ON. *Veðrafjörður*) is Scandinavian in origin, and the barony east of the city is called *Gaultiere* 'foreigners' land.'¹

Dublin too had a church of St Olave (corrupted to St Ullock and St Tullock) which stood in Fishamble Street and gave its name to Tullock's Lane, which ran down to the Wood-quay. The *parochia Sancti Olavi* is mentioned in the late thirteenth-century *Register of the Abbey of St Thomas, Dublin*, ed. J. T. Gilbert (Rolls Series), p. 402, and the *Parochia Sancti Olivavi* [sic] *in vico Piscariorum* occurs in the *Chartulary of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. J. T. Gilbert (Rolls Series), II, 46-7. It was a poor benefice—insufficient, according to the *Repertorium Viride* of 1530, for the maintenance of a chaplain—and soon after 1530 the church was "prophaned," its condition when Richard Stanihurst wrote his account of the Dublin churches for Holinshed (*Chronicles* II, 22).

S. Olave King and Martyr appears at p. 140 of *The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin*, ed. J. C. Crosthwaite (Dublin 1844), and this again is to be expected, for among the relics deposited in the cathedral by its founder Donatus, the first (Danish) bishop of Dublin (ob. 1074), was part *De uestimento sancti Olavi regis* (Crosthwaite, p. 141).

¹ The early thirteenth-century Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 405 includes in its kalendar S. Olave King and Martyr (f. 29r); it belonged to the brothers of St John of Jerusalem at Waterford.

In Ireland too the efficacy of prayers to S. Olave was proved as early as 1052. The Saint's nephew, Guthormr Ketilsson of Ringanes, had been on a viking cruise with Margaðr Ragnvaldsson, who had just been expelled from Dublin for the second time. King Margaðr (Eachmar-gach in Irish sources), wishing to keep all the booty, offered him the choice of relinquishing his share or meeting him in battle at odds of three to one. It was S. Olave's Eve, and Guthormr prayed to the Saint, promising a tithe of the booty if he were victorious.¹ His prayer was answered, and he gave it to the cathedral of Nidaros (Thrandheim) in the form of a great silver crucifix, which stood on the High Altar till the Reformation.²

THE ISLE OF MAN.

It would have been strange if the modern church (1881) in Ramsey had been the first dedication to S. Olave in the Isle of Man, which has so many carved crosses of the Scandinavian period. As it is, an *Ecclesia Sancti Olavi*, in Kirk Maughold parish, is mentioned in a charter of Godred the Black, King of Man 1154-1187.³

THE MAINLAND OF SCOTLAND.

The evidence for the cult of S. Olave on the mainland of Scotland comes from Fife, Aberdeenshire and the intervening counties of the East Coast. Before the Reformation he had an altar, shared with S. John, in the chapel of St Salvator's College, St Andrews.⁴ He is commemorated in the Arbuthnott Missal of c. 1480 from

¹ Miracle VI, recorded in *Passio*, pp. 75-8 = *Acta* (Storm, pp. 133-4); *Hom.*, pp. 150-1; *Geisli* 31-34; *Leg. S.*, pp. 92-3; *Snorri's S.*, pp. 241-2; *Heimskr.*, pp. 480-1; *Flatey.* 11, 379-80; *FMS.* v, 135-6; *HMS.* 11, 175; *Fsv. Leg.* 11, 865; *Breviarium Nidrosiense* (Storm, pp. 238-9); *Danish MS. Breviary* (Storm, pp. 269-70).

² L. J. Vogt, *Dublin som Norsk By*, pp. 261-2 (Christiania 1896).

³ NCYB 1930, pp. 78-80. J. J. Kneen (*The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, p. 625) suggests that this *Ecclesia Sancti Olavi* in *Euastad* (*ib.*, p. 294) is perhaps to be identified with the Church of Ballure now dedicated to St Mary.

⁴ J. M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Non-Scriptural Dedications*, p. 293 (Edinburgh 1914).

the Mearns,¹ in MS. additions to a copy of the Sarum Missal (Rouen 1506) from St Nicholas Church, Aberdeen,² and in the Aberdeen Breviary printed for Bishop Elphinstone in 1509-10; and in a 1518 inventory of St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, is listed "a small image of S. Olave of silver decorated with seven precious stones."³ The one church dedication (not in its original site) comes from the same county—Cruden, where is

St Olave's well, low by the sea,

Where pest nor plague shall ever be,⁴

though S. Olave's Fair is no longer held in March. There is a chapel of S. Olave in the Scottish Episcopal church of St James at Cruden Bay. Hector Boethius (*Historia Scotorum* XI, 244) attempted to account for S. Olave's presence there by a story that the bodies of Danes defeated with great slaughter by Malcolm II were buried at Cruden, *quod tantum valet ac si diceres mortem Danorum*, and a church was dedicated *divo Olauo, in cujus tutela Danorum et Norvegorum regnum est*.

It is to be noted that S. Olave's Feast was normally celebrated in medieval Scotland on 30 March,⁵ not on 29 July, though the Aberdeen Breviary provides that if the feast fall in Passion Week or within the Octave of Easter it be transferred to 29 July. Adam King's kalendar of 1588 (Forbes, pp. 148 and 158) gives *S. Ole king of norwege* under 30 March and the earlier *S. Ole king of swadine*, whose proper day is 30 July, under 29 July. I would suggest that the celebration of S. Olave on 30 March is due to confusion with the Irish S. Tola of the following entry in the eleventh-century Drummond kalendar:—

¹ A. P. Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 98 (Edinburgh 1872).

² In the library of Blairs College, Aberdeenshire; it gives the old traditional use of Aberdeen, untouched by Elphinstone (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* xxxiii, 440-60).

³ *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* II, 173 (Edinburgh 1845).

⁴ J. M. Mackinlay, *op. cit.* p. 294; see also *Proc. of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* XLVII, 470-2.

⁵ On 31 March according to the *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* II, 7.

30 March: APUD HIBERNIAM SANCTI CONFESSORES MOCHUA COLMAN AC TOLA AD CHRISTUM PERREXERUNT (Forbes, p. 9).

This is an eighth-century bishop from *Disert Tola* (unidentified; see E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, pp. 347 and 14), who occurs in the *Martyrology of Tallaght* (HBS LXVIII, 28), the *Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*¹ (HBS XXIX, 85) and later Irish martyrologies.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND.

The Scandinavian settlement of Orkney and Shetland perhaps began before the end of the eighth century. The place-name evidence adduced by Jakob Jakobsen² has been shown by Finnur Jónsson³ to be inconclusive, but the pre-Viking Age theory receives some support from archæology.⁴ The many surviving dedications to Celtic saints show that neither the older population nor the Christian faith had been extirpated, though it was not till 995 that Earl Sigurd had baptism thrust upon him by Olaf Tryggvason. The line of Norse earls—deprived of Shetland by King Sverrir after the revolt of the Eyskeggjar in 1193—came to an end in 1231, and Orkney was ruled by successive families from Scotland till 1468, when both groups of islands were mortgaged to the Scots Crown by Christian I of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Thus, when the cult of S. Olave began to spread, Orkney and Shetland were part of the Scandinavian world and more or less dependent on Norway. One need go no further than the capital of Orkney, which lies in the parish of Kirkwall and St Ola. The enigmatic Jo. Ben., writing in 1529, mentions “a

¹ These Martyrologies are roughly of the same date (c. 800), but a document similar to Tallaght has served as a base for Oengus.

² *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed* 1901, pp. 68-69.

³ *Norsk-islandske Kultur og Sprogforhold i 9. og 10. Aarh.*, pp. 11 ff. (København 1921).

⁴ A. W. Brøgger, *Ancient Emigrants*, pp. 95 ff. (Oxford 1929), some of whose views are contested by J. Storer Clouston in *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* 1x, 35-40; see also Clouston's *A History of Orkney*, pp. 5-11 (Kirkwall 1932).

church reduced to ashes by the English, St Olai's Kirk, where malefactors are now buried," and remains of this, the original parish-church of Kirkwall, are still partly visible in the Old Poorhouse Close.¹ S. Olave has been thrust into the background by the native S. Magnus, in whose honour the cathedral was consecrated in 1137. But in the cathedral church there was in 1544 a chaplainry of St Olave,² and there is still a stone statue of him armed with the remains of an axe.³ The traditional dedication was revived when the Scottish Episcopal church of St Olaf, Kirkwall, was consecrated in 1878.

Elsewhere in Orkney we find in the Report of 1627 a reference to "Sant Tola chappell in Wydwall," that is the chapel of St Ola or St Tola in North Widewall, South Ronaldsay. And the same Report, dealing with the South Parochine of that island, says "the corne teindis belonging to the bishope is callit Ola teind." Similarly the Taxt Roll of 1617 refers to "The 1d. land of St Ola in Deirness"—Deerness in the East Mainland.⁴ Again, on Blaeu's map of 1672, a church site in North Ronaldsay is marked as St Ola K., and this is probably the parish church of the island, situated near Holland.⁵ Dr. Marwick (*POAS.* v, 70 and 81) also suggests that Quoy Olie (*Quoyolassa* in the Rental of 1595) near Roithisholm or

¹ G. Barry, *The History of the Orkney Islands*, pp. 440-1 (Edinburgh 1805); *The Orkney Parishes*, ed. J. Storer Clouston, p. 30 (Kirkwall 1927); L. Dietrichson and J. Meyer, *Monumenta Orcadica*, pp. 74-6.

² J. Storer Clouston, *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, p. 364 (Scottish Historical Society 1914).

³ Figured as frontispiece to J. B. Craven's *History of the Church in Orkney to 1558* (Kirkwall 1901); there is a better reproduction (from a photograph) facing p. 89 of Clouston's *A History of Orkney*. Archdeacon Craven also noted that "The burn of Papdale, which flowed into the sea close by, bore afterwards the name of St Ola's burn, as did the old bridge which spanned it, and which is still remembered in the more modern 'Bridge Street'" (op. cit. p. 38), and added that "the annual Lammas Market at Kirkwall is merely an enlarged edition of the Saint's Day rejoicing" (p. 42).

⁴ These documents are all printed in A. Peterkin's awkwardly paginated *Rentals of the Ancient Earldom and Bishoprick of Orkney* (Edinburgh 1820).

⁵ H. Marwick, *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* 1, 54. Is this the Orcadian island of St Olla to which Mackinlay refers in *Influence of the Pre-Reformation Church*, p. 294?

Rousholm in Stronsay recalls a dedication to S. Olaf; on Speed's map of Scotland (1611) a church on the island is marked as S. Olive.¹

There is slightly more evidence for pre-Reformation dedications to S. Ola in Shetland, which was governed directly from Norway or Denmark for close on three hundred years before 1468. Here one has the advantage of an excellent paper by Gilbert Goudie, submitted to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1884 and reprinted in *The Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland*, pp. 151-165 (Edinburgh 1904). The following appear in his list at pp. 163-4:—

St Olla at Gunilsta in Bressay Parish (noted by Sibbald, p. 29).²

St Olla in Whiteness P.³ "where there is a Church for preaching, beside which standeth St *Olla's* Chair, and the Church there is called St *Olla's* Church" (Sibbald, p. 10).

St Olla at Olnafirth⁴ (now commonly called Voe from the township at its head) in Delting P. (Sibbald, p. 32).

St Ola at Hillswick in Northmavine P. (Pitcairne,⁵ Blaeu's map, and Sibbald, p. 35).

St Ola in Yell P. (Pitcairne), at Kirkness; the churchyard is still the cemetery for N. Yell.⁶

St Ola at Wick in Unst P. (Pitcairne).⁷

¹ J. Storer Clouston has a good paper on the old chapels of Orkney in *Scottish Historical Review* xv, 89-105 and 223-240.

² *The Description of the Isles of Orkney and Zeland* by S[ir] R[obert] S[ibbald] was published at Edinburgh in 1711.

³ Nothing shows above the grassy mound which covers the site; but the churchyard is still in use and in 1938 a Viking Christian burial of c. x was discovered south of the mound (*ex inf.* my old pupil Mr. T. M. Y. Manson, who has taken endless pains on my account).

⁴ The roofless shell of this church survives (T.M.Y.M.).

⁵ The Report (c. 1607-15) of the Revd. James Pitcairne, Minister of Northmavine Parish, is printed by Goudie at pp. 155-8.

⁶ The walls of the c. xii church are still standing but much dilapidated since T. S. Muir sketched them in 1862 for his *Ecclesiological Notes on some of the Islands of Scotland* (T.M.Y.M.).

⁷ Jessie M. E. Saxby (*Saga-Book* iv, 30-31) adds: "I remember this kirk being called St Ole's Kirk . . . The burying-ground here [Kirk o' Wick, Lund, Unst] is in use." See also *Old Lore Miscellany* iv, 130-3. Walls and gables of the c. xii church are standing (T.M.Y.M.).

St Ola in Nesting P. (Pitcairne).

It is possible that one should add an eighth to Goudie's list; a second S. Ola K. is to be found marked in North-mavine just below the name Ollaberry on Blaeu's map.¹

Furthermore Sibbald (p. 42) says of the Shetlanders: "Their Laws were these of St. *Olla*, whom the Natives have in great esteem; he was one of the Kings of *Norway* of whom strange things are reported, in their songs they have of him, called *Visicks*." It is odd therefore that S. Ola's Day, unlike *Mansemas* (Feast of S. Magnus of Orkney, remembered in Caithness) and *Tolligsmas* (Feast of the Icelandic S. Thorlak) should not have been among "the merkis-days, or rets o' da year, observed in Shetland in the past age, and still lingering."²

THE WESTERN ISLES.

The Hebrides and the Isle of Man once formed a political and ecclesiastical unit, as the title of the Bishop of Sodor (ON. *Sudreyjar*) and Man reminds us. There is no indication, however, that the Western Isles (in Gaelic *Innse Gaill* 'Islands of the Foreigners') were settled by Scandinavians before the ninth century.³ There are two possible dedications to S. Olave in the Isles. Martin Martin,⁴ writing c. 1695, speaks of the church of "St. Aula in Grease"—the church of Gress (Ness parish, Lewis) which is now in ruins.⁵ J. M. Mackinlay⁶ suggests that Kilauley (North Uist) derives its name from a chapel dedicated to S. Olave, but no remains of any such chapel are noted in the Historical Monuments Commission volume on the Outer Hebrides.

¹ For Lerwick dedication see Addenda, p. 80.

² The list of merkis-days was first published in Mansons' *Shetland Almanac* for 1893 and revised by the author, the late Mr. Laurence Williamson, Mid Yell, on 30 October 1923.

³ A. W. Brøgger, *Ancient Emigrants*, pp. 126 ff.

⁴ *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, p. 27 (London 1703), p. 106 (Stirling 1934).

⁵ *The Outer Hebrides, Skye and the Small Isles*, p. 14 and fig. 17, published for the Historical Monuments (Scotland) Commission (Edinburgh 1928).

⁶ *Non-Scriptural Dedications*, p. 296.

From the Hebrides comes a story told in Eirspennill and conveniently translated by A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* II, 556-7. As Alexander II of Scotland lay in Kerrera Sound preparing for the conquest of the Western Isles he was visited in a dream by three figures, the first of which "wore royal apparel, . . . very frowning, red-faced and stout in figure." The third, "very bald in front" (*i.e.* with the Celtic tonsure), warned the king not to go plundering in the Hebrides, and Alexander, heedless of the warning, died soon after (1249). The Hebrideans said that the visitants were St Olaf, King of Norway, St Magnus, Earl of Orkney, and St Columba—who had come, appropriately enough, to avert disaster from the Scandinavian inhabitants of the Western Isles.

CONCLUSIONS.

In conclusion, one or two general considerations are perhaps called for. First, the distribution of dedications to S. Olave shows that the bulk of them are found in parts known to have been more or less thickly settled by the Vikings, such as Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, East Anglia, Man and the Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland, or in urban centres, such as London, Chichester and Exeter; Chester, Dublin and Waterford fall into either category. In a few cases, such as Fritwell and Bradford-on-Avon, it is impossible to account for the dedication in this way, and speculation is unprofitable. The second is the rapidity with which the cult of the saint made progress, even among his mortal enemies the Danes, and this proves how freely ideas circulated in the Scandinavian world of the eleventh century—a world in which a man might treble the parts of mercenary soldier, trader and poet. And finally one may point to the intimate relations between the English and Norwegian churches during the period in which the cult of S. Olave was making progress.

DEDICATIONS TO S. OLAVE: *Bermondsey* (Norwegian ch.) 68*n*; *Bradford-on-Avon 70; †Chester 70; Chichester 68-69; *Creting 64; Cruden (Parish ch. and chapel in Episcopal ch.) 73; *Dublin 71; Exeter 56, 69; Fritwell 60-61; Gatcombe 69; †Gress 78; *Grimsby Abbey 59-60; *Gunilsta 76; †Herringfleet Priory 64; *Hillswick 76; [*Kilauley 78]; *Kirk Maughold 72; Kirkwall (†Parish ch., *Chaplainry in Cathedral, and *Episcopal ch.*) 74-75; *Lerwick* 80; London (*St. Paul's chantry, *Broad Street, Hart Street, **Mile End New Town*, †Old Jewry, *Silver Street, [*St. Nicholas Olave, *St. Nicholas in the Shambles]) 65-67; *Nesting 77; [*Northmavine 77]; North Ronaldsay 75; North Wide-wall 75; Norwich (*chapel and *church) 61; †Olnafirth (see Voe); Poughill 70; [*Quoy Olie 75]; *Ramsey, Isle of Man*, 72; Ruckland 60; *St. Andrews altar 72; *Southwark 67-68; †Voe 76; Waterford 71; *Wellow Abbey (see Grimsby); *Whiteness 76; †Wick, in Unst, 76; *Woodberry Down* 66-67; †Yell (at Kirkness) 76; York 56-58.

LITURGICAL CELEBRATION: Abbotsbury Abbey 69; Aberdeen (Cathedral and St. Nicholas ch.) 73; Barking Abbey 64-65; [Barnwell Priory 61]; Dublin (Christ Church Cathedral) 71; Exeter Cathedral 56; Faversham Priory 80; ? Fotheringhay 80; Launceston Priory 70; London 65*n*; The Mearns 72-73; Norwich diocese 62, 80; Ramsey Abbey, Hunts, 56*n*, 61*n*; ? St. Bee's Priory 58*n*; Sherborne Abbey 57, 69; ? Shorwell (see Winchester); Syon Monastery 68*n*; Waterford (St. John of Jerusalem) 71*n*; Winchester diocese 69*n*; York (St. Mary's Abbey) 57-58.

ICONOGRAPHY (PRE-REFORMATION): *Aberdeen Cathedral statuette 73; Barton Turf screen 63-64; Carrow Priory Psalter illuminations 62-63; Catfield screen 64; Grimsby Abbey seal 60; Herringfleet Priory seal 64; *London (Hart Street) statue 66; [Holne screen 70];

Kirkwall Cathedral statue 75; [Manaton screen 69];
 * Southwark statue 68; Stalham font 64; [Wolborough
 screen 70]; York (Minster, Holy Trinity Goodramgate,
 * St. Mary's Abbey, and St. Olave) 57-58.¹

¹ Nineteenth-century dedications are printed in *italic*. An asterisk (*) means that the church, etc., does not survive, an obelus (†) that it is no longer in use, though part at any rate of its fabric remains. Doubtful examples are enclosed within square brackets.

ADDENDA.

P. 62, n. 1. Similarly the c. xv Bodleian MS. Rawlinson liturg. e. 42 (S. C. 15845), from Norwich Cath. Priory, has S. Olave in the Martilogium, though not in the kalendar. The evidence of these two MSS. supports Mr. Wormald's view that the Altemps Martyrology (Vatican MS. Ottoboni 163) comes from Norwich; it also includes S. Olave (*Acta Sanctorum Junii* vi, 393).

A further occurrence of S. Olave is in the Bedae Martyrologium of the c. xiii Jesus Coll., Cambridge MS. 31, the provenance of which has not been established.

P. 65, n. 1. The c. xiv St. John's MS. 135, which belonged to the Collegiate Church of Fotheringhay, Northants, has S. Olave in its Martyrology.

P. 68, n. 3. A near neighbour of St. Olave Southwark was the Cluniac Priory (later Abbey) of Bermondsey. I have not seen a kalendar from B. itself, but Faversham was colonised from there and its Martyrology in the Bodleian MS. Jones 9 (S.C. 8916 of c. 1400) includes S. Olave.

P. 77, n. 1. Before the Union of 1928 there were two U.F. congregations in Lerwick. A considerable section of both declined union with the Auld Kirk and it was finally agreed that the separatists should retain the fabric of St. Olaf's. The original St. Ringan's now bears the double dedication of St. Olaf and St. Ringan (T.M.Y.M.).

EYRBYGGJA SAGA.

BY G. N. GARMONSWAY, M.A.

ON first acquaintance the *Eyrbyggja Saga* appears to have no unity: it presents a kaleidoscopic picture of the early history of the peninsula Snæfellsnes in Iceland, introducing an array of personalities who appear and re-appear, to the distraction of the reader, in episodes which are often unconnected or unrelated to each other. As Aristotle said, 'of all plots and actions the episodic are the worst.' But the saga is best judged not by the standards which we bring to *Njáls saga* or *Gíslasaga*, where a judicious selection of incident and episode, more particularly those dealing with the hero's own life, succeeds in achieving the effect of tragedy in accordance with ancient or modern notions. The compiler's purpose seems to have been instead to recount the stirring history of the peninsula as a series of 'provincial annals,' giving the whole work the impersonal character of a chronicle. In fact the merit of the saga lies in the presentation of separate episodes as they occur, and not in the symmetry of the pattern which they form viewed as a whole. Dis-jointed as many of these incidents are, they possess the typical Icelandic skill in portraiture which photographs mannerisms and personal appearance, thereby not only distinguishing a man in the midst of his fellows, but revealing also the workings of his mind at a particular moment in the action. One of the less important episodes will illustrate how the observation of such apparently insignificant detail gives dramatic satisfaction to the narrative.

A strong and powerful thrall Egil is chosen for a surprise attack on one of the men of Breiðafjörð, and he is promised his freedom if he kills his adversary. To judge by the

thrall's strength and determination the deed is as good as done, but his very zeal proves his undoing—that and a shoelace which drags behind him, and which in his eagerness he never notices.

‘Egil made his way thither. He got very stiff coming over the mountain and with lying out in the pass. He wore tasselled shoe-laces, as was the fashion in those days, and one of the laces came undone and the tassel trailed behind as he entered the porch of the hall. When he came to the main hall he tried to go as quietly as he could, for he saw Bjørn and Þórð sitting by the fire, and he was thinking that in a short while now freedom would be his forever. But as he prepared to step over the threshold he trod on the tassel of the lace which trailed behind, and when he put forward his foot the lace was fast, so he tumbled over and fell in on the floor with such a crash as if the carcass of a flayed ox had dropped there. Þórð sprang up and asked what the devil was happening.’

It is in keeping with the compiler's purpose and plan of presenting an objective record that, of the leading men in the story, no one seems to be cast in preference to another for the hero's rôle. Snorri the Priest, it is true, appears to us the most dominating and interesting figure, but by their nobility of character Arnkel and Steinþór constantly steal his thunder, not only when he is off-stage but also when all the actors are before us. Further, the scope and variety of the work is apparent when we notice how frequently the narrative is being interrupted to recount interesting news about the men of the peninsula, who for some time have been out of the story, for example the adventures with Eric the Red or the last news of Bjørn the champion of Breiðavík. To a modern reader there is added interest in the inclusion of eerie ghost stories, introduced not to presage misfortunes to come but for their own compelling merits. The hauntings at Fróðá become a pyrotechnic display of the supernatural:

the Moon of Fate (*urðarmáni*) appears, the heavens rain blood, the dried fish in the buttery are eaten by a ghost who can be heard rending them with his teeth, a seal's head appears through the floor, the ghosts of the drowned Þórodd skattkaupandi and his crew, all dripping wet, attend their own funeral feast and dry themselves by the fire, to be joined by the ghosts of Þórir viðlegg and his six companions—' both parties occupied the seats by the fire, while the half-frozen and terrified domestics spent the night without either light or warmth. The same phenomenon took place the next night, though the fires had been lighted in a separate house, and at length Kiartan was obliged to compound matters with the spectres by kindling a large fire for them in the principal apartment, and one for the family and domestics in a separate hut. This prodigy continued during the whole feast of Jól'.

This last quotation is taken from an ' Abstract of the Eyrbyggja-saga ' by Sir Walter Scott which was incorporated in a work called *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, published in Edinburgh in 1814 by two antiquaries Robert Jamieson and Henry Weber. The Abstract was built upon the Latin version by Grímur Thorkelin included in that editor's edition of the saga, published in 1787. It is clear that Scott's interest was aroused by the comprehensive accounts of the life of the countryside and of the beliefs and superstitions of the inhabitants of the peninsula. He says, ' If the events which are commemorated in these provincial annals are not in themselves of great importance, the reader may, in recompense, derive, from the minuteness with which they are detailed, an acquaintance with the manners of the northern nations, not to be acquired from the perusal of more general history.' In the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* his interests are similar—the poem, now offered to the Public, is intended to illustrate the customs and manners which anciently prevailed on the Borders of England and

Scotland . . . the description of scenery and manners was more the object of the Author than a combined and regular narrative.'

Whatever unity the story possesses is achieved, as has been said, by the chronological arrangement of events, and to a lesser degree by the successive appearances and personality of Snorri the Priest. It has been suggested that the presence of the supernatural, throughout the story, in itself provides a unity of atmosphere, which might perhaps be likened to that present in *Macbeth*, except for the fact that the author does not primarily use the supernatural for dramatic or theatrical effect. That the diversity of the saga was realised in early times in Iceland is evidenced by the colophon at the end of the text in MSS. It is described as *Saga Þórsnesinga ok Eyrbyggja*, to which the Melabók adds *ok Álptfirðinga*; and for these descriptions there is every justification for the centre of the scene shifts repeatedly from Eyr to Helgafel further E., and again further S.E. to Álfafjörð, as Steinþór of Eyr, Snorri of Helgafel, and Þorbrand and his sons in Álfafjörð play their parts in the action. As Magnússon has said, 'the author himself has looked upon it as a *historia tripartita* curiously enough the popular mind has preferred to connect it exclusively with the family which takes the least prominent part in it: hence Eyrbyggja saga is the title given to it in all the MSS. which contain it.' Although the tale might seem to pivot, if anywhere, on the personality of Snorri, only the middle portion of his life is dealt with, dating from his return from Norway, probably in 979, to the time of his change of abode, about 1008, from Helgafel to Sælingsdalstungu, the peninsula to the N. Snorri lived until 1031, and although his death is recorded at the end of the saga, it is likely enough that Snorri's departure from the district seemed to the compiler a good place to bring his narrative to a close. It tails to an end with the repercussions of one of Snorri's earlier

feuds, which involves his reappearance once more at the Þórsnessþing, and concludes with the episode of the robber Óspak, whose raids involve Snorri in litigation at the courts of his new home in the N.W. To Sigfús Blöndal¹ this selectivity seems suspicious and he holds that the saga as we have it is a shorter version of an original which gave Snorri's biography in full. But, as Einar Ól. Sveinsson² points out, it is likely that the author knew that Snorri in other sagas, and particularly in *Laxdæla*, played an important rôle, and he was therefore unwilling to duplicate this material. Although Dr. Einar thinks *Eyrbyggja* is an earlier saga than *Laxdæla* (against the reference in chapter 65), it is not unlikely, as Mr. Turville-Petre has said,³ that the author knew the Laxdale story from oral tradition or from an earlier version and therefore deliberately stopped where *Laxdæla* began. That the compiler of *Eyrbyggja* had the mind to summarize or omit material which lay to his hand is apparent from his treatment, in cap. 56, of the Heathslayings: here some of the story is given in the baldest possible manner and some episodes in detail.

In contrast to the picturesque glimpses we obtain of the childhood of the precocious Kjartan, no attempt is made in the saga to picture Snorri's early years: there is the single phrase, 'hann var heldr ósvífr í æskunni, ok var hann af því Snerrir kallaðr ok eptir þat Snorri': even in *Gíslasaga* the notice is fuller. But two scenes when Snorri first makes his appearance in the tale compensate for this omission. In the first he and his foster-brothers are returning from Norway, where they have spent the winter, and people at home are curious to see by their appearance whether they have made money abroad. When the boat reaches Iceland his companions Þorleif kimbi and

¹ *Um uppruna Eyrbyggju*, Festkrift til Finnur Jónsson (1928), 19 ff.

² *Eyrbyggja Saga* (Reykjavík, 1935) p. xxxviii.

³ *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, Vol. xi, 289.

Þórodd dress up in their best: 'Þorleif bought the best horse he could get and put on it a painted saddle which glistened; his shield was dark blue and gilded, and he wore elaborate clothes. He had spent almost all his fortune on his turn-out, but Snorri was clad in a black cape and rode a black mare, yet a good one. He had an old-fashioned saddle and his weapons were far from showy.' Þork, Snorri's kinsman, judges from his appearance that all the money he had given him before his departure has been spent in Norway, and as result Snorri is able to trick Þork the following Spring into parting with his father's inheritance for a mere song. More ingenious still, the saga represents Snorri as having just returned from abroad when Eyjólf brings to Helgafel the news that he and his men have at last succeeded in slaying Gísli Súrsson: the incident shows Snorri, at the age of fifteen, taking command of a critical situation, and acting in a manner which was to increase the enmity which was developing between Þork and himself. Here, as Dr. Einar has suggested, the compiler of the saga is combining two separate episodes, which in *Gíslasaga* are rightly recorded as having happened with a year between them; for Snorri was still abroad when Gísli was slain, and did not return until after the separation of Þork and Þórdís his mother.

Judging from the paramount interest of *Eyrbyggja* in the events of the Snæfellsnes peninsula and the reluctance to continue the history beyond the departure of the characters¹ from this region, it would be natural to assume that the author was a native of the peninsula. Editors of the text have spoken of his topographical accuracy: Vigfússon (*Orig. Island.* II, 92) wrote, 'one ought to read it map in hand: mark the recurring direction-posts *fram*, *út*, *útan*, *inn*, *innan*, so that one sees the actors moving as one reads', and Gering² draws attention to the

¹ With the striking exception, of course, of Björn Breiðvíkingakappi (chap. 64).

² *Eyrbyggja Saga*, (Altn. Saga-Bibl. vi), xviii.

intimate knowledge displayed by the author of the antiquarian curiosities of the district. As to the time of compilation and first writing down of the story, it is possible to limit the period of composition to the years between 1200 and 1262: the legends of the neighbourhood, preserved by oral tradition, are drawn upon from the time of the events themselves, the late tenth and eleventh centuries, until the compiler's own day. In the concluding chapter, after a notice of Snorri's death occurs this important passage, 'he was buried in Sælingsdalstunga at the church he had built there. But when the church was moved and the graveyard dug, his bones were taken up and carried to the place where the church now stands, and there was present then Guðný Þoðvarsdóttir: she then kept house at Hvamm, and was the mother of the sons of Sturla, Snorri, Þórð and Sighvat; and she reported that they were the bones of a man of middle height, and not very big. There were also taken up at that time the bones of Þork digri and she said they were mighty big: then too were dug out the bones of Þórdís, the mother of Snorri, and Guðný said they were the bones of a little woman, and as black as if they had been singed.' We know from Icelandic annals that Guðný, a descendant of Egil Skallagrímsson, died in 1221, but, as Mogk¹ and Gering² emphasise, there is no reason to interpret the use of the preterite *sagði* as meaning that she was already dead when these lines were written. Dr. Einar (xlv) has drawn significant attention to the fact that two of the MSS. add that Guðný at this time lived at Hvamm, and believes that this addition is based on reliable tradition. Since it is probable that Guðný gave up keeping house at Hvamm shortly after the beginning of the thirteenth century, we must draw the conclusion that this disinterment took place shortly after 1200, after the death of her husband

¹ *Geschichte der Norwegisch-Isländischen Literatur* 752 note 1.

² *op. cit.* xvii note 1.

(1183) and when her sons were young men. As Thorkelin originally suggested, there is every reason for believing that the saga had already been written before the downfall of the old constitution of the commonwealth in 1262-4, when submission was made to King Hákon. In 1271, the new code of laws, the *Jarnsíða* was brought to Iceland by Sturla and finally sanctioned in 1273, and in its turn replaced in 1280 by the *Jónsbók*, a new code, more suitable for conditions in Iceland. Maurer has shown that the compiler of the saga is ignorant of these new codes, but makes frequent reference to the old legal procedure of Iceland which obtained during the days of the commonwealth. Gering (pp. xvii-iii) wished to fix the composition of the saga at about 1271, when the *Jarnsíða* was first introduced, or to put it between 1264—the end of the commonwealth—and 1273, the date of the final acceptance of the code. He drew attention to the use of a legal formula by the robber Óspak, ‘hvárki váru gefin né goldin né solum seld,’ a phrase found in the new *Jarnsíða* but not in Icelandic procedure. The phrase however occurs in the older Norwegian Gulatingslög and in the Frostatingslög and may well have been known in Icelandic courts at the beginning of the eleventh century, or passed into everyday speech as a telling, alliterative phrase preserved by oral tradition to appear at last in this saga. There is, however, no need to labour this point of Gering’s since Dr. Einar has pointed out in his edition of the saga (li), that this legal phrase is actually found in the Grágás, so the argument for a late date disappears. Mogk had already dismissed Gering’s view but without giving any reasons for his attitude.

In the comprehensive and masterly introduction to his edition of the saga, Dr. Einar Ól. Sveinsson has shown that it was probably compiled as early as 1222. He points out (xiv ff) that the author has used an earlier form of the *Landnámabók* than *Styrmisbók*, written by Styrmir

at Víðey somewhere between 1235-45, and furthermore (xliv ff) that some of the lines of verses in *Eyrbyggja* have been imitated in *Sturlunga Saga*, there attributed to poets of the Sturlung family or their retainers. The first of these resemblances, a line of Sighvat Sturluson, about 1212, *gunnmáva hné grennir* has, as Dr. Einar admits, but a slight resemblance to *Eyrbyggja* str.10 *kunnfáka hné kennir*, but the others from 1222 are strikingly similar and carry conviction both as regards the popularity and influence of the saga and Dr. Einar's deductions therefrom.

It is natural to speculate on the place of composition and the probable author, however inconclusive the results may be. In this connection it is natural to think of Helgafel, which as Dr. Einar (lii) says is the *miðdepill sögunnar og héraðsins*. He enumerates the many important men who lived there, both before and after 1184 when the monastery was founded. Dr. Eiríkr Magnússon, supported by Mogk, put forward a strong case for identifying the author with Hall Gizurson, fourth abbot of the monastery (1221-5) until he moved to the east of Iceland. He was the son of Gizur, described in *Sturlunga saga* as 'the best of all the learned men who have ever lived in Iceland,' and was himself *logsögumaðr* before he became a monk. This, according to Mogk, would probably account for the unusual knowledge of law and procedure which is displayed in the saga. It is very likely that the monastic community at Helgafel would favour the compilation of a history of the associations of the monastery itself, and be ready to incorporate in the record local traditions preserved from the days of the settlement of the peninsula. The veneration paid to the spot as a heathen sanctuary is given in the early chapters, and there is good evidence of the interest of the author in religious matters. He gives a full account of the heathen temple of Þórólf Mostrarskegg, which is only surpassed in detail by the description in *Kjalnesingasaga*: in describing the *afhús* he adds 'it was

much after the style of the choir in churches nowadays.' His narrative diverges to notice the coming of Christianity to Iceland and tells of the subsequent foundation of the church at Helgafel by Snorri. This is followed by an illuminating passage on the methods of early missionaries: 'now men were greatly spurred on to the building of churches by the promises of the teachers, who said that a man should have places in the Kingdom of Heaven for as many men as he could get into the church that he had built . . . and sufficient priests could not be got to serve the churches, even when they were built, for there were but few priests in Iceland then.' Of Þórgunna, the mysterious lady from the Hebrides whose fine bedclothes excited the cupidity of Þuríð of Fróðá, he tells: 'she was of exceeding good manners and went to church every day before she went to her work,' and the hauntings cease only after Kjartan has been advised by Snorri to take the priest to Fróðá to purge it by masses and holy water.

In addition to this there are two studied elaborations of the narrative which seem foreign to the usual directness of saga-style. Vigfússon and Powell (*Orig. Island.* II, 91) regarded them as glosses added to the text, but they may well have formed part of the original narrative. The first is in a speech of Snorri when he is advocating caution in attacking Björn in his house; he refers to the celebrated occasion when Geir and Gizur almost failed to dislodge Gunnar from his house at Hlíðarendi. The second is a 'somewhat euphuistic character-sketch of Arnkel differing from the pithy and shrewd character-sketches proper to this saga.'

While all these examples might suggest the scholarly mind of some monk, it must be admitted that the evidence is far from conclusive, and both Gering and Dr. Einar are unwilling to look for the author among the monks of Helgafel. It is no doubt true that such knowledge could have been acquired by some layman sufficiently

interested in the life and manners of the peninsula to compile its history. His antiquarian interests have already been referred to: he is always ready to draw attention to those landmarks of his own time which have the history of their origin explained in the saga—the high wall across Þórólf's grave, Thor's stone, the wall built by the berserks, and his interest in the construction of Styr's bathroom.

In conclusion reference might be made to two places in the saga where heathen beliefs are mentioned which are not spoken of elsewhere in the *Íslendingasögur*. In describing the welcome given to Þórodd, when he came to attend his own funeral feast, he adds the comment: 'they gave him a good reception because men believed it to be true that Rán would give a good welcome to men drowned at sea if they attended their own funeral feast: for then few of the old superstitions had been given up, even though men were baptized and were nominally Christians.' Other references to Rán, the goddess of the sea, are rare and exist chiefly in poetry: Snorri describes (*Skáldskaparmál*, 33) her net in which she catches those men drowned at sea. The second instance is found in chapter 44 where the saga describes how Steinþór threw a spear over Snorri's force 'at fornum sið til heilla sér.' This practice is associated with the cult of Odin: 'the dedication of an enemy's army to Odin before the commencement of a battle must have been regarded as a sacrificial act.'¹

The only other references to this practice are found in legendary sagas and those which deal with Norway, and it is to be doubted whether the custom was generally known in Iceland where Odin was not worshipped. The spear in this fight wounds Már and a hand-to-hand fight immediately ensues: whether Steinþór really threw the spear for luck or whether the author is merely rendering the

¹ H. M. Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin* 7.

action symbolic it is difficult to say. It would, however, be typical of the author's mind as revealed in the saga to represent the opening of hostilities in this way with added significance.

GRETTIR IN THÓRISDAL.

By MARY SANDBACH.

IF you look at the maps of Iceland after the one completed by Björn Gunnlaugsson in 1848, you will see the word Thórisdal written across the south western end of Geitland's glacier. The middle of a glacier does not seem a very likely place in which to find a valley, and therefore I want in this paper to discuss how the word comes to be there, and what kind of valley this Thórisdal is.

Thórisdal made its first appearance in literature in the saga of Grettir the Strong. Grettir is said to have spent one winter of his outlawry there, not a very comfortable retreat you would say, judging from its position on the map; but according to the saga Thórisdal was very unlike its surroundings. It was fertile and warmed by hot springs; in it there were plenty of fat sheep to eat, and for company there was a friendly half-troll and his daughters.

Before we examine the description of the valley and of Grettir's sojourn there I must remind you of some of the events which led up to this episode in his life. It would appear from the sagas that the usual practice of an Icelandic outlaw was to find some friend or relative who would house him during the winter, and to "lie out" in some place where he could live by thieving or fishing or both during the summer. In accordance with this practice Grettir spent the second winter of his outlawry with his cousin Thorstein Kuggason, but when the summer came Thorstein turned him out, and as he could get no help from anyone else, he was compelled to turn robber for a living. He chose as the scene of his activities a spot

between Langjökull and Hofsjökull, on one of the routes between the north and the south of the island, and here he successfully stripped many people of their possessions.

One day however he met his match in a tall stranger who overcame him in a trial of strength. Before they parted, the stranger, who called himself Lopt, told Grettir in a verse that he might find him in the great glacier which the men of Borgarfjörð call Balljökull. In this verse the stranger gave himself the name of Hallmund.

After further fruitless attempts to obtain help, Grettir retired to Arnarvatnsheiði, a moorland region north of Langjökull, where he hoped to get a living by fishing. Here after various adventures with other outlaws who wanted to murder him for a reward, he was attacked by his greatest enemy Thórir of Garð, and a force of eighty men. Grettir saw them approaching and had time to reach a narrow place between some rocks where he could defend himself from frontal attack, but he could not understand why his enemies did not come at him from behind. They were equally puzzled, for twice as many men fell behind him as before. Believing that Grettir was using magic to defeat them, his enemies retired, and then, further up the gorge behind him, Grettir found a tall man, sorely wounded, who turned out to be no other than his friend Hallmund. Together they went to Hallmund's home, a cave at the foot of Balljökull, where Hallmund's daughter tended their wounds. But as the summer wore on Grettir began to long for the inhabited places and for his friends, so he left Hallmund and went to Mýrar, to his friend Björn the Hitdale Champion. Here he is said to have lived for three years, in a place of hiding found for him by Björn, who, though he was willing to help him, was not willing to have him in his house.

At the end of these three years Grettir had made so many enemies that Björn too turned against him, and as no one else would assist him, he set off again in search of

his friend Hallmund. Instead of Hallmund he found Thórisdal, and the story of his doing so is told in the following manner.

“In the autumn Grettir went to Geitland where he remained until bright weather set in. Then he went up on to Geitland’s glacier and turned south-east along it. He had with him a kettle and a tinder box. Men think that he must have been following directions given to him by Hallmund who knew the country both far and wide. Grettir went on until he found a valley in the glacier, a long valley and rather narrow, and closed in by glaciers on all sides. He got down into it at one place and found beautiful slopes covered with grass and brushwood. There were hot springs, and it seemed to him that the subterranean heat alone kept the ice from meeting over the valley. A little stream ran through the valley and had smooth banks of gravel on either side. There was very little sunshine, but there were more sheep in the valley than he could count, and they were finer and fatter than any he had ever seen.

In this place Grettir settled and built himself a cabin of the wood he found there. He killed a sheep for food, and found that one sheep was better for slaughtering than two in other places. There was one dark-headed ewe with her lamb, and he thought her the most remarkable and best grown of all. He wanted to see what the lamb was like, so he took it and killed it. There was half a measure of suet in the lamb . . .

But when dark-head missed her lamb she used to stand every evening and bleat outside Grettir’s hut, so that he could not sleep at night. And because she never left him in peace he was sorry he had killed her lamb.

Each evening at dusk there was a hallooing from up the valley, and each evening when they heard it the sheep trotted off to the same hiding place.

Grettir said that a half-troll named Thórir ruled over

the valley, and that he, Grettir, had lived there under his protection. Grettir called the valley Thórisdal after him. Thórir had daughters with whom Grettir sported, which pleased them well enough, for there was not much coming and going in that place. When Lent came Grettir reminded them that they must eat fat and liver during the days of fasting. There was no news that winter. At last Grettir found it so lonely that he could endure it no longer. So he left the valley and went southwards across the glacier and came to the middle of the north side of Skjaldbreið. There he put up a stone and cut a hole in it, and said that if a man put his eye to the hole in the stone he would see the gill that fell into Thórisdal. After this he went to the south and so on to the eastern fjords. He spent the summer and the following winter on this journey and visited all the great men; but luck was against him, and he could get food and lodging nowhere. So he turned northwards again, and lived in various places."

All scholars are agreed that the incidents connected with Hallmund and Thórisdal are of a legendary nature, and several of them have devoted much time and attention to the question of when these incidents became connected with the saga of Grettir the Strong, and by whom they were inserted in it. These are of course the people who think of a saga primarily as the written work of a particular author or authors, and who talk of written and oral sources. The tendency seems to be to attribute all supposedly reliable matter to a written source, that is to some other saga written down earlier than the one under consideration, and all the more improbable stories to oral sources. These oral sources are generally considered to be later than the written sources.

But, as other scholars like Liestøl and Mossé have pointed out, sagas like that of Grettir had their origin in story telling, and I find it difficult to understand why people should suppose that some fanciful matter was not

inserted from the first. I am not of course disputing the fact that the greater the lapse of time between the formation of the first version of the saga and its completion in the form in which it was finally written down, the more of such matter there would be. But the character of the hero, and the circumstances of his life, so far as they were known, must from the first have been important factors in the formation of his story.

If therefore, instead of concerning ourselves with when and by whom these stories were introduced, we pause for a moment to consider why they should have been inserted, we shall see, I think, that there is no reason at all why the incident of Grettir's sojourn in Thórisdal, not perhaps exactly as we have it to-day, but in some form or other, should not have belonged to the saga from a very early date.

Recall for a moment the outline of the saga. You will remember that as his outlawry progressed Grettir found it increasingly difficult to find anyone who would give him permanent or even temporary shelter. Nobody wanted him for long; nobody felt equal to coping with the trouble his presence was bound to bring upon them.

In the chronological list of events given by Guðni Jónsson in the latest edition of Grettir's saga,¹ you will notice that there are two years for which there are no stories at all; these are the years 1025-27. We are simply told that Grettir went south and east and visited all the great men; but none of the great ones are mentioned by name, and not one of the other sagas has anything to tell of these visits. These two dark years are preceded by the winter in Thórisdal, and they are followed by the equally improbable Bárðardal incident; that is to say, four years of Grettir's life are as good as unaccounted for. There are of course many other points in the saga where the chronology must be mainly guess-work, and

¹ *Íslensk Fornrit* vol. vii (Reykjavík 1936).

many incidents which are more fancy than fact. The date of his death, 1031, is said to be well established, and some parts of the story of his life on Drangey bear the stamp of veracity, but what of these mysterious four years?

It seems to me clear that the question how Grettir spent the years between 1024 and 1028 has never been answered and never will be, and that it was probably unanswerable in the days when the saga was taking shape. Perhaps it could not have been answered during Grettir's lifetime by anyone but Grettir himself, and it is obvious that he would have been the last person to answer it with the truth. If he had really found a safe hiding place in some remote part of the country, or with some obscure person, it is very unlikely that he would have told anyone of it.

The less that is known of a person's life the easier it is to make up stories about him. Nothing is simpler than the transformation of such a person into a being with supernatural powers, or one who associates with supernatural beings. All the evidence suggests that in the case of Grettir this process was begun very early in the composition of his story; it may even have begun before his death, and it has certainly been continued ever since. There is hardly an incident in the saga which does not contain some exaggeration or distortion, and the enormous number of places with which his name is connected, and big stones which he is supposed to have set up, are further evidence of the same process of his transformation from man to superman.

Therefore, when men found themselves at a loss to account for how or where Grettir spent the years of his outlawry for which there were no stories, nothing was easier than the introduction of fictitious characters and places to get them out of their difficulty.

So much for why the story of Thórisdal should have been inserted into the saga. Before I turn to examine the

nature of the valley itself, let me say a few words about the beings who were said to inhabit it.

It is not possible in this paper to go deeply into the question of the origin and nature of such beings as Hallmund and Thórir and their amiable daughters; my main concern is with Thórisdal with which they had perhaps no original connection. They have obvious affinities with the "landvættir," the protective spirits of the land, often friendly to men. Even more striking is their resemblance to the Norwegian mountain-king Dofri, who fostered Harald the Fair-Haired and Bárð Snæfellsáss, and whose daughter loved both these heroes. But Dofri and his kind lived not in fertile mountain valleys but in caves, and there is never any suggestion that they were devoted to sheep farming. For a number of reasons I believe that it will be possible to show you that the belief in a fertile valley in the middle of a glacier in which sheep can graze in winter is an independent conception, to which Thórir and his daughters were added, perhaps by someone who could not bear to think of Grettir living alone.

It is true that Thórisdal is mentioned as the residence of Thórir in *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss* and in *Ármanns saga*, but in both these sagas the valley is simply mentioned, not described. Thus we may assume that the audience for whom these sagas were composed had already been made familiar with the idea of its existence by Grettir's saga.

Most scholars have been content to dismiss the valley by saying "this is one of the most mysterious episodes in the saga," or, "here we enter the realm of folk and fairy tale," or words to that effect. Guðni Jónsson gives a list of the various attempts which have been made to find the valley; but so far as I know no one has suggested how the idea of such a valley might have arisen, or whether it is an Icelandic conception or of foreign origin.

An imaginary land of plenty is a belief common to many

peoples and is distinguishable from a belief in The Other World, Land of the Dead, etc.; but it is hardly likely to find favour among people living under desirable conditions. It is however the natural refuge of those who suffer hardship, of whatever kind this may be. The nature of the imagined land will take colour from the particular desires of the people who invent it; thus the Irish in their stories of a "sidhe," filled the land with just those nut and fruit trees which they themselves most prized, and the Icelanders in their stories of fertile valleys filled them with just those fat sheep that they themselves longed to possess.

Thoroddsen¹ says that men were attracted to Iceland not so much by the farming prospects as by the fishing, but there is evidence to show that the settlers did think of it as a farmer's country as well as a fisherman's. There are frequent references in the sagas to "landkostir góðir," implying land of good quality, and a climate in which the cattle and sheep could graze out of doors all winter.

Now a number of people have believed that the whole explanation of the story of Thórisdal is that in fact the climate of Iceland was so much milder at the time of the settlement that such valleys really did exist in the island at that time. Needless to say there is not a shred of evidence for this assumption. It is true that some authorities hold that the climate at the time of the settlement was slightly milder than it is to-day, but from the very first, winter protection had to be provided for the cattle and in some parts of the country for the sheep too, that is, it had to be provided if you wanted to be sure of preserving your herds and flocks. In some districts the sheep were left out all winter without any protection, but they had to be tended and even fed if they were to survive a hard winter, and they were kept quite close to the farms. In summer, on the other hand, they were driven up to the

¹ *Islands Klima i Oldtiden*, in *Geografisk Tidsskrift* XXII, 6.

mountain pastures, and very often left there to their own devices until the time of the autumn sheep gatherings arrived. According to Thoroddsen and other authorities, it is only in quite recent times that the sheep have been gathered from any but the most accessible of these mountain pastures, and therefore it not infrequently happened that in the autumn a number of sheep which had strayed into places not searched were thought to be lost. In a hard winter such sheep would of course perish, but in a mild winter they might survive and possibly be found with their lambs the following summer or autumn. If they were found in good condition it would naturally give rise to the belief that, hidden in the interior of the country were fertile valleys, with good grazing, and as the idea was a very attractive one it would be developed and elaborated until it received the charming and appealing guise it wears in the story of Thórisdal. Or perhaps some shepherd cleverer at finding grazing for his flock than others of his calling, might at moments of exaltation hint that his sheep grew fat in no ordinary pastures, but that he alone knew where to find these delectable places. Several of the later stories, as you will see, show pretty plainly that the clever shepherd has had a hand in their making.

The ease with which the Icelanders have accepted the idea of secret grazing places in the interior of the country is shown by the number of stories in Árnason's Collection of Folk Tales and elsewhere, in which the motif of the fertile valley where sheep can graze throughout the winter recurs. In some of these stories the sheep are said to have disappeared into the valley, in others unmarked sheep mysteriously appear from some unknown place in the interior. There are at least a dozen of these stories, for instance the stories of *Smalamaðurinn*¹ and *Sauðamaðurinn á Grímsstöðum*,² in which the farmer's

¹ Jón Árnason, *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur* vol. 11, p. 168.

² Ibid. vol. 11, p. 298.

sheep disappear and are recovered from the hidden valley to which they have strayed by a cunning shepherd.

Then there is the rather different story of the valley in Torfajökull to which the rich Torfi from Klofi led his entire household as well as his live-stock in order that they might all escape from the plague. This was a highly desirable valley right in the middle of a glacier and quite uninhabited.¹

Two of the stories in the seventeenth-century writer Jón Guðmundsson's *Áradalsóður*² are based on this motif; and as final examples I want to quote at greater length two stories in an unpublished work, also by Jón Guðmundsson, called "Something about the hidden places and secret valleys of Iceland"³ In "A story about Sheep Odd," Jón tells how the rich farmer at Silfrastað in Skagafjörð missed some milch ewes. His shepherd Odd took this so much to heart that he could neither sleep nor eat. One day he disappeared into the nearby fells and returned with the ewes and a number of unmarked sheep. At first he refused to say where he had found them, but after a time he admitted that not far up in the fells he had found a valley whose existence he had long suspected. It was closed in by crags at the top and the open end was always hidden by a mist, which was the reason so few people found it. This valley was grass-grown and fertile and in it Odd found his sheep and a number of others which he succeeded in collecting and driving out of the valley, in spite of the fact that he was pursued by an evil spirit who tried to hinder him.

Odd paid a second and a third visit to this valley. From his second visit he returned with a flock of sheep, from his third with two horses. He never mentioned any further encounters with the evil spirit and he obstinately refused

¹ Árnason vol. 11, p. 135.

² *Huld* vol. 11, p. 48 (Reykjavík 1935); Árnason, vol. 11, p. 184ff.

³ *Ísland áhraerande. Ein Lýtil frá Sögn umm huldu plátz og heimugliga dale í Íslande.* Codex Holm. fol. 64, p. 81ff.

to tell anyone the way to his valley, but people thought it could not be far off because he went there and back in an afternoon.

In the same work there is the remarkable story of the valley in Borðubreið. This, Jón says, is a mountain in the northernmost part of Iceland, the part through which the Jökull river runs. In this mountain there is a valley so overhung by crags that the snow cannot get into it, and the sheep can graze out all winter. Proof of this is, Jón says, that when the wind blows towards the mountains flocks of sheep come running away from them, because it is in the nature of sheep to run into the wind. Once upon a time a poor woman found this valley. She disappeared with her horse from the inhabited parts for months and when she returned she said that she had lost her way and then followed a big river night and day until she came to a large mountain. Before her she saw a valley overhung by crags, where the land was fertile and where sheep grazed. She said that she never crossed the river, and when they reflected how long she had been missing, people concluded that she must have followed the river to its source in Borðubreið. After this a stone is described which looks as if it had been set up on the mountain by human hands. Jón says that it may have been put there by Grettir, and he goes on to say that some people think that Grettir must have known this valley in Borðubreið, and that it may be the Thórisdal in which he wintered, but on the other hand most people think that Thórisdal is in Geitland's Jökull. "However this may be," he continues, "it has been certainly proved that there is a valley in Borðubreið where sheep can graze all winter and that sheep do live there." The proof he offers is that flocks of sheep coming from this direction have been captured by the parson at Møðrudal and others, though he admits that no one has ever found the valley. This does not shake his conviction that such places exist.

“ Many examples and stories can be found ” he says, “ which prove that hidden valleys and secret places have existed and still do exist in unknown parts of the country, though few people know about them, and fewer are lucky enough to find them.”

In all these stories you will notice that the fact that the valley or hidden place is inhabited is of secondary importance; in some of them it is still uninhabited. There are however many stories, chiefly among those of the “ *útilegumenn* ” in which the valley and sheep motif has receded, and greater prominence is given to the beings who are said to live in such places. In some stories these are troll-like creatures, in others they are pathetically human, and the life they lead closely resembles that of the ordinary inhabitants of the island. Some of the stories contain motifs common to the fairy tales of various countries, others, like those in which illicit love between brother and sister is given as the reason why these people are living in such remote places, seem to suggest an Icelandic origin for the inmates as well as for the valley. They were perhaps invented after the introduction of the “ *Stóridómur*,” in 1564, the law which inflicted the death penalty for various crimes of sex, and whose introduction did drive a number of men and women away from the settled districts into the mountain deserts.

It seems to me impossible to decide finally whether Thórisdal has been the prototype for all the similar valleys which occur in Icelandic folk tales, or whether they are the independent offspring of a belief which was widely prevalent from an early date, or whether, while springing from a widespread belief they have at the same time taken literary colour from Thórisdal. It is worth noticing in this connection, that whenever one of these valleys is described it bears a strong family likeness to Thórisdal.

Of all the hidden valleys of Iceland, none has been more searched for or more eagerly desired than Thórisdal.

No doubt the pathetic loveliness of the description in Grettir's saga, the exact directions given for finding it, and the fact that the story occurs in one of the so-called historical sagas, have all played a part in inducing men to believe that such a place really did exist, or at any rate had existed, even sensible and intelligent men, who knew in their heart of hearts that it was impossible.

The first of the journeys in search of Thórisdal to be recorded was one undertaken in 1664 by three intrepid men, two of them parsons, who set off believing that they might find the valley inhabited by pagan men to whom they would bring Christianity. They approached Kaldidal from the west, crossed it, and after a long and arduous climb over rocks and snow found what they felt sure must be Thórisdal, but, alas, sadly altered in appearance. All trace of its former charms had vanished, there was no grass and no wood, the hot springs and the sheep were gone.

In 1835, the indefatigable Björn Gunnlaugsson made an expedition to find Thórisdal, and put it on the map of Iceland. He approached Geitland's glacier from the south-east but seems to have reached the same place as the parsons. Björn Gunnlaugsson was much disturbed because not only was the valley he found barren and desolate, but even its topography did not correspond to what he imagined was meant by the description in the saga. It was not closed-in by glaciers on all sides, but only on two sides. However with a little thought he managed to interpret the words of the saga to his own satisfaction and was quite certain that he must have found the Thórisdal originally discovered by Grettir, though he had to admit, either that the valley had changed, or that the description was exaggerated. He inclined to the former view.

Guðni Jónsson gives a list of 11 accounts of journeys which have been made in search of Thórisdal. Unfortunately I have not been able to examine all of them, but

the seven I have seen, convince me that not only have men found a sadly altered Thórisdal, but that different men have found different Thórisdals. Most people have followed Björn Gunnlaugsson and approached from the south; no one, so far as I know, has ever tried to follow the footsteps of Grettir himself.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LAXDÆLASAGA.

By PROFESSOR JAMES DREVER.

IN his Prolegomena to *Sturlunga Saga* Vigfusson has characterized the Saga in its strict sense as "a kind of prose Epic" with fixed laws, set phrases and terms of expression, and presenting a fairly regular form—at least in the shorter Sagas. The manner of the narration, amid all varieties of style and diction, has a unique character which no other literature possesses. It is simple and straightforward, with no attempt at analysis of character, no description of scenery, no conscious intrusions of the author's own personality. The actions and events are allowed to speak for themselves. It might be said to represent realism *in excelsis*.

One would at first have thought that this was a very unpromising field for the psychologist, and so it would have seemed to the psychologist of last century. But the modern psychologist revels in realism, and from this point of view the Icelandic sagas appear to offer him promise of a rich harvest. There are, however, certain difficulties. The actions of men are partly determined by their social and cultural *milieu*. Consequently a psychological interpretation of these actions is impossible without a wider knowledge of, and deeper insight into, this social and cultural *milieu* than the modern psychologist, unless he is himself an Icelander, steeped in the history and literature of Iceland, can easily attain. It is indeed almost presumptuous on the part of anyone else to attempt the task. The present writer has felt this keenly all through his present enquiry.

Then again a saga represents not a complete and detailed account of all the words and acts of the various *dramatis personae*, but a selection of these, dependent in the first

instance on the interest of the saga-teller and his audience, and dependent also on the interest of whoever moulded the saga into the final form in which it has come down to us. What the psychologist would regard as psychologically significant items may therefore be altogether omitted, or they may be given a setting and a context which radically alter their bearing on the psychological processes underlying the actions that take place. The relating of a story always involves this 'secondary elaboration' as the psycho-analysts call it, with the resulting confusion of the hero's psychology with the psychology of the narrator. This is indeed one line of psychological enquiry which might very well be followed out by someone better qualified in the kind of scholarship required than the present writer. Moreover in view of these difficulties the present writer is not so bold as to claim more than a conjectural and provisional validity even for the psychological interpretations which he has attempted in what follows. In fact in his own opinion he has propounded questions rather than answered adequately any one of them. If then this paper is regarded as something in the nature of an experiment, that will not be very wide of the mark.

Laxdœla has been selected, on the one hand because in tone it is the most modern of all the sagas, and ought therefore to lend itself most easily to psychological interpretation by the modern mind, on the other hand because the psychological situations which it presents are on the whole more interesting than those presented in any other saga, not even excepting *Njála*. The psychological interest of Laxdœla is evidenced by the number of original works in prose and poetry based on its main story. In English we have of course William Morris's use of it in his 'Earthly Paradise,' which fact was indeed a further motive for choosing Laxdœla, since it seemed of some interest to consider whether William Morris's reading of

the psychological situation and his rendering of the principal characters could be regarded as accurately representing the saga story.

Vigfusson (*Prolegomena*, p. xlvi), has suggested a similarity in *Laxdæla* to the tragedies of Euripides. The same idea obviously occurred to William Morris. At any rate he has worked out the Gudrun story until the resemblance becomes startling, and it is very probable, indeed almost certain, that he has allowed this similarity to influence his reading of the psychological situation at critical points in the narrative, with the result that we get from him something that reads like a lost tragedy by Euripides, or some Greek tragedian of his age and school, rather than *Laxdælasaga*. The undercurrent of fatalism in the Saga itself is joined to a somewhat distorted representation of the characters of all three of the main personalities in the central tragedy, and perhaps more particularly the character of Gudrun.

Before passing on to the discussion of our main theme there is one point that merits some little notice. Apart from Gudrun the chief heroine, there are no less than six other 'stirring women' who get more than a passing mention from the compiler of the Saga. There is Unn—usually appearing as Aud in the other sagas—Thorgerd Thorstein's daughter, the mother of Höskuld and Hrut, Jorunn Höskuld's wife, his daughter-in-law Thorgerd Egil's daughter, Olaf Pá's wife, Thured Olaf's daughter, and Vigdis Ingjald's daughter. This is, when one comes to think of it, a quite remarkable constellation. Benedikt Sveinsson, editor of the 1920 edition of *Laxdæla*, has also been struck by this fact. The inference would seem to be that the compiler of the Saga as it has come down to us has, for some reason explicable only on the basis of his own psychology, made a point of emphasizing a certain type of female character, and, not only so, but certain particular traits, not always very

desirable traits from our point of view. In some respects too all are reflections of the central female character of the main Saga, and this is surely more than chance. Apparently then we have in this fact traces of that 'secondary elaboration' already alluded to, and traces which might perhaps throw light on the personality and history of the compiler, and possibly—though this seems too much to expect—furnish a clue to his identity. This suggestion might be worth following up. There are other indications in the Saga pointing in the same direction.

It might be added that in making this suggestion the writer is assuming that Vigfusson is in the main right in his textual analysis of the Saga in *Origines Islandicae*. In his view Laxdœla is highly composite. He divides the whole into an introductory part and the main part. The introductory part breaks into sections, varying considerably from one another in source, in character, and in value. The main part, on the other hand—the Gudrun-Kjartan-Bolli story—is, in his words, "artistically put together, leading us regularly to a climax, is composed in a characteristic and homogeneous style . . . a classic work which must always take a high place in the roll of Icelandic literature." This reading of the textual situation is confirmed by the facts we have already called attention to from a psychological point of view. The author to whom we owe the classic story of Gudrun was certainly not the compiler who gave us the Saga as we have it. At the same time the parts added by the compiler throw considerable light on *his* personality, and it is not unlikely that there is some 'secondary elaboration' in the main part, the influence of that same personality. This 'secondary elaboration,' though it may not be very extensive, might possibly involve a modification of emphasis by slight omissions or slight expansions, and the result might not be entirely without significance. This possibility, at all events, it is essential to keep in mind.

Apart from the study of facts such as these, the psychologist must of course make it his main business to analyse the actions and motives of the various characters. As an illustration of his procedure in this case, we may turn to the central drama—the ‘eternal triangle’ situation. How far is it possible to disentangle the psychological situation here, so as to make the motivation of the acts of the three personalities, at different stages in the drama, clear and intelligible? Let us consider them separately, beginning with Bolli.

Bolli’s is probably the least complex of the three personalities, but nevertheless the problems presented by his acts and motives are by no means easy to solve. As depicted by William Morris he is rather a weakling. In the Saga narrative as a whole, however, there is little support for this estimate, though it must be admitted that it is a possible one.

In the Saga itself there is no hint or suggestion that Bolli has fallen in love with Gudrun prior to the journey to Norway. We are told that Bolli was always with Kjartan on his visits to Laugar, but the suggestion always is that this was due to the friendship between the two, and nothing else. The actual statements in the Saga are interesting:

“Þeir Kjartan ok Bolli unnust mest; fór Kjartan hvergi þess, er eigi fylgdi Bolli honum. Kjartan fór oft til Sælingsdalslaugar; jafnan bar svá til, at Guðrún var at laugu; þótti Kjartani gott at tala við Guðrúnu. Þat var allra manna mál at með þeim Kjartani ok Guðrúnu þætti vera mest jafnræði þeira manna, er þá óxu upp. . Heldr Kjartan teknum hætti um ferðir sínar; fór Bolli jafnan með honum.” (c. 39).

(The quotation is from Benedikt Sveinsson’s text which happens to be to hand).

“There was the greatest affection between Kjartan and Bolli; Kjartan never went anywhere that Bolli did not

accompany him. Kjartan often went to the hot springs in Sælingsdale, and it nearly always happened that Gudrun was also at the spring. Kjartan liked to talk with Gudrun. It was the general talk that of those who were then growing up Kjartan and Gudrun were the best match for one another. Kjartan, however, continued his visits, and Bolli always went with him."

It is only when this is read in the light of what happened later that we are led to conjecture that Bolli had even then been in love with Gudrun. On the assumption that this was the case, there must obviously have been very considerable emotional conflict going on in his mind. There is no hint of this in his behaviour at this point in the Saga, but later, when Kjartan and Bolli are in Norway, there are slight indications of something of that sort. At least it is possible to read such an interpretation into what looks like a bickering between Kjartan and Bolli when King Olaf Tryggvason sought to make the Icelanders embrace Christianity. The bickering was possibly more serious than the actual words of the speakers suggest; otherwise there does not seem much point in the sentence: "but many intervened saying that this was only idle talk."

Perhaps nothing could show more clearly the difference between the attitude of the modern poet and that of the writer of the Saga than William Morris's treatment of this part of the story.

" Then Bodli sometimes into musings fell
So dreamlike that he might not tell his thought
When he again to common life was brought."

" But as he spoke Bodli said here a word
And there a word, and knew not what he said,
Nay scarcely knew what wild thoughts filled his head,
What longings burned, like a still quickening flame,
Within his sad heart."

The widening breach between Kjartan and Bolli is hinted at by the Saga writer when Bolli comes to take his departure from Norway, leaving Kjartan behind him, and his words also suggest that he is already in a semi-conscious way toying with the idea of making love to Gudrun, and defending himself to himself by the suggestion that Kjartan is in love with Ingibjorg. Psychologically the situation at this point is very interesting. In Bolli's words to Kjartan there is a sudden change from 'ek' to 'vér,' when, after saying that he would wait till next summer, if he thought Kjartan would go then, he continues: "*we* think the king will on no account allow you freedom to go. On the other hand *we* are convinced that there is nothing in Iceland to induce you while you sit talking with Ingibjorg." Kjartan replies: "Haf ekki slíkt við" ("Don't speak in that way").

It may be that the change from 'ek' to 'vér' is without significance, but in the light of subsequent events the same can hardly be said of the allusion to Ingibjorg. Bolli is not only making excuses to himself, but he is also composing, again half unconsciously, the story he is to tell Gudrun, as well as the manner in which he is to tell it. It is indeed a rehearsal. In his first interview with Gudrun he tells of the way in which people were talking of the friendship between Kjartan and Ingibjorg, and added that he had an idea that the king would marry Kjartan to Ingibjorg sooner than allow him to leave the country. Bolli's treachery is now complete. He merely repeats it when he asks Gudrun to marry him, and the attitude of Olaf Pá, when he is asked to forward the suit, can neither surprise nor deter. At the same time Bolli probably succeeds for a time in deceiving himself, or at least partially deceiving himself, into believing that Kjartan will marry Ingibjorg and stay in Norway—the wish father to the thought. William Morris appears to have failed to grasp the psychological situation at this point, and in

consequence to have exaggerated the self-torment. Emotional conflict still exists, but it has ceased to be so acute and so painful owing to the partial success of Bolli's self-deception and his repression.

The crisis really comes with the return of Kjartan after the marriage has taken place and the attitude towards him of both Kjartan and Gudrun. The return of Kjartan destroys the phantasy with which he has sought to deceive both himself and Gudrun; the attitude towards him first of Gudrun (*Guðrún mælti nú við Bolla, at henni þótti hann eigi hafa sér alt satt til sagt um útkvámu Kjartans*), and afterwards of Kjartan, held up to him a mirror in which he might see how he actually appeared to them. The Saga references do not give us much assistance in reconstructing Bolli's inner life during subsequent events. His state of mind cannot have been enviable. His affection for Kjartan was still strong. If we can trust the Saga account his action in giving Kjartan his death wound can only be explained as due to a sudden impulse arising out of acute mental conflict at the time. Thus when Kjartan was spoken against, he either kept silent, or defended Kjartan (*hann var vanr at þegja eða mæla í móti*).

William Morris's reconstruction of this period appears to be essentially sound, and on the whole supported by the Saga references, scant as they are:

" 'Twixt good and ill, 'twixt love and struggling hate,' Bolli had to 'dree his weird,' and pay in full the price of his breach of faith.

" In the very hell he lay alow."

Action, however, now passes out of Bolli's hands into the hands of Gudrun, and the psychological problems raised by her action, as recorded in the Saga, must next be considered. The part played by Kjartan himself is of course not unimportant. It is fairly obvious that in his eyes Gudrun and Bolli were both faith-breakers—Gudrun possibly the worse—and probably he did not know of the

tale told by Bolli. Only on such a supposition can we explain Kjartan's acts. But the main psychological interest is with Gudrun. In this case William Morris has scarcely been so happy in his rendering of the situation. That Gudrun was deeply attached to Kjartan is obvious. Her own words in her old age—"þeim var ek verst er ek unna mest"—tell the whole story. (It is clear that Kjartan is meant, though the words might be interpreted as referring to Bolli, since the question was as to which of her husbands, and Kjartan was never her husband). Gudrun is always described in the Saga in superlative terms. "She was the most beautiful of women who were growing up in Iceland." "Of all women was she the wisest and most fair-spoken." So on it goes. The superlatives are applied not merely to her outward appearance, but to her generally as a woman, and it is clearly the intention of the teller of the saga to place her before his hearers in the best possible light. From these two facts we can start.

Married to her first husband at sixteen, and to her second husband at eighteen, Gudrun was a widow of about twenty-one when the central action of the Saga begins with the attachment between her and Kjartan, and with Bolli as an onlooker. This is psychologically the most interesting 'triangle' in all saga literature, and it is so mainly because of the part played by Gudrun. There are other 'triangles,' as in *Kormakssaga*, *Gunnlaugssaga*, and elsewhere, but none so interesting, and none in which the woman occupies, as here, the centre of the stage.

The love affair between Gudrun and Kjartan was obviously a serious one on both sides. William Morris suggests that it was more serious on Gudrun's side than on Kjartan's. Such a reading of the situation is a possible one, but the writer believes that it is the wrong one. If we adopt it we must interpret Kjartan's actions on his

return to Iceland as motivated mainly by resentment against Bolli, with which interpretation there are many things that are inconsistent, as, for example, the last scene at his slaying.

But it is with Gudrun, rather than Kjartan, that we are concerned. Her words in her old age can only mean that the deepest passion of her life was that for Kjartan, and only on such a view can we give any explanation of the course events took. More than once the teller of the Saga hints that this was the situation, and not only so, but that her circle of friends and acquaintances recognised that this was the situation.

“ (Guðrún) gekk á brott ok var allrauð, en aðrir grunuðu, hvárt henni þótti þessi tíðendi svá góð, sem hon lét vel yfir.” “ (Gudrun) went away and became red all over, but others suspected that she did not think the news so good as she pretended.” Even before Kjartan returned to Iceland there was little love on her side towards Bolli after the marriage. The arrival of Kjartan, as we have already seen, turned Gudrun’s real anger against Bolli. “ But,” says the Saga, “ though she did not say much it was plain that she was taking it badly, and most people were of opinion that she was greatly upset at the loss of Kjartan, much as she tried to hide it.” At this stage, then, we see Gudrun only partially successful in repressing her emotions, so far as Kjartan was concerned, although striving to do so, conscious that the eyes of others are upon her. The precise force of the Icelandic ‘ eftirsjá ’ is not very easy to determine. Vigfusson and Cleasby give as the meaning: “ the looking with desire after a lost thing, and hence, loss, grief.” The essential point, however, psychologically is that here we have an enduring painful situation, from which Gudrun naturally and inevitably seeks to escape. To a woman of her nature and character, escape by way of repression of the passion that cannot be admitted will be the only course that presents itself. Such

repression, if, as in this case, it is not entirely successful, will produce an indefinite resentment at first against things in general, but always tending to attach itself to something specific, always seeking in fact for something to attach itself to.

It has already been pointed out that we may assume that Kjartan blamed Gudrun quite as much as, if not more than, Bolli for what had taken place. At least there are no indications in the Saga to the contrary. Kjartan's attitude therefore was not calculated to soothe Gudrun's resentment. With his marriage to Hrefna, however, the specific object for the resentment became available, and was seized upon with avidity by Gudrun. To regard the attitude of hate towards Hrefna as due merely to ordinary sex-jealousy is to fail to realize adequately the real complexity of the emotional phenomena. Of course there is jealousy, but Gudrun's hate is fed by the pain of the repressed love for Kjartan, and the false and impossible situation in which she finds herself. No other interpretation is possible. The headdress episode, dramatically used by the sagaman, adds fuel to the flame of hate, but has little to do with the causation of the hate. Its stealing and destruction are at once an expression and a symbolic satisfaction of the hate. Kjartan's own hostile acts also add fuel to the hate. But, " Hrefna will not go laughing to her bed tonight," she says, when she hears of the death of Kjartan.

What of Gudrun's attitude towards Kjartan, and her egging of her brothers and Bolli to slay him? Again the interpretation of this as love turned to hate is entirely inadequate. The hate of Hrefna is open and confessed. The attitude towards Kjartan, while on the surface a phenomenon of the same nature, is radically different. Even Bolli is quite aware of that fact. When she speaks of Hrefna not going laughing to her bed, he replies: " I doubt very much whether she will become paler at these

tidings than you have done, and I suspect that you would have been less moved had I been lying dead and Kjartan had been telling the tidings." The attitude towards Kjartan is probably best regarded as what the psychoanalysts call a "reaction formation." The passionate love for Kjartan, which she is struggling painfully to repress, expresses itself in her consciousness by a kind of backstroke as aggression against Kjartan upon whom at the same time she projects the source of her mental torment. His hostile words and acts furnish her with a cue and with a pretext, which possibly half satisfies her conscience for the time being, but later is recognized by her merely as a pretext.

All this could easily have been expanded, and the various saga episodes treated in fuller detail from a psychological point of view, but my intention was merely to illustrate the application of methods of psychological analysis to saga literature. Vigfusson suggests that there is in the Kjartan-Gudrun story an echo of some of the later Eddic lays. That may well be the case, and the story as an accurate account of real events may appear in consequence to be less reliable. Of course it is certain that the writer of the Saga as it has come down to us has taken great liberties with the historical facts at some points, and notably in his account of the revenge taken for the slaying of Bolli, and of the share taken in that revenge by Bolli Bollason, then an infant of about a year old. That kind of inaccuracy, however, does not affect the psychological interest of the Saga, as we have it, and the same thing in effect may be said regarding other sagas. The writer will have achieved his purpose if he has succeeded in showing that such psychological analysis as he has illustrated will well repay further research.

LIGGJA FYLGJUR ÞÍNAR TIL ÍSLANDS.

By G. TURVILLE-PETRE.

THIS sentence is found in the *Orkneyinga Saga*.¹ It is related that Earl Rögnvaldr summoned his sons Þórir and Hrollaugr, and asked if either of them was prepared to go and rule the Orkney Islands. Þórir said his father must decide, but the Earl told him that it would be more profitable for him to stay at home. Then Hrollaugr asked if he should go to Orkney and the Earl answered: *Eigi mun þér jarldóms auðit, ok liggja fylgjur þínar til Íslands*. Dr. A. B. Taylor, the most recent translator of the saga, renders the phrase: "This Earldom will not fall to thy lot, for thy guardian spirits point towards Iceland."² In his rendering Taylor echoes Cleasby-Vigfusson's gloss (s.v. *fylgja*): "Thy guardian angels, good angels, point to Iceland."³ Taylor's rendering and Cleasby-Vigfusson's gloss give the peculiar, if not unparalleled, meaning 'to point to' to the words *liggja til*. More easily reconcilable with the Icelandic would be: "Your guardian spirits belong to Iceland," but that too would be curious, and rather vague in implication.

The word *fylgja* has several meanings in Icelandic, and the most common of them, both in the old and modern literature, is "attendant spirit," "guardian spirit." According to ancient belief the attendant spirit was a kind of companion, comparable with the guardian angel of Christianity; it was thought to accompany a man

¹ Ed. S. Nordal, Copenhagen 1913-16, ch. VI. This is the accepted reading; on the variants see Nordal's edition ad loc.

² *The Orkneyinga Saga*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1938.

³ Cf. G. Dasent's rendering in *Icelandic Sagas*, vol. III, "The Orkneyingers' Saga," H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1894, ch. VI, p. 7: "the spirits that follow thee lie towards Iceland."

throughout his whole life, giving him strength and protecting him from evil.¹ It is usually pictured in the form of a woman or of an animal, but it is normally invisible except to those gifted with second-sight. Sometimes, however, it may be seen by people not endowed with such abnormal powers, especially in dreams or at the time of death.² Þorsteinn, in *Gunnlaugs Saga*,³ dreams that he sees a swan and two eagles, and they are said to be the *fylgjur* of his unborn daughter and her suitors. Before he fought at Knafahólar, Gunnarr of Hlíðarendi dreamed that he was attacked by a pack of wolves, and these may be regarded as the *fylgjur* of his enemies.⁴ A little while before the death of his brother Guðmundr ríki, Einarr of Þverá dreamed of a magnificent ox, which walked up to the high seat at Guðmundr's home, Møðruvellir, and then dropped dead. This too is said to be an attendant spirit.⁵ In some instances the sources mention 'family spirits,' and this is said to be the meaning of the expression *ættarfylgjur*.⁶ Modern critics commonly, though possibly incorrectly, call them *kynfylgjur*.⁷ Family spirits were thought to descend from one generation to another and to guide the destinies of a whole family. Thus before the

¹ On the ON. beliefs relating to attendant spirits see J. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II (Leipzig 1937) §§ 288 ff., and works referred to there; M. Rieger: *Über den nordischen Fylgenglauben* in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* XLII, pp. 277 ff. On the Modern Icelandic beliefs see Jón Árnason, *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur og Æfintýri*, Leipzig 1862-4, I, pp. 354 ff. A few of the better known stories about attendant spirits are mentioned in the present paper; for further examples see J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, Oslo 1886-96, s.v. *fylgja* and *hamingja*. For Modern Icelandic examples see Jón Árnason, op. cit. I, pp. 356 ff.

² Cf. *Njáls Saga* (ed. Finnur Jónsson, Halle 1908) ch. XLI, 16: 'þú munt vera feigr . . . ok munt þú sét hafa fylgju þína.'

³ Ed. S. Nordal in *Íslensk Fornrit* III, Reykjavík, 1938, ch. II.

⁴ *Njáls Saga* ch. LXII.

⁵ *Ljósvetninga Saga* (ed. Guðmundur Þorláksson in *Íslenzkar Fornsögur* I, Copenhagen 1880), ch. XXI.

⁶ *Þórðar Saga Hreðu* (ed. Benedikt Sveinsson, Reykjavík, 1925) p. 37. The interpretation of *ættarfylgjur* in this passage in the concrete sense of 'family spirits' is not altogether certain, but see de Vries, op. cit. II, § 291. Cf. *infra* p. 125.

⁷ See *infra* p. 125.

poet Hallfreðr died at sea, he and his companions saw a woman clothed in a mailcoat walking on the water; when she came to Hallfreðr's younger son, who bore his father's name, she vanished, for henceforth she was to be his guardian.¹ Similarly, when Víga-Glúmr's maternal grandfather, Vigfúss, died in Norway, Glúmr dreamed that he saw a woman of gigantic stature walk up the valley of Eyjafjörðr. When she reached Glúmr's home, Þverá, the dream ended.²

In the meaning 'attendant spirit' the word *fylgja* is interchangeable with *hamingja*, which also has this meaning, though it has several others as well. In addition to 'attendant spirit,' Cleasby-Vigfusson and Fritzner (s.v. *fylgja*) give the meanings 'a baby's caul' and 'afterbirth' for the word *fylgja*. In Modern Icelandic *fylgja* (*barnsfylgja*) is the most usual word for the 'afterbirth' of a child, and it is found with that meaning in Abbot Arngrímr's life of Bishop Guðmundr, written about the middle of the 14th century.³ The Rev. Jónas Jónasson, writing of later Icelandic customs and beliefs, describes certain superstitions attached to the afterbirth (*fylgja*).⁴ It is popularly believed to contain some part of the infant's soul, and this is thought to be incomplete until the afterbirth has been released. It must, therefore, be tended carefully, not thrown out onto the open field, or placed anywhere where animals might devour it. It should rather be buried beneath the threshold or under rocks, or else burned. If it is burned, the baby will be 'attended' by a light or star.⁵ This belief shows how

¹ *Hallfreðar Saga*, ed. Benedikt Sveinsson, Reykjavík, 1929, ch. XI.

² Ed. Guðmundur Þorláksson in *Íslenskar Fornsögur* I, ch. IX.

³ *Biskupa Sögur* II, Copenhagen 1878, p. 168.

⁴ Jónas Jónasson frá Hrafnagili, *Íslenskir Þjóðhættir*, Reykjavík, 1934, p. 261.

⁵ Jón Árnason (*Íslenskar Þjóðsögur* I, p. 355), on the other hand, says that if the afterbirth is burned the child will be deprived of his guardian spirit, just as he would be if it had been eaten by an animal. Probably both of these beliefs have been popular.

closely the Icelanders associate the afterbirth with their beliefs about guardian spirits, and that the connection between them is popular, and not due merely to learned conjecture. This close association of the afterbirth with the guardian spirits is not, of course, confined to Iceland, but it is world-wide. It is, in fact, true to say that, according to the beliefs of certain tribes more primitive than the Icelanders, the afterbirth is not merely associated with the guardian spirit, but it actually is the guardian spirit. It is said that among the Kooboos, a primitive tribe of Sumatra, the navel string and afterbirth are regarded as the child's good spirits or guardian spirits, who come into the world with him and protect him from evil. Among other tribes the afterbirth is thought of as a kind of twin brother, who accompanies a man throughout his life and defends him against danger.¹

The word *fylgja* in the meaning 'attendant spirit' is commonly said to be related to the verb *fylgja* 'to follow,' 'to accompany.'² But according to H. Falk and A. Torp,³ it is really related to ON. *fulga* and Norw.dialect *folga* which mean 'thin covering,' 'membrane' (cf. *fela* 'to hide,')⁴ and according to the same authorities, the word *fylgja* originally meant 'afterbirth' and only later came to mean 'attendant spirit.' If this is so, the semantic development of *fylgja* must have been closely

¹ Cf. E. O. James in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (London, 1908-1926), under *Tutelary gods and spirits*; also A. C. Kruijt in the same publication under *Indonesians*. Numerous examples of superstitions of this kind are cited by J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part. I, *The Magic Art*, vol. I, London, 1911, pp. 199 ff.

² Thus making it identical in origin with the noun *fylgja* (= *fylgð*), meaning following, 'support.'

³ *Etymologisk Ordbog over det norske og det danske Sprog*, Oslo, 1903, s.v. *fylgje*. See also *Ordbok över svenska språket*, utg. av Svenska Akademien (Lund, in progress), s.v. *fylgja*; E. Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok*, ed. 2 (in progress), s.v. *fylgja*.

⁴ With *fylgja* may be compared *hyldir*, *hyldar* (f. pl., also written *hildir* *hildar*; see S. Blöndal, *Íslensk-dönsk orðabók*, s.v. *hyld*), which is used in Modern Icelandic for the afterbirth of an animal, and is probably related to the verb *hylja* 'to cover,' 'to hide.'

parallel to that of *hamingja*. *Hamingja*, as has been said, also means 'attendant spirit,'¹ but more commonly it is used in the abstract sense of 'fortune,' 'destiny.' In some instances of its use *hamingja* seems almost to mean 'strength,' 'mana.' In the common expression: *leggja hamingju sína til við e-n (með e-m)*,² *hamingja* is glossed by Fritzner (s.v.) as 'guardian spirit,' in which case the expression should be rendered: 'to transfer one's guardian spirit to someone.' But it is more likely that in such phrases *hamingja* is used in an abstract sense, and that the expression means 'to give one's strength (or luck) to someone.' Similarly, the expression *etja hamingju við Ólaf konung*³ probably means 'to try one's strength against King Óláfr' rather than 'to set one's guardian spirit against him,' 'to incite one's guardian spirit to combat him.'⁴

The word *hamingja* is related to *hamr*, which means 'skin,' 'covering' and 'shape,' and is the same word as MLG. *ham*, English *heam*, *hame* (see NED. s.v. *hame* 1) and Norw. dialect *ham*, all of which are glossed as 'skin,' 'afterbirth.'⁵ It is probable, therefore, that the word *hamingja* was originally associated with the skin and the membranes attendant on birth. In popular belief these were thought to determine the destiny of the child, and hence the word *hamingja* developed the meaning of 'guardian spirit,' 'attendant spirit,' to which were naturally added the abstract meanings 'destiny,' 'for-

¹ As in *Víga-Glúms Saga* ch. IX. See note 15/29 in my edition of that saga now at press.

² E.g. *Laxdæla Saga* (Íslenzk Fornrit V, Reykjavík, 1934) ch. XXI: *Haraldr konungr ok Gunnhildr leiddu Ólaf til skips ok sögðusk mundu leggja til með honum hamingju sína* For further examples see Fritzner, *Orðbog*, s.v. *hamingja*.

³ *Flateyjarbók*, Oslo 1860-68, II, 65; cf. the expression *etja kappi við e-n* (e.g. *Laxdæla Saga* ch. XIX).

⁴ Cf. the expression *etja hestum*, 'to goad horses to fight.'

⁵ See Falk and Torp, op. cit., s.v. *ham*. The word *hamingja* is said to be formed from **hamgengja*, in which case it may be compared with *hamhleypa*, 'one who changes his shape' (cf. J. de Vries, op. cit. II, p. 350 and references).

tune,' 'mana.' It was the abstract meanings of *hamingja* which predominated, and the word is commonly used in the sense of 'fortune' in Iceland at the present day. It is moreover probable that in a number of instances in which the word is glossed in the dictionaries as 'guardian spirit' (*skytsaand*), it really has the abstract meaning of 'destiny,' 'fortune.'

In the case of *fylgja* the abstract meanings of 'fortune,' 'destiny,' 'mana' are not given at all in the dictionaries consulted, and it appears from them that although it meant both 'afterbirth' and 'attendant spirit,' it was never used in an abstract sense. But considering how closely parallel the histories of the words *fylgja* and *hamingja* appear to be, it is reasonable to suppose that *fylgja* also had an abstract sense.¹ In fact, if it is taken in this way, the sentence: *liggja fylgjur þínar til Íslands* becomes readily intelligible, and gives the rendering: 'your destiny belongs to Iceland,' 'your destiny lies in Iceland.' The syntactical compound *liggja til* has then its usual meaning 'belongs to,' 'pertains to.'²

In conclusion it is worth considering whether this abstract sense of *fylgja* is present in any other instances of its use. Its usual meaning in the sources is undoubtedly that of 'attendant, protective spirit.' Nevertheless, there are a few passages in which it is unnecessary to interpret the word in a personified sense. In *Ljósvetninga Saga*³ the following passage occurs: Finni mælti: 'þess munda ek geta, at þar mundir þú eigi hafa staðisk fylgjur þeira Þorvarðs ok frænda hans, er fjandskap leggja á þik.' Eyjólfur mælti: 'ætla þú, at þeira fylgjur sé meiri fyrir sér en mínar ok minna frænda.' In this

¹ Jón Árnason (op. cit. I, p. 354) remarks that in ON., in contrast to Modern Icelandic, the conception of *fylgja* seems to resemble that of *hamingja*, *gipta*, *gæfa*, *auðna* and *heill*.

² For examples of this use of *liggja til* see Fritzner, *Ordbog* II, p. 518, A; Cleasby-Vigfusson p. 389.

³ Ch. XXX.

instance the meaning of *fylgjur* (pl.) is vague and indefinite, but it seems no less probable, considering the context, that it implies 'force' or some kind of magical strength (*mana*) rather than personified attendant spirits. *Vatnsdæla Saga*¹ reads: 'en þó hafa þeir bræðr rammar fylgjur; leitum vér þá til leyna várra, ef at oss ekr.' Here too the meaning of *fylgjur* seems to be abstract rather than concrete.²

More light may perhaps be thrown on this problem by consideration of the compound *kynfylgja*, of which the last element is probably, though not certainly, identical with the word discussed. *Kynfylgja* is generally used in an abstract sense; it is glossed by Cleasby-Vigfusson as: 'a family characteristic, peculiarity,' and similarly by Fritzner (s.v.) and Blöndal (s.v.). Examples of its use leave no doubt that this abstract meaning of *kynfylgja* predominates,³ but in one passage it is said to mean 'familiar spirit' (cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. *kynfylgja*). *Völunga Saga*⁴ reads: 'veit ek af framvísi minni ok af kynfylgju várri, at af þessu ráði stendr oss mikill ófagnaðr.' These words are translated by William Morris and Eiríkur Magnússon: 'I wot, by my fore-knowledge, and from the fetch of our kin, that from this counsel will great evil fall on us if this wedding be not speedily undone.'⁵ This rendering is supported by J. de Vries.⁶ E. Wilken,⁷ however, has questioned the interpretation of *kynfylgja* in

¹ Ed. W. H. Vogt, Halle, 1921, ch. XXX, 6.

² See Professor Vogt's keen remarks on *hamingja*, *gipta* and *fylgja* in his introduction to *Vatnsdæla Saga*, §§ 38-39.

³ *Hefir þat jafnan kynfylgja verit Haukdælum ok Oddaverjum, at þeir hafa inar beztu veizlur haldit* (*Sturlunga Saga*, ed. G. Vigfusson, Oxford, 1878, II, 158); *Maðr hét Eysteinn, hann varð fyrir meini miklu, ok var því aumligar, at þat var honum kynfylgja* (*Biskupa Sögur* I, Copenhagen, 1858, p. 196); a Modern Icelandic example: *ungt líf, sem sennilega hefir að kynfylgju andlegan brest* (of inherited drunkenness, *Morgunblaðið*, Reykjavík, 2 July, 1939, p. 9).

⁴ Ed. Magnus Olsen, Copenhagen, 1906-8, ch. IV.

⁵ *Volsunga Saga*, London, The Walter Scott Publishing Co., no date, p. 9.

⁶ Op. cit. II, p. 353.

⁷ *Die Prosaische Edda*, Paderborn, 1912-13, II, p. 113; cf. the translation by M. Schlauch, *The Saga of the Volsungs*, London, 1930, ch. IV, p. 51.

this passage as 'familiar spirit,' apparently feeling that such an interpretation is unsuitable to the context. He suggests that in this passage the word means 'erbliche Begabung' or 'inherited gifts' as it does elsewhere. Considering that 'inherited characteristics, features' is the usual meaning of *kynfylgja*, there is certainly no reason to depart from it in this passage of *Völsunga Saga*, where it suits the context so well. It need not, however, be disputed that the word *kynfylgja* may have had the meaning 'familiar spirit,' although the dictionaries cite no instances where it is used in that sense.

It appears, then, that while *fylgja* was most often used in the concrete sense of 'attendant spirit,' the compound *kynfylgja* had generally the abstract meanings 'inherited gifts, faults, characteristics.' *Hamingja* was also generally abstract in meaning, though in a few instances it is used as a concrete noun to mean 'attendant spirit.' Just as the abstract *hamingja* was sometimes used in a concrete sense, so the concrete *fylgja* might sometimes be used as an abstract, and had the meanings 'mana,' 'destiny.'

SCANDINAVIAN PERSONAL NAMES IN THE LIBER VITAE OF THORNEY ABBEY.¹

BY DOROTHY WHITELOCK.

IN 1920, at the sale of Lord Mostyn's library, the British Museum acquired a book of Vulgate Gospels that once belonged to Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire. On several folios at or near the beginning the monks of the abbey had kept a record of the men and women in confraternity with them, similar to that in the *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*² or in the *Liber Vitae* of Hyde Abbey.³ The Thorney MS, now Additional MS 40,000, is described in the British Museum *Catalogue of Additional MSS 1916-1920*,⁴ and by Miss E. Jørgensen in *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* xx,⁵ where some of the Scandinavian and Old English names from fol. 10r are given, but with several misreadings due to unfamiliarity with this type of hand. With this small exception, none of these lists of names are accessible to scholars, and they would, I think, be worth publishing in extenso, not only for the sake of the student of personal names, but also

¹ This article owes much to Dr. O. von Feilitzen's *Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* and he has kindly given consideration to some of the problematic names in this text. I am also indebted to Professor B. Dickins for general criticism and many valuable suggestions and references, and to Professor F. M. Stenton for supplying me with parallels from his own collection of Scandinavian names in English sources.

The following abbreviations are used: KCD=J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*; DCh=*Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, ed. F. M. Stenton (British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales 5); DB=Domesday Book.

² Ed. J. Stevenson, *Surtees Society* 13, and, in facsimile, *ibid.* 136. It is quoted as LVD.

³ Ed. W. de G. Birch, *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester* (Hampshire Record Society).

⁴ Pp. 276ff.

Pp. 186-8. I owe this reference to Dr. von Feilitzen.

because of their interest for the genealogist and the Anglo-Norman historian. Here, however, I propose to discuss only those names that are of certain, or probable, Scandinavian origin.

The BM Catalogue considers that the main portion of this MS, the gospels themselves, was written on the Continent in the tenth century, and that the marginal lectionary indications, which are in English, were added in the tenth or eleventh century. The lists of names occupy ten folios, 1v, 2r and 2v, 3r and 3v, 4r, 9v, 10r and 10v, and 12r. In addition, three names occur on fol. 11r, which is otherwise occupied by a list of abbots in a fifteenth-century hand, ending with John Ramsey, who was abbot from 1450 to 1457. Another addition to this gospel book is a late eleventh-century list of the relics belonging to Thorney, with a twelfth-century addition at the end, on fol. 11v. Though not without interest in itself, it does not concern the present paper.

The order of foliation of the *Liber Vitae* lists is not their chronological order. This can be ascertained by the identification of some of the persons mentioned, and I have checked the information thus obtained with the palaeographical evidence supplied by Dr. C. E. Wright of the British Museum. The oldest entry is the statement in Old English on fol. 4r that 'Ælfric and Wulfwine, the goldsmiths of Eadgifu, gave in return for confraternity two ores of weighed gold, which is wired on to the outside of this book.' The BM Catalogue suggests that this Eadgifu is the mysterious *Eddeva pulchra* of Domesday Book, but Dr. Wright thinks that the hand belongs to the first, rather than the second, half of the eleventh century. Eadgifu is a common name (there are seven instances in this text), so that any attempt at identification could only be very tentative. Nothing was added to this folio for a long time, the names that follow this statement being in a twelfth-century hand.

The lists proper begin on fol. 10r, a page ruled in five regular columns, of which the first is headed: *Hæc sunt nomina fratrum istius loci*. Except for some later additions to the second column and in the bottom margin this page is written in two hands of about 1100, the first hand writing column 1 and the beginning of column 2, the second the last three columns. This second hand also wrote the first column of fol. 10v, which appears to be the folio next filled. Though the hands are as late as about 1100, some of the matter on fol. 10r belongs to the time of Cnut and it is clear that the scribe has had earlier lists in front of him. This is the most interesting folio for our purpose and I shall return to it later. After 10v, three names were entered on 11r, but this was then left. Fol. 9v is roughly contemporary with 10v and then comes fol. 3r, followed by 3v, both of the first half of the twelfth century. In 3r the arrangement in columns has become very irregular, by 3v it is given up altogether. The few names on 12r are probably contemporary with 3v. By fol. 2r we have reached the third quarter of the twelfth century, and fol. 2v follows immediately. Finally, fol. 1v is half filled with names of the very late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Such is the chronological order of the folios in outline, but on most of them, in addition to the original matter, itself often in a multiplicity of hands, additions have been made in the margins, between the lines, or in any available space. Nothing but a facsimile could hope to give anything like a fair representation of this text.

In all, the number of entries in these lists is 2133, not counting surnames, and the number of different names about 660.¹ Ignoring names that can be of more than one origin, and those whose interpretation is doubtful, one has

¹ Exact figures cannot always be given, for some entries may merely be corruptions of names occurring elsewhere in the lists. This is especially likely in the marginalia, which are often in most illiterate handwriting.

about 272 names of Continental¹ origin, in 1221 entries, 185 Old English names in 548 entries, and 123 Scandinavian names in 236 entries, not including those names, originally Scandinavian, that occur in a form showing Continental influence. Though we may assume that in general each entry represents a separate individual, and therefore these statistics are free from one difficulty besetting the use of some types of records, I doubt whether general statistics of this sort are of much use. It is more interesting to watch the changing proportions as the period advances. In the lists which contain no Continental names, and are presumably pre-Conquest, there are 85 Scandinavian names to 58 Old English, i.e. approximately 60 per cent Scandinavian. As we shall see later, this preponderance may not fairly represent the nomenclature of the district, for it includes a list of 35 Scandinavian names for whose presence in our text I shall have another explanation to offer. Even ignoring these the proportion of Scandinavian names is considerable. From the point where Norman names begin to occur, the proportions are as follows: (a) early post-Conquest—10 per cent Scandinavian, 45 per cent OE, 45 per cent Continental, *i.e.* the native and naturalised element is still in excess of the Continental.

(b) early twelfth century—7 per cent Scandinavian, 26 per cent OE, 67 per cent Continental, *i.e.* two thirds are Continental.

(c) the second half of the twelfth century—3 per cent Scandinavian, 16 per cent OE, 81 per cent Continental.

(d) late twelfth century, or very early thirteenth—little more than 1 per cent Scandinavian, about 4 per cent OE, nearly 95 per cent Continental. These figures are necessarily approximate only, as names of uncertain origin are excluded, but they are sufficient to show the

¹ Using this term to cover all names first introduced from the Continent, no matter what their remote origin may be.

rapidly growing popularity of Continental names among the classes of society represented in these lists.

Here, I am concerned merely with the 123 Scandinavian names and some problematic names that may possibly have this origin. By far the most interesting set of names occurs on fol. 101r, and it will be well to examine this page more closely. It begins with the kings Cnut, Harold and Hardecnut, Queen *Imma*, et *Ælfzifa*, whom the BM Catalogue assumes to be Cnut's concubine, the mother of his sons Sweyn and Harold; but I do not consider this identification certain, for Emma received the name *Ælfgifu* when she came to England on her marriage with Ethelred. The original list may have had *Ælfzifa* as a gloss to *Imma*, and the copyist may have taken it as another name. Æthelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1020-1038, and Ætheric, either the Bishop of Dorchester, 1016-1034, or, less probably, the Bishop of Selsey, *circa* 1032-1038, follow, and then immediately we get four bishops from the very end of the century, Remigius of Dorchester (afterwards Lincoln), 1067-1092, Herbert of Thetford (afterwards Norwich), 1091-1119, Wulfstan of Worcester, 1062-1095, and Robert, who may be the Bishop of Hereford, 1079-1095, or Remigius's successor in Lincoln, 1094-1123, or the Bishop of Lichfield, 1086-1117. The most probable explanation of this jump from the ecclesiastics of Cnut's reign to those of the first Norman kings is that the compiler had some lists referring to the reigns of the Danish kings, but little from the years between these and his own day.¹ We get the same impression from his list of earls later on. After the bishops come the names of the abbots of Thorney from *Godemannus* to *Gunterius*, omitting Leofwine II, and placing *Fulcardus*, whom Lanfranc deposed in favour of Gunterius, after the latter and without the title of abbot. The BM

¹ Miss D. M. B. Ellis has suggested to me that the omission of the magnates of the Confessor's reign may have been deliberate, due to the monks' dislike of the abbey's subjection to the pluralist abbot, Leofric of Peterborough.

Catalogue is without doubt right in taking the forty-three¹ men's names that follow, without titles, to be those of the community of Thorney. Norman names occur among them, showing that the list is post-Conquest, probably contemporary with the writing. Next come four abbots, *Gosbertus* (of Battle, 1076-1095), *Æzelsi* (of Ramsey, 1080-1087), *Balduuinus* (of Bury St. Edmunds, 1065-1097), and *Toroldus* (of Peterborough, 1069-1098), and this list originally ended, at the top of column 2, with some prelates of various periods, i.e. Archbishop *Leuin3* (of Canterbury, 1013-1020), *Ægelric*, perhaps the Bishop of Durham, 1042-1056, *Randulf passe flambarus*, (Bishop of Durham, 1099-1128), *Ezi3* (i.e. Eadsige, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1038 to 1050, but suffragan bishop before this), and two Archbishops of York,² *Ælfric* (1023-1051), and *Kynsi* (1051-1060). The rest of the column was left blank, presumably for later ecclesiastics to be added, lay magnates being left to the third column. The blank space was later filled in with Norman names.

Column 3 originally began with a list of Cnut's earls, *Turkil*, *Hacun*, *Eoric*, *Ezlaf*, 7 *his broðer Vlf*, all except the last with the title *comes*. Later, as an afterthought, the scribe added above the column *Walðef comes* and his wife, and *Siwardus comes*. The latter is the only earl between Cnut's reign and the earldom of Waltheof (1065-1076) to occur here, and he is mentioned only because he is Waltheof's father. There is therefore a similar gap to that in the lists of bishops; there is no other trace of the great magnates of the Confessor's reign; not only the house of Godwine, but also that of Leofric of Mercia, is entirely unrepresented.

Cnut's earls are all well known from Scandinavian sources,³ and in English records they appear in the Chronicle

¹ Not thirty-three, as stated in the BM Catalogue.

² Both of these were buried at the neighbouring monastery of Peterborough.

³ For accounts of them see A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, pp. 139ff, and L. M. Larson, *Canute the Great*, passim.

and as witnesses to charters, but I know of no other record of them in confraternity with a religious house. In view of what the sagas tell us of Eric it is particularly interesting to find him here. He helped his father, Earl Hakon the Bad, to defeat the *Jómsvíkingar* at Hjörung Bay in 986, where the victory was won, according to Scandinavian tradition, by Hakon's sacrificing a younger son to the gods at the critical moment.¹ Eric himself is said to have vowed to accept Christianity if victorious at Svöldr (1000),² and, though he does not appear as a strenuous advocate of the new faith in his rule in Norway,³ the sagas say that he died, of an unsuccessful operation, either just before or just after a pilgrimage to Rome. Their dating of this occurrence (shortly after Cnut had won England) is contradicted by the evidence of charters, which Eric witnesses as late as 1023. He had been made Earl of Northumbria by Cnut in 1016. The form in which his name occurs in this manuscript is puzzling. He is called in other English records *Iric*, *Yric*, *Yrc*, *Eiric*, etc., which led the editors of the *Crawford Charters* to suggest an original **Ýríkr*, later displaced by the common name *Eiríkr*, but Dr. von Feilitzen⁴ considers ON **Øyríkr*, **Eyríkr* (OSw. *Ørīk*) more probable. This diphthong normally appears in ME as *ei*, but in OE *y* occurs and there appear to be several instances of *e* (see infra p. 137).⁵ The *Eoric* of this list might support the second theory, for *eo* could represent ON *ø*, as it is thought that the OE diphthong *eo* had become monophthongised to *ö* by about 1000.⁶ The matter is, however, complicated by the occurrence of *Eoric* in the D version of the Chronicle 905, where the

¹ See *Jómsvíkinga Saga*, *Flateyjarbók* I, 191f.

² *Saga Óláfs konungs Tryggvasonar* (*Fornmanna Sögur* II), cap. 253.

³ *Heimskringla* ed. Finnur Jónsson (København 1911), p. 181.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 299.

⁵ On its representation as *oe* in Northumbrian *floege* see R. Jordan, *Handbuch der mittelenenglischen Grammatik*, § 130. 2 and note, and a forthcoming article by A. S. C. Ross.

⁶ K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, § 357, note 7.

A text has *Eohric*, as the name of a Danish king of East Anglia. Björkman¹ suggests as a possible explanation of this name an anglicising of an ON **Jórikr*, and if this is correct the identity in form with the Thorney name is perhaps accidental. Björkman admits, however, that the king may have been called *Eiric*, but does not explain the connection between this and the forms in the Chronicle. Is it possible that there was current, at least in East Anglia and Cambridgeshire, an OE **Eo(h)ric*² which was substituted in these cases for an unfamiliar ON name **Øyrikr*?

The *Hacun* who precedes *Eoric* in this list is his son, who came to England about 1017, having been driven out of Norway by St. Olaf. He was made earl by Cnut, of Worcester according to a charter of doubtful authenticity (KCD 757), and his signatures occur in 1019 and from 1023-1026. KCD 744, which contains his signature, is dated 1031, but other witnesses show that it cannot be later than 1027. He was made viceroy of Norway in 1028, and was drowned in the Pentland Firth in 1030.

Turkil, who heads the list, is Thorkell the Tall, son of Strút-Haraldr and brother of Sigvaldi the chief of the *Jómsvíkingar*, and he played a prominent part in the events of Ethelred's reign. After Cnut's accession he was made earl of East Anglia. He was exiled in 1021, and, though he and Cnut were later reconciled, he was apparently not restored to his English office.

Ezlaf comes 7 his brother *Vlf* are prominent figures in the Old Norse records. They were sons of Thorgils Sprakka-leggr, and Eilaf was in charge of the *þingamannalið* in London, escaping the massacre after Sweyn's death because he was forewarned by a man called *Þórðr*.³ As *dux* he witnesses charters from 1018-1024. A charter

¹ *Nordische Personennamen in England*, p. 36.

² Professor Dickins has pointed out that it would correspond to Greek *Hippocrates* and Gaulish *Epo(redo)rix*.

³ *Flateyjarbók* I, 203f.

which connects him with Gloucester survives only in a very late form,¹ yet his interference in Wales² also suggests authority over some part of West Mercia. He may have been succeeded by Leofric, whose first appearance as ealdorman is in an undated charter whose other witnesses belong to 1023-1024.³ Ulf is the earl who became viceroy of Denmark in 1025 or 1026, and was murdered in the church of Roskilde at Cnut's instigation about 1027. He had married Cnut's sister Ástríðr and their son Sven later became King of Denmark. He signs as *eorl, dux*, in English charters between 1020 and 1024, but I do not know what province, if any, he held in England. Neither brother appears in England after 1024. The sagas say that Eilaf went to Constantinople, and, though they are wrong in placing this immediately after Sweyn's death, it may be true of a later date.

After the earls comes another identifiable figure, Osgot Clapa, a prominent thegn of the eleventh century, who was exiled in 1046, tried to return with a fleet in 1049, and died in 1054.⁴ He is connected with the eastern counties in Hermann's *De Miraculis S. Eadmundi*. The *Toui* who follows in the list may be Tofi the Proud,⁵ who, rather late in life, married Osgot's daughter, Gytha, in 1042. It was at their marriage feast that Hardecnut was taken suddenly ill, and died soon afterwards. Tofi was the founder of the first church at Waltham Holy Cross, Essex.

The list of names that comes next is the most interesting in the manuscript. While the whole of this column has a preponderance of Scandinavian names that is really remarkable (68 ON: 10 OE), it is even more striking that thirty-one ON names follow those of the earls before one

¹ KCD 1317, from the *Historia Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriæ*.

² *Crawford Charters*, loc. cit., L. M. Larson, in *American Historical Review*, xv, 727; W. J. Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, p. 77, where, styled *vicecomes*, he invades Glamorgan.

³ KCD 1324. See also A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* pp. 412f.

⁴ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle CD. See also my *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 196.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

has a single OE name.¹ Miss Jørgensen takes the preponderance of ON names on this folio to indicate close Scandinavian settlement of the area immediately surrounding Thorney, but, without quarrelling with this general thesis, I would suggest that this exclusively Scandinavian list is capable of another explanation. I certainly know no list like it in English sources.² It is unlikely that the monks of Thorney would deliberately have sorted their benefactors according to nationality. May we not have in this list the following of one or more of the Danish magnates who head the column—a list of something in the nature of a *þingamannalið*? There is a complete absence of women's names that supports this suggestion, and it is tempting to suppose that the list was originally drawn up on the visit of one, or some, of these Danish chiefs to the monastery. This would not be without parallel elsewhere in this manuscript, where entries such as *Simon comes et omnes qui cum eo uenerunt*, or *Emma mater Alani de Perci et omnes qui cum illa fuerunt*, occur; and a group of names on fol. 2v can be shown by comparison with the Red Book of Thorney to consist of the relatives, living or dead, of *Adelizia* (of Clermont), followed by the names of the persons who witness her donation to Thorney in the Red Book, and in the same order, so that one can hardly doubt that the whole group was entered in the *Liber Vitae* on the occasion of this donation. Perhaps another argument in favour of taking this list of Scandinavian names to represent a retinue, rather than the local settlers, is that the less common names in it do not occur among the signatures to

¹ I include *Guðmund* as ON, for though it could be OE, the much greater frequency of this name in the Danelaw than elsewhere suggests that its chief source of origin is ON *Guðmundr*.

² One may, however, compare the short list of persons in confraternity with Christ Church, Canterbury, on fol. 43b of MS Royal I.D. ix, to which Professor Dickins has called my attention. This mentions King Cnut, his brother Harold and, after a gap of two and a half lines, *Dorð, Kartoca, Thuri*. The gap was perhaps meant to be filled with the names of Cnut's earls.

eleventh-century charters, suggesting that at any rate we have not the more important landowners.¹ Nothing, of course, can be argued from the occurrence of very common names in both types of source.

Such common names occurring in the list are *Ulf*, *Turkyl*, *Swezn*, *Toui*, *Đolf*, *Askyl*, *Toki*, *Asbern*, *Đorð* and *Manni*. Rather less common are *Guðmund*, *Stezn*, *Barð*, and *Scul*,² while *Scum* (ON *Skúmr*) has hitherto been recorded in the LVD, (as *Skumar*), and *Epi* (ODan. *Øpi*) only in Domesday Book. *Owði* (ON *Auði*) and *Illhuge* (ON *Ill(h)ugi*) do not occur in other English records, though the former is postulated for the place-names Oadby, Leics., and Oby, Norfolk, and familiarity with the latter seems implied in the existence of the name *Godhuge*,³ which must surely be formed in contrast to it. *Einder* is another name that is very rare in England, if I interpret it correctly. It is, I believe, an East Scandinavian form of *Eyvindr*, which appears in later times as *Ønder*. Already on runic monuments in Denmark and Sweden one gets forms with loss of *v* and syncopation.⁴ The retention of the *-r* of the ON nominative has parallels elsewhere in this manuscript. In England the name has previously been recorded only in the LVD, in the unsyncopated form *Æiuind*. Another peculiar form in the list is *Fresti*, which I believe to be an error for *Frestin*, with omission of the nasal mark above the *ɪ*, and this I would take to represent OWN *Freysteinn*, ODan. OSw. *Fröstēn*. The *i*, for *ei*, in the second element is parallel to that in *Justin* (ON *Jósteinn*), and there are a number of recorded instances in England of *e* as the representative of *øy*.⁵ The

¹ Only *Osgot Clapa* can be identified with certainty.

² For the form without a final *e* see von Feilitzen, *op. cit.* pp. 71f. Another example occurs in DCh.

³ In D. C. Douglas, *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds* (British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales 8), p. 36.

⁴ E.g. L. F. A. Wimmer, *De danske Runemindesmærker* III. 127, IV. lxxviii.

⁵ I.e. OE *fēsian*, *ēre* (ON *feysa*, *eyrir*; see Luick, § 384. 4), *Lesing* in DB

name is very common in East Scandinavian. If this interpretation be rejected, we should perhaps consider an ON **Freistingr*, which Lindkvist¹ suggests as the first element in Fraisthorpe, Yorks, but *i* instead of *ing* is difficult to account for.² *Blihswezn*, while obviously Scandinavian, is not recorded in Scandinavia nor in England. *Blih* occurs in the list of *festermen* of Archbishop Ælfric of York³ and represents ON *Bligr*, 'the staring one,' and *Blihswezn* may be a compound from this similar to the *Arkilbar*, *Gamelbern* etc. of Domesday Book, perhaps with the same meaning. One may also compare the Old English habit of putting *cild* after a name e.g. *Ælfric cild*. Otherwise one must regard the first element as descriptive, added to the name *Sveinn*, as in *Rauðsveinn* etc.⁴

Finally there are two patronymics that require comment, *Asbern Haces sunu* and *Ðorð clapes sunu*. *Haces* may be from ON *Hákr*, a byname that occurs in Haxby, Yorks,⁵ or from ON *Háki*, for the strong declension was spreading at the expense of the weak, and *clapes* is probably the ON byname *Klápr*, though it too could be from a weak name like the *Clapa* above. It is not necessary

(ON *leysingr*; see von Feilitzen, *op. cit.* p. 319), *hernes*, (*Havelok*, l. 1917, from ON *heyrrn*; see G. V. Smithers in RES xiii, pp. 458ff). Some of these have been explained as due to English analogies, but it is strange that there should be so many instances unless the umlaut of ON *au* can appear as *ē* in English. For its appearance as OE *oe* (which would give ME *ē*) see p. 133 note and authorities there cited.

¹ *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin*, p. 45. See also A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire* (English Place-Name Society xiv), p. 87.

² In cases such as *Hunni* beside *Hunning* there is a dissimilatory loss of *n* for which there is no reason here.

³ Ed. by Dr. Jón Stefánsson in *Saga-Book* iv; by E. Björkman in *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach*; by W. H. Stevenson in EHR xxvii; and by W. Farrer in *Yorkshire Charters* I, No. 9.

⁴ There is the further possibility that the copyist read two names as one, but normally his word-division is accurate.

⁵ *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (English Place-Name Society v), p. 14, where reference is made to a personal name *Haac* in Lincolnshire in the early thirteenth century.

to assume that these names were used as personal names and not bynames here, for patronymics can be instanced in which only the byname of the father is mentioned.¹

There is a marked East Scandinavian character about this list. *Manni* and *Epi* are recorded in East Norse only, *Toui* and *Toki* are essentially East Norse names, *Ezlaf* and, if correctly interpreted, *Fresti* and *Einder* are in East Norse form. No name in this list is specifically West Norse, though, of course, many could be either East or West.

If there is anything in my suggestion that these men are followers of the earls, rather than landowners round Thorney, it is tempting to try to identify them with persons known from Scandinavian records. Could *Ðorð clapes sunu* be the man who warned Eilaf of the impending attack on the *þingamannalið* in London? Is Ulf the Swedish viking commemorated on the Orkestad stone who 'three times received *giald* in England; the first time Tosti paid him, then Thurkil, and finally Cnut'?² Is it the same Manni who is mentioned on the Valleberga stone in Denmark, which was raised by *Sven* and *Þorgotr* in memory of *Manni* and *Svenr*, who were buried in London?³ Is *Fresti* the *Fraystain* who raised the Sjølle stone in memory of his man *Gyrð*, who was slain in battle, perhaps in England?⁴ But however tempting, such speculations are not very profitable, for they are incapable of proof. They could be multiplied. At least they indicate the close similarity between this list and the

¹ See O. Rygh in *Sproglige og historiske Afhandlinger viede Sophus Bugges Minde*, pp. 114f.

² O. von Friesen in *Fornvännen* 1909, pp. 58ff.

³ L. F. A. Wimmer, *op. cit.* III, 167.

⁴ *Ibid.* I, 146ff. The inscription is mutilated, but ends with a reference to the 'drengs on *Viseþi*.' Wimmer suggests that this may refer to some battle in England and that the ending represents *-(h)æiði*. Perhaps it could refer to the heathlands north of Thetford, with reference to their nearness to the R. Wissey (OE *Wise*) and the battle might then be that against Ulketel in 1004. *Gyrð*, who is called 'Sigvaldi's brother' may be a brother of Earl Thurkil.

nomenclature of the tenth- and eleventh-century runic monuments of Denmark and Sweden.

After *Ðorð clapes sunu* comes the first mention of a woman and then follows the first English name. From this point the nature of the list changes; women occur frequently, English names soon predominate over Scandinavian, and some of the persons mentioned can be identified with people in other English sources, especially with landowners in the neighbourhood. Thus *Turkyl Hoze* is clearly the *Purkyl hoga* who witnesses a charter of Cnut's in 1024,¹ and another *Turkil*, followed immediately by *Turgund*, has been plausibly identified by Miss Jørgensen with Turkil of Harringworth, Northants, whose wife Thurgunt gave an estate at Sawtry to Ramsey Abbey during Ælfwine's abbacy (1043-1080). The Red Book of Thorney has an account of his dealings with Thorney.² He had held six hides at Conington belonging to Thorney, at a *caritas* of one mark of gold per annum. Domesday Book³ gives the additional information that he held it on condition that it should revert to the abbey on his death, and with it three hides that he himself possessed in the same place. Such agreements were common in the eleventh century. According to the Red Book, Turkil left his lands⁴ in the unsettled years after Hastings and went over to 'the Danes who were his kinsmen,' presumably at the time of Sweyn Estrithson's invasion in September, 1069. The king gave his estates, including Thorney's six hides, to Earl Waltheof, who was willing to return them to the abbey when the position was explained to him, but the monks preferred that he should hold them

¹ KCD 741. It is a grant to the Danish thegn *Orc*, founder of Abbotsbury.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon* (London, 1817-1827), II, 604. ³ Fol. 208 a and b.

⁴ He held Fotheringhay, Harringworth, Lilford and some smaller estates in Northants, Sawtry, Conington (now in Cambs.) and Leighton Bromswold (where he is called 'the Dane') in Hunts. See DB I, fol. 206b, 228a and b, 229, and *VCH. Hunts* I, 327, 330. According to the Sawtry foundation charter (Dugdale, V. 522) he had received Sawtry from Cnut.

on the same terms as Turkil, for they were afraid that Abbot Fulcard would otherwise hand them over to one of his own relations. After Waltheof's death, however, his widow paid no rent and the estate was lost to the abbey.

I suspect also that the *Vuah* in my lists is the same as a certain *Wach* who is a donor to Ramsey in the *Historia* of this abbey.¹ The name is OEN runic *UfagR* corresponding to ON *Ófeigr*, and it occurs in Domesday Book as *Unfac*. The Ramsey scribe has assumed that *uu* equals *w*, whereas in this case it is for *uv*. On a later folio of the Thorney lists we get *Unfef*, which may perhaps be an error for *Unfeg*, which would be an anglicised form of *Ófeigr*.

Ramsey Abbey had a benefactor called *Jol*,² and a little later is mentioned a *Scheldwara*, though she is not connected with *Iol*. Yet, as neither name is common, one seems justified in comparing *Iol* 7 *his wif Scelduwere* on fol. 9v of my text. *Scelduwere* is ON *Skialdvor*, which has hitherto been known in England only from a Domesday instance, which may refer to the same person, as it relates to Lincolnshire. *Seldwar* in the Lincolnshire Assize Roll of 1206³ and *Sieldeware* (of Belaugh near Norwich) in the *Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*⁴ clearly represent the same name. *Iol*⁵ could be a strong variant of ON *Ióli*, but the Ramsey benefactor occurs in the cartulary of the abbey as *Johol*, *Jool*, as well as *Jol*, of Lincoln. This looks like the Breton *Juhel*, but may possibly be a later scribe's substitution for an unfamiliar ON name. The Ramsey cartulary says he

¹ *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis* (RS), ed. W. D. Macray, p. 199.

² *Ibid. loc. cit.*

³ *The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Lincoln Record Society 22), p. 277.

⁴ Ed. A. Jessopp and M. R. James, p. 226.

⁵ It occurs as *Yol*, *Jol*, on pp. 84, 86 of *Transcripts of Charters relating to Gilbertine Houses*, ed. F. M. Stenton (Lincoln Record Society 18), who has also supplied me with a Yorkshire instance, *Tomas filius Yol*, in Pipe Roll 36, p. 69.

died in 1051,¹ but as it dates the Ealdorman Brihtnoth's death 1029 one cannot place much reliance on its dates.

As there is no other group of names in the manuscript with a general interest of this kind, it will be enough to extract the Scandinavian names. My first list² consists of names that are dealt with in E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England*, and, unless otherwise stated, are fairly common in English sources.

Azamundus: ON *Qgmundr*

Aki: ODan. *Āki*

Anandus: ON *Qnundr*

Arketelus: ON *Arnkell*, ODan. *Arnketil*

Asa (2): ON *Ása* f.

Asæ, Ase: ON *Ási* m, or ON *Ása* f.³

Asbern (2):⁴ ON *Ásbiörn*

Aszær: ON *Ásgeirr*

Askyl, Askillus, Aschillus, Askitillus:⁵ ON *Áskell*

Atsere:⁶ ON *Qzurr*

Barð: ON *Bárðr*

Bounde: ON *Bóndi*

Bropter:⁷ (?) ON *Bróðir*

Ezlafr (2), Æzlif: ODan. OSw. *Ēlāf*, (beside OWN *Eileifr*); OWN *Eilífr*, a variant of the preceding name.

Einder:⁸ ODan. *Önder* (OWN *Eyvindr*)

Eoric: ON *Eiríkr* or **Øyríkr*⁹

¹ *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia* (RS), ed. W. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons, III, 167.

² Scandinavian names are quoted in an Old West Scandinavian form, unless they are recorded only in East Scandinavian, or unless there is a significant difference between the dialects. The order is alphabetical except that *c* is entered with *k*, and *u* and *v* are put together. Figures in brackets signify the number of occurrences in this text. *Wynn* is replaced by *w*.

³ The bearers of the name in the form *Asa* are shown to be women in the text.

⁴ Besides *Osbernus* (20), which may be a Normanised form, or OG.

⁵ Besides the Normanised forms *Ansketillus*, etc.

⁶ The final *e*, which occurs elsewhere in versions of this name in England, is due to analogy with English names in *-(h)ere*.

⁷ Probably an error for *Broþer*.

⁸ See p. 137.

⁹ See pp. 133 f.

- Epi:¹ ODan. Æpi
 Erberni (gen.): ON Arnbiörn
 Farman: ON Farmann
 Faðer: ODan. Father, OSw. Fadhir
 Gamel: ON Gamall
 Gihta:² ON Gyða f.
 Grimketelus, Grinkel: ON Grímkell (from -ketill)
 Gudredus: ON Guðrøðr
 Gudrun: ON Guðrún f.
 Gunnar: ON Gunnarr
 Gunni: ON Gunni
 Gunnild(a) (7): ON Gunnhildr f.
 Gunuwara, Gunuwere, Gunnor³ (2): ON Gunnvǫr,
 ODan. Gunwor, Gunnur f.
 Guðferð, Gudford: ON Guðfrøðr
 Guþrum: ON Guðþormr
 Hacun (2): ON Hákon
 Halden, Alden: ON Halfdan, ODan. OSw. Hal(f)dan
 Hamund: ON Hámundr
 Hardecnut:⁴ ODan. Harthaknūt
 Harold(us) (5): ON Haraldr
 Hauegrim: ON Hafgrímr
 Helzi: ON Helgi
 Huscarl: ON Húskarl⁵
 Ingerith, Iggeriða: ON Ingiríðr f.
 Iware: ON Ívarr⁶
 Ketel, Kitel: ON Ketill
 Ketelbern: ON Ketilbiörn

¹ Previously recorded only in DB.

² For *Githa*.

³ This form occurs in Normandy also

⁴ Only as the king's name here.

⁵ As a personal name recorded only in Sweden.

⁶ With final *e* due to analogy with OE names in *-ere*, *-ware*. In this form it occurs also in the *Register of the Abbey of St. Benet at Holme*, ed. J. R. West (Norfolk Record Society), p. 90, and as *Yware* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 1070E.

Ketelho:¹ ODan. Kæteloḡh, OSw. Kætillōḡh f.
 Cnut:² ON Knútr
 Colbezn: ON Kolbeinn
 Langliue: ON Langlíf f.
 Manni: ODan. Manni, OSw. Manne
 Orm (3): ON Ormr
 Osgodus (2), Osgot (2), Osezod: ON Ásgautr
 Opild:³ ON Auðhildr f.
 Oðin: ON Auðun, ODan. Œthin, OSw. Œdhin
 Raganild, Ragenild(a) (2), Raganid: ON Ragnhildr f.
 Raganoldus, Raunaldus: ON Rōgnvaldr
 Sæzrim: ODan. Sēgrīm
 Sarle:⁴ ON Sqrli
 Sigerit:⁵ ON Sigríðr f.
 Sistricus: ON Sigtryggr
 Siuad: ON Sighvatr
 Siwarth:⁶ ODan. Sigwarth
 Scelduere:⁷ ON Skialdvōr f.
 Scul, Scule:⁸ ON Skúli
 Scum:⁹ ON Skúmr
 Stezn: ON Steinn
 Stizand: ON Stígandr
 Suardebrant:¹⁰ ON *Svartbrandr
 Sumerlede: ON Sumarliði

¹ Probably for *Ketclōh*; the name is only later borrowed into Norway, as *Ketillaug*. Another possibility is that it is *Ketel* with a nickname attached, in which case *ho* could be ON *hár*, whether as the noun 'dogfish' (cf. *Thurketel Heyng* 'salmon' in my *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 180), or the adjective 'the tall.'

² Only as the king's name here.

³ Björkman, *op. cit.* p. 182. He only knows one example, *Outhild* in a Lincoln obituary. Professor Stenton has called my attention to an *Outhilda* in *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, D 1137 (about 1215).

⁴ Whereas *Serlo* (2) is more probably Continental.

⁵ Unless an error for *Sigeric*.

⁶ Beside *Siward(us)* (5), which could be OE.

⁷ See p. 141.

⁸ See p. 137.

⁹ See p. 137.

¹⁰ To the instances in Björkman can be added *Suartebrand* the priest in *Registrum Antiquissimum* (Lincoln Record Society 27), I, 286 and *Suartebrand Svortebrand* in *The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls*, pp. 165, 254, 273.

Swartin³:¹ ON Svertingr, ODan. OSw. Swærtin, OSw. Swarting

Swezen (3), Swezn (3), Suein, Suuein, Suenus, Sweng, Swanus:² ON Sveinn, O Dan. Svēn

Dolf: ON Þólfr

Dorir (2), Thuri (2), Turi, Thurius:³ ON Þórir

Dorð, Thorð (2): ON Þórðr

Þurzær, Turzær, Turgarus: ON Þorgeirr

Toki (2), Toky (3), Toke, Tochi: ODan. Tōki⁴

Toroldus (7), Toraldus, Turolde:⁵ ON Þóraldr

Toui (6), Touius: ODan. Tōfi⁴

Tura: ON Þóra f.

Turbærn: ON Þorbiörn

Tur3od(us)⁵ (2): ON Þorgautr

Tur3ysle: ON *Þorgisli

Turkil (2), Turkyl (5), Turkyll: ON Þorkell

Turstan(us) (8), Thurstanus:⁶ ON Þorsteinn

Turuer: ON *Þorfrøðr

Ulf (9): ON Ulfr

Vlfketel (2), Wlfketel(us) (5) Wlfketelus, Vlfkil, Vlfkel: ON Ulfkell (from -ketill)

Vnspac: ON Óspakr

Vuah, Vnfef (?):⁷ Runic ODan. OSw. Ufagr., ON Ófeigr

Vui: ON Úfi

Walðef: ON Valþiófr

Westmanus:⁸ ON Vestmaðr

¹ On the *a* in this name see von Feilitzen, p. 381.

² This last form is anglicised and latinised like *Turgarus* and *Thurstanus*.

³ Björkman takes *Thuri* as equivalent to *Þórir*, but it appears to have been used sometimes as a short name for compounds in *Thur-*, e.g. in *An Outline Itinerary of Henry I*, ed. W. Farrer, p. 79 (also EHR xxxiv, 381), where *Turi* refers to Archbishop Thurstan of York.

⁴ Later taken into West Scandinavian.

⁵ These names were common in Normandy, and some, at least, of the bearers of them here were Normans.

⁶ This is partly anglicised. There is also the form *Turstin* (2), probably Norman, and two corrupt forms, *Thurthanus* and *Tursthana*.

⁷ See p. 141.

⁸ Previously recorded only in DB.

The foregoing list does not include names which may be Old English or Scandinavian. *Alger* could be ON *Alfgeirr* or OE *Ælfgar*; *Æiulf*, ON *Eyiołfr* or OE *Æþelwulf*.¹ *Almoth* suggests ON *Qlmóðr*, but the archdeacon who bears the name appears in two other sources as *Almod*, which is probably OE *Æþelmōd*. *Botild* may be the OE name *Bōthild* occurring in the early names in the LVD, but it is not recorded later in OE, whereas the corresponding ON *Bóthildr* is common in Scandinavian, and in Middle English the name is common in the eastern counties.² *Duua*, *Duue*, can be derived either from OE **Dūfe* or ON *Dúfa*,¹ *Hereward* from OE **Hereweard* or ON *Hervarðr*, *Hilda* from OE *Hild* or ON *Hildr*, though it must be noted that there seems to be no record of the use of the English name after the seventh century. One cannot tell whether *Mannus* is latinised from OE *Mann*, *Manna*, or ODan. *Manni*. The locality of the recorded instances of *Milda*, apparently a latinised form of a feminine name, occurring twice in our text, would favour a derivation from ON *Mildr* rather than OE **Milde*.¹ Other ambiguous names are *Osmundus* (OE *Ōsmund* or ON *Ásmundr*),¹ *Sigar* (OE *Sigegār* or ON *Sigarr*), *Simund* (OE *Sigemund* or ON *Sigmundr*), *Siward* (OE *Sigeweard* or ODan. *Sigvarth*), and *Tummes* in *Ringolf Tummes sunu* (OE *Tumma* or ON *Tumi*). *Sælide* is brought by Dr. von Feilitzen from either an OE **Sælide* or an ON **Sæliði*.³ The latter is the more probable, as the element *-liði* enters into several ON names.⁴ On *Guðmund* see p. 136 note.

¹ These names are discussed by von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*

² In this text it occurs four times.

³ P. 353. The name occurs twice in our text and Professor Dickins has supplied another unrecorded instance in an unprinted Ely kalendar of the twelfth century (Trinity College Cambridge, MS O. 2.1).

⁴ Note especially *Haflði* with the same meaning as **Sæliði*.

Similarly, the following have been excluded because they may be Continental: *Fulco*, which occurs nine times, is probably the OG name; derivation from ON *Fólki* is possible for *Folke*, *Folch*, each of which occurs once; *Germund* can be OG or else ON *Geirmundr*; *Gunfridus* is more probably OG *Gunfrid* (< *Gundefrid*) than ON **Gunnfrøðr*; *Hunger* may be ON *Húngeirr* or OG *Hunger*, *Osbernus* either OG *Osbern* or an anglicised or normanised ON *Ásbiörn*,¹ *Rimild* either ON *Hrimhildr* or OG *Rimenhild*, *Rimhildis*, etc.

There remain to be considered some names whose Scandinavian origin is certain and which are not in Björkman;

Agga: ODan. *Aggi*. The replacing of the original ending by the *-a* of the OE weak declension is common. The name occurs also in the Lincs. Assize Roll of 1202² and in the Red Book of Thorney, where *Agge of Leverington* is probably the same man as the one in our list.

Anlef, (wife of *Turi welp*), presumably represents an unrecorded ON **Óleif*, with the common anglicising of *Ó-* to *An-*. The element *-leif* occurs in the feminine names *Ingi-*, *Arn-*, *Ásleif*. The normal ON feminine name is *Ólof*, which corresponds to the masculine *Óláfr*, a variant of *Óleifr*.

Ape:³ ODan. *Api*, OSw. *Ape*. This occurs in DB and probably in the *Oslacus filius Appen* of the *Historia Eliensis*.⁴

Batswegen: ON **Bátsveinn*. As a personal name this has only once been recorded in England, as *Batsuen* in DB.

¹ See von Feilitzen, pp. 338f.

² Pp. 141, 143, 151f. Professor Stenton tells me it is common in unprinted Lincolnshire records. Cf. also Aggbrigg Wapentake, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

³ See Björkman, *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, p. 13.

⁴ Ed. D. J. Stewart, Book ii, cap. 15.

Blac:¹ ON *Blakkr*. This name is also in DB.

Blihswezn: see p. 138.

Erkelbern: this is clearly the same name as the *Archilbar* which occurs once in DB, and very probably the same person is meant, for the DB reference is to a Lincolnshire landowner, and the entry in the Thorney list is *Godgiue . . filia erkelbern* and she is wife of Reiner of Bath, sheriff of Lincoln in the early twelfth century. No Scandinavian equivalent is recorded, and Dr. von Feilitzen² takes it to be the ON *Arnkell* plus the byname *barn*, as in *Siward barn*, *Askilbar*, etc. The initial *E-* of our form shows the anglicising of *Arn-* to *Earn-*.

Fegge: ODan. *Fæggi*. This does not occur in pre-Conquest records, but is fairly common in the eastern counties later, occurring in 1142 in a Northamptonshire charter,³ in 1147 in the *Registrum Antiquissimum* of Lincoln,⁴ as a sub-tenant in Leicestershire in DB (TRW), and, as a surname, in the Lincolnshire Assize Rolls.⁵

Fresti: see pp. 137 f.

Freðegyst, Freþegist: ODan. *Fredegæst*:⁶

Haces (gen): see p. 138.

Holfriþ, Holfriðe: OSw. *Holmfrīðr* f. The *e* of the second example is the ME analogical ending of the nominative of a feminine noun, taken from the oblique cases. The loss of the *m* between consonants is normal. The name has hitherto not been recorded in England. It is worth noting that Earl Eilaf's wife bore it, and this may be the reason for its introduction into England.

Illhuze: see p. 137.

¹ See H. Kökeritz, "Notes on the Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book," (*Namn och Bygd*, xxvi), p. 39.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

³ *Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections*, ed. F. M. Stenton (Northants Record Society 4), p. 3.

⁴ III, 263.

⁵ Pp. 116, 173.

⁶ See von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

Inger:¹ ON *Yngvarr*.

Ingoldus:² ON *Ingialdr*.

Inzolf, Ingulfus:³ ON *Ingolfr*, ODan. OSw. *Ingulf*.

Iol: see p. 141.

Clapes (gen.): see p. 138.

Osmoth (wife of Roger): ODan. *Āsmōth* f., hitherto recorded in England in DB only, as *Esmoda*, *Amod*.⁴ It occurs also in the Red Book of Thorney, where an *Osmod*, wife of *Gobio*, is mentioned.

Owði: see p. 137.

Sæbern, Sebern: ON *Sæbiörn*. This was known to Björkman only as a surname in England. It occurs as *Sabern* in the *Historia Ramesiensis*, pp. 258, 265.

Sywate:⁵ ON. **Sighvati*. *Siwate* occurs in the Gilbertine Charters⁶ and in the *Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*.⁷

Sunhiue: ON *Sunnifa* f. This is recorded in DB, LVD, DCh. It was originally borrowed into ON from OE. See von Feilitzen, p. 378 and authorities there cited.

Swezning: ON *Sveinungr*. It occurs once in DB and in the Lincs. Assize Roll of 1206.⁸

Tole: ODan. *Tōla* f. The wife of *Orc*, founder of Abbotsbury, bore this name and gave it to Tolpuddle, Dorset. It appears also in the Lincs. Assize Roll for 1208-1209.⁹

Turzund: ON *Þorgunnr* f. On the ending *-nd* see A. Noreen, *Altschwedische Grammatik* § 340. 2b. A *Thurgunt* occurs in the *Historia Ramesiensis* and is probably the

¹ Björkman, *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, p. 49. It occurs in Normandy.

² See von Feilitzen, p. 297.

³ Ibid. p. 298.

⁴ Ibid., p. 168.

⁵ Ibid., p. 363.

⁶ *Transcripts of Charters relating to Gilbertine Houses*, ed. F. M. Stenton (Lincoln Record Society 18), p. 51.

⁷ P. 181.

⁸ P. 265.

⁹ P. 283.

same person,¹ A *Thurgunda* in Derby is mentioned in Cotton Titus C ix, and another in Norfolk in the Feet of Fines, Norfolk.²

Yrr: This looks like the ON woman's name *Yrr*, but in this list it is almost next to *Turkyl* and *Turgund* who were landowners in Sawtry, and we should perhaps compare the reference in the *Historia Ramesiensis*³ to a *Tostius, frater Yri*, who gave land at Sawtry to Ramsey. In DB fol. 208b, the brother of this *Tosti* is called *Erik*. Is it possible that in *Yrr* we have a short form of the name *Iric*, *Yric*, which may represent an ON **Øyrikr*?⁴ Dr. von Feilitzen has suggested to me that *Yrr* is an error for *Yric*, and that *Yri* represents *Yric* with loss of *c* by scribal error or Anglo-Norman influence.

Yðun: ON *Iðunn* f. This name has not hitherto been recorded in England.

Finally, there are some more problematic names, for which ON origin is probable:

Ærli: if this is for ON *Erlingr*, the *-i* instead of *-ing* is difficult to account for.⁵ Perhaps it is a short form.

Den, which occurs three times, may possibly be for *Dene*.

Elmi must surely be ON *Hialmi*. Loss of initial *h* is not uncommon, and *e* instead of the breaking diphthong is regular in ON loan-words into English.

Gussenib is probably ON *Gusir* with a nickname attached, perhaps 'nib,' 'beak.' See NED s.v. *nib* (earliest reference 1585), where MDan. *nibbe* is compared. See also S. Blöndal, *Islandsk-Dansk Ordbog* s.v. *nibba*.

Hamel, suspended by a stroke through the *l*, in *Tur-zysle Hamel sune*, is most probably ON *Hamall*, not

¹ See p. 140.

² I owe these last two references to Professor Stenton.

³ P. 175.

⁴ See p. 133.

⁵ See p. 138, note.

previously recorded in England, though the OE byname *hamel*, 'mutilated,'¹ or OE **Hamela*, presupposed in place-names,² are possibilities.

Lithewar could perhaps be ON *Liðvarðr*, with loss of dental after *r*³ as in *Turver*, or an unrecorded ON **Liðvør* f.

Ostmud, corrected from *Osmud*, is perhaps ON *Austmundr*, which, however, occurs only as the name of a fictitious character in the *Sörla saga sterka*.⁴

Saforus may be a latinisation of ON *Sæfari*, which occurs in LVD, and in the Lincolnshire Assize Rolls.⁵ In that case *o* is error for *a*.

Seforþ has a second element that looks like ON *-frøðr* (cf. *Gudford* and see von Feilitzen p. 256). No ON **Sæfrøðr* is recorded.⁶ Possibly we have ON *Sigfrøðr*, with *e* instead of *i* as in DB *Seuuard*, etc.

Semild: the second element is *-mild*, which has not been noted as second element before, but which occurs also in *Meremild* in the Ramsey cartulary,⁷ and in *Demilde* (dat) in the Lincolnshire Assize Roll of 1206.⁸ Does the name represent *Sæmild* and is it formed in contrast to ON **Sægrimr* after *-grim* had been shortened to *-grim* and come to be interpreted as 'fierce'?

Siron could be ON *Sigrún*, f.

Siuerh is probably an error for *Siuerth*, i.e. OE *Sigefrið* or ON *Sigfrøðr*, which appears in DB as *Siuert(us)*, *Siuerd*.

Sliki in *Willelmus filius Sliki*, a person also in the Red Book of Thorney, may represent the ON byname *Slika*.

Swana is probably an anglicised form of ON *Sveini*.

¹ G. Tengvik, *English Bynames*, p. 317.

² *Place-Names of Bucks* (English Place-Name Society ii), s.v. *Hambleden*.

³ See von Feilitzen, p. 99.

⁴ *Fornaldar Sögur* III.

⁵ Ed. D. M. Stenton, p. 135. See Björkman, *op. cit.* p. 115.

⁶ Cf. OE. *Sæfrið*.

⁷ III, 310.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 256.

Dorcwer must be ON, with this first element, but what its second represents is very uncertain. If *c* is scribal error for *e*,¹ perhaps the whole is ON *Þorvǫrðr* (cf. *Þurwerd* in Björkman²), with loss of the dental through Anglo-Norman influence, or an unrecorded ON **Þorvér* (cf. ON *Guðvér*), though it is thought that *Þór-* plus this element gives *Þórir*.³

A disappointing feature of these Thorney lists is the rarity of nicknames. Though there are twenty-two Ælfrics, twenty-three Ælfigus, twelve Thurstans and so on, the monks obviously felt that divine omniscience needed no bynames to distinguish individuals. So apart from patronymics, and Norman surnames, we have few bynames in this manuscript, and only a very small number have any claim to Scandinavian origin. *Turi welp* might be called 'whelp' in OE or ON, but if the suspension represents *er* here, as usual, it must be for the *r* of the ON nominative *hvelpr*.⁴ There is also *Atsere hofð*, i.e. ON *hofuð*, and *Osgot clape*, whose nickname is generally compared with the ON byname *Klápr*, 'a coarse and rough fellow'.⁵ *Tobbe*, added to the name *Vuluuine* might be a pet form of *Þorbiörn*.⁶ *Duua*, the byname of a Leofric, could be either the OE or the ON for 'dove.'

With regard to the dialect provenance of some of these names, the East Scandinavian character of *Manni*, *Epi*, *Toki*, *Towi*, and of *Ezlaf*, *Einder* and *Fresti*, has been

¹ A redundant *e* is often written after this element in English documents, e.g. *Þureferð* (Björkman, p. 155).

² P. 163.

³ C. J. S. Marstrander, *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* p. 156; A. Noreen, *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik*, § 235, 1(f).

⁴ *Welp* occurs both as personal name and byname in DB. See von Feilitzen, p. 297.

⁵ This name is discussed by Björkman, *op. cit.* pp. 81f, 212, by Finnur Jónsson in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1907, p. 334, by G. Tengvik, *Old English Bynames*, p. 303f.

⁶ It still survives in Modern Icelandic.

pointed out above.¹ To these must be added *Agga*, *Aki*, *Api*, *Faðer*, *Fegge*, *Holfrið(e)*, *Osmoth*, *Sæzgrim* and *Tola*. *Huskarl*, as a personal name, has been recorded in Sweden only. *Siward* is Danish in as far as it is not OE *Sigeward*, and *Ketelho*, if for *Kætillōgh*, represents an East Scandinavian name only later recorded in the West. *Cnut* and *Hardecnut* are of course Danish names, but they are used only of the kings here. Names that are on the other hand found in West Norse sources only are *Hauegrim*, *Scelduuere*, *Sumarlide*, *Sunhiue*, *Walðef*, *Yðun*, but, as Dr. von Feilitzen has pointed out, in view of the much richer records of West Scandinavian, one is hardly justified in assuming that names recorded only in these were never used in the East Scandinavian countries.

In conclusion, I should like to call attention to the way in which the Thorney lists support some general conclusions drawn by Professor Stenton from the nomenclature of the Danelaw Charters;² they prove the vitality of the ON system of naming shown by the large proportion of different names to the total number of instances, when compared with the OE names in this respect. If I may repeat the figures, the Thorney lists have only 185 OE names in 548 entries, whereas the 235 entries of ON names contain some 122 separate names. It would, however, be a mistake to consider the Old English system moribund. It is the tremendous popularity of names like *Godwine*, *Leofric*, etc. for men, and of names ending in *-gifu* for women, that lessens the proportion of names to entries to this extent. The less common names are by no means all of a conventional, stereotyped kind; many have considerable interest, and show that new names were being compounded even in this late period.

¹ P. 139.

² *Op. cit.* p. cxiii ff.

REVIEWS.

THE ORKNEYINGA SAGA: A NEW TRANSLATION WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES, by Alexander Burt Taylor. *Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1938*, pp. xvii + 445, 25s. net.

Dr. Taylor's translation of the *Orkneyinga Saga* is in many ways an improvement on the previous English versions. His success is due partly to a sound knowledge of Icelandic and skill in rendering it into readable English, but not less to the exhaustive textual researches of Sigurður Nordal, on whose edition of the saga (Copenhagen 1913-16) this translation is based. The present work is furnished with some useful notes dealing with the subject matter and the more difficult passages (pp. 351-410) and an introduction (pp. 1-131), in which the translator gives his views not only on the particular problems of the *Orkneyinga Saga*, but also on Icelandic saga literature as a whole. His comments will often be interesting to the specialist as well as the general reader. His allusions to other sagas show that his reading has been extensive, and in some instances thorough, but as must be expected in a subject on which so many conflicting views are held, not all of Taylor's statements will meet with general approval. Early in the introduction (p. 6) a reference is made to *Víga-Glúms Saga*; it is compared with *Grettis Saga* and described as one of the great "Sagas of Outlawry." Since Glúmr never was an outlaw in the full sense of the word, and was merely *heraðssekr* at the end of his life, this description comes as a shock. It is presumably due to an oversight and should not make the reader suspicious of the studies which follow.

Discussing general problems Taylor shows himself an ardent disciple of A. Heusler and K. Liestøl. He believes not only that the material from which the saga was constructed was handed down orally from father to son, but that its very wording was "tolerably" fixed, and that this oral form was committed almost verbatim to parchment (see p. 106). This view is convenient, and it enables Taylor to solve various problems which others might find difficult. He suggests tentatively (p. 25) that the *Orkneyinga Saga* was compiled between 1210 and 1220, and adds that "the absence of a reference to the death of Earl Harald in 1206 is easily explained by the fact of the oral saga of Rognvald Kali having been composed before that date."¹ Not all critics would find this explanation easy. But Taylor's views are not always so convenient as they are in this instance; here and there they cause him a little confusion. The man who put *Orkneyinga Saga* together is generally denoted by Taylor as "the compiler"; his sources are studied in detail (pp. 33-97), and a number of them are said to be oral. Sometimes, however, this man is called the author (e.g. pp. 26ff.) and sometimes the historian (p. 107). It is said that he is truly medieval in having no national prejudice except for a low opinion of the Scots (p. 107). If *Orkneyinga Saga* was really written down verbatim from oral sources and the compiler's work was no more than that of piecing it together the reader may be tempted to ask who exactly was this liberal-minded man. Indeed we learn little of K. Liestøl's political opinions when we read "sagas" that he has taken down verbatim from the lips of

¹ The italics are the translator's.

peasant story tellers.¹ But the compiler of *Orkneyinga Saga* does not appear to have worked in that way. It might well have been preferable to substitute the words "author" or "historian" in every case for "compiler," and to consider this man just as any other historical author; one who freely uses written sources and here and there unwritten legends, and out of them constructs his story and forms his opinions. Such a writer was Snorri Sturluson, and the *Heimskringla* is coloured by his own particular taste, his love for ancient poetry and traditions and his admiration for royal chiefs. Without these considerations it is impossible to explain the unity characteristic of many of the longer sagas or even of *Orkneyinga Saga* itself. It will of course be readily admitted that *Orkneyinga Saga* shows rather less structural unity than many of the others (but see pp. 18-20 of Taylor's introduction).

A considerable number of attempts have been made to identify the person of this compiler (or author). Dr. Jón Stefánsson (*Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore Miscell.*, 1907) suggested that he was Bishop Bjarni, Dr. Anne Holtsmark, whose opinion Taylor does not consider, favoured Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson (*Edda* xxxvii, 1-18, Oslo, 1937), and Dr. Einar Ól. Sveinsson thought he must have been some member of the house of Oddi (*Studia Islandica* I, Reykjavík, 1937); a suggestion which, though unproved, probably has most to recommend it. Taylor has another suggestion, but he makes it tentatively, and wisely so. His candidate is Sighvatr Sturluson, for whose authorship the evidence is meagre indeed. In fact it seems to be little more than that Sighvatr lived for some years in northern Iceland (the author of *Orkneyinga Saga* was more probably a southerner), that he was the brother of Snorri Sturluson and that he "might have made the usual young man's voyage abroad and have visited Caithness and the Orkneys between 1190 and 1200."

In the translation itself the critic can find much to praise. The problem of finding a form of English to convey the style of an Icelandic saga is always difficult, and Taylor has been more successful than many translators. It is, however, to be hoped that his appreciation of his own translation and his repeated allusions to the "tripping" movement of the saga style and of his own rendering will not discourage the reader (see pp. 127-130). He explains that he has tried to avoid archaism and "Wardour Street" English, but he has not carried this principle too far, sometimes perhaps not far enough. The 2nd person singular 'thou,' 'thee' is regularly used, and the ON. *jól* is rendered 'Yule,' even though the allusion be to the Christian period. The Norse words *hóldr*, *lendrmaðr*, *bóndi* have been used throughout the translation. For *bóndi*, at any rate, the English words 'farmer,' 'peasant,' or even 'yeoman' would generally supply suitable renderings. Place-names, when identified, are regularly given in their modern forms, and although this method is not altogether pleasing to those who read ON., it will be helpful to those unacquainted with the language. Nevertheless, it is felt that some exceptions might have been made to this rule, and that Miklagarðr would better have been translated 'Byzantium' than 'Istanbul.' Hólmgarðr, however, appears in this translation as 'Novgorod,' though on Taylor's principle it should have been 'Gorki.'

On the whole the translation is reasonably accurate, and it is generally pleasant to read, though exception will certainly be taken to such loose renderings as: 'men thought his expedition a huge joke,' which is supposed to represent the Norse *þótti hans ferð hin hæðiligsta* (p. 140). There are also a number of minor inaccuracies, in which the syntax of the Icelandic appears

¹ See e.g. *Norske Ættesogor*, Oslo, 1922.

not to have been fully understood (e.g. p. 140, line 29; p. 171, lines 4-5), but their significance should not be overstressed, for they will not hinder the reader's enjoyment of the saga.

The word *skolbrúnn* (p. 163) is translated 'swarthy' (of countenance). This is a notoriously difficult word, and the present rendering seems to be based on a confusion with a Modern Icelandic word of similar form but of different origin and meaning. Taylor adds a note (p. 361) and says that Finnur Jónsson renders *skolbrúnn* "more precisely" as 'with eyebrows meeting'.¹

In conclusion it should be said that this book, though serviceable, would have been better if the views expressed in the introduction had been a little more carefully considered, and the translation more thoroughly checked.

G. TURVILLE-PETRE.

A review of the place-names, etc. by A. W. Johnston is given in the *Miscellany*, Vol. X.

¹ I must postpone discussion of this difficult word until the appearance of my edition of *Víga-Glúms Saga* now at press. See note 8/30 of that work and references given there.

ICELAND: A LAND OF CONTRASTS. By Hjalmar Lindroth. Translated from the Swedish by Adolph B. Benson. 1937. *Princeton University Press, Princeton. American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 16s.*

The original of this volume, 'Island, Motsatsernas Ö,' was published in Stockholm in 1930, and has now been translated with certain additions and corrections, as the latest publication in the American-Scandinavian Foundation series. We welcome this survey of Iceland as to some extent it supplies the need for a reasoned account of that country as it is to-day.

In it, Professor Lindroth has reviewed the main aspects of life in Iceland and, in each case, has related the present to, or contrasted it with the past. As an authority on the Scandinavian languages, Professor Lindroth is qualified to speak of the linguistic traditions of Iceland and his sketches of these and the literary traditions are more than competent. The chapter on the language (p. 143, ff), is possibly the most valuable in the book, as it includes a survey of the modern spoken and written tongue, with a detailed account of the development of scientific and other specialised terms. Of more general interest are the studies of the material culture—fishing, farming, building, transport—which are based on the author's personal observations during his travels in Iceland. His appreciation of the people and the present political and intellectual situation is fair, and a certain tendency to seek Swedish parallels in that situation does not detract materially from the value of his judgement. Certain of the studies are of necessity brief. The chapter on the fine arts in particular (p. 135, ff.) exemplifies the need for a more detailed study of this subject.

The translator has attempted to bring the 'more essential facts and figures up to date' (preface, p. vii). These alterations have not been made from personal knowledge of Iceland, nor are they always exactly specified. As it is now over a year since this translation was made, many of these figures are already incorrect. Throughout, the passage of time since Professor Lindroth's visit to Iceland should be borne in mind, although the picture of Icelandic

life is, in the main, still true to-day. The illustrations, some of which have also been added, could be improved and authority should be given for some of the statements made. This applies particularly to the anthropological statistics given in the chapter on the people (p. 9, ff).

This is not intended as a text-book, but it may be read with pleasure by those who know Iceland. It should be read by those whose knowledge is based only on superficially amusing, but ill-informed books by tourists in that country.

C. G. THORNTON.

The reviews of the following books have been held over and will be published in the next part of the *Saga-Book*:

Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte, by J. de Vries.

Ijslands Volksgeloof, by P. C. M. Sluijter.

Scandinavian Archaeology, by Haakon Shetelig and Hjalmar Falk, translated by E. V. Gordon.

The Battle of Brunanburh, edited by Alistair Campbell.

The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England, by C. E. Wright.

The Old Norwegian General Law of the Gulathing, edited by G. T. Flom.

Stories of the East-Vikings, by G. Bie Ravndal.

The Edda of Asgard: A Drama in Nine Acts, by Ha Rollo.

Stilbedeutung des Adjektivs im eddischen Heldenlied, by H. M. Heinrichs.

THE CONVERSION OF THE EASTERN DANELAW.

BY DOROTHY WHITELOCK, M.A.

THE century between the death, at the hands of the Danes, of King Edmund of East Anglia on November 20th, 869, and the foundation of the great Fenland abbeys round about 970, is one of the darkest in the history of the eastern counties. For the earlier part of the period hardly any contemporary local records exist, and for the last twenty years they are not numerous. In this obscure period occurred the conversion of the Danish settlers to Christianity and the reorganisation of the church in this area. Opinion seems divided as to the speed at which this process took place: for example, Mr. Lethbridge, writing in 1938, speaks of 'almost a century of pagandom'¹ and expresses surprise that Cambridgeshire has no Viking burials. On the other hand Professor Darlington in 1936 stated that in East Anglia 'the Scandinavian settlers had adopted Christianity by the early years of Edward the Elder's reign'.² In 1899 Hunt, speaking of the Scandinavian settlements as a whole, had said: 'the Northmen . . . accepted Christianity either at the time of their settlement or not long afterwards.'³ It is the purpose of this article to bring together any evidence relating to the ecclesiastical history of this area during this obscure period.

It is desirable that the position should be re-examined if, as I have suggested in a recent article,⁴ the so-called 'Laws of Edward and Guthrum,' hitherto taken as a

¹ VCH Cambs. I, 330.

² EHR li, 423.

³ *History of the English Church* 597-1066, p. 258.

⁴ EHR lvi, lff.

text relating to East Anglia in the first half of the tenth century, is in reality an early eleventh-century document, most probably compiled by Archbishop Wulfstan of York between 1002 and 1008, and concerned rather with his province, the Northern Danelaw, than with East Anglia. For, as long as this text was assigned to East Anglia at so early a date, any opinion relating to the conversion of the Danes there was bound to be influenced by it. It implies a general acceptance of the most detailed rules of religious observance and a very advanced ecclesiastical organisation; it speaks of respect of sanctuary, of elaborate church dues, of observance of fasts and festivals, and it has penalties for the breach of any of its regulations. At the same time, since it refers to the penalty payable 'if anyone offends against the Christian religion or honours heathendom by word or deed,' it suggests an area where, although Christianity is the accepted religion and the Church is strong enough to impose stringent rules on the whole community, heathen practices have not been completely eradicated. These conditions are fulfilled by Northumbria in the eleventh century. The homilies of Archbishop Wulfstan refer to heathen practices¹ and, though it is not certain that he is thinking of his own province only, it is in an eleventh-century document from this area, the *Norðhymbra Preosta Lagu*, that we get definite evidence that the phrase is more than mere rhetoric. In chapters 48-50 of this code we are given the penalties, graduated according to whether the offender is a king's thane, a landowner, or a free peasant, payable 'if anyone be discovered to practise heathenism, either by sacrifice, or by divination, or to indulge in any witchcraft or worshipping of idols.' There follow three chapters detailing the legal process if the accused wishes to deny the charge. Such detailed instructions show that the

¹ A. S. Napier, *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien*, pp. 102, 112; cf. my *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, l. 140 and note.

offence was actually contemplated and its inclusion no mere retention of earlier statements that had no longer an application. Finally, chapter 54 states the penalty 'if there be a sanctuary (*friðgeard*) on anyone's land about a stone or a tree or a well, or any foolishness of a like kind.' The heathen practices mentioned in the 'Laws of Edward and Guthrum' could therefore easily refer to the province of York in the early eleventh century.

I have shown elsewhere that there is no cogent reason for connecting this code with East Anglia. For the eastern counties we cannot use it as evidence. It is to be expected that heathenism should not have survived as long here as in the North, which had received a second wave of heathen influence when the Norwegians from Dublin led by Rognvaldr took the kingdom of York in 918. As Sir Allen Mawer has shown,¹ the correct interpretation of the Chronicle poem on the redemption of the Five Boroughs proves that these Norwegians were still considered heathens in 942 when the Danes of the Five Boroughs were counted as Christian. It was not until 954 that Northumbria was permanently recovered for the English crown. Evidence of the worship of Othin in this region is contained in the place-name Roseberry Topping (*Othenesberg*),² and according to the *Historia de S. Cuthberto*³ one of Rognvaldr's followers, Onlaf Bald,⁴ swore by Thor and Othin. The North was further removed from the centres of ecclesiastical reform and the document known as *De Obsessione Dunelmi* shows that it ignored the ecclesiastical laws of marriage and divorce in the eleventh century.⁵

The position with regard to the Eastern Danelaw is very different. It was much more rapidly brought back

¹ EHR xxxviii, 551 ff.

² *Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (English Place-Name Society V), p. 164.

³ *Publications of the Surtees Society* li, 148.

⁴ *Onlafball*.

⁵ See Symeon of Durham (RS 75) I, 215ff.

under English rule. The Danes settled there assisted the Viking invaders against Alfred in the campaigns of 892-896 and after his death they supported Edward's rival, the Ætheling Æthelwold, until he, and the East Anglian king Eohric with him, was slain at the Battle of the Holme in 903.¹ A peace made soon after lasted until about 912 when Edward began his reconquest of the area by building boroughs in Essex and Hertfordshire. In 913 a counter-attack by the Danes of Northampton and Leicester was defeated, in 914 the earl and chief men of Bedford came to Buckingham to submit to Edward, who moved to Bedford the following year. The year 917 saw many campaigns; the Danes of Northampton and Leicester made an unsuccessful attack on Towcester, the Danes of Huntingdon and the East Anglians attacked Bedford but were repelled, and at the Battle of Tempsford their king, Earl Toglos and others were killed. Another force raised in East Anglia failed, in spite of the help of an army of Vikings, to take Maldon. In the autumn, first the army of Northampton, then that of Huntingdon, and finally the East Anglians and the Danes of Essex submitted to Edward, and the people of Cambridge 'specially chose him as lord and protector.' This was the end of the independence of the Eastern Danelaw, which had therefore, counting from Guthrum's treaty with Alfred in 878, lasted barely forty years. Edward's terms would doubtless have clauses referring to religious observance, but, if we cannot take the 'Laws of Edward and Guthrum' as belonging to this period, we have no evidence what these terms were.

The accounts in the chronicles give us no indication of the religious condition of the people of this region. The evidence from archaeology is mainly negative. Mr. Lethbridge² suggests that the absence of Viking Age

¹ The precise chronology of Edward's reign is difficult. I am here accepting the results of W. S. Angus in EHR liii, 194ff.

² *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

burials in Cambridgeshire may indicate that the Danish settlers confined themselves to the towns, though he also notes Sir Cyril Fox's opinion that the Viking settlements in the Lowland area lost their pagan customs rapidly. It is not only in Cambridgeshire that signs of Viking burial are absent. In all the eastern counties such Scandinavian antiquities as survive seem to be isolated finds—often from rivers—and not associated with burials at all. The only exceptions to my knowledge are a single skeleton at Santon, Norfolk, accompanied by a sword and two brooches of the Viking period, and another at Horsey Toll, Huntingdonshire, with a spear-head possibly of this date. Such instances do nothing to detract from the general impression that in this area the Scandinavian settlers, whatever the reason, quickly abandoned their ancient burial customs.

There is little more to be gathered from place-name evidence. In this region one does not get, as for example in Yorkshire, the occurrence of ON *haugr* 'funeral mound' in frequent combination with an ON personal name,¹ nor are there names referring to Scandinavian divinities.² The element *lundr*, which in the north of England retained its heathen associations, denoting 'sacred grove,' 'sanctuary,'³ is used so very commonly in Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire as to make it extremely improbable that it means anything more than 'grove,' 'small wood.' It may be, however, that it still

¹ See e.g. *Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, s.v. Cana Barn (Kanehou), Leaf Howe, Kilgram (Kelgrimhou), Scograinhowes, Sil Howe, Silpho; *Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire* (English Place-Name Society XIV), Grymeshou, Yerlishou (p. 324). Some of these may refer to ownership rather than to occupancy, but, even so, the great number seems significant.

² As in Roseberry Topping. See p. 161 *supra*.

³ See *Place-Names of Beds. and Hunts.* (English Place-Name Society III), p. 220, where a communication from Professor B. Dickins is quoted showing that Reginald of Durham understood the term thus; also A. H. Smith in *Leeds Studies in English* ii, 72ff. Perhaps the *Nordhymbra Preosta Lagu* meant the same thing by a *friðgeard*.

had its religious implication when used as an element of hundred names, as in Toseland, Hunts., which probably has as its first element the name of the *Toglos eorl* slain at Tempsford in 917, Framland, Leics., *Claislund* and *Nauereslund*, Northants., Wayland, Norfolk, and Aveland, Lincs. Heathen sanctuaries may have been used as meeting-places for the hundred before Christianity was accepted,¹ though it must be noted that words meaning simply 'wood' do occur in hundred names, as in Holt, Norfolk, Blackenhurst and *Dryhurst*, Worcs., *Blagrove* and *Thorn Grove*, Wilts., and *Nobottle Grove*, Northants.² In any case the place-name evidence does not suggest, any more than did the archaeological evidence, that heathen worship and customs survived in this area for a long period.

An early, wide-spread adoption of Christianity by the East Anglian Danes has been claimed on numismatic evidence. So, for example, by Professor Galbraith, who says "East Anglian coins inscribed 'Sc. Eadmund' are in existence, the date of which is 905 at latest."³ The facts do not seem to me to be quite as clear as this statement suggests, and as there is some variety of opinion among numismatists it is perhaps desirable to examine these facts more closely. The date mentioned above depends on the dating of the hoard found at Cuerdale, Lancs., which included over eighteen hundred St. Edmund coins, an overwhelming majority of those on record. E. Hawkins in 1847 dated the hoard 'about the year 910,'⁴ and this is accepted by R. A. Smith,⁵ Bergsöe,⁶ and D. Allen.⁷ But in 1876, Hawkins had altered his opinion and states without giving any reasons that the coins found

¹ One may compare hundred names with the Christian element 'cross.'

² See also O. S. Anderson, *The English Hundred-Names* I, xxxv.

³ EHR xl, 223 note. See also W. H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of Alfred*, p. 231.

⁴ *Archaeological Journal* iv, 129.

⁵ *Archaeologia* lxxv, 236.

⁶ *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal*, NS. xx, 192ff.

⁷ *British Numismatic Journal* xxii, 177.

at Cuerdale ' must have been struck before about 905.'¹ This date is the one given by Grueber,² Keary³ and Brooke,⁴ and by Oman in 1934,⁵ though in 1931 he had dated more cautiously as not later than 905-910.⁶ A slight variant from the first opinion is that of W. J. Andrew, who holds that the hoard was buried by the Danes retreating after the Battle of Tettenhall in 911.⁷ Apart from this attempt to connect the hoard with a definite military event, the dating depends mainly on the fact that, while over 850 coins of Alfred, 65 of Archbishop Plegmund and 23 of Athelstan (= Guthrum) are included, there are only some 50 coins of Edward the Elder's reign, representing only three of his six issues. This certainly suggests a date fairly early in his reign, and this is supported by the absence of any coins of Rognvaldr (918-921) and of St. Peter's pennies; but it does not necessarily point to as early as 905. This year was probably suggested because of the generally accepted identification of Cnut, whose name occurs on a number of the coins, with the Northumbrian king Guthfrith who died in 894. The coins of Cnut were among the freshest in the hoard, some appearing newly struck, and therefore a date as near as possible to his death seemed desirable. But the identity of Cnut and Guthfrith has been questioned by W. L. Andrew⁸ and recently by P. Grierson.⁹

But though there seems little reason for the precise date frequently given to this hoard, a date in the first half

¹ *The Silver Coins of England*, 2nd edit., p. 97.

² *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*, p. xvii.

³ *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: Anglo-Saxon Series I*, xxix.

⁴ *English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day*, pp. 30ff.

⁵ *Archaeological Journal* xci, 8.

⁶ *The Coinage of England*, p. 47.

⁷ *Brit. Num. J.* i, 12ff. Since then W. S. Angus has shown that 910 is probably the correct date of this battle. See EHR liii, 194ff.

⁸ *Brit. Num. J.* xxi, 188ff.

⁹ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Series xxiii, 78f.

of the reign of Edward the Elder is supported by the following consideration. Not very many St. Edmund coins have been found apart from the Cuerdale find, but it is noteworthy that when there is more than an isolated coin of this issue, the coins found in association include several of the ninth century.¹ Where the find consists entirely or mainly of tenth-century coins only a single St. Edmund coin is included.² Moreover there are several hoards consisting mainly of coins of Edward the Elder and later kings in which no St. Edmund pennies occur.³ The impression received is that during the later part of Edward's reign very few of these coins remained in circulation. The question remains: When was this issue first minted? Opinion is almost united that it is after the death of Guthrum-Athelstan in 890, but there is one dissentient view, that of G. C. Brooke,⁴ who attributes these coins to the period between Edmund's martyrdom and the Danish settlement, i.e. between 869 and 878, though he admits the possibility of their continuance until 905. If this view is right, this coinage has no interest for the present article. An examination of the moneyers' names, however, shows this theory to be improbable, for, while no single moneyer of those who minted for King Edmund of East Anglia appears on the St. Edmund coinage, no less than twelve names on these

¹ I.e. Harkirk, Lancs., which had 4 St. Edmund pennies, 7 coins of Alfred, one of Plegmund, 8 of Edward the Elder, 11 St. Peter pennies and one 'Cunnetti' coin (*Num. Chron.* v, 98).

² I.e. (a) Chester: 1 St. Edmund penny, 7 coins of Edward the Elder, 9 St. Peter pennies (*ibid.* NS. ii, 305ff); (b) Luggan, County Meath: 1 St. Edmund penny, 8 coins of Edward the Elder (*ibid.* NS. iii, 255ff); (c) County Dublin: 1 doubtful St. Edmund penny, 14 coins of Edward the Elder, 11 of Athelstan, 1 St. Peter penny (*ibid.* 3rd Series iii, 283); (d) Rome: 1 St. Edmund penny, 25 coins of Plegmund, 16 of Alfred, 439 of Edward the Elder, 32 of Athelstan (*Brit. Num. J.* xxi, 16). Besides these, 3 St. Edmund coins were found with 97 of St. Peter at York (*Archaeological Journal* xiii, 283).

³ E.g. Ireland (*Num. Chron.* NS. iii, 48); Rome (*ibid.* 3rd Series iv, 225); Kilgou Manor, County Meath (*ibid.* 3rd Series v, 128); Isle of Skye (*ibid.* 4th Series xiii); Douglas, Isle of Man (*ibid.* loc. cit.).

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 30f.

coins, Adalbert, Bado,¹ Berner,² Beringar, Eadred, Eadwulf, Gundberht, Iohann(es), Odo, Stephan, Walter and Wineger, occur also on Edward the Elder's coins. Iohann, Odo and Stefvan appear on Athelstan's coinage, and the last two on Edmund's. In some cases we may be concerned with different individuals of the same name, but it is unlikely that the whole list can thus be explained away. It therefore seems to me reasonable to place the St. Edmund coinage near to the reign of Edward the Elder. One moneyer's name, that of Abbonel, is shared by the coinage of Guthrum-Athelstan. It also occurs on coins with King Alfred's name and again on Athelstan's coins minted at Hertford and Maldon, but not in the intervening reign.³ If the same individual is meant, it helps us to connect the St. Edmund coins with East Anglia.

Only one or two of these coins bear a mint mark⁴ and this indicates York. Rashleigh⁵ and Andrew⁶ consider that the whole issue was minted at York, but for the use of the East Anglians when in alliance with the Northumbrian Danes. Andrew holds that the moulds and the form of letters connect them with the York mint. On the other hand, Hawkins⁷ declares the capital A on the coins to show their East Anglian origin, a similar device occurring on the coins of King Edmund of East Anglia, and Grueber⁸ says that both the type and the moneyers' names prove them struck in East Anglia. I have found only one recorded instance of St. Edmund pennies being discovered

¹ If the same as Badda.

² If the same as Beornere.

³ Unless he is the same as Abbo, of which name Abbonel may be a diminutive.

⁴ Apart from a couple of coins with Alfred's name and the Canterbury mint-mark on one side, no doubt due to the moneyer trying to imitate a coin of Alfred.

⁵ *Num. Chron.* NS. ix, 92.

⁶ *Brit. Num. J.* xxi, 188ff. See also G. Benson, *Coins: especially those relating to York* (published with *The Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, 1913), p. 78.

⁷ *The Silver Coins of England*, p. 97.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. xvii.

in or near the eastern counties, namely three pieces at Northampton,¹ but this absence may not be significant, as coin hoards from this area are not common. In spite of several uncertainties with regard to the issue of these coins, it seems at any rate clear that they were issued in Danish territory by an early date in the reign of Edward the Elder. The analogy of the St. Peter pennies at York and the St. Martin pennies at Lincoln would support the attribution of them to East Anglia.² They prove the cult of St. Edmund to have been already advanced and suggest that the rulers for whom they were minted regarded themselves as Christian. There was a later tradition at Bury St. Edmunds that the saint's relics were translated there from his first burial place in 903,³ which again would indicate the early popularity of this cult, but this tradition cannot be unreservedly accepted against the statement of the earlier authority, Herman, that the translation took place in Athelstan's reign.⁴

The Christianity implied by the minting of these coins need not have been universal nor very thorough-going. There is no evidence that there was an active cult of other local saints so early as this. There was apparently no opposition to the removal of St. Oswald's relics from the deserted Bardney out of the district to Gloucester in 906.⁵ Moreover a charter of 926, referring to events between 900 and 910, speaks of the Bedfordshire Danes as 'pagans,'⁶ though perhaps we should not push too far an

¹ VCH Northants. I, 255.

² If they were minted in East Anglia, presumably the two coins struck by the moneyer Gundibertus for Sihtric comes at *Sceldfor* (Cuerdale Hoard) are East Anglian also. See D. Allen in *Brit. Num. J.* xxii, 177.

³ *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold (RS 96), I, xxi.

⁴ *Ibid.* I, 29. See also Galbraith, EHR xl, 223 note.

⁵ ASC D.

⁶ BCS 659, which is one of a pair (the other, 658, relates to Derbyshire) couched in the same terms. Professor Stenton suggests that they indicate a policy of settling English thanes in districts occupied by the Danes. See *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw* (Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History 3), pp. 74f.

uncomplimentary reference to one's enemies. Ethelwerd, when he relates the death of King Eohric of East Anglia, says he 'descended to Orcus.'¹ Two glimpses into this early period can be obtained from later authorities. One is in a chapter in the *Historia Eliensis*, which, though compiled in the twelfth century, is probably based on charters of Edgar's reign.² It states that at the time of the Danish invasion there was a monastery at Horningsea with a number of clerics under a priest Cenwold. 'Then those who crowded from heathenism to the grace of baptism gave to the aforesaid monastery five hides in Horningsea and two in Eye.' It declares that Cenwold's successor was a follower of King Athelstan and therefore received the monastery under his protection. This would allow a very long period of rule to Cenwold, and it may be that by the mid-tenth century tradition had rather telescoped the early history of this place, but the account is of interest in showing that there was thought to have been little, if any, breach of continuity at this church and that already in the very early tenth century, if not before, many Danes are not only accepting Christianity but also making generous gifts to the Church.

In my opinion, another reference to this area at this time is contained in the brief mention of the boyhood of Archbishop Oda of Canterbury contained in the *Vita S. Oswaldi*,³ for as he was certainly Bishop of Wilton by 929, if not by 927,⁴ he must have been born towards the end of the ninth century, and that he came from the Eastern Danelaw is suggested by the following considerations: he was of Danish birth, tradition stating him to be a son of a Dane who came to England with *Hinwar* and *Huba*, and we find him interceding with the king with regard to the

¹ H. Petrie, *Monumenta Historica Britannica* I, 519.

² Ed. D. J. Stewart, as *Liber Eliensis* I (Anglia Christiana Society), Book II, cap. 32.

³ Ed. J. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York* (RS 71) I, 404.

⁴ See J. Armitage Robinson, *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester*, pp. 43f.

marriage of a Cambridgeshire thane, Edwin son of Othulf and receiving Burwell, in that county, as a reward for his help.¹ Alone this might signify little, though the Archbishop of Canterbury does not seem the most obvious person for a man of this district to apply to, but we find that his brother's son, St. Oswald, also had connexions with the eastern counties, being related to Archbishop Oscytel, who owned land in Beeby, Leics., and whose kinsman, Thurcytel, Abbot of Bedford, possessed estates in Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire.² The wife of a prominent thane of this area, Æthelstan, Mann's son, also was related to Oswald.³ If Oda had family connexions with the locality, the grant to him in the year before he died of land at Ely becomes easier to understand.⁴ If this surmise about Oda's origin is correct, the Eastern Danelaw in the first generation born after the settlement gave to the Anglo-Saxon Church one of its greatest archbishops, but unfortunately we are not told whether he was educated there. The *Vita S. Oswaldi* tells us of his early piety and zeal for church-going, which the threats of his father, who 'was not deeply zealous to serve Christ,' were powerless to prevent. He left home and was educated in the household of a 'certain venerable thane, faithfully believing in God, called Æthelhelm.' We are, however, not told where this was. The importance of Oda's work has recently been clearly demonstrated by Professor Darlington.⁵ Speaking of his pontificate as 'a notable period in diocesan reorganisation' he says:

¹ *Historia Ramesiensis*, ed. Macray (RS 83), cap. 25.

² See *infra* pp. 174f.

³ *Historia Ramesiensis*, cap. 33. Other relatives of Oswald are mentioned in charters but only in connexion with estates leased by him to them out of the lands of his see.

⁴ The identification of the *æt Helig* of this charter (KCD 465 = BCS 999) with Ely has been doubted (A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, p. 81), but it has since been defended by Armitage Robinson, *The Times of St. Dunstan*, pp. 118f.

⁵ EHR II, 386f. See also Armitage Robinson, *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester*, pp. 38ff.

‘It is probably not by accident that the sees of Elmham and Lindsey reappear while Oda was archbishop.’ It may be that Oda knew from personal experience of the need for reorganisation in the east of England.

The question of the religious organisation of these parts under Danish rule and for some time afterwards is, however, very obscure. Older arrangements had doubtless been destroyed by the Viking invasions. No Bishop of Dunwich is heard of after Æthelwald (consecrated between 845 and 869) and there is a long gap after Hunberht (died 869) before we again hear of a Bishop of Elmham, when Eadulf, whose first signature occurs in 956, made his profession to Archbishop Oda.¹ At the date of the will of Bishop Theodred of London,² namely between 942 and 951, Suffolk, if not the whole of East Anglia, is being administered by the Bishop of London, with an episcopal seat at Hoxne, still regarded as the see for Suffolk in the time of Edward the Confessor.³ Theodred signs as bishop from 926 to 951, but he is not expressly called Bishop of London until 931. Galbraith therefore mentions the possibility that he had first been Bishop of East Anglia alone, but admits that the only evidence is an obscure reference in Leland.⁴ No help is given by signatures as there is a gap in the London series between Wulfsige in 910 and Theodred’s first signature. There is, however, a charter of 934 with two bishops, Alfred and Wulfhelm, whose sees cannot be accounted for, and one may have been Bishop of East Anglia.⁵ This would necessitate the assumption that Theodred was

¹ BCS 918.

² No. I in my *Anglo-Saxon Wills*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 102. See also Darlington, *op. cit.* p. 423, where reference is made also to the eleventh-century claim that Bury once had this position.

⁴ Galbraith, EHR xl, 223 note. Leland, quoting a *Chronicon Westmonasterii*, states that Theodred was Bishop of Elmham ‘about this time’ (i.e. Edmund’s reign) and afterwards Bishop of London. But we know him to have been Bishop of London before Edmund came to the throne.

⁵ A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, No. XXV.

given charge of East Anglia, or perhaps only of Suffolk, when he already had been Bishop of London for some years, but there is nothing improbable in this. He was a vigorous prelate and he left a good reputation;¹ he may have been deliberately chosen to reorganise this Danish diocese. There is, however, too little evidence for any decision to be reached. It seems probable, as Professor Tait suggests,² that he is a native of this area, for all the estates bequeathed in his will are in Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire, and those in Suffolk, the most numerous, he mainly leaves to kinsmen. Other districts of the Eastern Danelaw, such as Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire, had been in the diocese of Leicester. This see was moved to Dorchester on account of the Danish invasions, and there may have been no breach in continuity, though we know no name between Ealhheard who died in 896 and Ceolwulf, consecrated in 909. But it is unlikely that the bishop had any control in these counties until after Edward's reconquest of them, and there is no evidence how they were administered meanwhile.

The appointment of the Englishman Æthelstan 'Half-King,' by about 932, to be ealdorman of East Anglia, would lead to a more thorough Christianising of the province, for he was a religious-minded man, who later retired to become a monk at Glastonbury, and his family, especially his sons Æthelwine and Ælfwold, became great supporters of monastic reform. From the mid-tenth century a handful of local documents survive, and from these we learn of several religious communities in existence before this reform movement brought about the re-foundation of the great Fenland abbeys. Bishop

¹ See my *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 99.

² Quoted by Galbraith, *loc. cit.* His other argument, the use of the word *kirk*, has little weight, for it is normal in this Bury register even where originals that use the form *cyrce* are being copied.

Theodred's will¹ (942-951) mentions ' God's community at St. Ethelbert's church at Hoxne,' and also a community at Mendham, Suffolk. The family of the ealdorman Ælfgar of Essex (about 945-951) richly endowed the community of Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk.² His daughter says that her ancestors lay buried there. A community at *Bedricesworth* (Bury St. Edmund's) is frequently mentioned and from other sources we know that it consisted of a small number of priests.³ An abbot of some unstated place was murdered at Thetford in 952.⁴ Oundle, where Archbishop Wulfstan I of York, who was Bishop of Dorchester at the time of his death, was buried in 957, was probably a community of priests. In 971 an abbot of Bedford is mentioned, without any suggestion that it was a recent foundation.⁵ When we bear in mind the fragmentary nature of the evidence, the impression given is that the Eastern Danelaw possessed a number of small religious foundations by the middle years of the tenth century. There is nothing to indicate that the district was behind its southern and western neighbours in religious observance; there is certainly no suggestion of any survival of heathenism.

It is doubtful whether one should add to the above list of communities of the mid-tenth century the abbeys of Ely and Crowland. The *Historia Eliensis*, speaking of the re-foundation of Ely by Æthelwold in 970, says that he expelled clerics⁶ and William of Malmesbury refers to these also.⁷ It is possible that, as at Bury, the shrine was served by a small number of priests. But it is strange

¹ See *supra* p. 171.

² *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, Nos. II, XIV and XV.

³ Herman, *De Miraculis S. Eadmundi* (*Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey I*, 30).

⁴ ASC D. It does not follow that he belonged to this province.

⁵ See *infra* pp. 174f.

⁶ Book II, cap. 3.

⁷ *Gesta Pontificum* (RS 52), 324. The story he tells of the irreverent cleric is contained also in *Historia Eliensis*, Book I, cap. 49.

that there is no mention of the expulsion of these either in the brief account of Æthelwold's foundation in Ælfric's life of this saint or in the *Libellus quorundam insignium operum B. Ædeluuoldi*, written between 1108 and 1131.¹ The author of the *Historia* has inserted the references to clerics into a chapter borrowed from the *Libellus*, and I suspect a later addition to the account, on the analogy of the expulsion of clerics from Winchester.

According to the tradition related to Orderic Vitalis² at Crowland in the early twelfth century, this abbey was re-founded by Thurketel already in Edred's reign (946-955), a tradition very greatly elaborated in the chronicle of Pseudo-Ingulf.³ This date is erroneous, though otherwise Orderic's account seems based on fact. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (BC), recording the death of Archbishop Oscytel at Thame in 971, adds that his kinsman Abbot Thurkytel took the body to Bedford, 'because he was abbot there at that time.' In the *Historia Eliensis*⁴ we are told that this abbot, after he was expelled from Bedford, asked Bishop Ælfstan of London (961-995 or 996) and his clergy to admit him to their confraternity, and, though this was at first refused, they agreed when he gave them an estate at Milton, which they afterwards exchanged with Ely. This is obviously Orderic's Thurketel, for he calls him a certain cleric of London and a relation of Archbishop Osketel. He could not, then, have founded Crowland until after 971, probably some considerable time after.⁵ Possibly the kings names Edred and Ethelred (*Æþered*) had been confused at Crowland, possibly the earlier date belongs to the founding of Bedford. Another passage in the *Historia Eliensis*⁶ must

¹ Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O. 2, 41.

² *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book IV, caps. 16f.

³ Ed. Fulman, *Quinque Scriptores*, pp. 30ff.

⁴ Book II, cap. 31.

⁵ He signs as abbot in 969 and 970 but may all the time be Abbot of Bedford.

⁶ Book II, cap. 22.

refer to this abbot, though by mistake he is called Abbot of Ramsey. There is no abbot of this name on the Ramsey lists nor room for one. The passage records the sale by him to Bishop Æthelwold of Duddington and half *Weremere* in order to obtain the land at *Bebui* which Bishop Oscytel had left to Æthelwold. Among the estates given by Thurketel to Crowland, according to Orderic, is Beeby, Leics., presumably the same place. His other gifts were Wellingborough, Elmington and Wothorpe, Northants., and Cottenham and Oakington, Cambs. It seems probable therefore that he was a native of this part of England. He was, Orderic says, a friend of Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald.¹ His foundation of Crowland was probably part of the Benedictine movement of which they were the chief exponents. The question whether there was any religious community at Crowland when Thurketel placed monks there must be left open. The Crowland tradition said there was, and made Thurketel join it before becoming abbot and asking the king to give him the place. But, as we have seen, the details of the account are not to be trusted.

It would be rash to draw any definite conclusions on the methods of the conversion of the Danes from such fragmentary evidence. There is, however, enough to suggest that Christianity made an early appeal to many of the invaders. The evidence of the St. Edmund coins, the Ely tradition and the life of Archbishop Oda all points to a wide acceptance of the new faith already by the end of the ninth century. In the first decade of the tenth century the Danes can still be called 'pagans' by their enemies, but this is the last indication of any continuance of heathen religion. Neither archaeology nor place-names suggest that it survived in this region for any considerable length of time. Ecclesiastical reorganisation

¹ He was probably related to Oswald, as both were kinsmen of Oscytel. See p. 170 *supra*.

was perhaps partly due to the work of Theodred 'the Good,' Bishop of London (about 926-951), and Oda 'the Good,' Archbishop of Canterbury (941-958), both of them probably men from this area and the latter a Dane by birth. When from the middle of the century documentary evidence is less sparse, it gives no impression that these counties were behind the rest of England in piety and zeal for the Church.

RUNES AND THE GOTHIC ALPHABET.¹

By JOAN BLOMFIELD, M.A.

THE runic system and the script of Gothic records both strike deep into the heart of early Germanic culture. It is not strange that these fundamental problems should have attracted many inquirers. Indeed, their mysterious origins have been widely canvassed, and our knowledge of runes has advanced very greatly in recent years. Gothic

¹ Information about the runic inscriptions discussed in this paper is principally taken from three works, which are cited as follows:

Baldwin Brown = *The Arts in Early England* by G. Baldwin Brown, vols. I-VI, ii (London 1915-37).

Run. = *Nordisk Kultur VI. Runorna* utg. af Otto v. Friesen (Stockholm 1933).

Stephens = *The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England* by Dr. George Stephens, vols. I-III (Cheapinghaven 1866-84).

I also owe a great deal to other works and articles to which reference is made in abbreviated form:

Hdb. = *Handbuch der Runenkunde* von H. Arntz (Halle 1935).

Got. Schr., Runenschr. = articles 'Gotische Schrift,' 'Runenschrift' by O. von Friesen in *Reallexicon der germanischen Altertumskunde* hrsg. J. Hoops, Bde. I-IV (Strassburg 1916-19).

Wrenn = 'Late Old English Rune-Names' by C. L. Wrenn in *Medium Aevum* i, 24-34.

For rune-names and the forms of runes in manuscript, I have constantly referred to G. Hickeys, *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus* (Oxford 1705) = Hickeys.

Abbreviations frequently used are as follows:

Cod. Sal. = MS Wien Hofbibliothek 795, formerly Salzburg 140 (Hdb. p 145).

Dom. = MS Cotton Domitian A. IX (photograph in *Modern Philology* i).

G. = MS Cotton Galba A. II, not extant (Hickeys III, tabella vi).

Nemn. = alphabet of Nemnivus in MS Bodley Auct. F. IV. 32.

Ru.P. = Old English Runic Poem of MS Cotton Otho B.X, not extant (Hickeys I, 135).

S.J. = MS 17. S. John's College Oxford.

Vatic. Urbin. = MS Vatican Urbinus 290 (published by H. F. Massmann in *Germania* N.R. iv, 253-6, 1871).

Rune-forms are referred to by number according to the series on the accompanying plate, where the system of transcription here used is also to be found. The usual transcription of Gothic letters (see Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch* § 18) is adopted, except that the graph hw is used for the twenty-fifth letter.

script has received less attention; consequently, the close relation between the two which has been generally assumed begins to lose reality. Eager controversy and elaborate theories about this relationship have not been lacking. But the nature and functions of these two modes of writing have not become much clearer. Indeed, it too often appears that the conditions in which they were used and the processes of their development have not been clearly envisaged at all. The time has come when an attempt should be made to set out the basic differences of the two systems, and to consider how and when they may have come into contact.

Judging from what we know of their usage—for the purpose each served is the only sure basis for any hypothesis as to origins—the two systems stand very far apart. Runic is so primitive a form of writing that it retains something of the hieroglyphic character; it is a commonplace that Rune 17 in itself signified good fortune,¹ that Rune 10 is the *enge run*.² In fact, runes are inseparably bound up with the practice of religion and magic. The preservation of rune-names testifies to the value of each symbol in and for itself. Their letter-values are developed as far as a monumental script, no further. A manuscript written in runes could be no more than an antiquarian freak.³ Gothic script is, on the contrary, a book-hand, developed in the study. Certainly they must both have the same ultimate origin, since writing was introduced into Europe long before there is any trace of runes or any Germanic script. But they diverge from the main stream at widely-separated points, and the further we go the more difficult it is to imagine contact between them.

¹ It is often found inscribed as a talisman; cf. the Old English Runic Poem l 48, *Tir biþ tacna sum*.

² *Elene* l 1262.

³ Such are the Swedish runic MSS. of XIV and XV. See Hdb. pp. 219-221.

Salzburg MS.

Dom. A. ix

extras

1		f	29		io	= ecce
2		u	30		q	SJ iii, G vi.
3		p	31		k ²	G iv, Nemn.
4		o	32		st	= vult
5		r	33		g ²	SJ iv, G iv, Nemn.
6		k				
7		g				
8		w				
9		h				
10		n				
11		i				
12		j				
13		z				
14		p				
15		x				
16		s				
17		t				
18		b				
19		e				
20		m				
21		l				
22		n				
23		d				
24		æ				
25		a				
26		æ				
27		ea				
28		y				

variants

12		Thames
		inscriptions
15		Scandinavian futhorks
		Vatic. Urbin
16		Ruthwell, Dover
		Dom., Thames, Culth. coffin
		SJ i
24		Thames, G ii
		Dom. scr. 2
28		Thames
		Dom., MSS.
30		G ii
		SJ i
		alphabets
31		Ruthwell, SJ iv
		Fallstone
		alphabets
32		G ii, SJ iv
		Westierenden
33		inscriptions, G iv

A book-hand composed of ideographs is of course possible. But no such development took place in Europe. Inscriptions, on the contrary, do sometimes employ book-hand. Inscriptions in Hiberno-Saxon minuscule are found on Welsh stones of VI-VII,¹ as well as on the grave-slabs at Clonmacnoise and Hartlepool:² the effect is in general incongruous and barbarous. In the case of early vernacular writings, interaction of scripts is not to be thought of. The impulse to record the vernacular of necessity springs from foreign influences. The Germanic peoples derived their notions of writing, spelling and grammar from the literary languages, Latin and Greek; they acquired these disciplines through a foreign medium, conditioned by the needs of that medium. Only gradually, and by successive modifications, were they able to give their native language a character of its own in writing. All written Gothic has a foreign stamp. Our earliest and finest exemplar is markedly Byzantine and North-Italian in style: in the sumptuous format, the ductus, the use of abbreviations, the syllable-division.³ The syntax, like the handwriting, is presented in an alien stylisation—which does not destroy its essentially Gothic character, which would presumably be clear and distinguishable to anyone versed both in Greek and spoken Gothic. The process of adaptation required before a satisfactory system can be evolved could be illustrated by comparing Northumbrian spelling of VII with that of X. The latter has its own distinctive details, but does not differ in essentials from the West-Saxon *κοινή* of the same century: compared with either, the seventh-century forms are notably archaic and Latinized (i.e. in the use of

¹ See E. Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, *passim*, especially no. 149, and *Y Cymmrodor* xxviii, 260-7.

² W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, figs. 16 and 17.

³ See the introductory matter by O. von Friesen in *Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis*, Upsaliæ, 1928.

d and *ch* for spirants, and *uu* = [w]). Gothic apparently never reached this final stage. Yet it was used during several centuries, and the first experimental period is not represented at all. Scholars who advanced theories on the origin of the Gothic alphabet have paid too little attention to the complexities of the process involved. Wimmer imagines a sapient Wulfila selecting from both Latin and Greek alphabets those characters best suited to express the sounds of his own language. But any scholar innovating in this way would be compelled to start from a single coherent system, applying its scheme as a whole. Wulfila could have no basis for an exercise in comparative orthography, since he would not know enough about the phonology of Gothic, until it had been experimentally expressed by means of foreign graphs. Von Friesen,¹ still more exacting, supposes that Wulfila took runic as his basis and stylized it in the manner of Greek uncial with various ingenious equations and rearrangements, assisted by the knowledge that runic itself was an adaptation of Greek cursive (von Friesen's own hypothesis). If this were the nature of runic, it is hard to see why runic itself would not serve as a book-hand, without laborious shuffling and recasting into a foreign ductus. And if runic had already been stylized epigraphically, it is fantastic to suppose that Wulfila could have known anything about the postulated origin.

There is, of course, some reason for invoking runic in this connection. The existence of early runic inscriptions shows that the Germanic peoples had a native system of writing, which might be supposed to serve as a guide in isolating the sounds of the vernacular and choosing graphs to express them.² Yet it is very unlikely that any conscious reference to runic practice should occur to a man who busied himself with books and reading. The

¹ See Got. Schr. pp. 306-10.

² See, in particular, E. H. Mensel, *Modern Philology* i, 457-68.

radical difference of function between runic and book-hand would exclude the possibility of any close equation between them in the early stages of vernacular literature. The inscribing of runes was traditionally a ceremonial craft, chiefly perhaps a burial rite. The classical alphabets offer parallels in historic, and even in Christian times;¹ but these show only the primitive talisman of the whole alphabetic series. Runes are found not only with this function—in the comparatively rare examples of whole fupark inscriptions—but also as ideographs and in stereotyped formulas. Inscriptions naming the one who handles the *potestas* of the runes, are characteristic: such are *ek HlewagastiR holtijaR horna tawido* (Gallehus), *Boso wraet runa* (Freilaubersheim), and other examples using *wiju* and *fahiþo*. The virtue of runes is clear from such a formula as *wiþr Afunþ* (Valby), and, apart from burial inscriptions, they are properly found on the hidden surfaces of personal belongings: the backs of brooches and buckles, the inside of a sword-pommel (Gilton, Kent), on a plane (Vimose), more openly on combs and on a weaving-card (Lund). The scholar worked in an entirely different sphere, and his conception of letters would be radically opposed. As the sponsor of a more advanced culture, he would inevitably challenge the rune-master, practitioner of the bad old obscurantist arts. We should not expect to find the influence of runes upon writing, but rather the reverse. And it is arguable that emergence of runes into the light—as a monumental form of writing—was in some areas the indirect consequence of literary activity. Certainly a development and stimulus of this kind can be observed in English runes, where contact with the Latin tradition can be proved.

Ownership-runes on personal belongings are rare in England, and—except for two weapon-inscriptions,² both

¹ See A. Dietrich, 'ABC Denkmäler': *Rheinisches Museum* lvi, 77-105.

² The Thames scramasax (the one example of inscribed English fupark) and the Gilton sword-pommel (Run. p. 52. Stephens I, 370, III, 163).

from southern England—they are probably all the work of Christians.¹ In Christian Northumbria, runes make a fine decorative script for use on gravestones, standing crosses, and elaborately-carved caskets. Biliteral inscriptions often occur, plainly showing the effort to establish a native epigraphy parallel with the literary script proper to Latin. It is also clear that the impulse comes from the learned tradition, the model is the literary language. The legend on the Franks Casket,² for instance, is nearly all in runes; but on the back panel it runs as follows:—left margin: *her fegtaþ*, narrow top margin (left): *titus end giuþeasu*, (right) *hic fugiant hierusalim* right margin: *afitatoes*. The engraver wished to distinguish the Latin words by cutting them in minuscule, but, perhaps to keep the symmetry, he relapses as soon as the corner is turned, and gives *afitatoes* (= *habitatoes*) in runes. Another interesting example is the Falstone hogback³ which has a complete biliteral inscription, in runes and minuscule. Here the book-hand influence comes out strongly. The minuscule inscription uses *th* or *d* for the dental spirant expressed by Rune 3. In the runes, however, *þ* is only once used—in *þe* (minuscule *the*); in the imperative plural *gebidaed* and the dative singular feminine *der* the runes follow the book-hand usage. The dental spirant in the name Hreðberht is represented by *th* in minuscule, by *t* only in runic—a possible variant in early Northumbrian book-hand. Similarly, Ruthwell⁴ *k²yniŋk* reproduces a fairly common book-hand variation, *ngc* for *ng* (in the vernacular there is occasional interchange between *g* and the graph *cg*, which is sometimes reversed in careless spelling). Doubling of vowels to show length

¹ There might be some doubt about a few of the finger-rings (Stephens, I, 492, III, 216), but the Mortain reliquary (Run., 53) and the Whitby comb (Stephens, III, 180) are typical examples of the adaptation of runes to Christian uses.

² See Baldwin Brown, VI, i, 18-38.

³ Stephens, I, 456.

⁴ Baldwin Brown, V, 203-11.

is an occasional device of early Latin spelling much used in archaic Old English. This device is freely used in the Mortain runes,¹ and it is found also in þii and liinmu of the Brunswick casket,² and in riikne of Ruthwell. Sporadic consonant-doubling, a practice of Irish and early Northumbrian scribes,³ is seen in Ruthwell æppilæ and almeztig, Bewcastle⁴ g²essus, and Hartlepool slab 2⁵ hilddigyp.⁶ Most curious of all is the inscription on S. Cuthbert's coffin,⁷ which Baldwin Brown considers to be the original of 698. Here the incised figures of the Evangelists, Archangels and Apostles are named in Roman capitals, but beside the figure of Christ the usual manuscript contraction of the *nomen sacrum* is given in runes, contraction-mark and all: the erratic form of s may be modelled on the minuscule long s, as von Friesen has suggested.⁸

These instances of the interpenetration of the two systems, in which the literary script is predominant, all come from Northumbria in VII and early VIII, and are contemporary with the initial stages of English book-hand. For evidence of the actual adoption of runes into book-hand—a vital point in this enquiry—we have again to look to Old English. Gothic script contains no letter

¹ See M. Olsen and M. Cahen, *Collection linguistique publiée par la Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, p. 32 (1930).

² Stephens, I, 378.

³ See B. Güterbock, *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Sprachforsch.*, N.F. xiii, 90; L. Traube, *M. G. H. Poetae* III, 795; S. Hellmann, *Quellen u. Untersuchungen* i, 119-20; E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* II, especially nos. 135, 155, 157, 174; G. F. Warner, *The Stowe Missal* (Henry Bradshaw Society XXXII) II, xvii.

⁴ Baldwin Brown, V, 245-72.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁶ So this 'common habit of runic orthography' (A. S. C. Ross, M.L.R. xxviii, 151) is really an adopted habit, arising under special conditions in England.

⁷ Baldwin Brown, V, 297-411.

⁸ Run., p. 56. This form is also found on the Thames scramasax, and in the fupark of MS. Cotton Dom. A ix. It appears as one of three variants for s in MS. S. John's 17 (fupark i), the third form being an undisguised minuscule s. See plate.

which must inevitably be derived from runic. Old Norse script came directly from England, and none of the Continental dialects adopted runic letters.¹ Only in Old English script are *p* and *þ* naturalised; and it seems that they came in at different times by slow degrees, and were never universally accepted until West-Saxon established itself as the literary language. *p*, the earlier recorded of the two, first appears in a half-uncial charter of Oeðelred of East Anglia (MS. Cotton Aug. ii. 29), dated 692-3.² It supplants *u* and *uu*, the earlier graphs for [*w*], which persisted in Northumbrian texts of X, and in one (Durham Ritual) was used exclusively. The Épinal glossary has ten instances of *p*, and corruptions³ in the MS. and in Erfurt 42, its Continental counterpart, show that this letter was involved in the textual history of the glossary. In the Corpus glossary *p* is the rule, but instances of *u* are still found. Early Kentish charters (VII-VIII) show a sprinkling of *p* beside *uu*. *þ*, however, seems to have made its way in soon after *p*. Of the early VIII manuscripts, Corpus has *þ* with some regularity, although the earlier graph *th* is still used. Épinal, written probably a little later although it preserves an earlier form of glossary in a more archaic spelling, has eighteen instances of *þ*. The letter is not found in the English names in any of the four early Bede manuscripts; of these, Namur⁴ and Cotton Tib. C II⁵ each have two instances of

¹ OHG. texts written in Insular sometimes make use of *p* and *þ*; e.g. MS. Basel F III, 15 a (Baseler Rezepte), see M. Enneccerus, *Die ältesten deutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 17, R. Priebisch and W. Collinson, *The German Language*, p. 358. In Continental hands, a few instances of *p* are found in MSS. Leipzig Stadtbibliothek Rep. II A 6 (Arndt-Tangl, *Schrifttafeln* p. 41), Trier Lax Salica (Könnecke, *Bilderatlas*, p. 9) and the Kassel *Hildebrandslied* (Enneccerus pp. 3, 4).

² H. Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 426; *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, I, 2. But observe that Lowe does not include this charter in his list of genuine originals *Codd. Lat. Antiq.* II, xiv.

³ Erfurt: *pindil* (Ep. *windil*), *poot* (Ep. *woot*), *poedibergæ*. Ep.. *p'uod* (Erf. *uooþ*), *paar* corrected by suprascript *u* (Erf. *uar*).

⁴ *woden* corrected by *uu*, *ceadwalla*.

⁵ *aelfwine*, *sualwa*.

p, while Moore and Tib. A XIV do not use it at all. ð had been created to express the dental spirant (voiced and voiceless alike), by adding a diacritic stroke to *d*, the earlier graph. This letter is used in *all* Northumbrian manuscripts of the Old English period;¹ in the Lindisfarne gloss, for instance, *p* is unknown except in the contraction for *þæt*. The same, with very few exceptions, applies to the Vespasian Psalter gloss of the early IX (Mercia). The earliest West-Saxon manuscripts, MSS. H and C of the Cura Pastoralis, use ð as a rule, *p* rarely. The chronology of the two letters is further illustrated by two Frankish MSS. of early IX: *Hildebrandslied* (Kassel) certainly, the Trier *Lex Salica* probably, from Fulda. Both use *p* and *d* with cross-bar (H. also *d* and *th* for the spirant), never *þ*. It would appear then that the English script taught in N.W. Germany in VIII admitted one runic letter but not the other. Allowing for the precedence of *p*, we find that regional usage still varies considerably. Northumbrian scribes on the whole do without the runic letters, whereas in the Mercian glossaries they had been used sparingly for some time before the extant manuscripts were written in early VIII. It is perhaps significant that runes are not used on Northumbrian coins before the reign of Eanred (807-41); the earliest *stycas* exhibit Roman capitals, sometimes mixed with half-uncial. In Mercia, however, coins of Pada (655-57)² and Aepelred (675-704) are inscribed with runes. The implication is plain; in Mercia, with its strong heathen tradition, runes could be used as an official script, whereas in Christian Northumbria runes do not appear on the early coinage, and even when they do appear they are interspersed with letters of the Latin alphabet.³

¹ Cf. the characteristic opposition in the biliteral inscription on a Lindisfarne gravestone (Baldwin Brown, V, 58): *osgyþ* above *osgyð*.

² B. Dickins (*Leeds Studies in English*, I, 20-1) takes this as a hypocoristic form of the name Penda, rather than that of his son Peada.

³ See C. F. Keary, *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: Anglo-Saxon Series I* (1887); *Runenschr.*, p. 22.

Thus there is no support for the assumption that runic usage could be consciously compared in the process of adapting book-hand to the vernacular. Old English book-hand, the only one into which runic symbols have been incorporated, shows a slow development from purely literary sources, with runes intervening at a comparatively late stage. Yet this is the assumption made by those who seek to prove that *in the time of Wulfila* the Goths formed a script with the help of runic symbols. It would be necessary to show that special conditions apply to the Goths of IV, making the interpenetration of runic and book-hand easy and natural. Could this be done without falsifying all that we know about the nature and usage of runes among the Germanic peoples?

The logic of this position is illustrated by the work of von Friesen. His theories on the origin of both runes and the Gothic script are throughout interdependent. The archaeologist Salin had put forward the view (*Thierornamentik*, 1904) that runes reached the North in a culture-drift starting from the shores of the Black Sea in II A.D. Von Friesen, accepting this account of the transmission of runes, followed it up with a theory that runic was formed by the Goths in this area from a kind of Greek cursive.¹ One of the main supports of this theory was the assumption that Gothic script, formed in IV, shows familiarity with both Greek characters and runes; and that the two systems could be freely compared and interchanged for the benefit of the new script. On the basis of an equation between these two systems, von Friesen dismisses all the most distinctive features of runic as secondary developments. Runic is to be a mere adaptation of Greek cursive, made for commercial purposes; to mitigate the glaring discrepancy in style, it is suggested that at the period of borrowing the cursive was acquiring an epigraphic character.² Rune-names are to be imitations of the

¹ *Om Runskriftens Häkomst*, Uppsala 1904.

² *Runenschr.*, p. 12.

letter-names of the Greek alphabet—so the commercial is to have some scholastic associations. Von Friesen accordingly minimises the fundamental *potestas* of runes. He suggests,¹ with good reason, that rune-magic was intensively developed in the North in VII, a time of isolation which bred antiquarianism and superstition: but he disregards entirely the distinction between ritual practices and the black arts.² There is evidence that runes were more deeply rooted among the Germanic peoples, and had their place among the sanctions of tribal life.

When one examines the implications of von Friesen's argument, it is very difficult to see how Goths of IV could distinguish between runic and the new script—so closely are they associated in all essentials. Yet the two systems, as we find them in use, are entirely dissimilar. Von Friesen recognises the difference of status and purpose, and proceeds to account for it in this way: runic is not to come from the study, but to arise from the practical needs of common people.³ The invention of runes is attributed to Gothic legionaries who learnt from their Greek and Roman comrades to adapt *graffiti* (Runenschr., p. 12); or, later, it is Gothic hostages, legionaries, or slaves who 'lärt sig grekiskt och latiniskt talspråk i deras vardagliga former och därjämte vardagslivets grekiska och latiniska skrift' (Run., p. 14), and applied the same methods of writing to their own

¹ *Runorna i Sverige* (1911), p. 11.

² Cf. J. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* I, § 268. He distinguishes between 'eine weisse u. eine schwartze Magie. Erstere war nicht erlaubt, sondern unter gewissen Umständen notwendig u. stand deshalb wohl in engstem zusammenhang mit dem Kult.' But he follows Agrell in deriving the ritual use of runes from the numeral-magic of oriental cults in late Classical times (§269). G. van Langenhove outlines a broader view (*Beiträge zur Runenkunde u. Nordischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 15) which is however not developed or supported.

³ 'Nicht in gelehrter Schule, sondern im praktischen Leben hat der Mann der zuerst die buchstaben zur Aufzeichnung germanische (gotische) Sprache brauchte, die elemente gelernt' (Runenschr., p. 12).

vernacular. Von Friesen does not inquire what incentive or equipment such people could have to undertake this laborious transfer, which requires moreover some power of isolating and classifying sounds. On his own showing the process is sufficiently complicated; for the runic symbols have to express a sound-analysis learnt from Greek. Thus, the runes for [w] and [j] are to be derived from the graphs *ov* and *ε* (the adapter would have to understand that these represented pure vowels corresponding to the consonantal vowels which did not exist in Greek). It is assumed that OY was simplified by dropping O and stylizing Y according to runic principles, while a cursive ligature of *ε* is discovered to be identical with Rune 12.¹ On the same principle, [ŋ] must have been expressed by analogy with Greek ΓΓ, and the Germanic ŋ-rune is therefore a 'symmetrising' of this graph.² Even more curious is the identification of Rune 13 with *ε* = [ɛ], Rune 19 with ŋ = [long ɛ]. It is admitted that the only vocalic value attested for Rune 13 is narrow [ɛ] or [i]; but von Friesen constructs an argument in the following successive stages:—³

(i) Gothic area: Rune 13 = [ɛ], Rune 19 = [ɛ], corresponding to the Gothic distinction *ai* = [ä], *e* = long or short [ɛ].

(ii) Scandinavia: Rune 13 no value, Rune 19 = [e].

(iii) England: Rune 13 = [e/i], Rune 19 = [e].

There is no evidence whatever for stage (i), and the whole explanation illustrates the impossible complexities into which von Friesen is led. He asserts the unscholarly nature of runic, and attempts to maintain it by contrasting a cursive script (for commercial purposes) with an uncial script (for literary purposes), both derived from the Greek alphabet. But if he rightly describes the origin

¹ *Runskriftens härkomst*, p. 124, *Runenschr.*, p. 10.

² *Runenschr.*, p. 12, *Runskriftens härkomst*, p. 130.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-6.

of runic, it can only have been the work of a scholar—a scholar no less learned than the author of the book-hand. And by contrasting runic with book-hand we come back to its distinctive features: it is not a book-hand, it is not an alphabet, but a system of letters with a particular order and significant names plainly associated with graphic magic. These von Friesen is forced to consider secondary accretions, in order to maintain the learned (yet, at the same time, popular) origin of runic. The whole argument both depends upon and supports the assumption that the Goths invented runes, which were afterwards adapted by other Germanic peoples.

The practice of invoking runes to explain the peculiarities of Gothic script is based on an association of ideas which has occurred to many generations of scholars. Throughout there has been a sound instinct that the script must derive from one fully-developed system. At once the difficulty arises that there is no known alphabet to serve as an immediate prototype. Whereas the ductus and numeration-system are plainly Greek, non-Greek symbols are included, and the sound-system expressed is distinctively Gothic. It has been usual to separate the Greek element from the rest; and this residue then has to be tracked down to other sources. Some have not scrupled to compose a patchwork of the Greek and Latin alphabets, eked out here and there from runic. Yet in general there has been a certain uneasiness, a feeling (seldom consciously expressed) that Gothic script is after all an organic whole, linked up with a living sound-system. For this reason the more thoughtful investigators—notably Kirchoff¹ and Mensel²—have turned to runic (a fupark of twenty-five symbols) as the one basis on which the Goths formed their script. Here the difficulty lies in working out the actual process by which Gothic script

¹ *Das gothische Runenalphabet*, Berlin, 1864.

² *Modern Philology*, i, 457-68.

would be formed. Runic will provide a native sound-analysis to account for the values of p, hw, w and h, and models for the forms u and f. But if the stylization is to be that of Greek uncial there are still awkward forms left over; and the numeral system, preserving the symbols for 90 and 900, suggests that the Greek element goes deeper. Already in 1846, Gabelentz and Loebe¹ rejected the view, put forward by Waitz, that runes were in use among the Goths before script, boldly declaring that arbitrary selection from the literary alphabets was a more acceptable hypothesis. Much later, Bugge² stressed the literary nature of Gothic script. Jellinek³ took the obvious relationship with Greek characters as his starting-point. It is surely a cardinal error to make separation of Greek and non-Greek elements when the ultimate origin of the script is being sought. It would be strange indeed if any Germanic language could appropriate a Greek alphabet without making gradual modifications and introducing alien elements. We know the Gothic alphabet at a comparatively late stage; no manuscript is older than the late fifth century. The first half of VI appears to have been the time when the copying of Gothic texts was at its height. This script, then, remained in use for at least two hundred years. In our texts, falling within the second half of this period, it is seen in full maturity, fixed beyond change (apart from variations in ductus caused by sporadic cursive forms). For the crucial period of development we have nothing but the tradition, reproduced by Philostorgius, Sokrates and Sozomenus, that the apostle of the Goths founded Gothic writing. The statements are clear enough;² yet the wide significance of γράμματα

¹ *Ulfilas, Grammatik*, § II. ² *Norges Indskrifter*, Indledning, § 157 n. 2.

³ *Gotische Sprache*, § 23: 'Es ist doch das Natürlichste als Fundament einer Schrift, die so deutlich griechisches Gepräge trägt, eben die griechische anzunehmen.'

⁴ Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II. 5, εὐρετῆς γραμμάτων οἰκέων, Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*. IV. 33 γράμματα ἐφεῦρε γοτθικά.

(cf. the ambiguous *litteras instituisse* of Jordanes) should not be forgotten—writing is but one aspect of Wulfila's cultural activities, the necessity of bringing Scripture to the Goths. The historians give no indication of the process whereby Wulfila arrived at his alphabet; and indeed, they accept the tradition at its face-value, without any curiosity as to detail. This is just what we should expect; and we may, without doing violence to the tradition, interpret it on the analogy of alphabet-adaptation elsewhere. No 'runic substratum' is required. On the other hand, there is nothing arbitrary in the choosing of symbols from the Latin alphabet or even from runic, provided it is not the single effort of one man, but the outcome of generations of experiment in the adaptation of a basically Greek system to Gothic.

Whatever contacts may be found between runic and the Gothic script, it is surely essential to keep the problems of their origins apart and to avoid the confusions of envisaging either in terms of the other. All modern scholars with a knowledge of runes, not least von Friesen, recognize that graphic symbols constitute an order of linguistic fact subject to linguistic change. The very diversity of runes is an argument for the organic unity of the system. 'Auch das älteste Runenalphabet kann eine Entwicklung gehabt haben' (Hdb., p. 29) is a view too often forgotten. Our scanty and scattered exemplars probably represent spontaneous developments at different times and in different directions, rather than *Urrunen* to be immediately related to any one ancient alphabet now extant. It will not do to run the runes to earth in the second century A.D. in one corner of the Germanic area. How should they spread to the farthest confines of that area and show divergent developments which can be comparatively related, unless they are an integral part of the common stock from which all Germanic dialects spring? The Greeks evolved their alphabet by adapting

the one used by the Phoenicians. In the course of many centuries a standard Greek alphabet took shape, although the development was never homogeneous. In fact, three groups can be distinguished in very early times, before Athens adopted the Ionic type and gave it universal currency; the Latin alphabet is an offshoot of another of these groups. The letter-system common to the whole Germanic family must surely spring from this parent stock.¹ Admittedly it is a case of arrested development, remaining at a primitive stage, crystallizing magic lore and practice. The prestige of the literary languages was too overwhelming for runic to develop through a stylized majuscule into a book-hand, throwing off cursives on the way. The adoption of letters by the Latians was a historical accident which had far-reaching consequences. There are good historical reasons for supposing that a similar accident was comparatively unproductive as far as the Germanic peoples were concerned, and its consequences therefore much more obscure. Considering the route by which letters penetrated into Western Europe, it seems probable that the Germanic would come into contact with them in the region of Northern Italy during the last century or two B.C. Investigators of the problem have lately been inclining to this origin. Arntz well summarizes a view put forward by Scandinavian scholars: 'Das Futhark spiegelt eine Phase in Kampf der römischen mit der keltoalpinen Kultur' (Hdb., p. 64). The inscription of the Negau helmet (II B.C.) aptly illustrates the thesis; for it has the Germanic words *harigasti teiwa* written in North-Etruscan letters.² Recent arguments for the origin of runes in the North Italian area have involved far-reaching hypotheses which are not entirely acceptable. In 1928, C. J. S. Marstrander published a

¹ The arguments put forward by L. F. A. Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift* (Berlin, 1887), p. 21 still hold good, and could hardly be better stated.

² See Hdb., pp. 51f., 78-80.

long and important article,¹ in which he stressed the features that runic has in common with Irish ogam, and sought to derive both from a primitive Celtic system. In order to connect the letter-forms with those of Alpine alphabets, he brought forward the Marcomanni as the Germanic adapters of the common Celtic source. H. Shetelig, who had already assigned a predominant part in the spread of early Germanic culture to the Marcomanni,² next applied his theory to the origin of runes.³ Further discussion of the epigraphic material by M. Hammarström⁴ demonstrated the kinship of runic with early North Italian alphabets. However these theories may be criticized in detail and in application, their basis remains sound: that runic is a collateral relative of the classical alphabets, not a borrowing from either.⁵

(To be continued).

¹ *Norsk Tidsskrift för Sprogvidenskap* i, 85-188.

² *Norges Forhistorie* (Oslo, 1925).

³ *Bergens Museums Aarbog*: hist-ant. rekke (1930), pp. 1-17.

⁴ *Studier i Nordisk Filologi* xx, no. 1 (1929).

⁵ The case for contact and development in Northern Italy has been most fully presented by Hammarström *op. cit.* But see von Friesen's criticism of detail (he also assails the basic position) in *Arkiv* xlvii, 80-133. Arntz takes this starting-point for an interesting thesis of his own, put forward in small compass without detailed argument (*Die Runenschrift*. Handbücherei der Deutschkunde ii, 1938).

THE FIRST THREE HANDS OF REYKJAHOLTS MÁLDAGI.

[To commemorate the death of Snorri Sturluson at Reykjaholt, 22 Sept., 1241].

By G. TURVILLE-PETRE.

IT is probably the first time that an early Icelandic manuscript has been studied from a graphological point of view. The manuscript, *Reykjaholts Máldagi* ("The Inventory of Reykjaholt"), is particularly well suited to graphological study because, in the space of 29 lines, it contains three different hands. It may be noted that Mrs. Elsner, on whose graphological observations the present paper is based, is unacquainted with the history and philology of medieval Iceland. Her conclusions are, therefore, drawn objectively and without prejudice.

Reykjaholts Máldagi enumerates certain possessions of the church of Reykjaholt in south-western Iceland. Since the 12th century Reykjaholt has been one of the most important and wealthy estates in all Iceland.¹ The first three hands of the manuscript may be dated approximately on paleographic and historical evidence. The first hand (A) has been assigned to the period 1178-1195. The second hand (B) may be dated, on historical evidence, between 1204 and 1208, and the third (C) may be dated 1224-1241.²

Hand A gives a list of landed property, livestock and fishing rights belonging to the church of Reykjaholt.

¹ For a general discussion of *Reykjaholts Máldagi* and its contents see: *Reykjaholts Máldagi*, ed. Björn Ólsen and J. Hoffory, Copenhagen, 1885. The volume includes a photographic reproduction of the MS.

² Cf. Björn Ólsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

Hand B states the value of some books, vestments and other chattels in the possession of the church. It adds that Magnús and his wife Hallfríðr present a crucifix and some pictures to the church. Hand B also states that Magnús and Snorri jointly present a shrine, containing holy relics, to the church of Reykjaholt. Hand C records, among other gifts to the church, some bells presented by Snorri and his mistress Hallveig.

Mrs. Elsner's graphological report on the hands A, B and C may be given in full:

This manuscript has the especial advantage of incorporating six hands in the short space of one page. The striking variety shown in these hands refutes the prejudice, widely entertained by graphologists, that only personal and informal documents are susceptible to analysis. Ludwig Klages, in his book *Handschrift und Charakter*,¹ clearly indicates that formal script may also be analysed.

The six different hands in this manuscript are:

- (A) a professional hand,
- (B) a very personal one,
- (C) a short notice of three lines, highly individual in form,
- (D) five lines in an elegant hand,
- (E) again a more professional hand,
- (F) a short notice.

Since the first three of these hands are of particular

¹ Ludwig Klages, *Handschrift und Charakter*, Leipzig, Barth 1929, p. 160: Man hat gemeint, deutungsergiebige Besonderheiten wiese nur die flüchtige Laufschrift auf. Das ist ein völliger Irrtum. Nicht darum ist die Laufschrift diagnostisch lohnender, weil sie Laufschrift ist, sondern weil die Loslösung der Einzelcharaktere vom zeitgeschichtlichen Gesamtcharakter Hand in Hand zu gehen pflegt mit der Zersetzung der Stile und demzufolge mit der Verdrängung auch der handschriftlichen Zierschrift durch eine blosse Zweck- und Verkehrsschrift. . . . dass persönliche Besonderheiten, sofern sie einmal da sind, in der *gestalteten* Handschrift nicht nur nicht weniger zur Erscheinung kommen als in der ungestalteten, sondern auch verstärkt und ausgelesen: nur dass es freilich eines wesentlich gemodelten Deutungsverfahrens bedarf, um auch im Dargestellten und bewusst Gestalteten ohne Abirrung zu erfassen den Ausdrucksgehalt.

interest for the subject of this paper, they may be studied in some detail.

A is the hand of a writer who wished merely to fulfil his duties as a scribe. His will-power was not weak, for he did his work reasonably well, in spite of an evidently slow mind and extremely lazy disposition. He was even-tempered and had very poor taste, but he did his best according to the ordinary rules of his time. His limited mind enjoyed material life and the trivial events of every day, food, drink and ordinary comforts.

B is a very personal hand, belonging to a broad-minded man. His lack of concern for the act of writing, and the frankness with which he simplifies give the impression of real distinction. He shows a strong sense of protection towards his fellow men. His simplicity is the result of long and deep experiences. His strong mind is not supported by good health. In this hand may be clearly seen the immense effort made to force an ailing body to fulfil its duty. But this man did not only suffer bodily. He must have lived through events and times which oppressed him and made him suffer deeply. Tolerance and personal modesty now dominate a character which, in full strength and health, would have been that of a temperamental and forceful man.

Hands A and B differ in a most marked way, though both of them are simple hands. A is simple because of lack of personality, B is simple because of sublimation of personality. While A is simple because of poverty of life, B is simple because of a self-controlled life. A, through respect for convention, does not dare to modify the accepted forms of the letters, while B simplifies as it were because of his humility and retiring disposition.¹

C. The period of this hand appears to have differed considerably from those of the other two, as is suggested

¹ Cf. L. Klages: *Handschrift und Charakter*, Leipzig, 1929, Ch. II *Doppeldeutigkeit und Formniveau*.

by new forms of letters and of abbreviations. C is written quickly and easily, by the hand of a man accustomed to write in accordance with his thoughts. The letters are formed very harmoniously and surely. The intelligence of this man must have been high, and a conspicuous urge for creation may be noticed. This hand shows a rich, warm nature sensitive to fine distinctions, an artistic nature, whose chief talents are poetical and musical. The writer was proud. He had a strong will-power, was passionate and certainly ambitious, though moderation softened every movement. He approached his aim very decidedly and directly, and did things with "élan," but always with a sense of finish, which made him choose diplomatic means. He had few new ideas, for his was a contemplative nature, but his deduction was quite good. His memory was especially remarkable, and was as strong as it was wide. He was thus able to remember things heard only once. Since he had an urge for creation, and was of an artistic nature, though not a genius, he was able to recognise values, and his interests were those of a collector. He also shows an interest in material wealth. The weak point in his character was a passion for intoxication. His love for the arts must have given him wonderful opportunities to forget everyday life. It must be pointed out that he also liked to lose himself in drink, and not infrequently.

If we attempt to identify the writers of the first three entries in *Reykjaholts Máldagi*, we naturally turn our attention to those who owned Reykjaholt during the period in question. Their private interests were directly concerned with the material welfare of the church. Between the years 1178 and 1241 there were three successive owners of Reykjaholt. The first two of these men were priests, and reading and writing were, therefore, an essential part of their training. The third, though a layman, was a scholar and a prolific author. If his

upbringing and his career are considered, it can hardly be doubted that he also knew how to write.

During the latter half of the 12th century the estate of Reykjaholt was held by the priest Páll, son of Sölvi, who lived there until his death in 1185. It may be assumed that the first entry in the *Reykjaholts Máldagi* was made while he was owner of the estate, or very shortly afterwards. The early Icelandic sources tell numerous stories of Páll's life, though few of them throw light on his character. It appears that, with Thorlákr the Saint and Abbot Ögmundur, Páll was selected as a candidate for the Bishopric of Skálholt in 1174. At that time he was known to be a very learned man, as well as a prominent landowner and farmer.¹ One of his contemporaries, Bishop Brandr Sæmundsson, spoke of Páll as an outstanding cleric (*dýrlegur kennimaðr*).² Páll was even-tempered and restrained. Though by no means grasping he was unwilling to surrender his lawful rights when pressed to do so by chieftains more powerful than he.³

The sagas describe Páll as unstinting in his generosity towards his friends. It is related that after Jón Loftsson had supported him in a law-suit Páll presented Jón with a magnificent ox. As if the precious beast alone were not a sufficient expression of thanks, Páll placed a golden ring on his horn before he was led away.⁴ Páll was of a peaceful and studious disposition and, like many other studious men, he was forgetful and absent-minded. Bishop Brandr once warned him of the ruthless nature of those who coveted his property, and advised him to go nowhere unarmed. But Páll was so unused to carrying arms that he often forgot to take his weapons with him when he went out of church, and left them lying in his pew.⁵ Páll was noted for his conviviality; several stories

¹ *Biskupa Sögur* I, 98.

² *Sturlunga Saga*, Reykjavík, 1908-15, I, 153.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 141, ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 155.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 153.

are told of lavish drinking parties at which he was host.¹ In spite of his good nature, his wisdom and his learning, Páll was in no sense a striking personality. More often he left his battles to be fought by others rather than by himself. His temperamental wife Thorbjörg played a notable, if indecorous part in combating those who were ill-disposed towards her husband.²

On his death in 1185, Páll was succeeded by his son Magnús. The sources tell us little about Magnús, nevertheless, they give some indication of his character. In his youth, it is said, he was a hearty fellow (*gildr maðr*). In a story relating to the year 1179 we hear of Magnús consorting with vagabonds (*einhleypingar*) and such lawless men.³ Magnús was ordained priest, and lived for some time at Helgafell. His wife was Hallfríðr, the granddaughter of Ari the Learned.⁴

Little else is heard of Magnús until the first decade of the 13th century. By that time his youthful vigour had left him, and he had fallen on evil days. *Sturlunga Saga*⁵ attributes his misfortunes to old age, but since he lived for another twenty years, it seems equally probable that they were due to ill health and to external causes. He now found himself in financial difficulties. As Magnús grew weaker Thórðr Bǫðvarsson and two other chieftains began to press legal claims against his estate. These claims were based on historical grounds of doubtful validity, but Magnús lacked the spirit to resist them effectively. The claims of Thórðr and the other two were bought up by Snorri, the son of Sturla of Hvammr. About the year 1206 Snorri prevailed upon Magnús to surrender Reykjaholt to himself. Snorri undertook, however, to allow Magnús and his wife to continue to live at Reykjaholt as lodgers, and to pay for the upbringing of their children.

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 152, 155.

² *Ibid.*, I, 148.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 145.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 155-6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 30.

When Snorri came to live at Reykjaholt, a new phase in its history began. While he owned it, it became a centre for profane, rather than for sacred studies. It also became the scene of political intrigue and of worldly luxury. Reykjaholt was equipped with a hot bathing pool, cunningly sheltered from the rude climate, and numerous luxurious feasts were held there. For some years its owner, Snorri Sturluson, was one of the most powerful and certainly the richest of all Icelandic chieftains. To describe his character in few words would be impossible, nevertheless, a few salient points may be mentioned. According to *Sturlunga Saga*,¹ Snorri was a most skilful man at everything to which he put his hand. He was an accomplished poet, and his opinion was the best, whatever the task might be. Snorri was somewhat fickle in his relations with women, and had children by several women other than his wife.² Snorri was a man of great financial ability. His mother had squandered his inheritance, and he started life penniless, yet before he was middle-aged he was by far the richest man in Iceland.³

At the present day, Snorri is remembered chiefly for his written work. He was primarily an historian, but he was also a student of mythology, folklore and poetics. Snorri's *Heimskringla*, in which he related the lives of the kings of Norway up to his own time, is still the basis for our knowledge of the early history of Norway. His *Edda* was intended, in the first place, to be a treatise on the art of poetry. It shows that its author was deeply learned in antiquity. He studied the form of early Scandinavian verse, and attempted to establish the metrical rules and conventions which had prevailed in Icelandic poetry since the island was first settled. Snorri's *Edda* is, however,

¹ *Ibid.*, II, 73.

² *Ibid.*, II, 31.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 127.

the work of an artist rather than that of a pedant. Those who read it may often feel that Snorri forgets his main theme in the beauty of the story which he has to tell and in the excellence of the style of his own prose. Like Gylfi, with whom the *Edda* opens, Snorri appears to be "hoodwinked" or "intoxicated" by the gods of half-forgotten Paganism.¹ Snorri's wide learning in the history and ancient traditions, both of Norway and of his own country, show that he was a man of exceptional memory. A good memory is important even for a modern historian. For an Icelandic historian, living in the 12th-13th centuries it was an essential, for books were comparatively few and hard to acquire, and the scholar had often to rely on stories which were told to him, and to remember what he had read in the books which passed through his hands. Snorri was an artistic compiler and a collector of traditions. He inherited many of the stories which he used from the dark ages of Germanic heathendom.

Snorri was not merely a scholar and a poet. He was also a practical and able politician. His relations with King Hákon of Norway and Earl Skúli show that he was an ambitious man. With the support of the Norwegian chiefs he planned to attain supreme power in his own country. Since there were many ambitious men in Iceland at that time, it was prudent for one who sought power to exercise moderation and restraint while pursuing his aims. In such qualities as these Snorri contrasts sharply with many chieftains of his time. Snorri's nephew, Sighvatr Sturluson, was in many ways a more attractive and picturesque figure than his uncle, and certainly more courageous, but his ruthlessness and lack of self-control brought him to an early death. *Sturlunga*

¹ Snorri Sturluson, *Edda*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1926: *Æsir váru því vísari, at þeir höfðu spádóm, ok sá þeir ferð hans fyrr en hann kom, ok gerðu í móti honum sjónhverfingar.*

Saga frequently relates instances in which Snorri appears as the peace-maker, restraining others from violence.¹ Though he lived in an age of violence, Snorri was generally diplomatic in his methods. Sometimes he intrigued, and left others to play the more active part.² Throughout his life, and even more clearly at the time of his death, Snorri shows that he was not by nature a soldier, and not physically brave.³

The graphological report states that the writer of hand C of the *Reykjaholts Máldagi* enjoyed not only the intoxication of poetry and legend, but also the cruder intoxication of alcohol. The age in which Snorri lived was an age of heavy drinking both in Iceland and Norway. *Sturlunga Saga* and other contemporary sources frequently tell stories of drinking parties which lasted three days or more. Snorri's son, Jón Murtr, received a mortal wound during a brawl in Norway.⁴ Sumptuous drinking parties were held at Reykjaholt in Snorri's day.⁵ Snorri is lavish in his praise of drink in his verses and in his prose. He describes it as "ancient waves of honey" (*gamlar hunangsöldur*), "the pure lakes of the horn" (*hreintjarnir horna*).⁶ Snorri expresses contempt for the dupe Gangleri, who suggests that Óðinn would invite the fallen warriors to Valhöll and offer them water to drink.⁷ Snorri appears to be an experienced drinker, for he remembers not only the pleasures of drink, but also the pains of reaction on the following day.⁸

¹ *Sturlunga Saga*, II, 257.

² *Ibid.*, II, 72, 165.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 350-1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 184f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 142-3.

⁶ Cf. Sigurður Nordal, *Snorri Sturluson*, Reykjavík, 1920, p. 83.

⁷ Snorri, *Edda*, Copenhagen, 1926, *Gylfaginning* ch. 38: *þá mælti Gangleri: Hvat hafja Einherjar at drykk, þat er þeim endisk jafnþógliga sem vistin, eða er þar vatn drukkitt? Þá segir Hárr: Undarlíga spyr þú nú, at Alfoðr mun bjóða til sín konungum eða jörlum eða öðrum ríkismönnum ok myni gefa þeim vatn at drekka. Ok þat veit trúa mín, at margr kemr sá til Valhallar, er dýrt myndi þykkjask kaupa vaxdrykkinn, ef eigi væri betra fagnaðar þangat at vitja, sá er áðr þolir sár ok sviða til banans.*

⁸ *Heimskringla*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1911, *Óláfs Saga Tryggv.*, ch. 43.

In conclusion it must be emphasised that the present paper is an experiment. It cannot be claimed that writers A and B were Páll and Magnús respectively. Nevertheless, the "slow mind and extremely lazy disposition" of A are not incongruous with the lack of initiative and the absent-mindedness of Páll. The ailing health and spiritual sufferings of writer B coincide remarkably closely with *Sturlunga's* record of Magnús during the last twenty years of his life. *Sturlunga* also makes it clear that Magnús had been a spirited man in his prime.

The graphological report of writer C is more remarkable than those of A and B. In the whole history of Iceland there are few characters in whom ambition, moderation and diplomacy were combined with supreme artistic and poetical gifts, and an almost phenomenal memory. It was qualities such as these, combined with a strong will-power, which made the historian, poet and diplomatist, Snorri Sturluson.

REVIEW.

THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH. Edited by Alistair Campbell. London: Heinemann, 1938, pp. xvi + 168, 10s. 6d.

Mr. Campbell's book serves a useful purpose in bringing together from widely-scattered sources much valuable material bearing on the battle fought at Brunanburh in 937 by King Æthelstan and his brother Edmund and their forces of West Saxons and Mercians against the Norsemen who with their allies had invaded this country. Mr. Campbell makes use of independent sources to identify the persons named in the poem but his exhaustive investigation of the value of *Egils Saga* has convinced him that this saga cannot be used as a source for the history of the warfare between Æthelstan and Anlaf, and on the much-debated, and perhaps insoluble, problem of the site of the battle he deliberately refrains from expressing an opinion, though he discusses some of the evidence and furnishes a number of useful references. His general bibliography (which does not profess to be more than a 'List of Works Used') is however far from being complete.

The fact that *The Battle of Brunanburh* has come down to us in four manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle makes it necessary for Mr. Campbell to discuss the historical and literary background of the Chronicle. Here he is on debatable ground, and it must be clearly stated that many of his statements are conjectures, though they are presented as facts. He accepts (p. 35) the theory that for the period with which he is concerned, namely the reigns of King Alfred and his immediate successors, the source of the Chronicle 'was in some way connected with the court of Wessex and the Ælfredian tradition of learning.' This, however plausible, is only a theory: the evidence which is frequently brought forward to support it (such as the fact that the Chronicle and King Alfred's translation of Orosius employ—in speaking of similar things—a similar vocabulary) is not sufficient to prove it. But Mr. Campbell goes on to assert that the work of 'the historians of the court' was 'sent to monasteries, just as the rendering of the *Cura Pastoralis* was sent.' Incidentally, although it is true that the rendering of the *Cura Pastoralis* was intended to be circulated, there is no reason to believe that the monasteries as such played any part in King Alfred's scheme for making this work known. The king's famous preface makes it clear that a copy of the book was to be sent to every episcopal see (*to ælcum biscepstole*) and that the bishops were to make it available for the clergy of their dioceses, for whom (and not for monks in their cloister) the translation was intended. Mr. Campbell does not produce any evidence for the existence of 'historians of the court' as individuals or as a body, and although there is reason to believe that the compilers of the various manuscripts of the Chronicle made use of 'official continuations' (produced perhaps under different conditions from one period to another), his statement that 'there was in the tenth century some central source *obliged* (the italics are mine) to send historical notes to the monasteries from time to time' does not carry conviction. But Mr. Campbell goes further and asserts that 'whoever compiled the first part of Con² (the annals covering the period 925-55) was not much interested in the campaigns of the age,' that 'the compiler of the second part of Con² (the annals 958-975) was still more meagre as a writer of history,'

and that the reviser of the second part of Con² 'was evidently no keener on historical writing than was the compiler of the earlier recension.' This is mere conjecture, for we do not know what material was available for the annals of these years at the time when this part of the Chronicle was compiled, and Mr. Campbell's supposition that those who were engaged upon the compilation of Con² took little interest in a task that was imposed upon them does not exhaust the possibilities.

The editor's investigation of the linguistic features of the four texts of the poem is thorough and competent, the notes are very full, and the metre is exhaustively treated. It is doubtful whether the emendation of *flotan* to *flotena* in the critical text (1.32) is actually necessary, seeing that both D and E in the annal for 979 read: *he wæs . . . mid micclum gefean Angelcynnes witan (witon) gehalgod to cyninge*. The genitive plural *witan* in -an (-on) supports the reading *flotan* and *Sc(e)otta* found in all the copies of the poem; *flotan* might therefore be retained.

F. E. HARMER.

The reviews of the following books have been held over and will be published in the next part of the *Saga-Book*:

Altgermanische Religions-geschichte, by J. de Vries.

Ijslands Volksgeloof, by P. C. M. Sluijter.

Scandinavian Archaeology, by H. Shetelig and H. Falk, translated by E. V. Gordon.

The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England, by C. E. Wright.

The Old Norwegian General Law of the Gulathing, edited by G. T. Flom.

Stories of the East Vikings, by G. Bie Ravndal.

The Edda of Asgard: a Drama in Nine Acts, by Ha Rollo.

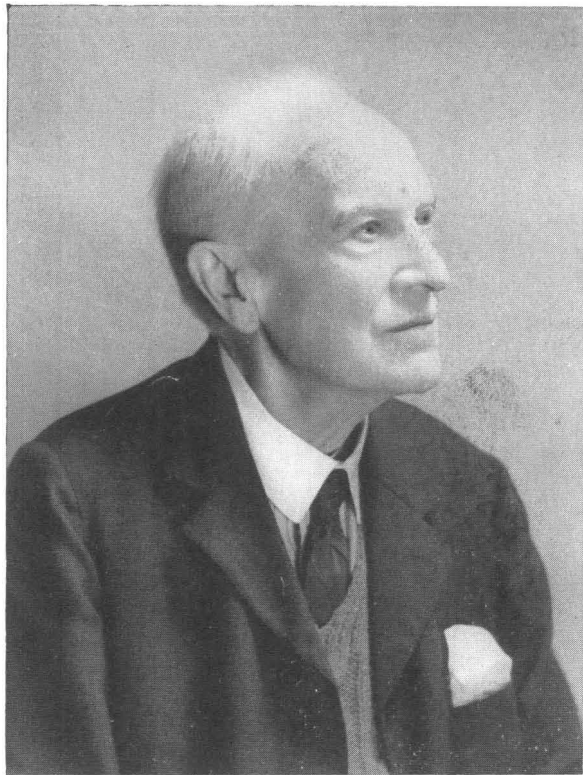
Stilbedeutung des Adjektivs im eddischen Heldenlied, by H. M. Heinrichs.



(Sinclair, Kirkwall).

1902

ALFRED W. JOHNSTON.



(Lisa, Welwyn Garden City).

1942

VIKING SOCIETY JUBILEE.

By DOROTHY WHITELOCK.

APRIL 5th, 1942, was the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Society and, though wartime conditions made impracticable any public celebration of this Jubilee, it is not fitting that the event should pass without mention in this year's issue of the *Saga-Book*. The event has been signalized in two ways: the Council, meeting in London on 30th May, 1941, nominated Mr. Alfred W. Johnston, the Founder of the Society, for election to the office of President for the Jubilee year, and he was unanimously elected by the Annual Meeting, held by plebiscite on 31st December, 1941; secondly, an appeal has been issued for contributions to a Jubilee fund to help to meet the increased cost of publications at a time when the Society, cut off from members in enemy-occupied territories, has found its income considerably reduced.

It is unnecessary to repeat here the history of the Society, sketched so ably by Professor Kemp Malone in 'The Viking Society: An Appreciation' in *Saga-Book* xi, 197-200, where reference is made also to other accounts. But it must be a rare thing for any society, on reaching its jubilee, to have its founder still with it, guiding its course and managing its affairs with undiminished interest and vigour. Reasons of space forbid a detailed account of all that Mr. Johnston, helped in the early years by his first wife, has done for the Society in the past. He was responsible not merely for initiating it in its small beginnings as *The Orkney, Shetland and Northern Society, or Viking Club*, but also for the wider conception of the union of all persons, no matter of what nationality,

interested in the history and literature of the North, which it afterwards became. At different times, he has served it in all its offices. Although he celebrated his eighty-third birthday on 25th September, he still keeps jealous guard over the Society's interests, conducts its routine business and, even in these days of reduced incomes, sometimes secures new members. Moreover, he continues to add to his contributions to the history of the North. This work has received recognition from various sources, for Mr. Johnston is a Knight of the Order of St. Olaf (1st Class), a Knight of the Order of the Icelandic Falcon and the recipient of a British Civil List pension for his services to Northern Research, as well as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries and a life member of the Icelandic Archaeological and Historical Society, Reykjavik. He is at present engaged on an edition of the Earldom Rentals of Shetland, for which he has received support from the Leverhulme Research Fellowships. It was in appreciation of his work for the Society that the Council nominated him for the presidency during the Jubilee year, and all members of the Society will wish to offer their good wishes to him and to Mrs. Johnston on this occasion and to hope that he may long continue to direct the fortunes of the Society.

The original aims of the Society were social as well as scholarly, and it is regrettable that, owing to the present exigencies, it has been found necessary to suspend its meetings. It is hoped to resume these at the first opportunity and meanwhile to continue publications.

RUNES AND THE GOTHIC ALPHABET.

(Concluded from Vol. XII, Part III).

By JOAN BLOMFIELD, M.A.

THE particular problem I have chosen does not belong to the ancient history of runes, but to the transformation of the runic system in the period VIII-XII. But without some reference to origins it would be impossible to envisage the lines of development and divergence taken by runic writing in the course of its association with the different Germanic dialects. Above all, I wished to stress the distinction in kind between the runic and alphabetic systems. The Gothic alphabet should be freed from its entanglement with the ancient history of runes. To be rightly interpreted, it needs to be connected with the runic and alphabetic studies of early medieval scholars, and compared with the hybrid systems they devised. In such an environment, the problem becomes mainly one of nomenclature.

The assumption that the Goths were the inventors of runes has been the chief reason for associating the Gothic alphabet with runic. Yet even those who reject von Friesen's theory of the runic basis of the Gothic script—Jellinek, for instance—believe in the existence of Gothic letter-names which are taken to represent runic nomenclature. The authority for these names is a treatise entitled *Orthogravia brevis*¹ in the Codex Salisburgensis (now Vienna Hofbibliothek 795). This is a collection of alphabetical material made at the end of VIII;² it includes a Greek alphabet with names, a Greek syllabary, and

¹ In the catalogue of 1443.

² See T. Sickel, 'Alcuinstudien,' in *Sitzungsber. der phil.-histor. Klasse der Kaiserl. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Wien, lxxix (1875). Sickel gives a detailed account of the MS., distinguishing many different hands.

three Gothic alphabets, the third having names.¹ The first two Gothic lists are in the native Gothic order, taken from Greek and embodied in the numeral system. The third, with the names, is arranged in the order of the Latin alphabet, the five symbols which do not correspond to any Latin letters being placed at the end. It is significant that the names are not associated with the traditional Gothic order, but with that of Latin, the medium for instruction in letters which was current among all Germanic peoples (outside Scandinavia) by the ninth century. Now Ullman, in an article on the Etruscan origin of the Roman alphabet and letter-names,² has argued that when a language has taken over an alien alphabet and preserved the order of the letters, this is proof positive that it was introduced from abecedaria accompanied by oral sounding of the letters or their names. Only in this way could 'a traditional and theoretical alphabet' containing redundant symbols survive intact; and in this way too, the successive modifications, and the replacement of useless symbols by arbitrary new ones, would be sanctioned and handed down in the mnemonic school-lists. It may well be that a process of this kind lies behind the Gothic alphabet, since it appears to have been formulated within the educational system of Byzantine Christianity.

Evidently there is some sort of Gothic tradition behind these names; the forms reflect—or imperfectly imitate—a sound-system that is certainly Gothic. But the mere fact that the names are attached to letters arranged after the *Latin* alphabet, suggests that it is a fragmentary or recast tradition. The forms of the letters confirm this suspicion. The Latin-order alphabet—alphabet c)—has not the epigraphic character of the *Codex Argenteus*

¹ Enumerated and discussed by von Grienberger: *P.B.B.* xxi, 185-224. He dates the MS. early X, but offers no support for his dating and does not refer to the elaborate discussion of Sickel published twenty years earlier.

² *Classical Philology* i, 372.

script; it is in the main a cursive alphabet. Alphabet a), an incomplete list of sixteen letters, approaches most nearly to the old type. Alphabet b), in Gothic order, vacillates between the old type and cursive forms found in some Gothic MSS.;¹ some forms from alphabet c) have been added.² Now the cursive forms of alphabet c) are on the whole not Gothic cursive, but resemble forms of Latin cursive which sometimes crop out in minuscule.³ Both letters and names of alphabet c) are far from Gothic as we know it. Earlier investigators treated them with some caution.⁴ Von Friesen also betrays some uncertainty, stating that the Gothic letters 'Namen der Runen tragen oder nach der Analogie dieser gebildete Namen.'⁵ But he begs a crucial question by printing the names beside the letter-forms of the Codex Argenteus. And, always on the assumption that the Goths were the inventors of runes, he reconstructs a list of original rune-names in Gothic, on the basis of these Cod. Sal. names: this in his latest work on the origin of runes, *Runorna* (*Nordisk Kultur* VI, 1933) p. 62.

It is surely time that this disastrous partnership should be broken up. The Cod. Sal. names have no claim to

¹ Notably, *s* like a *3* backwards, found in Codd. Ambros. 2 and 3, and in the charters; *b* and *r* with closed bow; *g* with a tail; *y* with oblique down-stroke. I take these forms from the plate in Gabelentz-Loebe, *Ulfilas*.

² See von Grienberger, *op. cit.* pp. 189-91.

³ Gothic cursive *s*—see note 1 above—does not appear; *r* and *b* are almost closed but of a different type from the forms of alphabet b); *g* has a tongue, not a tail, *y* a straight vertical stroke. Some odd forms are paralleled in the Latin cursives illustrated by E. M. Thompson, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, pp. 336-7 (II-VI cent.): *d* with oblique tail and open bow, *n*-like *h* with curtailed up-stroke, + for *x*. *R* is a half-uncial type; so apparently is *y*, which has beside it a minuscule form with closed bow, much like the exaggerated backward-curving form of Irish and archaic English script. The *e* is double-facing, probably reproducing *e* in ligature. *s* is angular, much like a *z*, and *f* has an alternative *r*-like form. Gothic *hw* is given in two open forms, a semicircular *u* with a dot, and a straggling *u* without dot.

⁴ Cf. Gabelentz-Loebe (*Grammatik*, 1846) § 16. 'Man wird nichts sicheres über jene Name sagen können als dass in ihnen ein germanische Element erkennbar sei.'

⁵ Got. Schr., p. 310.

represent runic nomenclature current among the Goths in IV. They do represent alphabet lore current among *some* Germanic people in VIII; and their connection with a dialect which was then, as far as we know, obsolete makes it probable that they are riddled with antiquarian confusions. As a source of runic nomenclature they are worthless. Yet there are obvious points of contact. If it were possible to analyse the overlay of sophistication, some relation might be established between these names and rune-names.

Whether or no genuine Gothic letter-names ever existed, the Cod. Sal. names belong to a Gothicized Latin alphabet. If they were ever part of a living Gothic tradition, the pattern is broken and the way laid open to distorting associations. It is impossible to connect them immediately with rune-names, for the essentials of a genuine runic tradition are: a) the fupark order, b) names which give sense as well as sound-value. The best surviving rune-lists are too late to preserve all their names as significant words. By comparing the Norse and English rune-names of the Runic Poems (Norwegian, Icelandic and Old English), it can be seen that some of these names have been altered in accordance with the vocabulary and sound-systems of the different languages, while in England they were subject to puns and etymological fancies.

Records of rune-names do not go back beyond VIII. In the succeeding centuries, ancient association with magic and poetry barely prevent their degenerating into a decorative script. The best English evidence comes from Cynewulf's runic signatures.¹ The attitude of this IX-century scholar and litterateur is typical; he regards runes as literary curiosities. The alphabet-fancier who compiled the *Orthogravias brevis* was scarcely more than a generation older than Cynewulf, and the names of MSS. S. John's College Oxford 17 and Cotton Domitian A. IX

¹ See K. Sisam, *Cynewulf and his Poetry* (British Academy, 1932), pp. 16-19.

do not rest on any better authority.¹ Runic poems, with their gnomic formulas, are better preservers of tradition; but here again we owe the recording of such matter to lovers of the curious. Genuine ancient tradition can only be recovered by comparing independent sources. The Icelandic and Norwegian evidence is the more reliable. Although the text of these Runic Poems is late—respectively XV and late XIII²—the northern tradition remained much longer immune from the interference of Latin scholarship. By such comparison, sixteen³ rune-names can be established.⁴ Even among these there are traces of scholastic sophistication in the English tradition, over and above the adjustments due to phonological divergence.⁵ Six more runes were in use in the North before the shorter *fupark* was adopted, and the Old English names of these may be accepted to represent Germanic tradition. All are significant words: *gifu*, *wyn*, *eoh*, *Ing*, *ēþel*, *dæg*. *Gifu* and *ēþel* embody characteristic Old English sound-changes, and the values of their runes (ON. [g], [o], OE. [ʒ], [oe] becoming [e]) vouch for continuity of development. The name *Ing* has a history reaching back beyond the colonization of England, and the remaining words are not confined to the English vocabulary. Two other runes, corresponding to nos. 13 and 14 of the English *fupark*, are usually reckoned as

¹ Both belong to XI. See below, pp. 216-7.

² See B. Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems*, pp. 6-9.

³ The divergent names *þorn/þyrs*, *cēn/kaun* and *sigel/sól* are discussed below; see pp. 217-9.

⁴ Danish rune-names are recorded in MS. Leiden lat. 4. 83 of X (see Hdb. p. 99) and in some later MSS., notably S. John's 17 (names first published by Wrenn). The names themselves tally with those of West Norse tradition, and are chiefly interesting for their archaic forms, which may have some bearings on the forms of English rune-names.

⁵ Rune 4 is interpreted as *óss* 'estuary' in the Norwegian Runic Poem, by contrast with *oss* (Icelandic Ru.P) and *ōs* (OE. Ru.P), which both preserve the meaning as well as the form of Gmc. **ansuz* 'god.' But in the OE. Ru.P. (l. 10. *ōs byþ orðfruma ælcra spræce*) there is evidently a pun on the two senses 'god' (Odin-Mercurius, originator of human arts) and 'mouth.' This would seem to be due to the influence of Latin *ōs*.

elements in the early Norse fupark. Neither is found in any northern inscription, although both appear in the Grumpan fupark, 3 only in the Vadstena fupark. For p Vadstena has a variant form of b, which would seem to be the natural adjustment; we may perhaps infer that p had no place in the runic usage of the North. Thus there is nothing to show that OE. *þeorð* represents an ancient Germanic name, nor can the word be interpreted from English sources. It may be significant that the OE. name *ih/eoh* for Rune 13 is cognate with ON. *ýr*, the name for Rune 15, ON. [R], a sound foreign to Old English. It is quite conceivable that the same name should be applied to unrelated sounds in different parts of the Germanic area. The Old English rune¹ seems to represent the initial sound of Gmc. **ihwaz*; but runic nomenclature was not altogether acrophonic²—witness *Ing*—and the same name might equally well represent the consonantal element surviving the characteristic ON. sound changes; i.e. [R] from Gmc. [z]. There is no need to consider the remaining nine names of the Old English fupark at this point, since they belong to the additional English runes.

It cannot be doubted that rune-names were a part of the earliest distinctively Germanic culture, an expression of the most primitive ideas about the use and power of written symbols. They may be envisaged as first of all embodying ancient cult-formulas and preserving, as elements of the Germanic vocabulary, the archaic associations more easily discarded by the runes themselves. But besides this independent life of their own,

¹ The value given in Cod. Sal. is *i&h*. This accords with its use both as palatal *h* (i.e., before *t* in Ruthwell *alme3ttig*, Urswick *toro3tredæ*) and as palatal vowel, commonly associated with loss of spirantal quality (Thornhill *eate3nne*, Brunswick *hæl3g*, Dover *g3slheard*), but also for *i* in other positions (Brunswick *h3ræ*). In MS. S. John's 17 the rune is given as one of the variants of *hægel* and is so named.

² See E. V. Gordon, *Introduction to Old Norse*, p. 237, where it is suggested that this was a late tendency.

they form an essential part of the runic system, and follow a twofold development seen in inscriptions and records of runes. On the one hand, runes degenerate in cryptic and magic usage; this predominantly in the isolated North, the distinction becoming more marked as Christianity spread among the southerly Germanic peoples. On the other hand, they undergo a gradual assimilation to the alphabet series of Greco-Latin civilisation, beginning in those areas where Christianity first became an integral part of Germanic culture. Runes used as ideographs are especially frequent in the North. Undoubtedly the best information about the ideographic use of runes is to be found in Old Norse literature (particularly *Sigrdrífumál* st. 4-7, *Skírnismál* st. 36). With this bias, runes spread and flourished in the pagan North.

Meanwhile runes fell into disrepute on the Continent as Christianity advanced. The prestige of the Roman monumental script was overwhelming. Only on the North Sea coast are bracteates and knives bearing runic inscriptions found in abundance well into VI. The settlement of Britain caused a fresh outcrop in the development of runes. Here a people with strong northern traditions, maintaining open connection with the North, rapidly assimilated southern culture and took up a key position in the field of European scholarship. At this time the runic and alphabetic systems are sharply confronted, and scholarly curiosity—a very different matter from the lore of the *galdramaðr*—produces collections and compilations of strange letters, as well as hybrid alphabets and name-series. The *fupark* was being adapted to Anglo-Frisian phonology before the colonization of Britain.¹ But, on the evidence of English runes, this process was overtaken and distorted by the rapid adoption of bookhand and Latin orthography; a

¹ See *Runenschr.*, p. 24.

hybrid runic alphabet takes shape, and only the most deeply-rooted runic traditions withstand the disturbance.

All records of Old English runic nomenclature—apart from the Runic Poem now known only from Hickes¹—have been extracted from manuscripts of miscellaneous alphabetic lore of the period VIII-XII, offering material sophisticated in varying degrees.² The OE. *fupark* is generally accompanied by letter-values or names, or both. Scandinavian *fuparks* are sometimes found. But the bulk of this material consists of rune-series, the symbols distorted by elaboration and by contamination with other forms of cryptic writing, arranged in the order of the Latin alphabet. Letter-names are often attached, and these, in spite of remarkable distortions, evidently derive to some extent from runic nomenclature. It is not surprising that Germanic-speaking peoples should try to supplement the characterless phonetic names of the Latin letters³ by drawing on their native system of letter-names, which still retained the shape and traditionally had the significance of words. In so doing, they incidentally brought the remains of ancient runic nomenclature within the sphere of literature and scholarship—a foreign sphere in which it rapidly disintegrated.

The *fupark* then survives in these collections as an early stratum soon overlaid and confused by later material. The OE. *fupark* is found separate and uncontaminated, together with values and names, in three manuscripts: Cod. Sal.,⁴ Brussels Isidore 155 (IX),⁵ Cotton Domitian A. IX (this page in an XI-century hand).⁶ Two *fuparks*

¹ Hickes I, 135.

² Reproduced indiscriminately by Stephens, I, 100-133.

³ See W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 444-7; Hammarström, *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae* xlix, p. 2. The only notable attempt to attach significance to these names appears to be the *Technopaegnion* of Ausonius (Schulze, p. 450).

⁴ Reproduced by Wimmer, *Runenschrift*, p. 85 and Hbd. p. 145.

⁵ See Mone, *Quellen u. Forschungen* i, taf. 1 (lithograph) and Grimm, *Ueber Deutsche Runen*, tab. 2.

⁶ Hempl gives a photograph in *Modern Philology* i, 135. On the date, see Wrenn, *Medium Aevum* i, 24 and C. E. Wright, *ibid.* v, 149.

appear side by side with various alphabetical series in each of the MSS. Cotton Galba A. II and S. John's College Oxford 17.¹ In each case one fupark has names only and the other values only. The letter-forms show that both manuscripts have drawn on the same source, although they do not reproduce it identically.

It is now necessary to enquire how far the Old English rune-names in these documents preserve traditional Germanic nomenclature, and by what means names have been found for the specifically English adaptations of the fupark. In this way we may hope to form some idea of the principles of letter-naming recognized by Englishmen in the period VI-IX; while the attempts to apply such names to the Latin alphabet should reveal something of further developments in IX and later.

The Old English names of Runes 1, 2, 4, 5, 7-12, 18-24 correspond with Old Norse names, or, where these are lacking, show normal development of a significant Germanic word:² *feoh*, *ūr*, *ōs*, *rād*, *gifu*, *wyn*, *hægel*, *nȳd*, *īs*, *gear*, *beorc*, *eoh*, *mann*, *lagu*, *Ing*, *dæg*, *ēþel*. Rune 13 is named *eoh* in Ru.P. (*ih* Isid., Cod. Sal; *eth* G ii, *ech* S.J. i beside a variant form of 3), and this appears to be an old divergence in the Scandinavian and Anglo-Frisian adaptations of Germanic rune-names.³ There are four names in which the two traditions do not agree. The name for Rune 3 is OE. *þorn*, ON. *þyrs*. This appears to

¹ Galba A. II is now known only from the reproduction in Hickes, III. tab. vi, where seven different series—including English and Norse fuparks as well as alphabets—are given. These are here cited in Hickes' order: i.e. the fuparks G. ii and iv, and the alphabets G v and vi will be discussed. For a description of S. John's 17, see Wrenn *loc. cit.*, pp. 24-34. Six series are reproduced in Hickes, III. tab. ii, nos. 6-11. The fuparks here discussed are numbered S.J. i (H. 10) and iv (H. 9), the alphabets S.J. ii (H. 8) and iii (H. 11). Hickes does not give the names of S.J. i; these were first published by Wrenn. The two fuparks have been arranged as alphabets on Hickes' plate. I have examined the MS., but under war conditions it has not been possible to check my transcript.

² See above p. 213.

³ See above p. 214 and note 1.

be a case of alteration rather than divergence, and the Old Norse name, with its heathen associations, has the stronger claim to antiquity. The Old English symbol was early taken into book-hand, and in this function it may perhaps have received a new name describing its spiky outline. The Old English name of Rune 16 is *sigel* in Ru.P. (so Dom., S.J. i; *sigil* Isid., so Cod. Sal., by correction from *sygel*), corresponding in meaning but not in form to ON. *sól*. It has been suggested that the use of *sigel* as an archaic and poetical word for 'sun' originates, in part at least, by semantic blending with the jewel-words *sigel*, *sigle* from Lat. *Sigillum*.¹ Here again, the Old Norse name seems to be closer to ancient runic nomenclature. The name of Rune 17 is variously given in Old English as *tī* (Isid., Cod. Sal.), *tīr* (Ru.P., Dom., G ii), *tyr* (S.J. i). The last possibly shows the influence of the Old Norse name *Týr*. *Tī* is the phonologically regular nom. sg. from Gmc. **tiwaz*, later ousted by *Tīw* with *-w* from inflected forms.² *Tīr*, on the other hand, is the common poetic word for 'glory,' drawn in by sense-association or by deliberate punning. This appears to be another instance of the trends in Old English runic nomenclature which produced *sigel* and the ambiguous *ōs*. The last of this group, O.E. *cēn* (glossed *coen* in S.J. i) for Rune 6 is a much more difficult problem.³ It has no place in the English vocabulary, except in Ru.P., where it could be interpreted as 'torch'; this suggests relationship with OHG. *kien* of similar meaning. There can be no connection in form or meaning with ON. *kaun*, 'swelling, ulcer.' *Cēn* might however be taken as an arbitrary adaptation of the Old Norse name, on the analogy *nauðr*=Angl. *nēd*. The sense of the word in Ru.P. may well be derived from a different source. Fantastic as this suggestion may

¹ See J. R. R. Tolkien, *Med. Aev.* iii, 95-106.

² See Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, § 247 anm. 2.

³ Elaborately discussed by von Grienberger, *P.B.B.* xxi, 206-7.

appear, the Old Norse influence on English runic nomenclature should not be underrated. There is some reason to suppose that runes had acquired a specifically Scandinavian flavour at this time, as being part of the vigorous pagan tradition of the North, so sharply distinguished from the Christian culture of England. The Danelaw settlements very likely fostered and spread such associations. Some contact there must have been between the Scandinavian and English fuparks, since they quite often appear side by side in the same manuscripts. The *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* of MS. S. Gall 878 (IX),¹ is a good example of the extra-dialectal character of runic studies, where Scandinavian and English elements tend to intermix.²

Two distinct stages can be observed in the English extension of the fupark. At first, the Anglo-Frisian runes 25 and 26 are followed by Runes 28 and 27. These four runes conclude the fupark of the Thames knife, and are found in this order among the extra runes of the manuscript fuparks (except that in Cod. Sal. the last two exchange positions). The first two only have names known to us as part of the Old English vocabulary—*āc* and *æsc*. These two perhaps reflect a phase of letter-nomenclature fully worked out in the Ogom system, where

¹ On the variety of dialects which might be detected in these names, see van der Leyen, *Beiträge zur Runenkunde u. nordische Sprachwissenschaft* (1938), pp. 103-5.

² There seems to be some possibility of Scandinavian influence in some of the names for the 'extra' English runes. The name *ȝr* for Rune 28 is the same as the Old Norse name for the rune expressing [R], a sound unknown to Old English. The sense of Ru.P. would fit the sense 'bow.' The form is probably phonetic in origin (see below), the sense only being supplied by borrowing. Perhaps *iar* should be placed in the same category, as Keller has suggested (*Anglia* N.F. xlvi, 148-9). In this case the form (Rune 12, second variant) could be identified with a form of the A-rune appearing in Scandinavia, VIII-IX. But the equation of *iar* with ON. **jár* (becoming *ár* c. 700) seems impossible, unless one could suppose that an initial diphthong survived in an Anglo-Scandinavian dialect. Moreover, the form of the name is by no means certain: Hickes' reproduction of Ru.P. has *iar*, so also Isid. *iar/ger*, but the form of Dom. and Galba ii is *ior*.

there is a complete series of tree-names. The relation of Ogom to the runes is still very obscure, but the Irish system probably owes much to runic usage.¹ The names of Runes 27 and 28, values [ea] and [y], seem to be purely phonetic. That is to say, *ȳr* gives the mutated form of *ūr*, expressing the relationship of [y] to [u]. *Ear* is formed on the same model, and so too is the name of Rune 29, included in Ru.P. and found among the extras of Dom. and G ii; this *iar/ior* represents standard OE. [io] or [ia]. None of these vowel-names has any known meaning, apart from that devised by the inscrutable etymological methods of the author of Ru.P. A further stage is the representation of the consonant sounds named *calc*, *cweorð*, *stān* and *gār*.² The first two appear in S.J. i,³ G ii and Dom.⁴

Among these extra symbols, only the first three can be regarded as essential modifications of the traditional runic system. Anglo-Frisian fronting had split the old value of Rune 4 and so dislodged the rune from its original position. A rounded [y] equally distinct from the values of both i and u required representation. The remaining symbols represent characteristic OE. phonemes, named on the acrophonetic principle. The meaning of *cweorð* is obscure, and its relationship to the equally obscure *peorð* (Rune 14) will be discussed with reference to the nomenclature of the runic alphabets. The same source will provide some material for the interpretation of *eolhx* (Rune 15). These runic alphabets spring from the

¹ Hbd. pp. 291-3.

² All these are used in inscriptions as well as in MSS., the rarest being *st*, which is found in the Westeremden inscription only (see J. M. Kapteyn, P.B.B. xlvii, 160-226).

³ But the scribe has shuffled the fupark order, and has grouped as variants runes which had distinct values. Thus *gār* and *gēar* follow *geofu* and receive the same name; *eoh* follows *hægel* and is so named; *mann* precedes *dæg* and is so named.

⁴ But a second scribe has subpuncted *calc*, adding a reversed form of the rune at the end and writing the name above it; he also adds *cur* above the rune which the first scribe named *cweorð*.

same antiquarian labours which put the fupark and its names on record, and we may therefore expect to find evidence of contact between the two systems.

Runic alphabets occur in manuscripts of IX onwards:

(a) English manuscripts:

Bodley Auct. F. iv. 32 (IX)¹ alphabet of Nemnivus, with values and names.

Capitular Library Exeter (Hrabanus Maurus *De Computo*) (X-XI)² alphabets i, ii, iii.

Cotton Galba A. II (XI)³ alphabets v, without values, and vi, with values.

S. John's College Oxford 17 (early XII)³ alphabets ii and iii, corresponding to G. i and vi.

MS. of Sir Thomas Phillips (*Mappae Clavicula*) (XII)⁴ alphabets i, with names and values, and ii, with values.

Cotton Titus D. XVIII (1350-1400)⁵ alphabets i, ii, iii.

Several of these manuscripts have drawn on identical or similar sources. Tit. D. XVIII is indeed of little value, since alphabet i is that of MS. Paris 5239 (see below, under b), alphabet ii is the Nemnivus series, while the runes of alphabet iii, not elsewhere found, are of the Norse type. G. vi and S.J. iii reproduce the Nemnivus alphabet with but slight variations. G. v and S.J. ii are substantially the same series, with small differences of form and arrangement. This alphabet has many variant letters, and the forms suggest that it may be derived from the fupark G. ii. Values are lacking; in the case of S.J. ii, Hickes draws attention to this in a note. The values

¹ Hickes I, 168. It is dated 817 A.D. by W. M. Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*, p. 7. See also Hearne, *Ectypa Varia* (1737).

² Hickes, III, tab. ii. 5.

³ See above p. 217, note 1.

⁴ See *Archaeologia* xxxii (1847), 183-244. This MS. includes a Greek alphabet with names and values.

⁵ Stephens, I, 112-13. A late compilation of little value; see Wrenn, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30-1. Wrenn states that Stephens has ignored alphabet iii (f. 6 v), but this series is given as No. 54 (Stephens, I, 113), together with the heading 'Runes.'

added to G. v are in an XVIII-century script, quite distinct from the Anglo-Saxon script reproduced on the same plate.

(b) Continental manuscripts.

German scholars have used the generic term 'die Hrabanischen Alphabete';¹ after the representative example in the *De Inventione Linguarum* of Hrabanus Maurus (Opera, Cöln 1628, VI, 334).²

S. Gall 270 (IX)³ alphabet and fupark with names.

a Tegernsee MS. now at Munich (IX or X).⁴

Berne 207 (IX-X)⁵ has a second separate list of alphabet names and a fupark.

Vienna 1761 (X-XI).⁶

Vienna 1609.⁶

Vatican Urbino 290 (X-XI)⁷ alphabet, and fupark with names.

Munich 14436 (date ?)⁸ alphabets i and ii.

Paris 5239 (IX).⁹

Vatican Bibl. Christin. 338 (date ?).¹⁰

For the present purpose, the interest of the runic alphabets lies in the adaptations they make in identifying runes with letters of the Latin alphabet, and in particular in the application of runic names. Beneath much fanciful extravagance, something can be discerned of the

¹ They are discussed by von Grienberger in *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* xv (1899), 1-40. I have relied on von Grienberger's descriptions and the reproductions indicated by him. Two of the MSS. have an English fupark, but I do not consider these sufficiently authentic to be included among the primary authorities.

² Reproduced by Stephens, I, 104 and W. Grimm, *Ueber Deutsche Runen* (1821), tab. 1.

³ Stephens, I, 102, 107. Grimm, *op. cit.*, tab. 2.

⁴ Stephens, I, 106.

⁵ See F. Losch and W. Hagen, *Germania* xxx, 287-306.

⁶ Stephens, III, 13. The alphabets of both these MSS. are closely related; see Massmann, *Germania* xvi, 256-8.

⁷ See Massmann, *loc. cit.*, 253-6. Stephens III, 11-12.

⁸ Stephens I, 109-10.

⁹ Stephens I, 111.

¹⁰ Stephens I, 106-7.

state in which the fupark and its names had come down. But it is necessary to insist once more that the recording of the fupark as such cannot be separated in time from the composing of runic alphabets, although it is clearly an early phase of this particular scholastic activity. Consequently, English runes and rune-names bear considerable traces of their association with Latin letters.

The name-series here considered are for the most part taken from the material published by von Grienberger in his article 'Die angelsächsischen runenreihen und die s.g. Hrabanischen Alphabete.'¹ Some of them have been further studied by H. Harders.² Harders suggests that runic names have been deliberately distorted by a rough-and-ready system of cipher.

He applies his theory with remarkable success to the extraordinary names of the Nemnivus alphabet. The names are written thus:

alar. braut. cusil. dextru. egui. fich. guichr. hūil. iechua. kain. louber. mūin. nihn. or. parth. quith. rat. surg. traug. uir. xiel. oyr. zeirc.

By transposing the letters, Harders produces the following series:

ac, berc, chen, dorn, ehū, fihu, gibu, hagel, is, kar, lagu, man, not, otīl, perth, quir, rat, sigil, tac, ur, elx, yr, ziu. The letters not used in these names can be arranged to form *crux auri*³ and the OGH. sentence *ih iuuīh irru* 'I lead you astray.'

These forms accord well with the runo-alphabetic names as given by Continental scribes, and the comment seems appropriate. Although the method of interpretation leaves considerable margin for error and does not apply convincingly to all the name-series examined

¹ See above, p. 222, n. 1.

² *Archiv* clxiii, 189-90. The version used is that of Tit. D. XVIII.

³ Or *crux aurea*, reading *hagil, kur* instead of *hagel, kar*. This uses all the letters, including the *u* which Harders failed to fit in.

by Harders, it is thoroughly in keeping with the mystification practised in these letter-studies,¹ and is clearly the clue to this particular tangle.

From the point of view of their relation to the fupark, the most outstanding feature of the runic alphabets is the manner of supplying the last three letters. In general, the values *x*, *y*, *z* are expressed by more or less mangled forms of the runes *eolhx*, *yr* and *ear* (the last rune of the first extension of the fupark). The name attached to *x* is a recognizable corruption of *eolhx* (*ilih*, *halach*, *helach* etc.),² and the runic name is also perceptible in the forms for *y* (*yir*, *huyri*, etc.). But Rune 27 is generally named *ziu*³ (except in Vatic. Bibl. Christin. where Rune 33, *gaar*, is given for *z*). The form *ziu* adequately expresses the value of *z*, although there is no record of it among Latin letter-names. Two manuscripts add, with the rubric *supersū*, or *supersunt istae*, other runes not utilized for the alphabet: Map. Cl. i has minuscule *z* followed by Runes 22 and 3, Hr. M. Exon. has *Z* followed by Runes 22, 3 and 26. There was undoubtedly a tendency to use the signs that were 'extra' from an alphabetic point of view as tachygraphs. It can be seen in S.J. iii (alphabet) and iv (fupark), in G iv (fupark) and vi (alphabet), as also in the alphabet of Nemnivus. Something of the same kind is found among the runic scribbles on fol. 2 of the Ormulum MS.⁴ Such vagaries at least give us some clue

¹ Cf. part of the heading to the alphabet of MS. Vienna 1609: *In istis adhuc litteris fallimur et in aliquibus vitium agemus quos emendate*. Cf. also the cipher of MS. S. John's 17, printed by Wrenn, *loc. cit.*, p. 34. It is interesting that a note in MS. Vienna, 1761, describing various kinds of secret writing, refers one to an English source: . . . *fertur quod sanctus Bonifacius archiepiscopus ac martyr de angulsaxis veniens hoc antecessoribus nostris demonstraret, quod tamen non ab illo imprimis coeptum est, sed ab antiquis istius modi usus creuisse comperimur*.

² The method of 'deciphering' proposed by Harders would produce forms much nearer to *eolhx/ilcx*. So too with the name for *y*.

³ In MS. Berne 207 the fupark name *ear* is retained and no value is given; but the rune occupies the position of *z*. Conversely, *z* is the value given to Rune 27 in the fuparks of S. Gall 270 and Vatic. Urban.

⁴ See Hickes II, tab. ii.

to the kind of treatment that runes were undergoing as they came more and more under the influence of the book-alphabet.

The choice of runes to represent x , y and z points to developments within the Old English futhorc, since none of these values had traditionally been expressed in runes. The case of y is straightforward; an appropriate rune had appeared among the earliest English additions to the futhorc. Z has no connection with the value of Rune 27, but the association may be of another kind. This rune is the last of the early stage of the English extension: it stands last in the futhorc of the Thames knife, of MSS. S. Gall and Vatic. Urbin., while Ru.P. ends with *ear*; only Cod. Sal. changes its position by putting y in the last place. Thus it corresponds to z simply by position, being the last letter of the series. The word *ear* in Ru.P. has never been explained; but if it means 'the end' the description given is entirely appropriate. The equation of Rune 15 with x remains a puzzle. The name appears to be Prim. OE. **ilhs*: *ilcx* Cod. Sal., *ilix* Isid., *eolhx* G ii, *ilx* S.J. i, *elux* S. Gall.¹ This name has no meaning. In Ru.P. it is interpreted by alteration of the form to *eolhsecc*, i.e. *eolhsecg*, corresponding to the glossary-word *ilugsegg/ilugseg* (Epinal-Erfurt 781) and *eolxsecg* (in a tenth-century glossary: Wright-Wülker 271, 21) which means some kind of rush. The value does not correspond in any way to ON. [R] from Gmc. [z], nor can **ilhs* be connected with Gmc. **ihwaz*, the antecedent form of ON. *ýr*. Thus neither value nor name can be referred to a divergence in early Germanic tradition. On the other hand, the rune is used in the value x in an early inscription: in the contraction *ihs xps* on S. Cuthbert's coffin, taken to be the original of 698. The value *l&x* of Cod. Sal. accords quite properly with the insoluble name.² Apart from

¹ In Dom. it is unnamed, but the second scribe writes *iolx* over Rune 31, cancelling the correct name *calc* and value *k*.

² Isid. has *il*.

this isolated example of ancient tradition, the value of Rune 15 is *x*. In the S. Gall fupark the rune itself has been replaced by the Roman capital X, value *x*, name *elux*. The fupark of Vatic. Urbin. substitutes the Latin name *hix*,¹ giving the value *x* and a rune-form with peculiar elaborations (this fupark is very unreliable, but Rune 15 is in the right position). It appears to be an old rune which had become obsolete, together with its value and name. The name, however, offered a point of contact with Latin *x*, identified in book-hand with the Old English consonant-group *hs*, and the rune was revived in this value.

The influence of the book-alphabet is much clearer in the case of Rune 30. This rune seems to owe its name, *cweorð*, and one of its forms to Latin *q*. There is no reason to suppose that the name is ancient. It is not even included in Ru.P., nor is it found among Germanic rune-names. In the English fupark the rune is placed among the additions after *ear*. The form of Dom. has the value *q* and is named *cweorð*. G ii has the same name (*querð*), but the form here is a variant which I will call *2a* (see plate). S.J. i has three forms named *peorð*, all variants of the p-rune, and three named *quar*: the first of these may be classified *2b*, the third is a tailed variant of form 1, the second is intermediate between the two. Form 3, the usual one of the runic alphabets, is simply the minuscule *q*. It is rounded in Vienna 1761, Hr. M. Cöln, Paris, Vatic. Urbin., and Tit. D. XVIII, angular in S. Gall (the form of Paris, with widely curving and almost closed bow is particularly close to minuscule; Munich i has a reversed angular form). Form 2 is obviously parallel to the p-rune, and is in fact often confused with it.² Thus, in the fupark of S. Gall the forms of p and q

¹ Aelfric gives *ix* as the name of *x*; see Zupitza, *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, p. 6.

² The same confusion appears in Munich ii—Rune 14 with value *q*, Form 2b of Rune 30 with value *p*—whereas Munich i has Rune 14 for *v* and a reversed angular variant of Form 3 for *q*.

are interchanged; the rune given the value *q* is placed between Runes 26 and 27 and is named *yur*. The alphabet of the same manuscript attributes the value *p* to form 2a of *q* as well as to *p*, while *q* is represented by Form 3. So we have, in addition to the proper runic form, a second form based on Rune 14 and a third wholly assimilated to book-hand. The name is even more clearly based on that of *p*. Whether or no it has any roots in Germanic tradition, the *p*-rune has a place in the English fupark and is described in Ru.P. *Cweorð* is a purely phonetic variant arising from the sequence *p, q* in the Latin alphabet, and this association with book-hand alters the rune-form itself.

If this is a plausible explanation of the name *cweorð*, it must be referred to an early stage in the influence of the alphabet on the fupark. For *cweorð* appears only in the fuparks (Dom., G ii) and in Ru.P. In the runic alphabets it is superseded by other names. One of these, *qur* Munich ii/*quor* Munich i is found also in the fuparks: *quar* S.J. i *qur* S. Gall, *rur*? Vatic. Urbin.; in Dom. the second scribe has added *cur* above the rune named *cweorð* by scribe 1.¹ In runic alphabets only, the symbol is sometimes named *chon* (Vienna 1761 and 1609, Hr. M. Cöln, Paris, Vatic. Urbin.) or *qhon* (Tit. D. XVIII). Now the use of this name suggests some confusion with Rune 6, named *cen* in the fuparks and in some runic alphabets (Map. Cl., Tegernsee, Vatic. Bibl. Christin, Tit. D. XVIII). A variant is *chen* (Vienna 1761 and 1609, Hr. M. Cöln, Berne; *ché* Paris), and nearer still to the name of Rune 30 is *con* Munich ii/*caon* Munich i; Vatic. Urbin. distinguishes between Runes 6 and 30 in form, but names both *chon*, while Tegernsee gives Rune 6, name *cen* in both positions. This confusion must surely be attributed to

¹ This suggests that the name may originate in a tachygraph: Rune 30 (*q*)=*cur*. Cf. the same scribe's attribution of *et* to Rune 33.

Latin orthography, where *c* and *q* commonly interchange as graphic variants.¹

Enough has been said to indicate the main trends of these obscure and difficult alphabetic matters, in so far as they impinge on the study of runes. It is this phase of Anglo-Saxon scholarship that provides the setting in which the 'Gothic' letter-names must be considered. For in England a vigorous strain of Germanic tradition (with strong northern elements, and in living contact with Scandinavia) united with the main current of European learning. Moreover, the Alcuin material of Cod. Sal. brings the *Orthografia Brevis* within the sphere of English scholarship—if it is not to be actually reckoned part of the educational work of Alcuin himself. Instead of regarding the contents of fol. 20 of this document as primarily Gothic, or (with still less justification) as runic, we should seek to relate them to the activities of an eighth-century alphabet-fancier. The names must be interpreted in much the same fashion as those of the runic alphabets: as being extra-dialectal, because of their mixed origin—English, Norse, and the jargon of Latin grammar—and shaped in differing degrees by the orthographic training of Continental scribes. This much at least can be postulated: that whoever recorded these names had knowledge of a) the equivalence between Gothic and Latin letters, b) runic nomenclature, or more probably pseudo-runic nomenclature already applied to the Latin alphabet.

The first point is self-evident. Reference has already been made to the distinction between the Gothic order and ductus of alphabet a), the Latinized order and ductus of alphabet c). It should be observed that the orthographic notes on the same page are in the ductus of alphabet a).²

¹ Probably the peculiar orthography of Irish scribes. For examples, see *The Antiphonary of Bangor* (Henry Bradshaw Soc. iv) p. 24; *The Stowe Missal* II (H.B.S. xxxii) pp. xviii, xx; *M.G.H. Poetae* III, 795 f. and the references there given.

² See von Grienberger, *P.B.B.* xxi, 192.

The writer understood enough of Gothic to equate Gothic *u* with *u/o* representing a short vowel; cf. his transcriptions of *uuortun*, *otan*. He also attempted to express the relation between Gothic *j* and *g* in terms of Latin orthography: *ubi dicit genuit j ponitur, ubi gabriel g ponunt et alia his sīm*. The confusion caused by this definition is seen by his transcribing *jah* now as *gah*, now as *ia*. The specifically Gothic features of alphabet c) are slighter still. Apart from the letter-forms, modified considerably in the direction of Latin minuscule, the Gothicism here consists in the identification of Gothic *u* with *o*, and in the two extra symbols at the end. The very distinction laid down in the orthographic note between Gothic *j* and *g* is reversed, if the names beginning respectively in *ga* and *ge* can be taken as evidence.

The issue becomes clearer as soon as we envisage the relation of the name-series to alphabet c) as that of the fupark-names to the runic alphabet. One might even recognize in these names the current runo-alphabetic series, distorted by yet another cipher, in this case so as to give a flavour of Gothic morphology (cf. the free use of *a* and final *z*). Perhaps a zealous scholar was doing for Gothic what 'Nemnivus' is reputed to have done for Old Welsh,¹ and by the same method—by mangling the runic alphabet. The usual tricks may be detected.² Some names are barely, or not at all disguised:³ *bercna*, *iiz*, *manna*, *sugil*. Others are wrapped in grotesque and exotic forms:⁴ *eyz* (= *eoh*), *chozma* (= *chon/cen* ?), *noicz* (= *not/ned*). A jingling symmetry takes part:⁵ *daaz*,

¹ Cf. the note in MS. Bodley Auct. F. iv, 32: *Nemnivus istas reperit literas uituperante quidem scolastico saxonici generis quia brittones non haberent rudimentum at ipse subito ex machinatione mentis suae formavit eas ut uituperationem et hebitudinem demeret gentis suae.*

² See the examples given by Harders, *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. Nemnivus; *rat* (= *rad*), *uir* (= *yr*): Berne 207 (von Grienberger, Hrab. Alph. no. 15) *ach*, *berc*, *che*, *hægil*, *man*, *sigil*.

⁴ Cf. von Grienberger, Hrab. Alph. no. 14.

⁵ Cf. von Grienberger, Hrab. Alph. nos. 3, 7 *ech*, *fech*; no. 7 *pert*, *rehrt*; no. 11 *feb*, *gebo*; *nod*, *odil*.

laaz; *pertra*, *quertra*. I am unable to unravel the cipher, if a cipher there is: sufficient that the name-series fits into the context of contemporary abecedaria and has the external marks of kinship. There are of course certain points in which this Gotho-Latin alphabet differs from the runo-Latin examples known to us. One of these seems to me particularly significant. Although there is no complete series of letter-values to alphabet c), three are given: *aza*, *a*; *y*, *uwinne*; *thyth*, *t&h*. The second of these is attached to Gothic w, which is thus identified with Greek Y (from which it derives in form, and with which it was equated in transcription) and its offspring *y* in Latin minuscule. From *uwinne* the name *uui* should be disentangled; for there is evidence that the name current for *y* in early mediaeval times was *wi*, ancestor of modern English [wai],¹ and that this name originates in the sound-value of Greek Y. Here then, the Latin or Greco-Latin name is the basis.

The other point at which the impact of Latin on Germanic material will be most apparent is the manner of supplying the extras *x*, *y*, *z*. The Latin values *a-t* are represented by bringing up Gothic *f*, *j* to the positions of Latin *f*, *g*, while *c*, *o* are expressed by keeping *g*, *u* in their Gothic order. The only Gothic symbol left to stand for *u* is *w* (*y*, *uwinne*), which follows in the Gothic order after *t*. This letter would have served equally well for *y*, which therefore remains unrepresented. Gothic *o* (*utal*) is inserted next, and the full number of Latin letters is completed with *+* (*enguz*) and *z* (*ezec*), representing *x* and

¹ See the article on Y in N.E.D.; C. D. Buck, *Manley Anniversary Studies*, pp. 340-50; L. Havet, 'La lettre ui' in *Mémoires de la Soc. linguistique de Paris* iv, 79. To this material I would add the evidence of a Greek alphabet provided with names and values, in the XII-cent. MS. Map. Cl. (see above, p. 221 and n. 4). It is as follows: *alpha*, *a*. *beta vel uita*, *b*. *gamma*, *g*. *delta*, *d*. *ebachi*, *e*. *zita*, *z*. *ita*, *i* *longum*. [*t*] *hita*, *th*. *iota*, *i*. *cappa* (no values *cappa-uui*). *lappa*, *mi*. *ni*. *xi*. *o* *brachi*. *pi*. *ro*. *sigma*. *tau*. *uui*. *phi*, *f*. *chi*, *ch*. *psi*, *ps*. *oto maga*, *o* *magnum*. This indicates that the name [wi] goes back, as one would expect, to the medieval nomenclature of the Greek alphabet.

z. The name *ezec* is plainly a perversion of Med. Lat. **idzēta*.¹ I can only suggest that *enguz* masks either Gmc. *eolhx* or Med. Lat. *ix*; the latter would seem the more likely, in view of the Med. Lat. names here given to y and z. Perhaps the word is devised to suggest the rune-name *ing*, by way of additional mystification.²

Finally come the Gothic letters hw and þ, placed at the end after the manner of the *supersunt istae* of runic alphabets. þ is easily identified by the name and value given. Here, as in the case of g, w, and z, the Greek origin of the form is recognized; but there is no place for the letter among the values of the Latin alphabet. The name and value are also Greek, like **uui* (*uuiinne*) and **ezec*; i.e. **thit* (*thyth*). The name *uuaer* has no apparent contact with any letter-name; but the duplicate forms of alphabet c),³ both abnormal, might suggest that it is equated with the minuscule graph *u/uu*=w. If so, the English book-hand alphabet *a-z* + p, þ might be the model, and the name be deciphered *wyn*.

It may well be thought that the Gothic letter-names have proved more a curse than a blessing to Germanic studies. There could scarcely be a more tempting point of departure for this rambling excursus into byways of early mediaeval scholarship which are and perhaps must remain inadequately explored. Much of what can be gleaned here is equivocal and obscure, so that efforts at interpretation must pause before the lack of critical standards. None the less, it seems worth while to indicate that the related problems of rune-names and Gothic letter-names could be approached by other ways than the well-beaten road.

¹ See N.E.D. article on Z, and the Romance forms there given: *edez/ézed/izedo*.

² Parallels would be *geuua* (=cen?) suggesting *gifu/gibu*, and *uuiinne* (=uui) suggesting *wyn*.

³ See above, p. 221 n. 3.

THE OPPONENTS OF HARALDR HÁRFAGRI AT HAFRSFJÖRÐR.

By ALISTAIR CAMPBELL, M.A.

IN considering the elements which the author of *Egils Saga* used in composing his description of the battle of Vínheiðr, I recently cast doubt upon the historicity of the Welsh chiefs, Hringr and Aðils. I argued that they are either entirely fabricated or are due to a vague memory of the fact that a king of Strathclyde fought at Brunanburh. I emphasised the rarity of the names Hringr and Aðils in the tenth century, and mentioned without comment that they appear together in a list of mythical heroes in Saxo.¹ I am now able to show that it is practically certain that Snorri² drew upon a form of this list for the two names in question, because he unquestionably turned to the same source when he required names for unhistorical champions, whom he brought into an historical battle upon another occasion.

The saga of Haraldr Hárfagri, which underlies the accounts of his career in *Heimskringla*, *Fagrskinna* and *Haralds þáttr Hárfagra*,³ evidently quoted a verse

¹ See my edition of the *Battle of Brunanburh*, p. 71. The list alluded to is the catalogue of heroes who fought at Brávöllr: it is known from the eighth book of Saxo, and also from the fragmentary saga of the Skjöldungs (*Sögubrot af Fornkonungum*). Hringr and Aðils are named in Saxo's version only. The two extant versions of the list are derived from a lost catalogue of the Brávöllr heroes, which was probably in verse, and seems to have been influenced by the catalogue of the crew of the Ormr (see Axel Olrik in *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, x, 223 ff.).

² It can be regarded as decided that Snorri is the author of *Egils Saga*: see § 6 of the introduction to Sigurður Nordal's edition (*Íslensk Fornrit*, ii), where objections recently raised by P. Wieselgren are refuted.

³ *Fagrskinna* is to be dated about 1220. Snorri lived from 1178 or 1179 to 1241. He deals with some parts of Haraldr's career in *Egils Saga* as well as in *Heimskringla*: where (as in the account of Hafrsfjörðr) the two works cover the same ground, *Heimskringla* seems to have moved further than *Egils Saga* from

description of the battle of Hafrsfjörðr, which is preserved in all those three sources.¹ It cannot be shown that it contained any information about the battle other than that supplied by this poem. The poem mentions two opponents of Haraldr, Haklangr and Kjötvi enn Auðlagði, of whom the former fell and the latter fled. The prose of *Fagrskinna* adds to this only that they were *konungar af landi ofan*.² *Egils Saga* seems to draw upon *Fagrskinna* or some equally brief account of the battle: it mentions only the same two opponents of Haraldr, but Haklangr is called Þórir Haklangr, King of Agðir. In the *Heimskringla*, however, Kjötvi is stated to have been king of Agðir, while Þórir Haklangr is described as his son.³ Snorri has worked into *Egils Saga* and *Heimskringla* his conception of the course of Haraldr's conquests, whether

the underlying saga of Haraldr, so far as it is possible to judge from *Fagrskinna* and *Haralds þáttur Hárfagra* what that underlying saga contained. *Haralds þáttur Hárfagra* is known only from the *Flateyjarbók* (late fourteenth century) and is a compilation which contains much early material but has re-shaped and enlarged it, partly under the influence of Snorri's works (cf. below, especially p. 234, note 1).

¹ It consists of five stanzas of *Málaháttur*; in *Fagrskinna* and *Haralds þáttur* they are attributed to Þjóðólfr inn Hvinverski, so there can be no doubt that this attribution is part of the underlying saga of Haraldr. Snorri originally accepted it, for he quotes one of the stanzas in *Gylfaginning* as Þjóðólfr's work. In *Heimskringla*, he attributes them to Þorbjörn Hornklofi, but there is no reason to suppose he had any external evidence to guide him. The matter is well discussed in N. Kershaw's *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems*, where the stanzas are edited and translated (pp. 90-1).

² In addition to the verses discussed in the preceding note, *Fagrskinna* quotes three others by Þorbjörn Hornklofi as referring to Hafrsfjörðr. They also occur in *Haralds þáttur*, and *Heimskringla* has two of them, but both these sources regard them as referring to earlier battles in Haraldr's career. If it refers to Hafrsfjörðr, one of them confirms that Haraldr fought *two* kings on that occasion.

³ This modification was probably suggested to Snorri by verse 30 b of the *Háttalykill* of Rognvaldr Kolsson and Hallr Þórarinnsson (composed c. 1145), where it is stated that the son of Kjötvi (*burr Kjötva*) fought Haraldr Hárfagri at Hafrsfjörðr: *burr Kjötva* is an emendation of Sveinbjörn Egilsson for *burr krattva*. If Snorri also considered that *Kjötva* was the correct reading, he would naturally conclude that Kjötvi's son was Haklangr, the only other opponent of Haraldr known to ancient tradition. It would then appear to him likely that the father, not the son, was the king, and the discrepancy between *Heimskringla* and his earlier account would be explained.

derived from some source, oral or written, or merely from the vigorous activity of his historical imagination. In view of the brevity of *Fagrskinna*, it is, admittedly, not possible to decide exactly how much of Snorri's account of the conquest of Norway is due to the underlying saga of Haraldr and how much to this new conception of the course of events, for *Haralds þáttr* has undoubtedly been influenced by the works of Snorri.¹ It is, however, improbable that *Fagrskinna* would have given no information (except that derived from the verses) concerning Hafsrfjörðr, a battle which it describes as Haraldr's last and greatest, if its source had offered any concrete details. *Fagrskinna*, it should be remembered, is, of all the collections of royal sagas, the one most concerned with the details of great battles, and generally gives them a disproportionately large quantity of space. Hence the details offered by *Egils Saga* concerning the districts involved in the confederacy against Haraldr and its attribution of Haklangr to Agðir would seem to be part of Snorri's additions to the story. The additional details of *Heimskringla* are undoubtedly due to Snorri: he would hardly have neglected to name the leaders present at Hafsrfjörðr in *Egils Saga*, if he had known of their presence when he was writing that work, for in it he is at considerable pains to indicate the precise districts from which Haraldr's enemies came, naming Agðir, Rogaland and Hørðaland. The *Heimskringla*, however, offers precise information concerning the leaders of the contingents from these districts. That from Hørðaland is naturally led by Eiríkr, for he is king of Hørðaland in the story of Gyða, which Snorri has worked into his saga of Haraldr.²

¹ In one case this can be strikingly demonstrated. In *Fagrskinna* and *Haralds þáttr* the famous oath relative to his hair is taken by the king only after his conquest is far advanced and refers merely to its completion. This, therefore, is, no doubt, the version of the underlying saga. But *þáttr* has followed Snorri in introducing the Gyða story early in Haraldr's reign, so it has to explain that the king took a second oath.

² Eiríkr is mentioned as the father of Gyða, *er aatti Haralldr hinn haarfagri*,

The leaders from Rogaland are King Súlki and Earl Sóti, his brother: it has been shown that their names are derived from place-names,¹ and it may have been a tradition that two warriors with these names were present at Hafrsfjörðr. If such a tradition were known to Snorri, it would have provided two convenient names for the Rogaland leaders. As is pointed out above, Snorri now apportioned both Kjotvi and Haklangr to Agðir, making them father and son. Furthermore, he had now developed his conception of the conspiracy against Haraldr, and had decided that the people of Þelamörk were also involved in it. He required leaders for them to give verisimilitude to his presentation of his view of the geographical scope of the confederation opposed to his hero. He called the leaders of the men of Þelamörk Hróaldr Hrygg and Haddr inn Harði, and described them as brothers. There can be no doubt that these names are derived from a catalogue of heroes from Þelamörk, which forms a part of the list alluded to above in which the names Hringr and Aðils occur. In this list, five heroes from Þelamörk are named and both texts (Saxo and *Sögubrot*) are in agreement on all five names: two of them are called by Saxo *Haddir durus et Roldar articulus* and in the *Sögubrot* the corresponding names are *Haddr harði* and *Hroalldr ta*.²

in a genealogy of Hordaland rulers in *Flateyjarbók*. Nothing more is known of him or his daughter, whom Snorri makes the heroine of a much modified version of a story preserved in *Fagrskinna* about Haraldr and a maiden named Ragna. Snorri seems to combine two separate stories: (1) Haraldr's oath; (2) Haraldr and the proud maiden. The first was a part of the underlying saga of Haraldr, the second a romantic *páttur*.

¹ By Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, following up Y. Nielsen (*Heimskringla*, I, *Íslendzk Fornrit*, xxvi, p. lxix).

² It is not clear why Snorri altered Hróaldr's nickname; he may have wished to give him a more assured place in history by identifying him with the Hróaldr who is mentioned in the genealogy of Þórðr of Hófdi preserved in *Landnámabók*, *Njáls Saga* and the greater *Ólafs Saga Tryggvasonar*. *Landnámabók* gives Hrygg as this man's nickname, but in *Ólafs Saga* it is Hrókr (so *Flateyjarbók*, the *Fornmanna Sögur* have Hrókr). *Njáls Saga* does not give him a nickname. In the *Hauksbók* version of *Landnámabók* he is the great-grandson of Ragnarr Loðbrók, but in the *Sturlubók* version the grandson: *Ólafs Saga* agrees with the former, *Njáls Saga* with the latter. Snorri makes

The account of the battle of Brávöllr in *Sögubrot* states that these two were the finest warriors from Þelamörk,¹ but this sentence is lacking in the corresponding passage in Saxo. The conclusion that Snorri twice turned to some version of this list of the heroes who fought at Brávöllr, when he required names to ornament a battle-piece, is not to be avoided. Especially, it should be observed that Snorri's account of the battle does not give the slightest reason for assuming that he drew on any description of it now unknown. The only facts he gives are that Haklangr was a particularly formidable warrior, and that there was a stiff fight before he fell; that Kjötvi fled to the shelter of an island; and that the foe fled partly by sea, partly by way of Jaðarr. These statements are all derived from the poem on the battle. Of the champions introduced into the story by Snorri, Eiríkr, Súlki and Sóti are stated to have fallen, but no indication of the fate of Hróaldr and Haddr is given. *Egils Saga* naturally adds a few remarks about the fortunes of certain of its own characters, whom it introduces into the battle.

In conclusion, the other ancient accounts of the battle may be briefly considered. The verse on the subject in *Háttalykill* has been discussed in a note above. *Ágrip* has a verse from an otherwise unknown poem, which provides no information, and which the compiler has misunderstood. *Haralds þáttr Hárfagra* mentions all the peoples and chiefs named in *Heimskringla*, except the Þilir and their leaders.² It has probably derived the information

Gormr Gamli contemporary with Haraldr Hárfagri and seems to regard him as the third Danish king after Ragnarr (see *Heimskringla* version of *Ólafs Saga Tryggvasonar*, chap. IX): accordingly Hróaldr, the (great-)grandson of Ragnarr would be chronologically a suitable person to send to Hafsfjörðr.

¹ *þeir taka (at) skiota a hann, er agetactir voru af þeim Þilunum, Haddr harði ok Hroalldr ta.*

² It reads *Slokkua* (acc. s.) for *Súlka*, no doubt a mere error. Besides the five stanzas discussed above, it quotes another stanza which describes how Haraldr's foes fled at Hafsfjörðr. This it attributes to Þorbjörn Hornklofi, but it is a later imitation of the other verses. Finnur Jónsson connects it with some other probably spurious verses on Haraldr, also quoted by the *þáttr*, but attributed to Þjóðólfr (see *Skjaldedigting*, AI, pp. 20-1).

from Snorri. If, however, it be assumed that the underlying saga of Haraldr provided these statements, and that *Fagrskinna* has omitted them, there is still no evidence that the contingent from Þelamörk led by Hróaldr and Haddr appeared in the underlying saga. I have, however, already shown that it is unlikely that the underlying saga offered any information about the battle other than that provided by the verse description.

In view of the tendency of tradition to send famous Icelanders into the great battles of their time,¹ it is not surprising that a number of these are said to have fought at Hafrsfjörðr. The alleged presence of Ingimundr Þorsteinsson and Qnundr Tréfótr at the battle necessitates brief accounts of it in *Vatnsdoela Saga* and *Grettis Saga* respectively. The first of these is very important, for *Vatnsdoela Saga* appears to draw on the traditions of the saga of Haraldr in the form which they had before Snorri re-shaped them.² Accordingly, it is of considerable interest that the first name of Haklangr is given as Þórir, thus confirming Snorri, and that Kjotvi's first name, which is given in no other source, is said to have been Ásbjörn, though further on he is alluded to simply as Kjotvi. No other opponents of Haraldr are named, and no information as to the districts from which his enemies came is given.³ The account in *Grettis Saga* on the other hand is influenced by *Heimskringla*, and is therefore of no value in determining what lies behind Snorri's version.⁴

¹ Cf. *Battle of Brunanburh*, p. 73.

² For instance, it agrees with *Haralds þáttr* in making Haraldr grant the Orkneys to Earl Rognvaldr following the death of the earl's son at Hafrsfjörðr. The *Heimskringla*, in making the death occur on an expedition of Haraldr to the islands round Britain, seems to be following the traditions of the saga of the Orkney earls rather than those of the underlying saga of Haraldr.

³ *Landnámabók*, in its account of Ingimundr, also gives Þórir as Haklangr's first name, but the passage is based on information so closely associated with the traditions embodied in *Vatnsdoela Saga*, that it cannot be regarded as an independent source.

⁴ *Landnámabók* has a passage in its account of Geirmundr Heljarskinn which is related to the account of Hafrsfjörðr in *Grettis Saga*, much as the passage discussed in the preceding note is related to the account in *Vatnsdoela Saga*. *Landnámabók* has a few other references to the battle, but they record only the names of Icelandic settlers said to have taken part in it.

SOME ENGLISH AND NORSE ALLITERATIVE PHRASES.

BY E. S. OLSZEWSKA.

ME. *zeme and gete*.

THE phrase *zeme and gete*, 'to take care of,' 'to guard,' occurs in two early Middle English texts, both of which show Norse influence in their vocabulary and phraseology. It is recorded once in *Havelok*, line 2960:

(He) bad Ubbe, his iustise,
Þat he sholde on ilke wise
Denemark yeme and gete so,
Þat no pleynte come him to.

In the *Ormulum* *zemenn & gætenn* occurs at least six times. With the *Havelok* quotation we may compare the following lines:

& himm wass sett, tatt witt tu wel,
To zemenn & to gætenn
Þurh Rome king an land tatt wass
Ȝehatenn Abyline. (ll. 8287-90).

It is also used in a passage admonishing a man to watch over his erring ('witless, weak, and wicked') wife.

& ȝiff þatt iss þatt ȝho iss all
Wittlæs, & wac, & wicke,
All birrþ þe don þin mahht tærto,
To zemenn hire & gætenn,
Swa þatt ȝho muȝhe borrhenn beon
Att hire lifess ende. (ll. 6184-9).

In lines 3765 and 3797 the phrase is used with reference to the shepherd's care of his flock, and further examples are recorded in lines 3911 and 8886.

The first of the two verbs in this collocation is a native word (OE. *zīeman*), the second a Norse loanword (OWN. *gæta*). Their meaning is roughly synonymous, both being used in the general sense 'to keep' (i.e. to guard, to tend, or to observe). The parallel phrase, *geyma ok gæta*, is well evidenced in Old West Norse, although no examples are given in either Fritzner or Vigfusson, and it is probable that the Middle English phrase is borrowed from Norse usage, with replacement of the first verb by the native cognate.¹ A similar replacement of the stem *geym-* has taken place in the Middle English substantive *zemsle*, (see NED s.v. *Yemsel*), which is modelled on OWN. *geymsla* and retains its characteristically Norse suffix.

The phrase *geyma ok gæta* is used in Old West Norse in a number of contexts, with the various meanings of 'to keep' that the two verbs may each bear when used singly. To judge by the occurrences I have noted, the order *geyma ok gæta*, which is invariable in the Middle English parallel, is about twice as frequently recorded as the reverse *gæta ok geyma*. I cite some examples of its use. *Stjorn* (ed. C. R. Unger), 257/9 *Var su þeirra daglig sysla at þær geymdu ok giættu hiarðar fedr sins. Heilagra Manna Sögur* (ed. C. R. Unger), II, 648/26 *Ek a mer þann gud, er min geymir ok giætir. Barlaams ok Josaphats Saga* (ed. R. Keyser and C. R. Unger), 22/2 *Þa bauð hann þeim framleiðiss val at gæyma oc giæta hueria skilning þeir skylldu a hueriu hava. Saga af Tristram ok Ísönd* (ed. G. Brynjúlfsson), 7/27.

Examples of the reverse order *gæta ok geyma* are recorded in *Norges Gamle Love*, I, 455/12, *Barlaams Saga*,

¹ Cf. my article "Norse Alliterative Tradition in Middle English" in *Leeds Studies in English*, vi, 50 ff., esp. pp. 50-52. I take this opportunity of giving two additional references. With ME. *prod & priven* (see p. 55 f.) compare also OWN. *þróask ok þrifgask*, used to translate L. *proficere* in *Thomas Saga Erkebyskups* (ed. C. R. Unger), 69/14. A second example of ME. *schame & skape* (see p. 63) is recorded in C. Horstmann's *Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden*, 159/500 *Withoute schame and scape*.

142/10, *Mariu Saga* (ed. C. R. Unger), 1002/27, *Stjorn*, 553/19. Note also the combination of the participial adjectives, *geyminn ok gætinn* 'observant,' recorded in the older *Þorláks Saga* in *Biskupa Sögur*, I, 91/31 *Þá var þat brátt auðsýnt, hve geyminn ok gætinn hann mundi at vera um tíðir sínar.*

OWN. *blek ok bókfell.*

The collocation *blek ok bókfell* 'ink and parchment' appears to be a set phrase in Old West Norse, to judge by one example of its use, where it approaches in meaning the modern 'scrap of paper.' In the fourteenth-century life of Bishop Guðmundr (the later *Guðmundar Saga*) in *Biskupa Sögur*, II, the following passage occurs (pp. 58-9): *Dunstanus erkibiskup bannferði einn ríkan jarl í landinu fyrir opinbera hóranar skemd, en jarlinn sækir at fylgi konúnginn í Englandi, ok hann gefr honum brëf til erki-biskups, at jarlinn fái lausn. Erkibiskup virði þat brëf svá mikils, sem blek ok bókfell.* ('The Archbishop regarded the missive as mere ink and parchment.')

An earlier example of the same phrase is found in the Old Norwegian translation of a Breton lay. The lady wishes to send a message to her lover: *hon gat syst ser blec* (MS. *blez*) *oc bocfell. oc gerðe bræf oc batt unndir fiðrum ælftennu* ('she procured ink and parchment, wrote a letter and fastened it under the swan's feathers'). (*Strengleikar*, ed. R. Keyser and C. R. Unger, p. 63/21).¹

Many words were introduced into the Norwegian language by the Anglo-Saxon clerics who were largely responsible for the establishment of the Christian church

¹ From a later period, Gudbrand Vigfusson (*Prolegomena, Sturlunga Saga*, I, pp. clix-clx) quotes a verse extemporised by a man trying his pen on the margin of an Icelandic vellum:

Blekið lekur bókfell á, bítr lítið penni;

Heldur veldur höndin smá, henni eg um kenni.

(His translation runs: The ink is leaking on the leaf, badly bites the pen; Nay, the hand is much too small. Well, I'll blame that then !)

in Norway. OWN. *bókfell* (: OE. *bōcfell*) is generally accepted as one of the words connected with the new ecclesiastical learning, which were borrowed from Old English.¹ With *blek* we may compare OE. *blæc* 'ink' (cf. the adjective *blæc* 'black').² It is possible that OWN. *blek ok bókfell* is modelled on a parallel Old English formula. One instance of the collocation of the nouns *blæc* and *bōcfell* may be noted. NED s.v. *Bleck* sb. 1 quotes from the *Canons of Eadgar*: *We lærað þæt hi . . habban blæc and bocfell to heora zerædnessum.*

In the Middle English period, the French names for writing materials soon superseded the native terms; *blæc* was replaced in general use by *enke*, *ink*, and *bōcfell* by *parchemyn*. One interesting example in early Middle English of the older usage is provided by the transcript made by Jan van Vliet of certain passages now missing from the *Ormulum* manuscript.³ The transcript includes these lines:

& becned him te bringen
Bocfel an hande bræde & blec.⁴

The context indicates that this excerpt is the beginning of a paraphrase of *Luke* i, 63. And he (sc. Zacharias) asked for a writing table, and wrote, saying, His name is John.

¹ A. Taranger, *Den angelsaksiske Kirkes Indflydelse paa den norske*, p. 295, C. T. Carr, *Nominal Compounds in Germanic*, p. 34. Though there is no phonological proof of borrowing, it is significant that, apart from *bókfell*, an Old West Norse *fjall*, *fell*, cognate with OE. *fell* 'skin', is only recorded in the compound *berfjall* 'bear-skin', which occurs once in the *Edda*.

² OWN. *blek* is considered to be borrowed from OE. *blac* by F. Fischer, *Die Lehnwörter des Altwestnordischen*, § 22. The phonological problems involved in the consideration of this word and also of the various forms related to OE. *blac*, recorded in late Middle English glossaries to translate L. *atramentum* (see NED s. vv. *Blatch*, *Bleach* sb.², *Bleck* sb.), lie outside the scope of this article.

³ See N. R. Ker, 'Unpublished parts of the *Ormulum* printed from MS. Lambeth 783,' in *Medium Ævum*, ix, 1 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17, lines 422-3. The form *blec* cannot, of course, directly represent OE. *blæc*.

Mod.E. dial. *rug and rive*.

A number of instances of the phrase *to rug and rive*, with the meaning 'to pull and tear,' 'to drag forcibly,' are quoted from Scottish and northern dialect sources by the *English Dialect Dictionary*, s.v. *Rug*(g v. and sb. 2. 'It's jist ruggin' an' rivin' at my hert' is a typical example of its use. One instance of the reverse order of the verbs ('rave an' ruggit') is also given. With these examples we may compare a passage from the *Pricke of Conscience* quoted by NED s.v. *Rug* v.¹ 1: *Lyons, libardes and wolwes kene, Þat wald worow men bylyve, And rogg þam in sonder and ryve*.

The verb *rive* is a Norse loanword (OWN. *rifa*). NED considers that *rug* also is probably of Norse origin and compares Icelandic, Færoese and Norwegian *rugga* 'to rock (a cradle),' 'to sway.' The occurrence of the collocation *rifa ok rugga*, literally 'to tear and shake,' in one Icelandic text of the medieval period provides a close parallel to the English phrase, and gives support to the suggested etymology. In the later *Guðmundar Saga*, the story is told of a foolish shepherd who drank from a brook, without having crossed himself. Immediately he screamed: *segir þar með, at sá úvinrinn, er hann gleypti af læknum, rífr ok ruggar öll hans iðr* ('saying that the devil he gulped from the brook is rending all his entrails'). (*Biskupa Sögur*, II, 87).

ME. *help and hald*.

In the lamentation of the Virgin Mary in *Cursor Mundi*, an alliterative collocation *help and hald* is recorded with the meaning 'help and protection,' 'support.'

Losin i haf al help and hald,

Care clinges in mi hert cald. (ll. 24203-4).

The same phrase is of frequent occurrence in another Middle English text, the *Ormulum*. To quote a typical example:

To winnenn þurh hiss (sc. Christ's) hellpe & hald

To brukenn heffness blisse. (ll. 16466-7).

Additional line references for the phrase are 5026, 6590, 6618, 11561, 13386, 16806, 18018, 18036.

The order of the nouns does not appear to be fixed in the *Ormulum*, but varies for metrical convenience.

Himm birrþ forrlesenn all wiþþ rihht

Drihhtiness hald & hellpe. (ll. 6890-1).

So also line 19336.

The meaning which *hald* bears in this phrase is not common in Middle English (see NED s.v. *Hold* sb.¹), and in view of the provenance of the examples of the phrase, it is of some interest that the collocation of the corresponding nouns is recorded in Old West Norse. The later *Guðmundar Saga* uses the phrase *hald ok hjálþ*, of which there is no example in either Fritzner or Vigfusson. The sentence runs: *Hann lætr varða útleigðar sök hald ok hjálþ við prestinn* ('he declares it a criminal offence to give protection to the priest'). (*Biskupa Sögur*, II, 60).

Unless further examples of the collocation in Old West Norse come to hand, the evidence is too slight for postulating a Norse origin for the Middle English phrase. It must be noted also that the corresponding combination of verbs is recorded both in Norse and late Old English. The collocation *gehealden* and *geholpen* appears in Wulfstan's *Homilies* (ed. A. S. Napier), 86/19. In Old West Norse, *haldask ok hjálþask* 'to be sustained' is recorded in *Heilagra Manna Sögur*, II, 489/4 *Hverr mun sva heimskr, at heiminn efi halldaz ok hialþaz heilagra manna verdleikum* (: Latin *meritis stare sanctorum*), and *hjálþask ok haldask* with a similar meaning in *Stjorn*, 57/29.¹

¹ A passage in *Thomas Saga Erkibyskups*, 183/5-7 may be compared: *Sva sem hann er nu riadr ok rekenn af Englande, sua hialpi honum ok enge ne halldæ heþan af a Franklande.*

ME. *raynande ryg*.

The *New English Dictionary* s.v. *Rig* sb.² records two Middle English occurrences of the noun *ryg(e)* 'tempest' (both in the poem *Purity*), and gives examples of its use in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. The *English Dialect Dictionary* (s.v. *Rig(g)* sb.²) refers only to nineteenth-century glossaries of the Cheshire dialect. The connection of this word with Cheshire is of interest, in view of the probable provenance of the *Pearl* group of poems.¹ OWN. *hregg* 'storm and rain' has been tentatively suggested as the source of the noun,² though the representation of OWN. *e* by ME. *i* is not clear; cf. however K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*, § 382 note 3.

The second example of the noun in *Purity* concerns us here. It is found in the description of the Flood:

Never cowþe stynt

Ðe roze raynande ryg, þe raykande wawez.

(*Purity*, ed. R. J. Menner, ll. 381-2).

I suggest that the original version of the poem had *Ðe roze rayn and ryg*. There are other instances in the manuscript of the conjunction *and* having been altered to the ending *-ande* of the present participle,³ and some support for the suggested emendation is given by the fact that the use of the participial adjective from the verb 'to rain' is apparently unparalleled at this date (see NED s.v. *Raining* ppl. a.).

With a Middle English **rayn and ryg*⁴ we may compare *hregg ok regn* in Old West Norse, for several instances of *hregg* in collocation with *regn* 'rain' are recorded, e.g.

¹ Cf. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, *Sir Gawain & the Green Knight*, pp. xxii-xxiv.

² NED, E. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, p. 36 note 1.

³ See Tolkien and Gordon, *op. cit.*, note to line 46.

⁴ Cf. ME. *the rug & the rayn* (*Destruction of Troy*, 9652; see NED s.v. *Rug* sb.³) and modern dial. *to rain and rag* (EDD s.v. *Rag* sb.² and v.² 4).

Fornmanna Sögur, VII, 195/23 *Var bæði hregg ok regn*, and *Biskupa Sögur*, I, 199/5 *Veðr var æsiliga úsvást af hreggi ok regni*. It must be noted that the two nouns do not alliterate in Old Icelandic, nor in Old Norwegian until after the loss of *h-* before *r*.¹

¹ See A. Noreen, *Altisländische Grammatik*, ed. 4, § 289 note 1.

REVIEWS.

STORIES OF THE EAST-VIKINGS, by G. Bie Ravndal. *Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1938.* Pp. 383. \$3.00.

The author defines the purpose of this book in his Preface: "It has been my wish and endeavor to offer a story of the Varings or East-Vikings which, while mindful of the reasonings as well as the findings of learned men of the past and of the present, familiar with literary sources, old and new, as with linguistic and archeological research, still would appeal to the average reader." There can be no doubt that the reader will find this a most stimulating book, on a subject which is little known. It is well produced, and there are a number of illustrations, as well as two maps, one of early Russia, the other of the "Birca" towns in the North.

The book is divided into four main sections. The first forms a general introduction to the whole, the second deals with the problem of the meaning and origin of the terms *Varing* and *Rus*, the third with the earliest period of Russian history, the fourth with the Varangian Guard. The chapters on the first two centuries of the Russian state have the greatest popular appeal. We may instance the account of commerce between Kiev and Constantinople, with its convoys of merchant-vessels down the Dnieper, the interesting trade-treaty of 911 between the Rus and Constantinople, and the ceremonial baptism of Queen Olga, "the first Rus to enter Heaven," in Constantinople in 957.

The author has obviously read very widely, though it must be said that he uses his large knowledge of the subject with a certain lack of discrimination. The general reader and the specialist alike may well be confounded by the admixture of citations of original sources and of writings on them. In a subject for which the sources are so scattered, fragmentary and obscure, a clear indication of what the sources themselves actually contain would have been much more valuable than the opinions of long-superseded authorities. A typical example is the long citation of various views (many of them, e.g. Kvalen's p. 109 ff., hardly meriting serious consideration) on the extremely difficult question of the Rus. (It may be mentioned here that a precise and lucid discussion on the subject of the *Rus* is provided by the article of V. Minorsky in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v.).

The author makes some statements which are extremely wild. In referring to Ohthere, he writes (p. 70): "By some it is thought that Ottar when starting out for Biarmia had in mind surveying a road to India." Few Finno-ugrists will agree with his statement on the same page that "the Biarmians (Permians) . . . had contrived to weave a network of trade routes ramifying into arctic regions, including Siberia, and indirectly into India and China." Nor will the philologist readily accept the sentence on p. 145: "As surveyed by Kunik the proto-Germanic *hradh* suffered a split into *hrodh*, *hraidh*, and *hredh*." In his allusions to matters which lie outside his own subject, the author shows some inaccuracy and a tendency to present surmise as fact. On p. 45 "the monastery of Yarrow on the Tyne" is referred to as "the quondam home of the venerable Bede and of the authors of *Beowulf*." What is the evidence for "Cnut's grandiose scheme of a northern empire which was to stretch from

Greenland (incl. "Vinland" or America) to Novgorod" (pp. 315-6)? Bolli Bollason was not a descendant of the Irish princess, Melkorka, as he is stated to be on pp. 35 and 293, nor will readers of *Laxdæla Saga*, ch. 13, condone, either in matter or style, the racy summary given on p. 293: "At first this slave girl posed as being dumb and mute but by and by Cupid entered into play, and Melkorka not only regained her voice and hearing but, fondly loving her master, happily settled down with him in Iceland." Misprints are numerous; to cite examples from the pages just referred to, on p. 45 for 973 read 793, and on p. 293 for Bollasson read Bollason and for Thorleif read Thorleik. On p. 75 there is an incomprehensible sentence, beginning "Thus the Varings with Finns," which suggests that a line has dropped out.

Nevertheless, the author feels for his subject such an enthusiasm and displays the evidence of so prolonged a course of study that his book may well open up a difficult subject to a new series of students.

A.S.C.R.

HUDŪD AL-‘ĀLAM "THE REGIONS OF THE WORLD." A Persian Geography 372 A.H.-982 A.D. Translated and explained by V. Minorsky. With the Preface by V. V. Barthold († 1930) translated from the Russian. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Publications, New Series XI. Oxford University Press, 1937. 6" x 10". Pp. xx + 524, 12 Maps. Price 25s.

It is clearly impossible to attempt any serious study of certain aspects of Scandinavian history, archaeology and related subjects (particularly all subjects connected with the history of the Vikings in Eastern Europe) without reference to Muslim Geography. And there is another subject, often to be considered in close connection with the history of the Vikings in Eastern Europe, which is solely dependent on Muslim Geography for its early data: this is the history of certain of the Western Finno-Ugrian tribes—Baltic Fenns (such as the Veps) and, more especially, the Mordvins, Cheremiss (Mari), Syrjanen (Komi) and Votjaks (Udmurt). Muslim Geography is a highly complex subject with a very extensive literature, much of it in languages, such as Russian and Hungarian, not familiar to the majority of Scandinavian specialists.

It is unfortunate that it has not hitherto been the practice of the majority of Germanic and Scandinavian periodicals to summarise (or even list) the large number of works dealing with Muslim Geography. Such a practice would certainly have facilitated greatly the work of Viking historians.

If one were to choose a recent book with which to inaugurate the summarising of works on Muslim Geography for a circle of readers interested primarily in Scandinavian history, the choice would certainly fall on Professor Minorsky's *Hudūd*; by reason of an extremely lucid presentment whereby the difficulties of an intricate subject are made as easy as is possible; by reason of the exceptionally extensive bibliographies; and above all, by reason of the status of the editor in his subject.

Minorsky's book falls into three parts. First—and as forming a general introduction to the whole—he gives a translation of the Preface to the edition of the *Hudūd* by the great Russian scholar V. V. Barthold. Next comes the translation of the text (in the case of difficult words or passages the transliterated original is given). The greater part of the book is taken up by the third section—the detailed commentary and, to quote the editor, the object of this commentary is twofold: "(a) to explain the text by identifying the places and names mentioned in it, and (b) to ascertain the sources of the

book" (p. xiii). The whole is introduced by a short "Translator's Preface" and completed by most useful indexes.

The *Hudūd* was compiled in 982-3 by an unknown author who was under the patronage of the then Prince of Gūzgānān (in what is now northern Afghanistan). The unique manuscript of the text was copied in 1258. It was found in Bokhara in 1892 by a Persian friend of the Russian orientalist A. G. Toumansky, passed into the latter's possession, and, after some vicissitudes, found its way to the Library of the Leningrad Academy where it now is.

It is clear that the author of the *Hudūd* was not himself a traveller; he utilised certain literary sources. The chief of these are (a) Ibn Khurdādhbih; (b) some unknown work also used by Ibn Rusta, Bakrī, Gardizī, 'Aufī and others (usually considered to be the lost work of Jayhānī); (c) Iṣṭakhri (who, in turn, derives from Balkhī)—the chief source.

The *Hudūd* is divided into chapters (§§). § 1 is a preface, § 2 deals with cosmography, § 3 with the Seas and Gulfs, § 4 with the Islands (classified according to the Seas in which they are), § 5 with the Mountains, § 6 with the Rivers, § 7 with the Deserts and Sands. The remainder of the work (except for the Epilogue § 61) deals with the Countries (enumerated in § 8). §§ 9-60 may be divided into the following groups of Chapters:—§§ 9-11 China, India, Tibet; §§ 12-17 South-Eastern Turks; §§ 18-22 North-Western Turks; §§ 23-26 Khorāsān and Transoxiana; §§ 27-36 Middle Zone of Islam (Sind-Persia-Jazira); §§ 37-41 Southern Zone of Islam (Arabia-Spain); §§ 42-53 Byzantium, Northern Europe, Caucasus; §§ 54-60 Southern Countries.

It is, naturally, the commentary on § 44 "The Rūs" (i.e. the Vikings of Russia)—a subject that Minorsky has dealt with more fully in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*—that will be of primary interest to the Scandinavian specialist. Minorsky prefaces the whole section on Eastern Europe by exhaustive lists of (a) Muslim sources and (b) literature on them, for this area. Such lists are indispensable for any work in this field. The commentary on the Rūs begins with a discussion of the etymology of the name. Then follows a brief mention of the Old Russian and Byzantine sources. Minorsky then gives a detailed discussion of the Rūs as they appear in the three chief sources of the *Hudūd* mentioned above and explains the rearrangement that has taken place in the text. The detailed discussion of Smirnov's views as to the existence of a Scandinavian state under a Khan on the Middle Volga prior to the foundation of the Kiev state (expressed in his important work *The Volga Route and the ancient Rus'*, 1928) will confer a benefit on the Scandinavian specialist as Smirnov's work was published in Ukrainian.

But the details of interest in this context are, of course, by no means confined to the chapter on the Rūs; it is indeed difficult to draw a line demarcating the limits of the Germanic philologist's interest. Thus, for example, the curious state of affairs presented in the *Eymundar þáttir*, where the Bjarmians of the Norse version of the story are apparently to be equated to the Pechenegs of one Old Russian source, shows that the domain of the germanist can impinge upon that of the turcologist. Lack of space prevents the mention here of all the points in the *Hudūd* having some connection, direct or indirect, with Scandinavian studies. But, as examples, I may take the confusion of Maeotis (*Māuts* 'the Azov Sea') with the Baltic § 3. 8; the "Island of Women" and its connection with the difficult Cwēn-problem § 4. 22-23 (it is interesting to learn that "an Island of Women situated west of Fu-Lin (Roman Empire)" is mentioned by as distant a geographer as the Chinese Hsüan-Tsang); and Thule § 4. 26.

Of Finno-Ugrian problems of interest to the germanist the most important is the detailed discussion of the identification of the Burādhās with the Moksha-Mordvins (§ 52). And, in conclusion, there is one point which no finno-ugrist could pass by without commendation, even though it cannot be said to be of interest to the Scandinavian specialist. I refer to the excellent and detailed discussion (complete with full bibliography) of that most difficult question of Hungarian early history, the state of affairs preceding the *ungarische Landnahme* (§ 22 "The Majghari").

A.S.C.R.

SHARAF AL-ZAMĀN TĀHIR MARVAZĪ ON CHINA, THE TURKS AND INDIA. Arabic text (circa A.C. 1120) with an English translation and commentary by V. Minorsky. James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. XXII. Royal Asiatic Society, 1941. 6" x 10". Pp. [iv] + 170 + *52. Price 15s.

Marvazī was a native of Marv who flourished towards the end of the eleventh century. An almost complete copy of his *Tabā'i' al hayawān* "The Natural Properties of Animals" was discovered in the India Office Library in 1937. The work consists of an Introduction followed by a treatise on zoology. The Introduction falls into three parts—(a) General, with sections on subjects such as "scholars," "hermits and sufis"; (b) Geographical; (c) Anthropological, with sections on subjects such as "monsters and other aberrations." Professor Minorsky here presents, in a very lucid and valuable form certain chapters of the geographical part,¹ namely those dealing with China (VIII), the Turks (IX), India (XII), the Southern Lands (XIII) and Remote Countries (XV). Minorsky's work comprises the Arabic text of these Chapters with an English translation and a commentary, the whole preceded by an introduction.

Marvazī, like most of the Muslim geographers, was a compiler and his chief source was the lost work of Jayhānī; Minorsky gives (pp. 8 ff.) a brief survey of the geographical works of this tradition, namely Ibn al Faqīh, Ibn Rusta, Maqdisi, the *Hudūd*, Muqaddasi, al Nadīm's *Fihrist*, Birūnī, Gardīzi, Bakrī, Shahristānī and 'Aufi.

Marvazī's section on the Rūs (IX § 15) is of considerable interest. Some of it appears in the literature of the Jayhānī tradition but the curious story of the conversion of the Rūs to Islam is due solely to Marvazī (whom 'Aufi here translates word for word). The Rūs raid on Bardha'a in the Caucasus, described by Marvazī, is also mentioned by Ibn Miskawaih, the *Hudūd* and the Armenian chronicler Moses Kēlānkavats'i.

Minorsky's commentary has very much to interest the finno-ugrist. Of individual points I may mention (i) the interesting suggestion that the Kishtim were Samoyedes or even Kets (Yenisei Ostyaks), p. 108; (ii) the notes on the B. rdās (Moksha Mordvins), p. 109; (iii) Īsū (the land of the Veps) and Yūra (that of the Ob'-Ugrians), p. 113; (iv) the discussion of the Coast-Dwellers living beyond Yūra—Minorsky suggests that they may have been Northern Karelians (i.e. *Bjarmar*) or Lapps, pp. 114-5 and (v) the "Black Land" beyond the Coast-Dwellers, a detail found only in Marvazī, p. 115. Much of Marvazī's information about the North was translated by 'Aufi (see Marquart's well-known study, *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 1924, pp. 261-334); Minorsky gives a detailed discussion of the interrelation of the various authorities as far as the North is concerned and puts forward the interesting suggestion that Marvazī's

¹ Only preserved in the India Office MS.; there is a second copy of the *Tabā'i'* in the British Museum but this lacks the geographical part.

proximate source may well have been the report of a Bulghar envoy to Khorasan in 1024.

In conclusion I may mention a point of interest to the Anglo-Saxon specialist. Marvazi states (IX § 14) that the King of the Slavs feeds on mares' milk. Minorsky considers that this specifically Turkish trait may perhaps refer to some Turkish overlordship and very properly mentions in this connection the well-known remarks in Wulfstan's Voyage.

A.S.C.R.

THE OLD NORWEGIAN GENERAL LAW OF THE GULATHING. Edited by George T. Flom. *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. XX, Nos. 3-4. University of Illinois Press, 1937, pp. 204. \$2.50.

In this volume G. T. Flom adds to his already important services to the study of Scandinavian law and palaeography a diplomatic edition of Codex Gl. k. S. 1154 Folio of the *General Law of the Gulathing*. This manuscript, which is designated Gd by the editors of *Norges gamle Love*, is here published for the first time. The text is given page for page and line for line, and special types are used to distinguish different forms of letters such as *s* and *r*. Abbreviations are extended, an exhaustive survey of abbreviation signs and their usage being given in the introduction. Between this and the text there are one or two discrepancies, as *høfer*, *firir*, p. 29, where the text has *høfir*, *firi*, or the rendering of *fn* plus the nasal abbreviation mark as *fn* in *hefnudin* 43. 5, *nefnðum* 44. b, whereas usually this combination is extended as *fmn* (see p. 33). The text is accompanied by four facsimile pages and moreover the palaeographical discussion in the introduction is so full and detailed that the book will serve as well as a facsimile for many purposes. It is interesting to note how the scribe varied his practice as he proceeded, moving in many features, such as his choice of different forms of *r* and his use of *a* instead of *o* in *-allum*, etc., from traditional usage to 'a new literary tradition.'

The introduction is an important study for students of Scandinavian palaeography, being full of detailed observations and of comparisons with the habits of other scribes. In addition, in the course of the discussion facts are brought to light that are of significance for the phonological history of fourteenth-century Norwegian, as, for example, the rounding of *á* in relation to a preceding *v*, *hu* or *m* (pp. 23ff.) or the pronunciation of the groups *nd* and *md* (p. 70).

Apart from a few minor inconsistencies and errors such as those mentioned above, which are difficult to avoid in work of such minute detail, and the omission of *taka* (78, l. 12) from the transcription of a page given in facsimile, the work seems accurately done. The usefulness of this book has of course been greatly increased by subsequent events, which have made the original manuscript inaccessible to the majority of scholars.

D.W.

THE CULTIVATION OF SAGA IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND. By C. E. Wright. *Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1939. Pp. xii + 310, 15s.*

Mr. Wright's book deals with an original and interesting subject. Though it makes no claim to be exhaustive, it is a minute study of the evidence for the existence of oral literature in Anglo-Saxon times. The claim that 'a new chapter is added to the history of Anglo-Saxon literature' seems justified; for, while various authors have examined the possibility of oral traditions behind individual records, no one has hitherto attempted to survey the field as a

whole. The work gives a vivid impression of the richness and variety of the tales told in pre-Conquest days, and it has an additional value in giving us a clearer conception of the type of material at the disposal of historians from Bede onwards. The author is well equipped for his task, revealing a wide, and at the same time a detailed and accurate, knowledge of Anglo-Saxon sources and of the work of recent scholars on the individual problems. In addition to the general interest of the theme, a careful reader will glean valuable information on more detailed matters. The careful examination of the traditions relating to the murder of St. Æthelberht is a case in point; and the statements of so expert a palaeographer on the date of the various versions of the legends discussed are naturally important.

The preface shows that the book is to a great extent a cut-down Ph.D. thesis, which perhaps accounts for an impression of shapelessness. For example, the legends of Siward and of Hereward are discussed, not in the chapter on 'Sagas relating to the Eleventh Century,' but under 'Sagas relating to the Early Period'; and the death of Sweyn is called 'the first event in the eleventh century which came to be perpetuated in saga,' the massacre of St. Brice's day in 1002 being temporarily forgotten, though discussed elsewhere. The reason for the apparent displacement of Siward and Hereward is that their stories are introduced in the first place for comparison with the legend of Ubba, since, like it, they contain Scandinavian motifs; but it would have been preferable to discuss this and other general questions in a concluding chapter. Scattered as they are throughout the book, conclusions of importance run the risk of being overlooked. The question of the transference of incidents or remarks from one tale to another might have been more fully treated. Mr. Wright does not refer to the shifting of an incident from the Æthelstan legend, given in William of Malmesbury, to the legend of Earl Godwine's death first occurring in Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita S. Edwardi Regis* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* cxcv. 766 f.), no doubt because this had already been treated by Freeman (*Historical Essays*, 4th ed. I. 15), though without reference to Aelred's version but only to that in Roger of Wendover (*Flores Historiarum*, R.S. 95, I. 572). In Aelred's version, a chance remark of Godwine's, when he sees a servant stumble and steady himself with the other foot, '*sic est frater fratrem adjuvans*,' reminds the king of the murder of his brother. Perhaps this should have been added to the group of motifs of possible Scandinavian origin collected on pp. 122 ff., for it at once calls to mind the situation occurring in the *Hamðismál* where, if we piece out its fragmentary information with the version in Snorri's Prose Edda (*Skáldskaparmál*, cap. 41), the point of Erpr's offer to help '*sem fótr þðrom*' is seen by his two brothers only when they have stumbled and righted themselves. They then realise that they will come to regret having slain Erpr.

When the work covers so wide a field it would be ungracious to stress an occasional slip such as the making of Cwoenthryth into Coenwulf's granddaughter instead of daughter on p. 104 or the date 683 for 633 (better 632: see R. L. Poole, *Studies in Chronology and History*, p. 45) for the Battle of Heathfield. Such errors are remarkably rare. A minor omission is the lack of a reference to Professor Stenton's defence of the St. Frideswide charter ('St. Frideswide and her Times' in *Oxoniensia* 1936). Of more importance is the somewhat hasty dismissal of William of Malmesbury's *cantilenae* in considering whether prose or verse was the normal medium for these oral tales. Possibly some consideration might have been given in this connection to the view that the poetry of Lazamon and of the fourteenth-century alliterative revival implies the continued existence of oral alliterative verse. But, even

if Mr. Wright tends too much to ignore the possibility of popular verse tales in pre-Conquest times, he has proved his main contention for the wide-spread currency of prose saga, and of especial interest is his suggestion of a combination of prose and verse, the latter confined to the speeches. It is to be hoped that the author will be able to give his promised work dealing on similar lines with saga in Scotland and on the Continent.

A point remains that may be of some interest as regards the attitude of chroniclers to local tradition. Of all places, Ely would be where one would expect stories of the fate of the unhappy prince Ælfred to have been treasured. They possessed his body and claimed that it had worked miracles. Mr. Wright says 'the most complete version . . . is found in the *Historia Eliensis*'. But it is only the Ely manuscript and its descendants that have a full version. The Trinity College manuscript contents itself by repeating almost word for word the account given by Florence of Worcester. The scribe of the Ely manuscript dovetailed into this passages taken verbally from William of Poitiers, thus supplying 'the most complete version.' It seems, therefore, that no separate Ely tradition survived, or, more probably, that the twelfth-century chroniclers preferred the authority of the written to the spoken word when they had access to both types of evidence.

D.W.

SCANDINAVIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, by Haakon Shetelig and Hjalmar Falk, translated by E. V. Gordon. *Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1937.* Pp. xx + 458. 21s. net.

This is a most valuable book. It is, in fact, an encyclopedia of Scandinavian archaeology, and takes its place beside the works of Hoops and Ebert. There are 62 excellent plates, and a number of text-figures. The translation conforms to a very high standard, and, consequently, the book is exceptionally lucid and pleasant to read.

The work falls into two parts; the first, by Shetelig, is primarily archaeological, the second, by Falk, primarily linguistic. The first part, which forms nearly three-quarters of the whole, is an archaeological history from the earliest post-glacial times to the Iron Age. Two extremely interesting chapters are those dealing with the art of the Arctic Stone Age (pp. 98-121) and the rock-carvings of the Bronze Age (pp. 158-172), with illuminating discussions on the psychological import of the two contrasting methods of pictorial representation, and on the much debated problem of the interpretation of the Bronze Age rock-carvings. The second part of the book assembles the information to be obtained from linguistic data and from a study of Old Norse literature on the way of life of the peoples concerned, their diet, dwellings, dress, boats and weapons. The final chapter in this section is a brilliant essay on the religion of ancient Scandinavia.

Throughout the book, bibliographical references are given in the foot-notes. It is to be regretted that the inconsistencies appearing in these references were not removed before publication, for though unimportant individually, they are extremely numerous. Thus the English translation of the title of a paper by Otto Rydbeck is given in no less than four different forms (see p. 6 footnote 1, p. 32 footnote 1, p. 46 footnote 2, p. 58 footnote 2). There are many misprints in the titles of books and articles, and the choice of spelling for the place of publication seems to be entirely haphazard, e.g. København and Kjøbenhavn for the same work (p. 30 footnote 1, p. 33 footnote 1), and Kristiania and Christiania (p. 73 footnote 1, p. 114 footnote 1). Attention may also be called

to the apparent omission of a word in the letterpress of the frontispiece, figure *b*, which reads "set with and garnets."

Detailed criticism of the matter of the work is not to be attempted by a reviewer who is not an archaeologist, and I therefore confine myself to some remarks on the chapter on Runes (pp. 212-29). This chapter gives a very well-balanced account of the various theories that have been put forward concerning the origin of the runes. But it must be admitted that a certain readiness to accept tentative theories is evidenced, and this trait may well mislead young students of archaeology, who would naturally consider Shetelig's views authoritative. Thus the author clearly thinks well of Agrell's theories, and certainly Agrell's work has been of importance in emphasising that the magical aspect of runes must not be neglected in discussions of their origin. But on p. 214 it is stated: "It was not the sense of what was written that held the primary significance: the runes themselves were to have an effect, if correctly used and arranged in certain numerical combinations." The relevant runic inscriptions would have to be investigated very much more carefully, from a runological and also from a mathematical point of view, than they have been by Agrell before it could be accepted that their existence was due to a regard for number. Again, many (including the present reviewer) will feel that the connection between the Runes and Ogam is still very doubtful (cf. p. 227). On p. 215 reference is made to the three "*ættir* (literally 'families')" of runes. This is misleading, for, in view of Icel. *ætt* "octant," it seems probable that *ætt* in this context means "set of 8" (like *sétt* "set of 6")—so A. Noreen, *Altisländische Grammatik* § 461.

A.S.C.R.

The reviews of the following books have been held over and will be published in the next part of the *Saga-Book*:

Altgermanische Religions-geschichte, by J. de Vries.

Ijslands Volksgeloof, by P. C. M. Sluijter.

The Edda of Asgard: a Drama in Nine Acts, by Ha Rollo.

Stilbedeutung des Adjektivs im eddischen Heldenlied, by H. M. Heinrichs.

POEMS FROM THE FAEROESE OF

J. H. O. DJURHUUS.

SPECIMENS of the poetry of J. H. O. Djurhuus are here published for the first time in English translation. Djurhuus is unquestionably the foremost of all Faeroese poets, ranking as high as any lyrist now living in Scandinavia. He is deeply versed in the literatures of ancient Iceland and of Greece, combining the motives and spirit of classical and northern mythology delicately and without effort, as no other poet has done. Djurhuus has translated a number of the works of Plato into Faeroese, and has thus played a notable part in developing the literary idiom of the Faeroe Islands. He has been publishing poetry since the beginning of the present century. He lives in the town of Klakksvik, Borðoy, Faeroe Islands, where he practices as a lawyer. The translations given below are all taken from Djurhuus's work *Carmina* (Tórshavn, 1941). Thanks are due to the author for consenting to the publication of these translations.

ATLANTIS

She by the windborne spray of the surging sea was
clothed in foaming whiteness,

Transilluminating all like seafire pallid with the moon;
Fair as Brynhild Buthladottir, ringed with flame of
fearful brightness—

Daughter of a king, whom none might woo nor ever
make his own.

Faintly from a far-off day I fancied that she could recall—
As in a shell the ocean's thunder echoes a thin and tiny
tune—

Such laments, imprisoned in the sea-snail's deep receding
hall,

As Oceanus together sang with Passa and Monsoon.

Then to my fancy's eye appeared dim cities with splendid
halls of marble,
Over whose broad pavements poured a host of mighty
noblemen,
Thronging to where a great assembly was convoked upon
the market,
There, before the sacred temple and the veil of holiness.

Suddenly then she was revealed to me as priestess of
Atlantis,
Sunken continent of vanished culture, legendary land;
She who consecrated to the rites of spring, crowned with
Eranthis,
Men and women, beasts and the green things of the
earth with vestal hand.

So the story runs that Faeroe lies there in the North
Atlantic,
Where in distant days there lay those other lands of
poets' dreams,
And Atlantis' priestess, clad by north-east winds in
spume and spindrift,
Stretches out upon the moonlit night a hand that
whitely gleams.

So it runs that they who once have seen the priestess of
Atlantis,
Follow her homeward down to her blue hall of dreams
beneath the deep,
Where she smiling lays them down to rest in garlands of
Eranthis,
What time friends and kinsmen chant their sorrow over
them, and weep.

(Translated by Stephen Wilkinson).

OCTOBER

Loneliness, coldness, darkness, grey October,
The distant message of departing birds:
No hope of love remains,
No expectation of song and singing
Nor any presage of the sun's return
In grey October.

Waning, the moon
Wades through the cloud race;
Waxes the sea in the soughing rain;
Thunder reverberates about the globe
Till deadened by the soil—
And grey October's in and hope is out,
And expectation's done,
And presage of song and sunshine is no more.

Outcast and homeless, godless and alone,
Falls to my lot the plant without a bloom—
Doubt, that seeds
When likelihood of frost
And hope of bitter winter weather
And presage of dismal days alone remain:
In grey October.

(Translated by Stephen Wilkinson).

TO THE FAEROES.

Fair are dreams of former greatness,
Lovely as the days of winter,
When in liberty unbridled
Flies the spendthrift of the ocean,
And the storm in Faeroe channels
O'er the shoals the spray is whirling.

Fair are dreams of former greatness,
Pleasant as a maid at even,
Who bestows her tender kisses,
And has drained oblivion's chalice,
When my country's lovely daughter
Presses to her husband's bosom.

Fare ye well, ye dreams of greatness,
Pale upon your shields reposing;
Over you cold tides of ocean
And those winter storms are roaring;
On these dark Atlantic islands
Only senseless dogs are baying.

Meanly now man's life creeps onward,
Stir of worms along the gutter,
Hideous dwarfs the dance are treading,
With a bowed and servile aspect.

Never more the swords are brandished,
Every noble speech is silenced,
Crag and valleys of the Faeroes
Nothing now but gross worms foster.

Wretched, wretched Faeroe country,
Rotten whale-meat be thy symbol.
When shall Sjurdur, mighty champion
Whet his weapon, sound the war-cry?

(Translated by G. M. Gathorne Hardy).

PERHAPS IN FIVE SCORE YEARS.

Perhaps in five score years
Some girl will still shed tears
For famous men, whose life
Passed in the battle's strife:

For these, some summer day,
A wreath of daisies gay
And buttercups, perchance,
Twine, ere she joins the dance.

Her eyes perhaps may be
Blue as the smiling sea,
Her breast like drifted snow—
Peaks where volcanoes glow—
Her laughter like the bird
That by the ford is heard;
Yet in the dance she may
Sing staves of Kjartan's lay.

Perhaps in five score years
Such maids will shed their tears
Over those warriors who
To battle rode from view—
In war's grim dance to stand
Fending their rugged land—
Vanished in storm and cloud,
Heroes in battle loud.

How can the fame they found
Suffer from death or wound ?
While the four seasons change
And down long centuries range,
Maids on their mountains will
Fashion them garlands still,
Guarding, from age to age,
The hill-folk's heritage.

(Translated by G. M. Gathorne Hardy).

BE STRONG, MY SOUL.

Be strong, my soul, on thy night vigil cold,
Where to the gods no altar candle burns,
Where every hope the snowy drifts enfold,
And ne'er a trace of heat my heart discerns:
Be great, my soul, as those still spaces cold,
Which lone remain, when life's brief tale is told.

Be strong, my soul, upon thy darkling way,
Where grey mysterious forms about thee run—
Thine offspring, who their weariness display
In piteous weeping for the absent sun;
Be great, my soul, with the day's griefs oppressed,
A long night comes, to grant thee dreamless rest.
(Translated by G. M. Gathorne Hardy).

JOHN SELDEN IN CONTACT WITH SCANDINAVIA.

By ETHEL SEATON.

A VOLUME of correspondence of John Selden, the great jurist and Orientalist, has recently been acquired by the Bodleian Library (MS. Selden, supra, 108; cf. *Bodl. Lib. Record*, May, 1943, ii, 73-4). It contains between two and three hundred letters, chiefly addressed to Selden, also a few drafts of his replies. There are some fairly large groups or sets of letters such as those of his academic friends, Gerard Langbaine the elder, or Ralph Cudworth the Cambridge Platonist, also those of the Dutch scholars Heinsius and Meibomius. In addition there are many isolated letters from various European scholars; among these are a few which may be of interest to students of Scandinavian learning in the seventeenth century.

Two letters (*f.* 159 and *f.* 145) are from Thomas Bangius, the noted Danish theologian and Hebrew scholar; these act as introductions for English and Danish travelling students. In two letters (*f.* 250, *f.* 252) Sir William Boswell, ambassador at The Hague, furnishes information on the disputants over Selden's *Mare Clausum*, especially on Pontanus, the Danish historian. There is also a letter (*f.* 186) from a member of the great Swedish clan of Horn.

I.

Thomas Bang or Bangius (1600-61) was Professor of Hebrew and then of Theology in the University of Copenhagen, and in his later years Keeper of the Royal

Library.¹ His two Latin letters to Selden are to be found in reverse order, like many of the letters in the collection. The earlier (*f.* 159 and *verso*) was written from Copenhagen on September 1st (*Kal. Sept.*), 1648, evidently with the purpose of introducing himself to Selden as a scholar and a fellow-Hebraist, and of recommending to him the bearer of the letter, the young Englishman, Ricardus Tatius. This formal request is written in a careful, elegant, Italian hand, and has all the appearance of a fair copy. Bangius addresses Selden ceremoniously. Nothing, he says, is more greatly desired by him than the friendship of famous and learned men. Lovers of letters and learning, when cut off from personal intercourse, can yet alleviate their desire by mutual correspondence (*nostra, qui Literas amamus, quique Literatos aestimamus, mutuis literarum alloquiis, desideria lenimus*). Therefore he asks pardon for approaching Selden and taking up his time, unknown foreigner (*exterus*) as he is, and not compelled by necessity. He assures Selden of the high esteem in which he bears his writings, his learning, and his skill in oriental languages; each time that he considers them, the desire to pay the debt of courtesy (*euprose-gorias*) overwhelms him. He has been encouraged in this project of writing by a student of sound learning, a member indeed of Selden's nation, but hitherto a Dane by residence, and by breeding in liberal studies. He then launches into lofty *sententiae* on the theme of travelling for culture rather than for gain; and his style rises to celebrate 'Divine Wisdom, who does not confine herself in one region of the world as in a prisonhouse (*ergastulo*). She is free, and for the sake of liberty she gladly goes forth to meet those men of parts who seek out the hidden treasures of the Muses in a foreign land.' From the general, Bangius descends to the particular case of Ricardus Tatius, for whom he will go surety that Selden will not regret any favour that he

¹ Bricka, *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*.

shows him. Finally he turns to enquire into the state of Selden's affairs and labours in these deplorably turbulent days; in moving terms he prays 'that golden Peace, sought with so many vows and sighs, yea with so many tears, may be restored, not only to the warring people of England, but also to the whole world.' After this preamble, he asks some detailed questions arising out of Selden's books. In the illustrious and immortal book, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium*, he has noted a reference (p. 17) to *Librum de Noe et Arca*, and also (p. 135) to *Synedrion Magnum*; of these works he longs to know more. In return, he sends some trifles of his own, Parts iv to vii of his *Exercitationes Literariae antiquitatis*; these with almost oriental depreciation he describes as 'the shreds of a poverty-struck intellect' (*paupertini ingenii lacinias*). He begs for a reply, which can safely be intrusted to the safekeeping of Richardus Tattius, and closes as *Tuarum Virtutum Cultor*, and with full ceremony of styles and titles.

Let us hope that Selden's reply miscarried. Nearly four years passed, and still Bangius had no acknowledgment. On May 2nd, 1652, he wrote again (*f.* 145 and *verso*), a letter which has all the appearance of haste in its rapid hand, in its brevity and point, and fortunate lack of flowery periods. It looks as if he were writing against time. He recapitulates shortly the contents of the earlier letter, giving its date, and making a more intimate reference to his former messenger, Richardus Tattius, *Anglus*, that *eximius juvenis*, to whose desire to be the bearer he had agreed all the more willingly because of the young man's 'irreproachable life among them.' He refers modestly to his former gift, the parts of his book *De Schematismo Aegyptiaco*, 'trifles, but such as this soil brings forth'; he would be delighted to hear if they had won Selden's approval. Now at last he takes up his pen in haste to recommend to Selden's patronage a scholar

de meliori nota . . . Matheseos studiosum et eximium Mechanicum,' Thomas Walgensteinus. Any favour extended to him will arouse the writer's warm gratitude. He asks again and urgently whether the books on Noah's Ark are yet in print. Lest Walgensteinus should approach so great a man empty-handed, he sends his *Nephilim*; they are ready to sit at the door of Selden's Library (*Musei*), nor does he deem them worthy of any other place. He takes leave with apologies and compliments, signing himself *Tibi addictissimus*, and then in the postscript comes to one of the chief reasons for the letter:

I had almost forgotten my friend Wormius, the son of Olaus Wormius, Doctor, and Regius Professor of Medicine, who gave to the world *Literatura Runica* and *Antiquitates Danicae*, brought to light (*erutas*) from the stones and monuments by the wayside. That access to your eminent person may be given to him is the desire and object of the present writing.

'My friend Wormius' is undoubtedly Wilhelmus Wormius, who had contributed to Bangius' volume on the *Nephilim*, and who spent the summer of 1652 in England. Fortunately for us he kept a full diary of his doings,¹ and this shows that Bangius was indeed writing against wind and tide. May 2nd was the actual date of Wormius' sailing from Copenhagen under the protection of the Danish ambassador. He landed in England on May 17th, and thereupon began a round of sightseeing in London, Oxford, and the West of England. Not till he returned to London on July 1st for a six weeks' stay does he mention, and then briefly, his frequent intercourse with learned men such as Selden, Gatacre, and Turquet de Mayerne. He reached Copenhagen on August 30th, and presumably

¹ Wilhelmus Wormius, MS. Diary, in Univ. Bibl., Copenhagen, Rostg. Saml., No. 39. 4to. A full abstract is given in Macray, *45th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*. App. ii. 61-2. Cf. my *Lit. Relations of England and Scandinavia*, pp. 158-60.

would soon be able to report to Bangius. His father's name was an excellent passport to men of learning in England.

Bangius' other friend is identifiable for the English enquirer by the description of him as a student of mathematics and an excellent mechanist. Thomas Rasmussen Walgensten (who died in 1682) was 'a man of varied talents,'² and of interests as different finally from those of Bangius as, say, Sir Christopher Wren's from those of Selden. At the University of Copenhagen he had applied himself to the study of mathematics. In 1651 he had begun the publication of almanacks under royal licence and continued this almost to his death. Nothing seems to be known of this journey to England, but five years later he studied at Leiden, and in 1664 went to Paris where he took up the craft of glass-cutting. It must have been the combined interest in applied mathematics, arts and crafts, that led to his being appointed in 1670 Inspector of the Royal Chamber of Models, a post similar to our Surveyor General, since it entailed the overseeing of all building projects in Copenhagen. The date of his birth is not known, but as he went to the university in 1644 he may be assumed to have been in the late twenties at the time of this hitherto unmentioned visit to England.

The Englishman Richard Tate (or possibly Tacey) remains obscure. The name Tate crops up in the Home Counties from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, and in the mid-sixteenth century one Richard Tate, esquire, was granted, with others, the manor of Great Hampden, Buckinghamshire, by the Sir John Hampden of the day.² There are, however, no Tates in the Visitation of that county of 1664. There is a large, well-known, and well-to-do family of the name in Northamptonshire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Tates of Delapré,

¹ Bricka, *op. cit.*

² *Buckinghamshire Charters*, Records of the Bucks. Arch. Soc., 1939, iii, 64.

from whom come Francis Tate the antiquarian, and Zouch Tate the Parliamentarian, as also the branch of Tates of Sutton Bonnington, Nottinghamshire; but the name Richard does not appear in the genealogies. From the terms in which this Richard Tate is referred to, one may conjecture him to have been the son of an English merchant domiciled in Copenhagen.

To turn from men to books, it is pleasant to know that Bangius' first gift arrived safely. All four volumes of the *Exercitationes* (1642-47) are in the Selden collection in the Bodleian Library (4o. B. 24, Art. Seld.; 4o. B. 23, Art. Seld. (v. and vi. together); 4o. B. 52, Art. Seld.); and the first of the set, vol. iv, *De Hieroglyphico Schemate*, displays on the title-page the author's dedication:

Viro incomparabili, Jo. Seldeno, J.U.D., Parl. Inf. Consil. Ampliss. Antiquario Regio, Dno. plurimum honorando dñi. Autor, ejusq. censurae submittit.

The copies do not show any signs of Selden's ownership, much less of use; if Selden had reached Section 56 of vol. iv, he would have found a handsome tribute to his great erudition and perspicacity, in terms very different from those in which Bangius refers (Sect. 64) to the *Clavis Philosophiae* (1633) of that Robert Fludd whom we now think of as the Mortalist.

The Nephilim, those antediluvian giants, whom Bangius jestingly represents as if they were castle-warders of old romance, were the subject of his just published volume, *Exercitatio de Nephilimis, gigantibus vulgo dicto, opposita Jac. Boulduco, resp. W. Worm*. There is a copy of it among the Selden books, but it bears neither dedication, nor owner's name; since, however, the covering letter arrived, presumably the book did also, and we may assume that this is the actual volume entrusted to Walgensteinus. Bangius' work is in fact well represented in the Library, copies of his earlier works being there, classified as Selden

books, also his one later volume, *Caelum Orientis*, etc. (1657), but in the Marshall collection.

Bangius did not in the second letter repeat his query on Selden's *Synedrion Magnum*, but only that on the *Librum de Noe et Arca*. This looks as if he knew that the former book had begun to appear; Part I of *De Synedriis et praefecturis juridicis Veterum Ebraeorum libri tres* came out in 1650, the second Part in 1653, and the third posthumously in 1655, the year after Selden's death. The *Librum de Noe et Arca* does not appear among Selden's publications, though the reference to it is retained in the place cited in the great collected edition of his works published and unpublished. One would like to know how Selden responded to the Dane's overtures; perhaps even now his answers may survive in Denmark the ravages of a fiercer war, and 'golden Peace' may disclose them.

II.

Sir William Boswell (who died in 1649) was at The Hague, first as Secretary to the ambassador, Dudley Carleton, and later (1633) as himself ambassador. Like most of the diplomats of the period, he had scholarly tastes; at one time he had been secretary to Lord Herbert of Cherbury.¹ Here we find him keeping Selden in touch with some of the writings that sprang up on the continent in violent opposition to his *Mare Clausum*, with its claim on the seas around Britain. Boswell writes on September 20th, 1636 (*f.* 250 verso) to apprise Selden, among other things, of the examination of the book taken in hand by the Dutch jurist, Theodore Graswinckel, and of his intention to publish. By 1637 another adversary has come into the field, and Boswell writes a friendly warning (*f.* 252 and verso):

Sr.

The last Summer I wrot vnto you, wch I hope came safe vnto you, although I haue not hetherto vnderstood

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

so much from yor: self or other. At present you shall receiue heerwth A bolt suddenly shot agt: you (befor either expected, or dreamt of heer) by Joh: Isac: Pontanus R. Profess[or] of story at Harderwick in Guelderland vnder these states. Historiographer also, and Pensionar to ye K: of Danmark (hauing written or yarked ye history of these Kings in fol[i]o. besides many old pieces of his youth) being now of grt yeares, wch I accompt aboue 60. Theodor Graswinkle Author of *Vindiciae libertatis Ven[e]tae* in 4to. (Advocat in these Courts of Holld.) hath also finished a work fieve tymes as big, to ye same purpose: whrof I haue giuen notice to Mr: Sec:rie Coke & would [be] glad if you spake / wth his Honr (if you think so fitting) about It. If there be any other thing, wherin I may shew my trew affecon, and respects of yor: worth, You shall doe me a kindness to command

Yor: euer faithfull and
most affectt: frend and seruant
Will: Boswell.

Haghe. 13/23. April.
1637.

Johan Isaksen Pontanus (1571-1639) had obtained the post of Historiographer Royal in 1618,¹ and had brought out in 1631 the first half of the resulting and required history, *Rerum Danicarum Historia*, to which Sir William refers so cavalierly. The second half he left unpublished at his death. But in spite of advancing years, he found time to turn aside from his historical labours, and to write and publish his reply to Selden, *Discussionum Historicarum libri duo*, which was published in 1637, evidently early in the year. The Bodleian copy of the book is in the Selden collection (80. P. 3, Art. Seld.); it does not bear Selden's name, but at the head of the title-page appears the Greek phrase which was Selden's chosen motto and sign manual.

¹ Bricka, *op. cit.*

In the volume there is much underlining of passages and arguments, especially where, as often, these are directly addressed to Selden. Perhaps one of the shrewdest hits, heavily underscored (pp. 36-7) is that where Pontanus twits Selden with his error in northern geography (*Lib. ii cap. 9*) in placing Gotland on the North Sea, and Greenland on the shores of the Baltic. Pontanus does not point out, as he might have done, how antiquated is Selden's authority, Geoffrey of Monmouth, for this extraordinary idea of the Scandinavian coastline.

Among the Selden books there are copies of Graswinckel's two books, *Maris Liberi Vindiciae adversus P. B. Burgonum* (1652), and *Maris Liberi Vindiciae adversus Welwodum* (1653) (Jur. 40. A.5, BS; Seld. 40. G. 26, Jur.), but they show no sign of his ownership or use; the copy of his earlier work, *Libertas Veneta* (1634; Seld. 40. G. 13) bears Selden's Greek motto. It is odd and rather inexplicable that Selden's own copy of *Mare Clausum* should have a MS. copy of a Latin verse eulogy of Graswinckel by an enthusiastic supporter pasted in before the title page. For Selden disdained as unworthy the artifice by which Graswinckel covertly attacked him under colour of refuting the Venetian controversialist, P. B. Burgos, and still more the charge that Selden had written *Mare Clausum* merely in order to gain his liberation from prison. When Selden, in his last book, *Vindiciae* etc. (1653) proudly refutes Graswinckel's calumny, he contrasts his controversial manner with that of Pontanus, who, as he says, never used the method of personal insult, but set forth the arguments in such a way as to facilitate the reader's judgment. His first sentence *Inter transvectos vere hoc e Belgio libros novos, occurrit mihi titulus Theodori J. F. Graswinckelii*, etc., can now be read as a reference to the friendly offices of Sir William Boswell. Two later letters of 1647 and 1648 (*f. 41* and *f. 35*) show Sir William acting as intermediary for the loan of MSS. and

the interchange of books between English scholars, Selden, Usher, Patrick Young, and a man also well known by name in English controversy, 'my ancient and euer honoured friend, Monsr. Salmasius.'

III.

The Latin letter from Gustavus Christierni Horn (*f.* 186) is the least interesting of these letters in itself, and the most difficult to place. It is undated and without address, written in a small, neat, but fairly free, Italian hand. It is colourless in tone, with nothing but elegant apologies, and vague proffers of assistance, until the last sentence reveals the purpose of the letter, the request for the loan of two books, *Caesarem cum Velleio Paterculo ex Johanne Stepano*; these would be of great use to him. From the name, and in the absence of direct information, one would assume the writer to be a scion of the Swedish house of Horn of Aumine, in which the name Christiern descended.¹ He would probably be a cousin in some sort of that better known Gustavus Eberhardi Horn, of the more distinguished line of Kancas and Porkala, who was given the degree of M.A. at Oxford in March, 1632,² just before he started on his military career. One judges the writer of the letter to be a young man, partly from the complimentary stiffness of the style, partly from the elementary character of the books asked for. Again, one assumes him to be in London, or at least in England, since he would hardly be asking for such books to be sent to him in Sweden; it was probably a temporary accommodation that was needed. The address on the back gives no help: *Generoso viro domino Johanni Seldeno hae debentur officiose*.³ His request does not seem to be very accurately indicated. There does not appear to be a Johannes

¹ Zedler, *Universal Lexikon*, s.n. Horn.

² Ant. Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, pt. i, col. 467.

³ There is a small broken seal on the letter with arms to me undecipherable.

Stephanus or Jean Estienne among the great family of printers and scholars. But in 1568 an edition of the *Historiae Romanae* of Velleius Paterculus was published by Henricus Stephanus; this was probably the book intended. There is no copy of Velleius Paterculus among the Selden books, Thomas Gatacre (probably the physician) being the owner of the Bodleian copy of this edition (Radcliffe, e, 7). There is a copy of Caesar's *Commentaries* (Plantin, 1586) with the shelf-mark Art. 80, B. 79, Seld., but since it bears proof of private ownership in the eighteenth century, it is probably a later accretion to the Selden books.

As is the way of one-sided correspondence, the letters leave one with many questions unanswered, especially on more personal matters. What did Selden and Wormius talk of at their meeting? And what did Wormius report to Bangius of Selden? What type of building did Walgensten, the future architect, most admire in England, Hampton Court, or the Banqueting House at Whitehall? And finally, did Richardus Tatius settle his allegiance to Denmark or to England? Some day the answers may be found in Denmark.

FRIEND AND FELLOW.

By E. S. OLSZEWSKA.

JOHN HEMINGE and Henry Condell, in the *Epistle Dedicatorie* of the First Folio, give as their purpose 'to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend, & Fellow aliue, as was our Shakespeare, by humble offer of his playes, to your most noble patronage.'

The alliterative collocation *friend and fellow* 'comrade,' literally 'friend and associate,' is a traditional usage, of which many earlier examples are at hand. Indeed, one of the plays in the First Folio itself provides a parallel.

You few that lou'd me,
And dare be bold to weepe for *Buckingham*,
His Noble Friends and Fellowes; whom to leaue
Is only bitter to him, only dying:
Goe with me like good Angels to my end.

(*King Henry the Eighth*, II, i, 71-5).

We may also compare *fellowes and friends* in *Coriolanus*, IV, v, 194.

A sixteenth-century example of the phrase appears in *The Auncient Ecclesiasticall Histories* of Meredith Hanmer, p. 178 (ed. of 1577): *The Armenians . . . were friendes and fellowes of the Romaines*.

The earliest example I have noted of the use of the two nouns *friend* and *fellow* in a formula occurs in the *Chronicle* of Robert Mannyng of Brunne.¹ In a passage dealing with the reign of King John we have the couplet (p. 211):

Porgh Pandolf prechyng þer werre was brouht tille ende
þe barons & þe kyng were mad felauhes & frendes.²

¹ *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*, ed. Thomas Hearne, 1725.

² *frendes*: read *frende* (cf. OE. Anglian *frēond* nom. pl., OWN. *frændr*), as in Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *The Story of England* (Rolls Series), line 5154: *Syn han þey ben ful feyþful frende* in rhyme with *brought til ende*.

In this instance, the full meaning of the expression *were mad felauhes & frendes* might be paraphrased as 'became partners in a compact of friendship.'¹

The unrhymed alliterative poems of the fourteenth century provide several Middle English quotations for the phrase *friend and fellow*,² with the two nouns used more often in the plural than in the singular. Typical examples are to be found in the *Destruction of Troy*. A warning against the vice of pride includes these lines:

ffor proude men in price haue playnly no fryndes,
But eury mon with enuy ertis hom skathe;
And who-so frend is & felow to þat foule vise,
Myche hate on hym highes & harmys with all.

(lines 4840-3).

In line 8927, Agamemnon begins his address to the Greek leaders with the words, 'Now, fryndes & ffelowes,' and a third example of the phrase occurs in the complaint of Æneas:

And I, þat am outlawhit for euer of þis lond,
ffro frendes & felowes, þat me faith ow.

(lines 12373-4).

William of Palerne line 3806 and *The Crowned King* line 18 are additional references for *frendes and felawes* in uses similar to those quoted above.³

The phrase is also used in the rhymed romances:⁴

He was my frende and my felawe:
To hym wolde y full ferre drawe.

(*Guy of Warwick*, 15th century version, lines 11339-40).

In the *Fragment of the Song of Roland* (EETS. ES.

¹ Cf. the use of OE. *fēolaga* in the account of the compact between Cnut and Edmund in the *Old English Chronicle* (MS.D) 1016: *Þā cýningas . . . wurdon fēolagan & wedbrōðra*.

² J. P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English: A Survey of the Traditions*, p. 283.

³ Cf. also *The Wars of Alexander*, lines 863-4:

Noȝt as þi suȝet & þi son. my sawe I þe ȝeld,
Bot as a felawe or a frynde. fallis to a-nothire.

⁴ Oakden, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

XXXV), line 304, Roland cries to his knights in battle:
*We be fellos and frendis.*¹

The use of the phrase by Chaucer² may be noted:

Envie is of such crueltee
 That feith ne trouthe holdith she
 To freend ne felawe, bad or good.

(*Romaunt of the Rose*, lines 265-7).

And this Pamphilles seith also: 'If thow be right happy'—that is to seyn, if thou be right riche—'thou shalt fynde a greet nombre of felawes and freendes. And if thy fortune change that thou wexe povre, farewell freendshipe and felaweshipe; for thou shalt be alloone withouten any compaignye, but if it be the compaignye of povre folk.

(*Tale of Melibee*, VII, 1558-60).

With Chaucer's *freendshipe* and *felaweshipe* we may compare a passage in the Wycliffite version of the Bible: 1. *Maccabees* viii, 17 *He sente hem to Rome, for to ordeyne with hem frendship and felawship.*

Although some of the examples given above might be regarded as nonce-usages, due to the demands of alliteration or rhyme, the quotations as a whole provide evidence for the currency in Middle English and early Modern English of the phrase *friend and fellow* (*fellow and friend*). The word *fellow* is a Norse loan-word (: OWN. *félagi*), first recorded in late Old English, and the possibility therefore arises that the phrase has its origin in Norse alliterative tradition. The primary meaning of OWN. *félagi* is 'business-partner,' but it is also used in the vaguer sense 'comrade,' as in English. One example of the occurrence of *félagi* in phrasal combination with OWN. *frændi* 'kinsman' is conveniently at hand, for Vigfusson (s.v. *félagi* 2) cites *félagi minn ok frændi*.³

¹ Cf. also *Ywain and Gawain*, lines 3794, 3812, *friendes and gude felaws* (*felawes*).

² Edition of F. N. Robinson, 1933.

³ There is, unfortunately, a misprint in the reference, which is to *Fornmanna Sögur*, X, 88, where the locution *hinn bezi félagi* occurs, but not the phrase quoted.

Two Old Norwegian works, both written in highly alliterative prose, preserve several examples of the formula *frændr ok félagar*.¹ In *Barlaams ok Josaphats Saga*, p. 41² a description of man's fate at death includes the passage: *En þa skiliazt i fra frendr oc felagar oc allt skraut oc skartt heimsins* ('Then your kinsmen and comrades and all the splendour and show of the world will depart.') A second example in the same text reads (p. 115): *Skolum vit vera siðan bæðe frenndr oc felagar i uendilegom fagnaðe*.

In the life of Thomas of Canterbury, *Thomas Saga Erkebyskups*,³ the phrase *frændr ok félagar* is used where the corresponding passages in the Latin source have *propinqui* in one instance, *cognatio* in the other: *Konungsens iustisar með frændum oc felagum hins dauða fylgðo oc flutto . . . þann vesla prest* (p. 56); *af rekner rikenó meðr ollum sinum frændum ok felagum snauðer i anauð* (p. 158). As typical additional examples of the phrase in the same text may be quoted: *Her fyri tekr hinn sæle Thomas erkibyskup utlægd meðr frendum ok fælagum* (p. 136); *Hans frændr ok fælagar ero aller landflæmtir* (p. 146).

To complete the evidence from Old West Norse, I cite one example in which the collocation of the two nouns *frændi* and *félagi* is not a rhetorical device. In a section of a decree of King Olaf the Saint, which deals with the rights of his Norwegian subjects in Iceland, we find the clause: *Arf skal taca a Islande frænde eða felagi* ('His kinsman or his partner shall inherit the property (of a Norwegian) in Iceland.')

The material at hand seems to indicate that an alliterative combination of *frændi* 'kinsman' and *félagi*

¹ This order of the two nouns is found in the majority of the English examples quoted above.

² ed. R. Keyser and C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1851.

³ ed. C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1869.

⁴ *Norges Gamle Love*, I, 437. For *felagus* in eleventh-century English law with Icelandic parallels, see J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, IV, 296f.

'partner' was current in Old Norse, and that this use was borrowed into English. The prevalent meaning of *frend* in Middle English is 'friend,'¹ and consequently the two elements of the phrase came to be almost synonymous.² It is, however, probable that a trace of the meaning 'kinsman' for *frend* survives in some of the Middle English examples of the phrase.

In conclusion, I may note, for comparison, two other alliterative phrases current in Middle English, the one inherited from Old English tradition, the other a new formation. In Old English the noun *frēond* is found in alliterative collocation with *gefēra* 'companion,'³ and this usage survives in Middle English, e.g. *als frend and fere* in *Cursor Mundi*, line 559. This phrase of native tradition, however, is far less common than the borrowed *frend and felawe*. Secondly, Middle English has a new combination of synonyms, one borrowed from Norse, the other native, in the phrase *felawe and fere*, e.g. *for your felow & fere me faithfully hold* in the *Destruction of Troy*, line 706.

¹ Cf. OE. *frēond*; see Bosworth-Toller and Supplement and NED.

² An alliterative phrase often changes in meaning or application, in accordance with the development of one or both of the separate elements in the phrase; cf. the difference in meaning of the phrase *wit and wisdom* in medieval and modern use, following the semantic development of the word *wit*; and OE. *drēorig ond gedrēfed* 'bloody and turbid,' describing Grendel's mere in *Beowulf* 1417, beside ME. *drerizmod & dreofedd* 'gloomy and troubled,' applied to Herod's state of mind at the birth of Christ in the *Ormulum* 6541.

³ For examples, see Oakden, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

REVIEWS.

ÍSLENZK MENNING I. By Sigurður Nordal, Reykjavík, 1942, pp. 360.

Members of the Viking Society probably know Nordal best for his edition of the *Orkneyinga Saga* (1913-16), in which a reliable text of that important saga was first made available. He is also well known for his study of the textual traditions of *Ólafs Saga helga* (*Om Olaf den helliges Saga*, 1914), and for his authoritative edition of *Egils Saga* (1933). In his introduction to the *Borgfirðinga Sögur* (1938), Nordal included an especially valuable account of the development of narrative prose in Iceland, and showed that it was sometimes possible to date sagas by comparing their form and style. A smaller work of no less importance was *Hrafnkatla* (1940), in which Nordal analysed *Hrafnkels Saga*. He showed how slight were the relations of that saga to history and tradition, and how great its artistic merits.

All of Nordal's work is characterised by clear thinking and logic. It is for this reason that he is the most revolutionary of critics. With keen, irrefutable arguments, he has done more than any scholar to dispel conventional ideas, and to replace uncritical credulity with scepticism. Nordal's criticism has destroyed much of the faith, inherited from older scholars, in the historicity of Icelandic sagas. By this realistic approach he has done great service to the historians. At the same time, Nordal has appreciated the artistic value of this literature more fully than any of his predecessors. He has thus built up a new standard of values.

Íslenzk menning is the major work of Nordal's career. He has been preparing it for more than twenty years. It is preceded by an Introduction in which the author tells us something about his own intellectual life. He explains how he began *Íslenzk menning* in Oxford in 1917-18, at a time when he was much influenced by W. P. Ker. In its first draft this book was intended for foreigners who knew nothing about Iceland. In its present form it is an invaluable introduction to the study of Old Icelandic, from which all students would benefit, however learned they might be. It is a study, not of literature, in the narrower sense, but of the civilisation of Iceland. It includes chapters on political history, law and religion. It would be impossible to understand the literature of any country without knowing something of these subjects.

Iceland may be regarded as a miniature community. Guðmundr góði might be regarded as Thomas Becket, or even as Francis of Assisi, in miniature. It is possible to watch most of the political and intellectual movements of Europe grow up in Iceland and develop on a smaller scale. Thus reduced these movements are often easier to understand than they are when observed among the great communities of Europe. If only for this reason, a book like *Íslenzk menning* would be useful to students of history and of literatures far removed from Iceland, if available in one of the better known languages. Nevertheless, it is right that it should have appeared first in Icelandic. The style is masterly, the vocabulary rich and unequivocally precise. *Íslenzk menning* is an example of Icelandic prose at its best, and is in itself an important literary work.

Such an outstanding work does not lend itself to detailed reviewing. The chapters on paganism and on court poetry are especially striking. In the first of these Nordal shows some of the philosophy on which pagan life was based. He repeats his views on the *Völuspá* with even greater emphasis than

he did in his earlier work on that poem (*Völuspá*, Reykjavík, 1923). In his study of court poetry, Nordal considers the origin of the complicated poetical conventions characteristic of this kind of poetry. He gives support to the suggestion that the 9th century poet Bragi Boddason originated many of these conventions. Bragi, it seems, was regarded as a god after his death, and he is really identical with the homonymous god of poetry. Nordal's remarks on the poetry of Egill Skalla-Grímsson will be read with especial interest.

This book is designed for the beginner and the scholar alike. The facts contained in it are often well known, but the approach is always fresh. Every chapter bears the imprint of Nordal's independence and clarity of thought.

ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND. By F. M. Stenton. (*The Oxford History of England*, Vol. II). Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1943. x + 748 pp. 21s.

It is a pleasant task to record the publication of Professor Stenton's history of Anglo-Saxon England, which relates to the complex period from the emergence of the earliest English kingdoms (c. 550) to the death of William the Conqueror (1087). The author deals with the political, social and religious history of this period, and, in addition, the development of Old English literature is discussed, with sensitive criticism, in relation to the culture which produced it.

It would be superfluous to emphasise the importance of this volume for Anglo-Saxon studies. Professor Stenton has also earned the gratitude of those who are primarily interested in Norse studies. They will here find, side by side with the accounts of each impact of Scandinavian forces on England during this period, admirably lucid surveys of the political situations in Denmark and Norway underlying the different phases of piracy or conquest. An exemplarily judicious use is made of Scandinavian historical tradition. The influence of Scandinavian ideas and institutions on Anglo-Saxon society is fully recognised; references to supplementary material are given in the bibliography (pp. 704-5). This critical bibliography of thirty-five pages is a most valuable guide to Anglo-Saxon historical studies, and specialist and non-specialist alike must pay tribute to the excellent index, the work of Mrs. Stenton.

The first known raid of Danish adventurers on England in 835 was followed by a period of sporadic raids. After the death of Horik in 854, there was no king in Denmark powerful enough to hold his people back from the prospect of exciting and profitable adventure, and in 865 England was invaded by a great Danish army, anxious to win land for settlement. The result of the ensuing series of campaigns was that, although Wessex survived as an independent kingdom, thanks to Alfred the Great, at the end of the ninth century the east of England between the head-waters of the Tees and the estuary of the Thames was settled by members of the Danish armies, as a consequence of the successive partitions of southern Northumbria, eastern Mercia and East Anglia.

Although in the tenth century West-Saxon rule was imposed on these regions, the Danelaw retained its social, legal and linguistic peculiarities. A brilliant survey of the Danelaw forms one section of this book (pp. 495-518). The language of the legal texts referring to the Danelaw, which contain both loan-words and formulas of Scandinavian origin (often anglicised in form), is an illuminating parallel to that of such a Middle English text as the Lincolnshire *Havelok*. In the latter part of this section Professor Stenton demonstrates the significance of place-names of Scandinavian origin as materials for the history of the Danelaw. They indicate the varying degrees of intensity with which different parts of the district were colonised, and reflect in some degree the nature of the settlement, that of a military organisation. In

the northern Danelaw, where the centre of Danish influence lay, both place-names and personal names prove that there was no general assimilation of Danes to Englishmen in the two centuries before the Norman Conquest.

In eastern England the bulk of the Scandinavian settlers was of Danish origin. Norwegian Vikings had raided the coasts of England at the close of the eighth century, but it was in the first quarter of the tenth century that Norwegians from the colonies they had established in Ireland began to make permanent settlements in north-western England, thus introducing 'a remarkable hybrid culture, in which Norse and Irish elements are inextricably combined.' Norwegians were also added to the original Danish settlers in Yorkshire in the tenth century, when rival Norwegian leaders contended for the throne of York. All readers of *Egils Saga* will remember its picture of the court of the last Viking king of York, Eric Bloodaxe, who was expelled in 954.

The Scandinavian element in the population of England was not entirely confined to the Danelaw and north-western England, for the Viking raids that were renewed at the beginning of the reign of Æthelred II, 'a king of singular incompetence,' culminated in the establishment of a Danish monarchy in England. Cnut endowed his followers with English land—for example, we have clear evidence of a Danish aristocracy in Worcestershire established at this time—and Domesday Book records landowners bearing Scandinavian names in every part of England.

Relations between England and Scandinavia in the Anglo-Saxon period, however, did not consist solely in raids and conquests. King Athelstan was on terms of friendship with the Norwegian court. An English chronicle records that Harold Fairhair dispatched a Norwegian mission to England, bringing to Athelstan an ornate warship with purple sail, and Norse tradition gives us a further proof of friendship in the information that Harold's youngest son, Hakon, was brought up at Athelstan's court, as his nickname 'Aðalsteins fóstri' bears witness. Already in the tenth century there was regular commercial intercourse between England and Scandinavia. Professor Stenton notes that the best evidence for this is the fact that a currency modelled on that of England was introduced into their own countries by the rulers of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Finally, we must not forget the important part played by the English Church in the establishment of Christianity in the Scandinavian countries, most notably in Norway.

E.S.O.

IBN FADLĀN.

- (1) PUTESHESTVIE IBN-FADLANA NA VOLGU. By I. Krachkovskii. *Moscow and Leningrad: Akademiya Nauk SSSR., Institut Istorii i Institut Vostokovedniya*, 1939.
- (2) IBN FADLĀN'S REISEBERICHT. By A. Zeki Validi Togan. *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des morgenlandes XXIV, 3. Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag F. A. Brockhaus*, 1939.

On April 2, 921 a diplomatic mission set out from Bagdad to visit the King of the Bulgars, a Turkish people living on the Middle Volga. One of its members was a certain Ibn Fadlān; he wrote an account of his journey and of some of the peoples he encountered. One of these peoples was the Rūs, the Scandinavians of Russia, and his account of them is one of our most valuable sources of knowledge.

Ibn Fadlān's *Risāla* 'writing' (or *Rihla* 'reisebericht,' as Validi calls it) is extant in one manuscript; it forms the fourth part of a manuscript discovered by Validi in Meshed in 1923. Until that time Ibn Fadlān's work had

only been known from quotations in later authors *viz.* Yāqūt, Ahmad Tūsī, Amin Rāzi and—according to Validi—Zakariyā al-Qazwīnī.

The following illustration will serve to show how great is the germanist's need for an authoritative version of Ibn Fadlān—a need happily now met by the two important works cited at the head of this note. In the edition of Ibn Fadlān hitherto regarded as standard (Frähn, *Ibn Fozzlans und anderer Araber berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, 1823) we find the passage (p. 5):—"Ihre Schwerter sind breit, wellenförmig gestreift, und von Europäischer Arbeit. Auf der einen Seite derselben befinden sich, von der Spitze bis zum Halse, Bäume, Figuren und mehr dergleichen dargestellt." This translation has resulted in many references to the damascening of the swords of the Rūs (e.g. Shetelig-Falk-Gordon, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, p. 379). But both Validi and Krachkovskii take the passage as referring, not to the damascening of swords, but to the tattooing of the person.

Ibn Fadlān's account of the Rūs has often been considered inaccurate—particularly by those who would prefer a more flattering description of the Vikings (cf., for instance, H. R. Ellis, *The Road to Hel*, p. 46 note). However the prevailing opinion among specialists in Muslim geography is that he was a man of great accuracy (cf. Validi's remarks, pp. XVIII-XIX).

The first forty-three paragraphs of the Risāla cover Ibn Fadlān's journey to the Bulgars, with some account of the Ghuz (§§20-36), the Pechenegs (§38) and the Bashkirs (§§40-42). §§44-79 are devoted to an account of events after the arrival of the mission and a description of the natural history and customs of Bulgaria. The work concludes with an account of two peoples—the Rūs (§§80-93) and the Khazars (§§94-103).

Krachkovskii's work consists of an Introduction, Russian translation, commentary, bibliography, indexes and a facsimile of the Meshed manuscript. The commentary is mainly concerned with the interpretation of the Arabic text. (It may be noted, in passing, that C. Waddy's article "A Scandinavian Cremation-Ceremony," *Antiquity* viii, 58-62, which is a translation of Ibn Fadlān's famous description of the funeral of a Rūs chieftain, should be added to the very full bibliography).

Validi's work comprises an Introduction, German translation with notes, commentary, and the Arabic text. The book has no maps, a drawback for all who are not specialists in Muslim geography, and no indexes. The author hopes that a new edition of the work will comprise indexes. The book is well-printed, but there is a large number of misprints in citations of those languages which are not largely used in the book (e.g. English, Hungarian, French and Icelandic). Validi's commentary on the section dealing with the Rūs contains many useful references. It seems however unfortunate that he has apparently made no use of the excellent handbook of Scandinavian archaeology by Shetelig, Falk and Gordon referred to above. Thus, on p. 227, the 'rough cloak' (Ibn Fadlān's *kisā*) probably corresponds to the *feldr* (Shetelig-Falk-Gordon, p. 342) rather than to the *mōttull* or *skikkja* (as suggested by Validi).

Indeed the Germanic archaeologist and the student of Old Norse literary sources may make many alterations and additions in Validi's commentary on the Rūs. As Validi himself points out (p. XXVII), an exhaustive utilisation of Ibn Fadlān is a major task still outstanding for future research in the appropriate fields. The aim of this brief mention is in fact to call the attention of germanic specialists to the two works, which are, unhappily, not yet easily obtainable in this country.

A.S.C.R.