THE VIKING CLUB

Saga-Book

OF THE

Viking Club:

OR ORKNEY, SHETLAND, AND NORTHERN SOCIETY.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY FROM OCTOBER, 1892, TO DECEMBER, 1896, REPRINTS OF PAPERS, REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES, Etc.

THE VIKING CLUB

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Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. I. PART I.

AT a Committee Meeting of the ORKNEY AND SHETLAND (CHARITABLE) SOCIETY OF LONDON, held on April 5th, 1892, upon the representations of Messrs. G. A. G. Robertson and J. R. L. Corrigall, it was considered advisable to form a Social and Literary Branch of the Society. The Committee requested Mr. Corrigall to act as Secretary *pro tem.*, and to invite those interested to attend the Annual Meeting of the Society. At this Meeting, held on May 5th, 1892, the Social and Literary Branch was formed, with a constitution and finances quite independent of the Society. Mr. Alfred W. Johnston was elected its first Honorary Secretary, and on his proposal, the alternative title "VIKING CLUB" was adopted, and the membership extended to all interested in Orkney and Shetland. Ultimately, in November 1893, the Club severed its nominal connection with the old Society, changing its name to "VIKING CLUB, OR, ORKNEY, SHETLAND, AND NORTHERN SOCIETY", and adopted a new constitution, further extending its membership to all interested in Northern studies.

LIST OF GIFTS TO LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

GIVEN BY

G. M. ATKINSON, Esq. (*Jarla-Man*).

Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 17th Annual Report, June 1894.

Mrs. BALFOUR.

"Ancient Orkney Melodies", collected by the late Colonel David Balfour, of Balfour and Trenaby.

POULTNEY BIGELOW, Esq. (*Jarla-Man*).

Two Lapp spoons; one Lapp knife, in sheath; three Norwegian boat models—one on the lines of the Viking ship discovered at Gökstad, in Norway, in 1880.

HYDE CLARKE, Esq. (*Jarla-Man*).

"Edda Songs and Sagas of Iceland." By George Browning. 1876.

Icelandic Millenary Festival, 1874, "Hymn of Welcome". By Matthias Jochumsson. English version by George Browning.

"The Scottish Review," October 1893. Standing Stones and Maeshowe of Stenness. By Magnus Spence.

J. W. CURSITER, Esq., F.S.A.Scot. (*Jarla-Man*).

List of Books and Pamphlets relating to Orkney and Shetland, with notes on those by Local Authors. Compiled by the donor. Kirkwall, 1894.

Miss CORNELIA HORSFORD.

"Discovery of America by Northmen". Address at the unveiling of the Statue of Leif Erikson. By E. N. Horsford. Boston, 1888.

"The Discovery of the Ancient City of Norumbega." By E. N. Horsford. Cambridge, 1889.

Remarks by E. N. Horsford at the Second Anniversary of the Watertown Historical Society, November 1890.

"The Problem of the Northmen." A letter to Judge Daly, the President of the American Geographical Society, on the opinion of Justin Winsor. 2nd Ed. Boston and New York, 1890.

"Review of the Problem of the Northmen and the Site of Norumbega." By Prof. Olson, and a Reply by E. N. Horsford. 1891.

Miss CORNELIA HORSFORD.

"Sketch of the Norse Discovery of America at the Festival of the Scandinavian Societies, May 1891, in Boston." By E. N. Horsford.

"The Defences of Norumbega, and a Review of the Reconnaissances of Col. T. W. Higginson." A Letter to Judge Daly. By E. N. Horsford. Boston and New York, 1891.

"The Landfall of Leif Erikson, A.D. 1000, and the Site of his Houses in Vineland." By E. N. Horsford. Boston, 1892.

"Leif's House in Vineland." By E. N. Horsford. "Graves of the Northmen." By Cornelia Horsford. Boston, 1893.

ALFRED W. JOHNSTON, Esq. (*Law-Man*).

"Birds of Omen in Shetland." Inaugural Address to the Viking Club, London, October 13th, 1892. By Jessie M. E. Saxby. With Notes on the Folk-lore of the Raven and the Owl. By W. A. Clouston. Privately printed, 1893.

LADY LOGIN.

"Sir John Login and Duleep Singh." By Lady Login. London, 1890.

ALBANY F. MAJOR, Esq. (*Umboths-Man* and *Jarla-Skald*).

"Sagas and Songs of the Norsemen." By Albany F. Major. London, 1894.

LADY PAGET.

"Facsimile Letter by Dr. Ingvald Undset to Lady Paget regarding the Framvaren Rock, South Norway." 1889.

"Framvaren Rock, South Norway." Extract from "The Old Northern Runic Monuments." By Prof. Dr. George Stephens. Vol. iii. 1884.

"Descriptive Notes and Plates of Grave Crosses in Unst, Shetland." By Lady Paget. 1894.

"Notes on Northern Words." By Lady Paget. Cambridge, 1891.

"The Northmen in Wales." By Lady Paget. Cambridge, 1891.

"Extracts from the Kalevala." Selected by Lady Paget. Cambridge, 1892.

"Wise Texts from the Ancients." Selected by Lady Paget. Cambridge, 1893.

"King Bele of the Sogn District, Norway, and Jarl Angantyr of the Orkney Islands." By Lady Paget. Cambridge, 1894.

DAVID ROSS, Esq., LL.D.

"Place-Names and Dialect of Shetland." By the donor. Glasgow, 1893-4.

Prof. Dr. GEORGE STEPHENS, F.S.A. (*Jarla-Man*).

Copenhagen University Festival Cantata. Music by Gade, words by Ploug. Translated by Prof. Dr. George Stephens. 1888.

Two Phototypes of MS. and Runic Inscribed Monolith in Gotland.

"Old English Writings in Scandinavia." By Prof. Dr. George Stephens. Copenhagen, 1860.

"Verses for the People." By an Englishman. London, 1871.

"Two Leaves of King Waldere's Lay." By Prof. Dr. George Stephens. 1860.

"Revenge, or Woman's Love", a Melodrama in five acts. By Prof. Dr. George Stephens. 1857.

Seventeen Songs and Chants to Prof. George Stephen's Melodrama "Revenge, or Woman's Love." Nearly all composed by Prof. Dr. George Stephens.

ELLIOT STOCK, Esq. (*Jarla-Man*).

"The Story of Egil Skallagrimsson." Translated by Rev. W. C. Green. London, 1893.

Mrs. A. STUART (*Edinburgh*).

Publications of the "Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur."

1. "Peder Smed. Et Dansk Rim Fra Reformatjonstiden" (*c.* 1530). Köbenhavn, 1880.
2. "Agrip af Noregs Konunga Sögum." Köbenhavn, 1880.
3. "Ellevte Arsberetning." Köbenhavn, Dec. 1890.

Messrs. VALENTINE & SONS (*Dundee*).

Six large Photographs of Norwegian Scenery.

SPECIAL DONATIONS TO FUNDS.

THING-SKATT (General Fund).

John Walker, Esq., Capetown - - - - - - -	£0	15	0

FOY-SKATT (Concert Fund).

The Chisholm, St. Magnus' Foy - - - - - -	1	1	0
The Marquis of Zetland, Yule Foy - - - - -	1	1	0
Samuel Laing, Esq., Viking-Jarl, Yule Foy - - -	2	0	0
M. A. Laing, Esq., Jarla-Man, Yule Foy - - - -	0	10	0

SAGA-SKATT (Literary Fund).

Captain Mockler-Ferryman, towards illustration of Saga-Book - - - - - - - - - - -	0	5	0
F. Sessions, Esq., towards illustration of Saga-Book -	0	5	0

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

FIRST SESSION, 1892-3.

PREVIOUS to its reorganization in 1893, the Viking Club formed a Social and Literary Branch of the Orkney and Shetland Society of London, during the first session of which the following Al-things, or meetings, were held at the King's Weigh House Rooms, Thomas Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W.

AL-THING, OCTOBER 13TH, 1892.

The late Mr. JOHN RAE, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. (Honorary Jarl), in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby on "Birds of Omen", which was privately printed for subscribers with "Notes on the Folk-lore of the Raven and the Owl", by W. A. Clouston. A few copies still remain, and can be had on application to the Law-Man.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 3RD, 1892.

The Rev. ALEXANDER SANDISON (Vice-Jarl), in the Chair.

The Law-Man, Mr. A. W. Johnston, read a statement regarding the "Objects and Laws of the Viking Club".

On the motion of Mr. G. A. G. Robertson, seconded by the Great Foud, Mr. J. R. L. Corrigall, it was resolved that the statement should be entered in the minutes, and copies sent to the Orkney and Shetland newspapers.

Mr. Edward Blair then read a paper on "Some Aspects of Toleration in the Closing Years of the 19th Century".

A discussion followed, in which Mrs. Saxby, Messrs.

Robertson, Sinclair, Watters, Cumming, and the Vice-Jarl took part.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 17TH, 1892.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Vice-Jarl), in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. W. A. Clouston on "Norse Tales and their Eastern Analogues", which has already been published in full in the *Orkney Herald* for December 28th, 1892, and January 4th and 11th, 1893.[1]

He remarked that story-telling was a favourite amusement among all races of mankind from all ages. With the civilised man or the savage, with the child in the nursery and the man of mature years, it is the same as regards story-telling. But how few tales current among various peoples have any claim to originality, to independent invention. The elements of which they are composed are comparatively few and simple, and have been modified to suit beliefs and customs in different places. The origin of popular tales and their diffusion is still a vexed question. In referring to the three schools into which students of comparative folklore may be said to be divided—viz., the mythological, the Aryan, and the anthropological—Mr. Clouston confessed himself in full sympathy with the Aryan, which held that European popular tales were the heritage of the whole Aryan race, and that the germs of stories were carried by the Aryan tribes in their migrations westward and northward. He was, however, disposed to agree with anthropological folklorists as regards the case of short stories, turning on a single incident or jest, which might well enough have originated quite independently in two or three places. On the question of diffusion of tales, besides traditions imported into Europe by Aryan tribes at their dispersion, many tales of Asiatic origin were introduced orally in more recent times by travellers, especially

[1] Under the new laws, papers read before the Club become its property, and cannot be published, except in the Saga-Book.

during the wars of the Crusaders, while others were taken into European literature directly from Asiatic books. The churchmen of the middle ages dealt profusely in short stories, and huge collections of tales were compiled by monkish writers. Mr. Clouston then proceeded to point out the Eastern analogies of a number of Norse tales, *e.g.*, Thor and the Giant Skrymer—the incident of Skrymer placing a rock where he was supposed to sleep, and which Thor struck with his hammer Miölner, thinking it was the Giant's head, is compared as a close parallel to that in the story of Jack the Giantkiller, in which Jack places a billet of wood in his bed in the giant's castle. Numerous other European and Eastern similar incidents were given. Among the other tales quoted may be mentioned "Whittington and his Cat," which was known in various forms in Norway and Denmark, and was related sixty years before Lord Mayor Whittington was born, by the Persian historian Abdullah. Mr. Clouston further remarked that in all countries the most popular stories are those which treat of craft and cunning, while downright thieving and roguery, when cleverly perpetrated, always find admirers among the common people. In stories of this class we find not only the same outlines, but, allowing for local colouring, the same or similar incidents, in places so far apart as Norway and Ceylon ; and we can conclude only that the original tales have been carried from country to country.

In the discussion which followed Dr. Karl Blind described Mr. Clouston's paper as one full of striking analogues. He agreed with him that tales told in the most opposite quarters of the world, which yet contained the same points and incidents, cannot have arisen independently of each other, but must be traced to a process of borrowing. Migratory races, or conquering clans, merchants and other travellers, prisoners of war, etc., may have been the means of spreading a tale or saga. A good story-teller will always find eager listeners, and what he gives to his hearers strikes root. There are those who think that the distribution of

tales has taken place from East to West. Others believe it occurred from the West, or rather from the North, to the East—especially since the theory of the northern origin of the Aryans has been revived. For his own part he held both ways to be possible ones. Our globe having existed for millions of years, while our historical records extend only over a few thousand years, there is no saying what migrations and re-migrations of races had happened in prehistoric days; the Thrakians, for instance, being a known example of a repeated re-migration. The story of Cinderella—"Aschenputtel" in German, "Ashpitel" in Scotland, "da Essiepattle" in Shetlandic—is to be found, in some of its chief points, already in an Eros and Psyche myth of Appuleius. Some faint traces of it are even contained in Egyptian tales. He had received from a friend in Scotland an evidently very ancient, somewhat crude, Ashpitel tale, which, in several points, shows a curious contact with a Finnish one. To give another example: there are manifest survivals of Odinic faith among the Redskins of North-Eastern America, in districts where formerly the Eskimo race dwelt. We know from Icelandic chronicles that the great Western continent was discovered by the Norsemen five hundred years before Columbus. In one case two Eskimo boys were captured, taught the Norse tongue, and baptised; but, no doubt, they were at the same time given plenty of the ancient mythology; for it is to the credit of the Norsemen that they preserved the record of their own Teutonic religion. For hundreds of years before Columbus these Norsemen had had settlements in America. Quite recently in Ohio there were found, in excavated mounds, a number of swastika symbols, exactly like those we know, from Hindostan to the prehistoric castles of Thrakian origin discovered by Schliemann in Greece. High up in the North, in Iceland, that same mystic sign had not long ago been still used for witchcraft. Mexico and Peru had probably been discovered in prehistoric times from the Asiatic side. But how did a swastika symbol get so far

north in America as Ohio? We should not forget the classic tradition of an Atlantis, which points to a knowledge of the Western continent in ages long gone by—a knowledge gradually resolving itself into mythic lore. He concluded by expressing himself convinced that no cast-iron theory will solve the question of origin. The human element, which is alike all over the world; the phenomena of nature, which are certainly contained in some tales or myths under a poetical guise; and, lastly, historical facts, often grafted upon some kinds of stories, have all to be taken into account if we would come to a proper understanding.—After a few remarks from Messrs. H. L. Brækstad and G. A. G. Robertson, the Rev. A. Sandison expressed his opinion that folk-lore should be treated as a sacred inheritance, and not, as was often the case, used by authors and other writers as a peg upon which to hang a story.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 1ST, 1892.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Vice-Jarl), in the Chair.

The Jarl, Mr. T. McKinnon Wood, gave a discourse on "Robert Browning."

AL-THING, JANUARY 5TH, 1893.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Vice-Jarl), in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael, M.A., Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, on "Udal and Feudal."

He said that these words might seem a mere jingle, but in fact represented a real and widespread historical antithesis. Taking *udal* to be a transposed form of *alod*, the udal owner of land, Mr. Carmichael said, had undoubtedly an interesting history, and was a survival of pre-Christian Europe. Dealing with the question why udalism or allodialism had practically been swept away by feudalism, Mr. Carmichael showed how solitary the allodial owner

was, and how powerless when the barbarian tribes invaded the empire, and he was therefore generally willing to exchange his nominal and precarious independence for the security of feudal interdependence. He also showed how the allodial owner, after centuries of obscurity, had emerged as the freeholder of modern times; and he discussed some points in the feudal and clan systems which had given rise to what he considered the erroneous attribution of servitude to the relations between chief and clansman and lord and man. The question how the udaller could obtain legal evidence of his ownership Mr. Carmichael considered important but difficult, there being no clear udal title to land. The process of feudalisation in Europe was briefly sketched, and the manner in which it affected allodialism was shown. Under feudalism, allodial holdings became "Fiefs of God and the Sun", a title, Mr. Carmichael said, not simply picturesque, but embodying the truth that allodial ownership is the fullest and freest under God and the sun.

In the discussion which followed Mr. A. W. Johnston remarked that the form of feudalism forced upon Orkney and Shetland was indeed servitude compared with the freedom and independence of their udal rights. The terms "udal-rights" and "udal-born" meant the imprescribable right of the alienator of an estate and his heirs (the udal-born) in all time to redeem their udal, while they continued unchanged in their privileges and rights as udal members of Alting. Mr. Johnston pointed out that there had, until the destroying force of usurping feudalism had been introduced, been a regular jury court for trying all cases of udal succession to lands; its certificate of udal right, which constituted a title, being called a Schynd Bill. Mr. Johnston was of opinion that the Sheriff Courts of Orkney and Shetland still possessed this power of trying cases of succession.—The Rev. A. Sandison called attention to the Shetland tradition that the udaller held his land, by his sword, from God. He gave it as his opinion that the

udallers actually held their lands from the community. —Mr. W. Sinclair, Jun., remarked that the udal right of manhood suffrage and individual freedom compared favourably with, and, in his opinion, was far superior to, the rights of the feudal vassal; and that, in fact, we in England were, at the present day, a step behind the state of government which formerly existed in Orkney and Shetland.

AL-THING, JANUARY 19TH, 1893.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Vice-Jarl), in the Chair.

Papers were read by Mr. J. G. Moodie Heddle, of Melsetter, "In Praise of Cockles," and by the late Mr. W. T. Dennison on "Wur Laird i' the Sooth Country." The latter was published in *Peace's Orkney Almanac.*

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 2ND, 1893.

Mr. T. MCKINNON WOOD (Jarl), in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., on "Scandinavian Art in Great Britain", which will be printed in a future number of the Saga-Book.

AL-THING, MARCH 2ND, 1893.

Mr. T. MCKINNON WOOD (Jarl), in the Chair.

A paper was read by Dr. Karl Blind on "Shetland Folk-lore and the Old Creed of the Teutons", which has been partly published in the *New Review* of Dec. 1894. The author gave an account of many popular tales and stray bits of ancient rhymes—some of them in alliterative form and with the vowel harmony of assonance—which had been rescued by him from oblivion, with the aid of friends and correspondents in Lerwick, Unst, Yell, Fetlar, and other parts of Shetland. He explained them as remnants and ruins from the grand mythological system of the Scandinavian race. They were "strange echoes from the Germanic world of Gods, weird voices from the overwhelmed Odinic

faith, and from the Vana or Water Cult," which had become fused with the Asa religion after a fierce struggle and a subsequent compromise. The lecturer referred to the first-rate work done by the London Folk-lore Society. A fragmentary semi-heathen, semi-Christian verse, referring to the "Rootless Tree", which the late Mr. Arthur Laurenson had sent, was used for an explanation of the Yggdrasil myth, the symbol of the Universe in the shape of the World Tree. Beetle Lore; rhymes apparently pointing to Freyja, the Goddess of Love; the rescued text of an "Arthur Knight", song, of which only two lines were hitherto known, and the full text of which seems now rather to refer to an original Odinic Valkyr myth; nightmare incantations, and other spell-songs, were the next themes. Then the Nuggle, or Njöggle, stories and tales connected with Nixes and water-sprites; the question of the character of the so-called "Finns", and of the Fianna race in Scotland and Ireland; the religious awe in which the sea was, and partly still is held, and the mysterious language in which certain persons, things, and occupations must be spoken of on board ship in Shetland and Scotland; Cat-Lore, in its reference to the sea, and similar relics of an ancient water worship were treated upon. Dr. Karl Blind concluded with an appeal to poets and artists "not to let the old Germanic deities wander about disembodied, waiting for the gifted hand that would mould them into form." As powerful exceptions, who had already done great work in this direction, he mentioned some Scandinavian sculptors. He also spoke in the same sense of Richard Wagner's "Ring of the Nibelungs", and William Morris's Stories of Sigurd, and of the Niblungs and Völsungs. Finally, he addressed a request to the audience to aid in collecting all the bits of folk-lore that may come within their reach, and thus to save what may have been early attempts even at a philosophical speculation under the many-coloured guise of Nature worship.—Mr. T. McKinnon Wood, and the Rev. A. Sandison, vice-jarl, expressed a high eulogy of the deep learn-

ing, and the charm of the poetical sentiment, of the lecture, which was received with great applause by a crowded audience.

AT-THING, MARCH 16TH, 1893.

Mr. T. McKINNON WOOD (Jarl), in the Chair.

A lecture was given by Mr. R. S. Clouston, on "Mezzotint Engraving."

GREAT AL-THING (ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING), APRIL 13TH, 1893.

Mr. T. McKINNON WOOD (Jarl), in the Chair.

The following report was read by the Law-Man :—

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LAW-THING FOR 1892.

The Viking Club was founded as a Social and Literary Branch of the Orkney and Shetland Society of London, at its Annual General Meeting, held on May 5th, 1892. Immediately after which the first general meeting of the Club was held, when the following Council were elected, viz., Honorary Secretary, Mr. Alfred W. Johnston, Honorary Treasurer, Mr. J. R. L. Corrigall, with Messrs. J. Corsie, W. Inkster, W. Muir, G. A. G. Robertson, J. B. Smith, and J. F. Watters, councillors.

The Second General Meeting was held on June 1st, 1892, when a set of laws prepared by the Council were considered, and, after some slight amendment, approved of.

The basis on which these laws were adopted, was at the time, and also at a later meeting, explained by the Law-Man, who stated that the Club was founded as a social and literary society in London for persons connected with, or specially interested in, Orkney or Shetland. In order to maintain and assert a distinctive local character, and to keep up the traditions and recollections of the North, the names used for members, officials, meetings, etc., were borrowed, and the constitution in a measure copied, from

the old Norse government and institutions of these islands. This would also tend to give some interest and spirit to an otherwise commonplace factor in ordinary club-life. The papers to be read would also deal largely with northern subjects.

Orkney and Shetland were no mere Scotch counties, but had a distinct social and political history of their own. The Norwegian Jarldom of Orkney and Hjaltland had been founded in the ninth century, and endowed with legislative and fiscal independence.

The sovereignty of these islands had been impignorated, or pledged, to Scotland in 1468, in security for part of the dowry of the Princess Margaret of Norway, afterwards the Queen of James III. They had never been redeemed. Their Home Rule had been partially overturned in 1614, and lingered on till the end of last century, when the islands were finally absorbed in the Scottish counties.

The title, "Viking Club," had been chosen as a short characteristic name, standing for both Orkney and Shetland, these islands having been one of the chief head-quarters of the Vikings.

The original Vikings had been those malcontents who, on the union of the petty states of Norway, under the kingship of Harald Harfagr in the ninth century, emigrated and settled in the wicks of Orkney and Shetland, and kept up constant reprisals on the old country, until these islands themselves had been in their turn added to that kingdom, and erected into a Norse Jarldom.

With regard to the Thing-Book for the first Session, the Law-Thing decided that it would be best to have combined social and literary Things, until they saw their way to organise social entertainments and literary Things independently of each other.

They also decided that the papers to be read should deal largely with Northern subjects, as well as with other matters of general interest, it being uncertain what would be best appreciated by the members.

In accordance with instructions received from the Law-Thing, the Law-Man procured contributions of papers, etc., and arranged the Thing-Book for the first Session, which was approved of by the Law-Thing.

The Law-Thing and Officers, etc.—The Law-Thing have added to their number the following members, viz., Messrs. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., H. A. Moodie Heddle, J. Ingram Moar, W. Sinclair, Junior, Secretary, Orkney and Shetland Society of London, and J. T. Wilson. They have appointed the following officials: Rancel-Man (Honorary Auditor), Mr. G. A. G. Robertson, C.A.; Umboths-Man (Honorary Udal Secretary), Mr. J. T. Wilson, his duties being to attend to the election of Udallers, issue club notices, etc., which matters were transferred from the office of Law-Man. Honorary Solicitor, Mr. J. Balfour Allan.

They have appointed some of their own number to act as a Huss-Thing, or Committee of Management.

The following councillors have resigned office, viz., Messrs. J. B. Smith and G. A. G. Robertson; the latter, however, remains as Rancel-Man. The Law-Thing have elected Honorary Udallers. They have elected some gentlemen, able to assist in promoting the objects of the Club as Honorary Thing-Men (Skatt-free Associates), allowing them to exercise the ordinary privileges of the Club, but not to vote on any matter affecting its constitution. They have made provision for the appointment of District Umbothsmen (Local Secretaries).

The Law-Thing are deeply indebted to the generous patriotism of the Rev. Alexander Sandison, Vice-Jarl, and to the Deacon's Court of the King's Weigh House Chapel, for the courteous and liberal way in which they have freely placed their rooms at the disposal of the Club for holding its meetings, so that no expenses have been incurred for rent of premises for a Thing-Stead (Meeting-Place), an item which otherwise the Club would not have had funds to meet, and which would have thereby greatly reduced the number of meetings.

The half-crown Skatt was just sufficient to pay the ordinary working expenses for the first nominal year, *i.e.*, virtually from October to December 1892.

There was, however, a balance of £4 odd on hand at 31st December, which was derived from a profit of £1 from the Herst Foy, and special donations of £1 1*s.* from Mr. Alfred W. Johnston, Law-Man, and £2 from Mr. Samuel Laing of Crook, Honorary Udaller.

In order to raise sufficient funds for 1893, the Law-Thing enacted that all members voluntarily subscribing 10*s.* and over should be fouds or stewards of the Club. This is already producing the desired result.

The principle has been accepted that the chief object of the Club is to enable Northmen to meet together in London for the purpose of keeping up the traditions and recollections of the Homeland by social intercourse, and by the reading of papers and holding discussions dealing largely with Northern subjects.

Orkney and Shetland are no mere Scottish counties, but have a distinct social and political history and literature of their own apart from that of Scotland, and most intimately connected with that of the other kindred Northern States, and with Norway, the fatherland. The study of the history of Orkney and Shetland, therefore, necessarily includes a general knowledge of the traditions of the North, and seeing that the Club has made a special feature of such a study of the history of these islands, the result has been, as was only natural where an integral section of a distinct racial area is concerned, that a decided development has taken place on the lines of widening the basis of the Club, to include a general examination of the literature of the whole North, its Sagas, and its "grand mythological system".

The Club, under its present constitution, as an avowed and limited Orkney and Shetland Society, precludes the admission of students interested in Northern history in a general way. Even if these persons are eligible, under

the wide law of being "specially interested in Orkney or Shetland"—a qualification which was added in order to augment what seemed to be an otherwise precarious membership—it must be admitted that the present government does not possess a sufficiently plain object which would appeal to those Northern students.

It is too obvious that, by adhering to the present limited qualification of members, the Club could never expect to become large enough to ensure its permanent and firm establishment with a workable income. For that reason, and on account of the limited membership, and consequent limited talents, it could never hope to attain a position of any great public utility and credit in the world of literature in the *rôle* of a distinctively Northern Society such as it is now virtually becoming.

When it is considered that there is at present in London a much felt want for a Northern Literary Society, and moreover, that increasing interest is now being taken in the Sagas and Literature of the North, it appears that it only remains for this Club to boldly take the initiative, by reconstructing its constitution, in order to ensure complete success as such an Association. Besides, the Club would only be admitting and associating in fellowship with themselves, pre-eminently their own kith and kin, in spirit if not in blood. The title "Viking Club" seems somewhat prophetic, in that it is especially appropriate to such an extension.

The identity of the Orkney and Shetland members would not be thereby eclipsed, because the membership of the enlarged Society, judging by other such Associations, would never be likely to increase to such an extent as to swamp the original promoters. But even if such took place, it must be remembered that the Club would nevertheless be one in brotherhood and sympathy.

The Law-Thing therefore propose that such a change should take place in the constitution of the Club, and for that purpose they now bring forward a set of new laws to

take the place of the old Law-Book, which, as it stands, was designed as a temporary and elastic scheme for the building up and free development of the Club during its first uncertain efforts.

In laying these proposed laws before the Annual General Meeting, the Law-Thing would point out that they propose that social entertainments should be held independently of the literary meetings, and that the former should include music, recitations, readings, short papers by the younger members, and other kindred entertainments, while the literary meetings would be set apart solely for papers and discussions on Northern subjects. There would be two optional subscriptions, viz., one admitting to all ordinary privileges of the Club, and another giving right, in addition to the above, to the usual yearly publications.

The proposed constitution provides for the appointment of District Secretaries, who, amongst other matters, would have to collect the folk-lore of their localities and report the same to the Club. With regard to this office the Law-Thing have in view a general collection of the folk-lore of Orkney and Shetland, by means of such secretaries being appointed in parishes or other convenient districts, so that what remnants are left of these fast-dying customs and old world beliefs may still be rescued from oblivion and permanently preserved as a valuable contribution to the science of folk-lore.

Proposed Viking Union.—In the event of the new constitution being adopted, the Law-Thing would recommend that steps should be taken at an early date to consider the feasibility of a scheme which had been proposed, by Mr. A. W. Johnston, as far back as 1886, for the union of all Orkney and Shetland and Northern Societies throughout the world. The Law-Thing are of opinion that the Viking Club, situated as it is in London, would best form the nucleus for such a grand union of Northmen.

In conclusion, the Law-Thing would record their firm conviction that the extension of the basis of the Club in the

way proposed would by no means result in its becoming a purely historical and antiquarian society; but rather, by the increase in membership, and its consequent firm and permanent establishment, together with the good fellowship which is so thoroughly characteristic of the North, it would thereby most assuredly tend to add energy and spirit to the distinctively social element in the Club.

The reorganization of the Club on the lines of this Report was considered at this and several succeeding meetings, and the new constitution was finally adopted at a special Al-Thing held on November 9th, 1893, the Club in the interim having been carried on on its old basis.

AL-THING, MAY 4TH, 1893.

Mr. J. R. L. CORRIGALL, in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. James Johnston of Coubister, Secretary of the Orkney Agricultural Society, on "Farming in Orkney Past and Present", which has already been printed in the *Orkney Herald* for May 24th, 1893.

AL-THING, MAY 18TH, 1893.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

An address was given by Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby, entitled "My Trade."

AL-THING, JUNE 1ST, 1893.

Mr. J. F. WATTERS, in the Chair.

A paper was read by the late Mr. Walter Traill Dennison, on "Subsidence of Land in Orkney", which is printed in full in the present number of the *Saga-Book*.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 14TH, 1893.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

An address was given by Mr. J. R. L. Corrigall, on "Wordsworth."

SECOND SESSION.

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

AL-THING, JANUARY 12TH, 1894.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

At the outset, The Jarl briefly explained the reconstruction of the Club, which is now formed into a social and literary society for all interested in the study of Northern literature, history, antiquities, etc. The inaugural address of the Thing-Mote was then delivered by Mr. F. York Powell,[1] of Christ Church, Oxford, his subject being "Some Literary and Historical Aspects of Old Northern Literature."[2]

In supporting the vote of thanks moved by Mr. T. Mackinnon Wood, and seconded by the Rev. A. Sandison, Dr. Karl Blind said the Viking Club had well begun its literary campaign of this year's Session by Mr. York Powell's interesting lecture. The Vikings were great fighters in their day, and not seldom they quarrelled among themselves; but this was not meant as a reflection upon those present. Here, members of the Teutonic race, Orkneymen and Shetlanders, Scots, Englishmen, Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, and Germans were gathered together as being devoted to the study of Northern literature and antiquity. He remembered a valuable treatise of Mr. Powell's on the traces of old Scandinavian law in the Eddic lays, and another on a Danish ballad of the sixteenth century, which was Englished, or rather Scottished—he must not say "Scotched"—in the style and the language

[1] Since then appointed Professor of History at Oxford.

[2] Unfortunately Prof. York Powell did not preserve any notes of his valuable inaugural address, and as no reporter was present we are unable to given even a summary of it.

of the early Border Minstrelsy. All this was very good work, and he was sure that the audience had thoroughly appreciated the lecture, and would heartily support the proposed vote.

Mr. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot. (Saga-Master), announced that the first donation towards the library of the Club had been received from Professor Dr. George Stephens, the well-known Northern scholar of Copenhagen. He hoped that members and their friends would follow the good example thus set, and he felt sure that if they did so, the collection would prove of very great value to students. In the great libraries at the British Museum, and elsewhere, books dealing with special subjects were completely buried, in consequence of which it was a matter involving not only a great expenditure of time and labour, but also considerable knowledge, to unearth the required volumes. Hence the obvious desirability for bringing together in one room all the works relating to Northern literature and antiquities where they would be easily accessible, and could be consulted without waste of time, and read in comfort. In conclusion, he pointed out how much yet remained to be done in educating public opinion with regard to the protection of the ancient monuments of the North, so as to compel an apathetic government to do something for their preservation, or lose the votes of the members of the Club, which might perhaps arouse them to a sense of their duty.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, Law-Man, intimated the presentation, by Mr. Poultney Bigelow, of a model of the original Viking ship. He briefly described the programme for the Session, and pointed out that social and literary meetings would be held alternately, one of each in the month. A concert would be held on 9th February, when a Norwegian lady singer would appear in Hardanger costume, and there would also be rendered some old Orkney melodies. However, he hoped at no distant date the Club would be in a position to give a concert representing characteristic

music of all the Northern countries. Mr. Johnston also called attention to the proposed appointment of secretaries in various districts in Orkney, Shetland, and elsewhere, who, among other matters, would have to collect the oral folk-lore of their localities. It was also intended to promote a union of all Societies of Northmen throughout the world.

Mr. Geo. H. Fellowes Prynne, F.R.I.B.A., said: "In warmly supporting the resolution, at the request of my friend Mr. Johnston, your energetic Secretary, I do so with some diffidence amongst so many Northmen, being myself a downright Southerner of Cornish descent.

"However, most warmly do I thank Mr. York Powell for his most interesting and able paper. The last hour has certainly been one of pleasurable instruction. What must have struck everyone, both in the paper itself and in the examples of Northern literature so well put before us is the dramatic directness of both verse and prose. The whole scene in each case is so vividly set before us in so few words. One feels somewhat out of one's depth in speaking of the literature of the North without especial study of the subject; but the one name of Sir Walter Scott is in itself sufficient to carry our thoughts to the highlands of literature, and to call up in one's mind a feeling of gratitude to that Scotchman who raised fiction to a classical elevation in these Isles.

"A society of this kind cannot but be of great value in the Metropolis, first and foremost perhaps for social reasons, and for mutual help and encouragement to those who live far from their native homes; but amongst other objects I notice art and archæology have a place, and it is on this subject, with your leave, I would say a few words. I have heard it stated that Scotland is a poor country in art and otherwise—my answer is No! Scotland is not a poor country. She is rich in her natural soil and beauty; she is rich in her grand past history; she is rich in her antiquities and literature; and last, but not least, she is rich

in the persevering energy of her population. Where, I ask, is the land whose sons show more persevering energy and realise larger fortunes at home and abroad? Wherever I have travelled in America and Canada the Northerner is always known by his untiring energy. But this being so, why is it that the architectural monuments of the North have suffered so? Architecture is said to show the life of a nation. North Britain has in past times been rich in her architecture, and in this, as in other ways, she has shown much freedom and independent spirit, the chief characteristic being the intermixing of styles. The semi-circular arch, for instance, generally confined to the Norman period of work elsewhere, is in the north used in all styles and periods of work. The mouldings of different periods are likewise intermixed, which renders it more difficult to fix exactly the date of work in Scotland than elsewhere; whilst in house architecture the baronial type is peculiar to Scotland—and there is no mistaking a house of this period of work between 1500 and 1660. In this style are combined French, Flemish, and English features, yet so blended together as to form a distinct style. But again I ask why is it that so much beautiful work has been destroyed, and so little cared for? Of course, history tells us that the destruction caused by the followers of John Knox went much further than the renowned reformer intended, but what reformer could ever stop the excesses of his followers? Irreparable devastation was undoubtedly caused by these enthusiasts, but there has been still greater damage wrought since by ignorance, neglect, and wanton destruction. The evidence of many villages near the sites of old abbeys in Dumfriesshire and Aberdeenshire and elsewhere, tell of the way in which these monuments of the past were simply used as quarries, and stones so wonderfully wrought with cunning hand sold for walling to the highest bidder. What I am leading to is this: that if a society of this kind can help to inspire love for the past arts, as well as for literature and legend; if it can help to

teach its members and north countrymen that these very stones are the tell-tales of their country's history; and, above all, if they can inspire a deep reverence in those who have the care of these temples of the past, remembering that the hands of their fellow-countrymen wrought these stones with loving care, and built them with the one idea of honouring Almighty God—then a great work will indeed have been done.

"Let not these precious remains be wiped out from the history of your noble country!

"No! it is by such links as literature and art that Northerner and Southerner are bound in one common interest and brotherhood. So let it be. I again thank the reader for his admirable paper."

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 2ND, 1894.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

Mr. H. L. Brækstad gave a lecture on "Norway and its People", illustrated by lantern views. The early history of the country was briefly traced, beginning with the settlement by the Northmen, a branch of the Teutonic or Gothic race, the ancestors of the Norwegians of to-day. The aboriginal Lapps had been driven further and further north, till they were at last left in peace at the northern extremity of the country, where, however, they are now fast dying out. The characteristic independence of these Northmen, or hardy Norsemen, was fully illustrated, Norway being one of the few countries, if not the only one, in Europe where the peasantry have never been serfs. Their udal laws trained them in the management of their own affairs, and produced that feeling of self-respect and independence which the possession of property, and land in particular, gives. The early Northmen, not being able to wring sufficient out of the barren soil for their livelihood, had to resort to Viking raids for the necessaries and luxuries of life, harassing the coasts of their own country,

as well as Scotland, England, and France. Mr. Paul du Chaillu's work, *The Viking Age*, was briefly noticed, particularly the assertion that the English race must look to the Scandinavians for their ancestors, and that the old Saxons were, indeed, nothing but Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish invaders, who drove the Celts into Wales and other outlying parts of the country. The lecturer, while acknowledging the well-known Norwegian and Danish settlements in Orkney, Shetland, the East Coast of Scotland, Yorkshire, and Ireland, pointed out that England had already been settled by Saxons and Angles for hundreds of years before the invasions of the Norsemen, and that there was no evidence whatever that the early Saxons came from Norway or Denmark. The Saxons, another branch of the Teutonic race, came, according to the best authorities, from the Elbe and the North of Germany, while the Angles, also Teutons, came from Angeln in the south of Denmark. Norway was divided into numerous small kingdoms until 870, when Harald Haarfager united the whole under one crown. In 1450 Norway was joined to Denmark, and so continued for nearly four hundred years, being treated like a conquered province, producing the most disastrous results to Norway; but nevertheless the peasants maintained their personal rights. In 1814, Norway regained its independence, and was eventually united with Sweden under one king, but declared a free, independent, and indivisible kingdom, retaining its own parliament, government, army, and navy. Norway has for the last fifty years had a most perfect system of local government. Norwegians of to-day consist of two classes—Bönder, or peasants, and townspeople, the latter to a great extent of foreign origin. The peasantry are still the kernel of the nation. They have always been the freeholders of the land on which they live, on which, as a rule, their forefathers had lived for centuries before them. From the earliest times the peasantry have been the absolute owners of the land. During many political

difficulties the Norwegian peasants have been the saviours of the country; and from their ranks have sprung some of the most celebrated men of our day, such as Björnson, Ivar Aasen, Skredsvig, a great number of their best painters, and nearly all their sculptors. Norway ranks high among European countries in education; all the peasants and working classes can read and write; they all know the constitution and the history of their country. In speaking of the modern literature of the country, reference was made to Wergeland, Welhaven, Björnson—the latter has been well called "the political conscience of the Norwegian people", Ed. Grieg, the musician, and lastly Ibsen, who has been described as a pessimist and realist of the first water, but whom the lecturer preferred to regard as the Shakespeare of the 19th century.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Karl Blind said that Mr. Brækstad had given his hearers a good idea of the people of a country which, on account of its free institutions, has been called the "Northern Switzerland", and an equally good glimpse of the modern literature of Norway, as represented by Björnson, Ibsen, and others. In the translation of Ibsen's dramas, Mr. Brækstad has had a hand, and a very efficient hand it was. He (Karl Blind) understood that the lecturer was engaged now on the translation of a work of Jonas Lie, another of his eminent literary countrymen. Impressive as some of Ibsen's plays are held to be, it was to be hoped that the Norse race would not allow itself to be influenced by their pervading tone of gloomy pessimism, or else life would not be worth living for them. He was glad to find that Mr. Brækstad had taken a proper estimate of Mr. du Chaillu's work, *The Viking Age*. That book was valuable for its illustrations, and for its extracts from the Edda and the Sagas; but the same could not be said of some of the arguments of its author, who actually disputed the fact of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of England. Referring, in the course of his remarks, to an

attempt which had been made to explain the names of England from the Scandinavian word *eng*, which means a meadow—so that this country would bear its appellation from being a grassy land, of flat or undulating appearance—Dr. Karl Blind said that the Angles, or Engles, had, after all, clearly left their trace in Englefield, Anglesey, and other place-names. The Angles and Saxons were well recorded in the title of the early English kings. In the *Saxon Chronicle*, this country is spoken of as Engla-londe. In Germany, to this day, it is still poetically referred to as Engel-land; and this word is also often used in popular speech even now. Mr. Brækstad (the speaker continued) had dwelt on some differences between separate branches of the Teutonic race—namely, the Norwegians and the Swedes. Differences no doubt exist. At the same time the similarities are much greater. An Orkney man or a Shetlander might often pass, in outward appearance, for a Norwegian, a Swede, a Dane, or even a German, and *vice versâ*. Norway, though its population is so small, has one of the largest commercial fleets. This same maritime bent is mentioned by Tacitus of the Svions, the forefathers of the Swedes, in the *Germania*. The Germans, on their part, were the great maritime and naval power in the middle ages; and love of the sea is again strongly coming up among them now. So in this respect, as in many others, the Teutonic nations have very much the same characteristics.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 23RD, 1894.

Mr. J. G. GARSON, M.D. (Jarla-Man), in the Chair.

A paper was read by the Rev. A. Sandison (Jarla-Man) on "Whale Hunting in Shetland", which is printed in full in the present number of the *Saga-Book*.

In the discussion which followed Mr. Alfred Heneage Cocks said that he took interest in every thing that concerned the Club, that is, in every thing Scandinavian.

The subject of the lecture that evening was one of special interest to him, and he would like to thank Mr. Sandison for the valuable information he had given them. He had made voyages, during six or seven seasons, for the purpose of learning something about whales, to the northernmost coasts of Norway and Russia, and had visited the factories established for the Finwhale Fishery.

The word *whale* was so comprehensive and vague, that he would prefer to see the word *cetacean* substituted in the great majority of cases. The word whale did not indicate one kind of beast, as the words cow, or horse, each did, but included many very different animals, quite as distinct from one another as a cow is from a horse, or even from a dog. Something like twenty-two species of cetaceans had been observed in the British seas, varying from the little 5-ft. Porpoise, up to the 90-ft., or even 100-ft. long Blue Whale, or Sibbald's Rorqual.

The cetaceans hunted on the Lapland coasts were all what are known as Finwhales. They were all whalebone whales, having no teeth at all, but a curious arrangement of baleen-plates fixed perpendicularly in the gums of the upper jaw, transversely to its long axis, and somewhat resembling leaves in a book, each plate being furnished on its inner margin with a thick fringe of hair. They fed on very small food. A few species eat herrings or small coal-fish, cod, etc., but most of them depended upon shoals of small crustaceans. When they met with such a shoal, they swam through it, with their enormous mouths wide open. To give some idea of how large their mouths might be, Mr. Cocks said that he had had measured a lower jaw-bone of a Blue Whale, which was 23 ft. long, following the curve. When sufficient barrels-full of crustaceans were enclosed, the whale shut its mouth; the water was then forced out between the leaves of the book, as it were; but the shrimps were prevented from escaping by the fringe of hair, through which they could not pass.

Mr. Sandison was almost certainly correct in doubting

whether the Greenland Right Whale had ever occurred off the Shetland coast, or elsewhere in British seas: it was an entirely Arctic animal, and had never been proved to have come so far south. Another species of Right Whale, however—the Biscayan Right Whale—had occurred in British seas. This species was formerly common in the temperate parts of the Atlantic, especially frequenting the Bay of Biscay, as its name implies. It was regularly hunted by the Basques from early times, probably before the twelfth century. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, whales having become scarce in the south, the whalers pushed further and further north, until at length they reached Spitsbergen, and there they found the Greenland Whale a species in every way more valuable, being larger, having a greater thickness of blubber, longer baleen, and of better quality, and much less active and dangerous to attack.

There were five species of Finwhale in the North European seas. The nearest to the Right Whales was the Humpback, with a maximum length of about 50 ft.; and four kinds of Rorquals, the smallest of which, the Lesser Rorqual, length about 30 ft., was not hunted by the whalers, though it was killed in some of the more southern Fjords. Next was the Rudolphi's Rorqual, or Coal-fish Whale, the handsomest of its family, with a fine skin like satin; length up to 50 ft. Then the Common Rorqual, length occasionally up to, or even exceeding, 80 ft. And lastly, the enormous Sibbald's Rorqual, or Blue Whale, length up to 90 ft., and possibly even 100 ft.; larger than any other animal now living, or whose fossil remains are known.

Until about the year 1868, the Finwhales[1] were not often interfered with by mankind, being too active and dangerous for any known appliances to cope with; but in about that year an old Norwegian whaler, Herr Svend Foyn, invented an enormous harpoon weighing 1½ cwt., carrying an explosive shell containing over ¾ lb. of powder,

[1] With the exception of the little Lesser Rorqual.

which was fired from a swivel-gun fixed in the bow of a small steamer about 80 ft. long. Thus equipped, and with the monopoly granted him by the Government until 1882, Svend Foyn had only to proceed a short distance out into Varanger Fjord from his factory established at Vadsö; and picked up enormous Blue Whales as quickly as possible, and at the same time realised a considerable fortune. He liberally gave up the last year of his monopoly, and by the following season so many companies had started, that though some of them paid for the first year or two up to 90 per cent., they quickly "killed the goose that laid the golden eggs", not only by frightening survivors out of the enclosed Fjords, but by overstocking the market with baleen and oil; and every year since they have been "climbing down". Mr. Cocks said he was the first amateur who ever saw a Finwhale killed by these appliances, the King of Norway and Sweden being the second.

With regard to what Mr. Sandison had said about more than one kind of whale being included under the appellation "Ca'ing Whale" in the Shetlands, there was only one species of Pilot, or "Ca'ing" Whale (*Globicephalus melas*), which belonged, like all the other small so-called "whales", to the Dolphin family; and no doubt the other smaller cetaceans referred to by Mr. Sandison were probably only dolphins. One, which Mr. Sandison had said was known in Shetland as "the Jump" was possibly the species known in Norway as the "Spring Hval", or the White-beaked Dolphin (*Delphinus albirostris*). One frequently, off that coast, met with large schools of this species, and it was a very pretty sight to see them continually leaping to a height of many feet, clear out of the water. On one occasion, when in a coasting steamer, he had overtaken a school numbering probably a couple of hundred individuals. Some were swimming and jumping close alongside, while the furthest must have been about a mile distant. Thinking this a good opportunity for securing a specimen, Mr. Cocks ran below and fetched his rifle. Shooting rather hurriedly as an in-

dividual jumped close by, the bullet struck the water just clear of his back, and from that moment not one dolphin again showed itself. Though most were under water at the moment of the explosion, some doubtless several fathoms deep, others actually in the air, and, as before said, many about a mile distant, yet all equally were scared at the shot. Mr. Sandison had asked in his lecture whether Mr. Cocks could suggest what the substance was, resembling soft soap, which Mr. Sandison had noticed in voes after whales had been there. He thought it was merely oil from the blubber, as he had noticed, when large finners sounded, that an oily stain marked the spot for some little while afterwards, and gulls would often alight in such places, doubtless for a little light refreshment. He would not detain members with further remarks, but would merely again offer his thanks to Mr. Sandison.

In answer to a question as to whether he had tasted whale meat, Mr. Cocks said that he had eaten plenty of it. The edible qualities of whales differed almost as much as those of land animals. The best to eat was the Rudolphi's Rorqual, or Coal-fish Whale, which, when properly prepared, was not at all bad, though he would always prefer a piece of good roast beef. He had once made two meals off the flesh and blubber of a Common Rorqual that had come ashore dead some three months previously, and that was certainly not *choice*. A factory had been started on an island near the North Cape for tinning the meat of the Rudolphi's Whale; but the supply was very precarious. In one season the men were kept busily employed all the time, and the next they only had three individuals during the entire season. There was also some not unnatural prejudice against the consumption; so between these two difficulties the company was soon wound up.

In reply to the Chairman's remarks, Mr. Cocks said there was no doubt whatever as to the distinctness of the species of Finwhale as he had enumerated them. He had not entered on the question of the toothed whales, which were

by far the most numerous sub-order, and to which the lecture had chiefly referred. It might be worth adding, with regard to the White Whale which the Chairman had mentioned, that though it was essentially a species belonging to the Arctic regions where he had met with it in fairly large schools, he had also on one occasion seen a solitary straggler right up Christiania Fjord, which was remarkably far south for it.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen called attention to the curious stories told about the whale in the mediæval Bestiaries, especially the one about the mariners mistaking its back for an island.

Mr. Albany F. Major asked if any Viking present could say if there were instances of whale hunting described in the Sagas. He had only been able to find cases where whales had drifted ashore, the incidents being introduced into the story because of the quarrels which seemed generally to have arisen over the division of the spoil on such occasions. There was a case in the Saga of Howard the Halt, and another in the Eyrbyggja Saga, but, as far as he had read, there was no case of an actual hunting of the whale. With regard to the remarks of the last speaker, he remembered two cases of the whale occurring as a mythic monster, one in Frithjof's Saga where a storm is caused by two witches riding on a whale's back, and where Frithjof runs down the whale with his ship, breaks its back, and the storm disperses. The other is in an Icelandic folk-tale, where a man goes mad, jumps into the sea, and is changed into a dangerous whale, which besets the coast and attacks fishermen, much as the Rorqual described by Mr. Sandison did to the Shetlanders. Finally, it is conjured by a priest to follow him up a swift river, full of rapids, till, in trying to ascend a waterfall far inland, it dies of the trials it has undergone.

Dr. J. G. Garson also described the anatomy of the whale at some length.

AL-THING, MARCH 16TH, 1894.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON, in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., on "Prehistoric Art in the North", which is printed in full in the present number of the *Saga-Book.*

A discussion followed, in which Messrs. J. R. Haig, A. G. Langdon, V. D'O. Wintle, A. F. Major, and the Chairman took part.

THE GREAT AL-THING (ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING), APRIL 16TH (St. Magnus' Day), 1894.

The business transacted was as follows :—

(1) Annual Report of the Club.
(2) New Law establishing additional Jarla-men (Vice-Presidents).
(3) Election of Umboths-Vikings (officers) for 1894.

AL-THING, APRIL 27TH, 1894.

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

A paper was read by Dr. Karl Blind on "The Boar's Head Dinner at Oxford and a Teutonic Sun-god", which is printed in full in the present number of the *Saga-Book.*

After a brief discussion, in which Mr. E. H. Baverstock, the Rev. R. Gwynne, and Mr. A. F. Major took part, the Rev. A. Sandison moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his erudite and eloquent address.

AL-THING, MAY 4TH, 1894.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

Mr. Edward Lovett read a paper on "The Orkney and Shetland Lamp and its Geographical Distribution," illustrated by lantern slides and examples from various countries. After referring to the difficulty of tracing back

ethnological subjects beyond a certain point, which compels us to depend largely on theory when we try to account for the origin of customs or appliances common to mankind, the lecturer said that it might be assumed that the lamp was originally devised as a means of re-kindling a fire if it went out, striking a light in early days not being on the simple process it is now. Mr. Lovett remarked that prehistoric man probably rose and retired to rest with the sun, and did not require a lamp as a source of artificial light. The earliest lamps were probably of stone, as shown in the photograph of a specimen found in a grave. This was an untrimmed flat stone, six inches by four, unworked, except for the hollow for the oil and the gutter for the wick which it contained. Shells had probably taken a very large share in the evolution of the lamp: in fact, the genus Terebratula was known as the lamp shell, and there were many species of shells which required no adaptation to make them into serviceable lamps. Especially the whelk, Buccinum, which the Scotch know as the "buckie", was actually still used in some instances as a lamp by Shetland fishermen; and it had probably helped to determine the shape of the Scotch "crusie" lamp. But all over the world it was found that similar wants evoked similar ideas; and, as far off as Kashmir, there were to be found iron bowls used as lamps in cottages, whose long suspending stems of twisted iron exactly resembled those of the Scotch "crusie". The "crusie" was to be found in many varieties. In its most perfect form it was hand-made, the pans for the oil being beaten out of thin sheets of metal in stone moulds, and comprised two pans, one for the oil and wick, the other beneath it to catch the overflow. The lower pan was affixed to the suspended stem of bent iron, while the upper one was attached to a ratchet, which allowed its angle of inclination to be varied as the oil burned lower. Various forms of "crusie" were then shown, as well as other early lighting appliances, such as clips for holding the rushlights, and

pine-slips which were used as primitive candles. These were known in Scotland as the "puir mon", probably because they replaced the unlucky "hewer of wood and drawer of water" who, in ruder times, among other menial tasks had to serve as candlestick to the household. The lecturer, in referring to the persistence with which the rude appliances of primitive times survive long after the inventions of science ought to have banished them into museums, instanced the fire-stick still to be found in use among savages, and the clip and rushlight which he actually found in use last year in a Yorkshire stable. A great variety of lamps were then thrown on the screen, some showing how the principle of the "crusie" was gradually developed and improved until at last, by the addition of a glass chimney, the paraffin lamp with all its modern offspring was evolved. Others showed how lamps of the "crusie" pattern were to be found all over the world, and in very various materials, while examples from widely distant lands often showed a marked similarity in design or details of construction. The subject of the lamp of Greece, Rome, and Etruria was expressly avoided, as it would require in itself a whole evening to do it anything like justice.

The President proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Lovett, which was supported by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, who also, on behalf of the meeting, thanked Mr. Kenneth McKean for the very beautiful series of slides he had photographed and prepared specially to illustrate the lecture. Mr. Allen mentioned that there was an instance of a chalk lamp, found at Cissbury, in what had evidently been a mine where flints were obtained from the chalk, as an instance where prehistoric man had found it necessary to use the lamp as a source of light. He also pointed out that the twisted iron suspender of the "crusie", with its characteristic hook, was to be found represented in the picture of Diogenes Fossor in the catacombs at Rome.

Mr. Lovett, in replying, briefly referred to a question which had not yet been determined: How did the "crusie"

reach the Orkneys and Shetlands? It was scarcely known in England, except perhaps in Cornwall; and he conjectured that it must have come through Scandinavia, in the train of the Norsemen who colonised the islands.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 2ND, 1894.

Professor W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl), in the Chair.

A paper by Mr. Hyde Clarke, on "A Norman Queen of Jerusalem", was read by the Hon. Sec. in Mr. Clarke's absence through illness. This will be published in a future number of the *Saga-Book*. In the absence of the author no discussion followed. Professor Cheyne then announced that, in exercise of the powers conferred on the Jarl by the laws of the Club, he had appointed Mr. Albany F. Major, author of *Sagas and Songs of the Norsemen*, to be Jarla-Skald, and he requested him to justify the appointment by reciting one of his poems. The Jarla-Skald then recited the "The Burial of the Sea-King".

AL-THING, DECEMBER 7TH, 1894.

Dr. KARL BLIND (Jarla-Man), in the Chair.

Dr. Karl Blind introduced Mr. Poultney Bigelow to the Club, as one who had been at the opposite parts of the globe, among the Lapps and the Japs, and even up to the Chinese Wall, and as a well-known writer and author of some charming little books of travel. Among them was one entitled *Paddles and Politics*, giving an account of his cruise in a canoe down the Danube, from its source in the Black Forest to the Black Sea. The meeting was now to hear him lecture about the apparently oldest inhabitants of the North, who were settled in Norway, Sweden, and Russia, divided into Mountain, Fishermen, Forest, and Nomad Lapps.

Mr. Poultney Bigelow then gave a talk about "A Visit to a Lapland Settlement near the Arctic Circle."

He explained that owing to the circumstances under which his visit was paid, he could not pretend to give anything like a detailed or scientific account of it, as he went there while on his honeymoon, and the last thing he thought about was to make notes for future use. He could not even find the name of the Settlement, or say definitely where it was: but it was in Norway, between Hammerfest and the North Cape. The chief thing that struck him in the Settlement was the very distinctive Lapp odour that pervaded it, which, after he had been holding a Lapp baby, he did not get rid of for some time, and he pointed out how all over the world each race has a characteristic race odour. This was the case, for instance, in America, where, strongly as the whites dislike the "negro smell", the negroes considered the "white smell" equally objectionable. The Lapps were in a very similar position to that of the North American Indians, pushed back by a superior till they were only saved from extinction by the fact that the regions in which they had taken refuge were so desolate that no one else could covet their possession. He had been much struck by their similarity in appearance, stature, and manners to the Japanese, and there was a conceivable chain of communication *viâ* the Aleutian Islands and North America, which their progenitors might have made use of. The name Lapp meant "banished", and was one given them by their enemies, which they themselves did not recognise, presenting in this respect, as well as in meaning, a perfect parallel to the name Eskimo. The Lapps evinced considerable intelligence, their skilful management of their teams of reindeer being particularly noticeable.

At the close of his remarks, Mr. Bigelow presented the Club with two Lapp spoons, and a knife in an ornamented sheath, and called attention to the enormous expenditure of time and labour among uncivilised races on the making of such simple articles, and the economic waste that ensued. He also presented three Norwegian boat-models, one being on the lines of the famous Viking ship found

in a grave-mound at Gökstad, in Norway, in 1880, now in the University of Christiania. These lines, he said, were those of the best type of boat in all ages, and re-appear to-day in the canoe and the lifeboat.

Mr. A. Heneage Cocks said that the Lapps were certainly a non-Aryan race, and it would be interesting to know if in language they in any way resembled the Japanese. There were various distinct tribes of Lapps—Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and Russian—each possessing certain distinctive features. Some of them are very skilful in the use of the canoe, but canoes did not seem to be used by any of the reindeer Lapps.

In answer to a question addressed to the Chair, Karl Blind said that, the Lapps being, like the Japanese, of Turanian race, there was a probability of the two languages containing some kindred roots—as seemed also to be the case between Finnish, Magyar, and Chinese, who belong to the same stock. A race like the Lapps were mentioned in the Edda, where in the "Rigsmal" three classes were described: the Jarls, or noblemen; the Karls, or freemen; and the Thralls, or serfs. The latter were pourtrayed with some physical characteristics which came very near to what Mr. Bigelow had said about the Lapps; for instance, their ugly countenances, flat noses, swarthy colour (*hörfi svartan hétu thrael*), and shrivelled skin—"*hrokkit skinn*" in the Edda. This would tend to show that they were an aboriginal race in the North. Lappish and Finnish races preceded Aryans in Europe. M. Renan says that, when he visited Norway, he was very much struck with the similarity of the Lapps to some people in Brittany—especially to children and women there.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Bigelow for his talk and for the objects he had presented to the Club for the museum which it is hoped to form eventually.

The Chairman then introduced Dr. J. Stefansson to the meeting, and said that the lecturer's native country, Iceland, which had given us the grand Norse Scripture,

was one which, during the time of its independence as a free commonwealth, had produced, in spite of its scanty population, a larger amount of valuable literature than any other nation, comparatively speaking.

Dr. Stefansson read a paper on "Scandinavian Influence on English literature", which will be printed in a future number of the *Saga-Book*.

Mr. Albany F. Major, in moving a vote of thanks to Dr. Stefansson, said that they were glad to welcome among them a native of that country which all who loved the ancient stories of their forefathers must reverence, since there were preserved the annals of the valiant Norsemen who were the ancestors not only of the Scandinavian races, but also of the inhabitants of these islands. Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson had expressed the opinion that some of the Eddaic songs were composed by settlers in these islands, probably in those Orkneys to which the Club owed its birth, and he cited in support of his theory that very "Rigsmal" from which Dr. Blind drew a very different conclusion, and he should be glad to have the opinion of the latter on this point. The lecturer's paper showed that there were men in England who were quick to recognize the power of the Icelandic literature when it began to be re-discovered in Europe, and for that the country might justly claim credit. In conclusion, he was glad to welcome an Icelander as a member of the Club, for it was one of the aims of the Club to draw together all the nations that sprang from the old Teutonic stock; and he hoped their efforts, in time, would lead Englishmen to recognize the old Icelandic tongue, with its grand literature, for what in truth it might claim to be, more than any Greek or Latin, the classic language of their race.

Mr. Bigelow, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that Dr. Stefansson's presence among them, and the welcome he had received, was only another proof of the truth of the old proverb, "blood is thicker than water,"

and he claimed for America a share in kinship with the descendants of the Norsemen, who first discovered America.

Dr. Karl Blind, the Chairman, said that all those present had no doubt, listened with great interest to the lecture just given. In answer to a question by Mr. Albany Major, referring to a hypothesis of Dr. Vigfusson, Dr. Karl Blind went on to observe that, though that eminent scholar had done a large amount of most excellent work, he could not follow him in some of his strange speculations. Thus, Dr. Vigfusson had endeavoured, in an essay written for the Grimm Centenary, to show that the designation of Sigurd, in the Edda, as a "Hunic ruler" (*húnskr konungr*), was absurd, and that the names of the Hunes should be struck out from those Sigurd lays, and be replaced by "Heorsk", which would mean the German Cheruskans, whose leader, Armin, was the deliverer of Germany from the Roman yoke. Now, this idea of seeing in Sigurd, or Siegfried, a transfiguration of Armin is a very old theory—a fact unknown to Mr. Vigfusson, as he afterwards confessed during a controversy with the Chairman in the *Academy*. As to the proposal of eliminating from the Edda the name of the Hunes—by which no Mongol Hunns were meant, as Mr. Vigfusson erroneously imagined—these German Hunes are historically proved in the clearest manner. They once dwelt in north-western Germany. There the Hunsrück mountain and various place-names still bear their trace. There were many old German personal names composed with "Hun", as may also be seen from the Anglo-Saxon epic, "Beowulf". There were Hunes in Sweden, too. Place-names in this country, from Sussex up to Shetland, testified to these Hunes, who, according to Bede, were among the German tribes that made Britain into an England. Such names as Hunston, Hunstanton, Hunswick, Hunie, and a mass of similar ones, spoke for themselves. The Sigurd saga had been brought by Icelanders, who had travelled in Germany, to the

North, where it was preserved in its purer state. Thus we met in the Edda with the name of Atli—which occurred in England in such names as Attleborough—on the Lower Rhine, where the revenge after Sigurd's death took place in the corresponding Eddic lays, in accordance with the true old tradition. But after the Great Migrations, the names of the German Hunes and of Atli were mistaken for those of the Mongol Hunns and of Attila ; and then the revenge for Siegfried's death was transposed in the Nibelungen epic to the Danube. Having spoken of England proper as being mainly Anglo-Saxon, that is, German, Dr. Karl Blind referred to the infusion of Norse blood and to the Norse "Kingdom of the Isles", which lasted on the western side of Scotland for so many centuries. He also said that, but for the unfortunate quarrels between Danes and Norwegians, Ireland, which had been conquered by them, might have become a Germanic country, in which case there would have been no "Irish Question" to-day. He then mentioned that these unfortunate contests between the various branches of the great Teutonic stock were already recorded by Greek and Roman authors. Tacitus expressed a hope that "such divisions might last for ever", so as to save the Roman empire. In conclusion, the chairman made a warm appeal for union among the different Germanic nationalities, adding that what the Viking Club was doing in the way of reviving interest in Norse and Teutonic antiquity was a powerful step in the direction of such brotherhood.

A vote of thanks to Dr. Karl Blind for consenting to preside, and for the important additions he had made to the interest of the evening, brought the proceedings to a close.

WHALE HUNTING IN THE SHETLANDS.

By the Rev. A. SANDISON.

THE whale I am to speak of to-night is not the Right whale. The Right or Greenland whale certainly does not frequent the Shetland seas, and it may fairly be questioned whether, in the memory of man, it has ever been seen off those coasts. I may mention, however, that a fisherman, entirely veracious and exceptionally intelligent, assured me that he saw one pass down Bluemullsond. It had been harpooned, and was dragging a length of line which, becoming for a moment entangled on an outlying point of rock, somewhat checked its course, and afforded him a fair opportunity of observing it. He was certain it was a Right whale; but notwithstanding his assurance, my conjecture is that it was a Rorqual.

The Rorqual, in all its varieties, is very commonly met with, and visitors to the islands seldom miss the sight of one or more slowly showing huge black sides among the waves, and spouting with great apparent deliberation. Occasionally they fling themselves entirely out of the water, and, when this leaping of theirs is observed, as I once was fortunate enough to observe it from no great distance, it presents a grand spectacle. Their object, according to the fishermen, is to relieve themselves from swarms of dogfish which fasten bodily on them, and may be seen hanging in fringes from their sides. Whatever may be the cause, the whales appear wild and distressed at such times, and it is well to give them a wide berth. I knew of one which continued to spring forward after this fashion until he had covered some four miles of water. A number of boats, fishing for cod with the handline, finding them-

selves in the way of his approach, scattered as he came on, and made all haste for the shore.

Indeed, so far as the Rorqual is concerned, it is he who hunts the Shetlanders, and not the Shetlanders who hunt him. Seldom a fishing season passes without some adventure of this kind. The fishermen's hypothesis is that the whales mistake the boats for members of their own species, and come with amorous intent. Anyhow, they frequently come close to them, and will follow for many miles. Accidents not infrequently occur. Three years ago off the north of Unst a Swedish fishing smack had her small boat stove in while working the lines, and on the west side, about the same time, a native boat was destroyed. Her crew of six men were never heard of, but the wreck of the boat drifted on shore, and then, attached to her broken bottom, were discovered numerous shreds of whale skin, making it only too plain how she had perished.

A boat's crew, many years ago, were compelled to seek refuge on the Vare Rock, where they were kept close prisoners by an enraged Rorqual, which, not content with chasing them on shore, kept circling round and round them for half a day.

A few summers back a small whale came up to a boat whose crew, tiring of its attentions, threw stones and drove it away. Presently they saw it attacked by an immense Rorqual, the blows of whose ponderous tail struck it clean out of the water. Now it returned to the boat, as if for protection, and though repeatedly driven off, as often returned. Fearing nothing from it, and sympathising rather with its manifest inability to cope with the great bully, they let it stay beside them. But now the Rorqual began swimming, in ever-narrowing circles, round the boat, and alarmed for their own safety, they fastened a knife to the end of their boat-hook, and speared the fugitive. Off it darted at tremendous speed, and after it the persecutor.

There are various methods by which the fishermen, when they anticipate danger, endeavour to escape from the attentions of these Rorquals. They will row their boat so as to place it between the sun and the whale, which then seems to be blinded by the strong light on its eyes. Or, if this manœuvre fails, they make up an attractive-looking bundle of such things as can be spared from the boat. This is weighted with a ballast stone or two, and thrown overboard, and while the curious whale follows it downwards, they pull off. Another practice is to keep flinging towards the whale water in which copper has been rinsed—this last expedient, however ridiculous it may appear, is yet often resorted to.

The hunting, so far as these whales are concerned, is, as I hinted at the start, rather by the whales than by the fishermen.

I only know of one attempt on the part of Shetlanders to hunt the Rorqual, and then they did not get the best of it. A number of boats having the temerity to attempt the capture of a shoal of finners, were, in their turn, assailed, and fled precipitately for the shore. One boat was upset, the others hardly escaped. The victorious whales kept possession of the bay for several days, gave chase to and drove on shore every boat that ventured off, and so terrified the men that, for the time being, they abandoned prosecution of their ordinary fishing, and one and all declared that while they lived they would never again hunt the Rorqual.

Indeed some of these monsters are not held to be altogether canny, and I recollect seeing and fleeing from one which was firmly believed to be no true whale at all, but just Betty somebody—a reputed witch. I venture no opinion, but I give it on my personal testimony that several towards whom Betty had ill will were scared by the creature!

This Rorqual, or Finner, though growing to a larger size than any other of the whale family, yields but little oil, and

that of an inferior quality, while its bone is scant, short, and comparatively valueless.

I saw and carefully examined one 96 feet in length, and, if I am not mistaken, it realised only about £100. It had swum into a narrow cove or goe, and been killed, but save that the lower jaw was laid bare for a space of about three feet there were no outward injuries. An examination of the skeleton subsequently made showed that the vertebræ had been dislocated not far from the skull. When I saw it first it had been floated on to a piece of sand in the bay of Norwick, in Unst. It lay on its back, and having been dead for over twenty-four hours, the belly was vastly inflated with gases. Below the jaws, and down almost the entire length of the belly, ran longitudinal bars of a dull colour outside, and rather brighter than flesh pink between. The carcass was taken possession of by the Admiralty, and by their receiver handed over to the finders to "flench". This they did easily enough as to the upper parts ; but having no possibility of turning the whale over, the underside puzzled them. At length they hit on a plan, and tunnelling away in the sand, they approached from below and, piece by piece, succeeded in removing all the blubber.

One of them, standing on the distended stomach, incautiously made an opening ; presently he slipped, and his feet went in at the hole—farther and farther he went, and louder and louder he roared, and had it not been for the passing of a rope under his armpits, by which he was extricated, his end would have been worse than that of Jonah.

Another monster Rorqual was secured by the Unst folk and his jawbones may be seen to this day in front of the house of Buniss. For a whole day he had fought his rival. They rushed upon one another, and withdrew only to encounter anew ; they struck and lashed one another until the sea swirled about them in roaring cataracts of foam. In the end the vanquished drifted on shore, and lay with awful gaping jaws. A party going to view the dead leviathan, and a hailstorm coming on as they were beside

him, the boatmen rowed the boat into the whale's mouth, and sheltered there from the storm.

The whale which is hunted by my countrymen comes far short of the immense proportions of the Rorqual. It is known by Shetlanders as the Caa'ing whale, *i.e.*, the whale which is caa'd or driven. There would appear to be two or even three distinct species, all of which I have seen. That which is most commonly met with—or the Caa'ing whale proper—is entirely black, and seldom if ever over 18 ft. long. Another, known as the Cow whale, its shiny black skin beautifully marked by irregular patches of white, attains a length—to my own knowledge—of over 25 ft., and is in proportion thicker than the common Caa'ing whale: a large, jib-shaped fin rises vertically from its back, and its head differs markedly from the common sort. Another Caa'ing whale appears to be a true dolphin, and measures some 8 or 10 ft. in length.

The Caa'ing whale proper is met with in packs of hundreds. On one occasion in Iceland 1110 were captured, while two hunts in the Faroë Isles resulted in the stranding of about 1000.

The Faroëese organise their hunts better than the Shetlanders, for, although formerly, the Caas are said to have been driven in by the Shetlanders from the open ocean, it is long since they captured or attempted to capture any that were not embayed. But in Faroë, if not now, at least recently, the boats sought the whales out at sea. They had a long rope, extending for hundreds of yards—to this, at intervals, were attached switches of straw or heather; when the whales were observed, this long sweep was cautiously carried round the off side of the pack, and then slowly moved towards the land by boats pulling at either extremity. The bunches of straw splashed the surface of the water as they were drawn along, and the whales, keenly sensible of any disturbance, were driven for miles before this simple contrivance.

About the end of autumn, and before the winter has

set in, there is looked for in Shetland a spell of fine weather known as the "peerie" summer. It is in the peerie summer that the coming of the whales may most confidently be looked for. Then the fishermen look out their old lances, give their points a grind and set them handy, for when the cry of "Whaäls" is heard there will be no time for preparation. Some, who live a mile or so from such a whale-favoured bay as Uyeasound used to be, would in the old days tether a pony close by the door before they went to bed, so that at the first alarm they might up and ride away.

So soon as ever a school is discovered to have made its way into one of the bays the alarm is given—as many boats as can immediately be manned are got ready and launched, that, rowing cautiously and noiselessly out, they may close the mouth of the bay and bar the whales' return. Meanwhile, on land, the news is spreading like wild-fire. The women are off, hair streaming behind them, dress tucked up so as not to hinder the running of their bare feet, they speed from house to house with a shrill cry of "Whaäls—whaäls!" The men and boys turn out and make for the bay.

If the fishing village or town be a small one, and so hardly able to furnish enough boats to make the capture of the whales a matter of reasonable probability, the fair heralds run on to the neighbouring village. But if the whales are few and the village fairly large, very considerable secrecy is observed, so that the prospective gain may not have to be divided among too many. But if it chance —and it often does chance—that some one or other of these fair maidens has brother or sweetheart in a neighbouring toön, then sure enough she never stops her race till the favoured one knows of the Godsend waiting down in the bay.

But it must not be thought that the only part taken by the women in a hunt is in spreading the news of it. They help to launch the boats, and should the whales

be stranded, no man will do more to secure them than they. Indeed, it is not many years ago that the women, almost unaided, planned and successfully carried through a hunt on their own account. It was summer, and the men were away at the haaf or deep sea fishing. One morning whales were seen—a great pack of them—well up the voe, tumbling along after their own fashion. Perhaps they had passed the boats at sea and knew the men were away, so felt secure! But they had counted without the women. They were nowise at sea. If they waited until their men folk returned the whales might not wait. They resolved on action. The old grandfathers of the village were helped down to the shore, the young boys were called, and soon the boats were launched and away. The old men counselled, the boys pulled and shouted, the women shouted and pulled. Shouting is very important in whale hunting, and so, whether it was the tactics of the greybeards, or the dash of the boys, or just, as some folks said, the whales' disgust at being hunted by shrieking women, anyhow, ashore they went like a flock of sheep.

Of course there were those rude enough to say it was the only sensible thing for the creatures to do when assailed by a fleet of shrieking amazons; still I trust all of you have only admiration for the daring and dash of these brave women.

The first hunt I witnessed was an exceedingly wild and ill-conducted affair. The whales were of the smallest species—a kind which commonly distinguishes itself by jumping—and though enclosed in a narrow bay, they successfully evaded the onsets of the boats, breaking away in all directions, so that only an occasional one, stranding in its efforts to escape, was here and there secured. The men, worsted in the first endeavours and despairing of capturing the whole flock, fell to wrangling among themselves—lost what partial order they had for a while maintained, and the hunt became a confused melée. Each boat's crew singling out some particular whale, would seek

to drive it on shore by itself. All were at cross purposes, sometimes in collision with one another, sometimes dashing against the whales, which, frantic with terror, rushed through the bay, diving, spouting, tumbling, and again and again launching themselves sheer into the air. On the shore, some dying whales lashed the sea in their last flurry, while their would-be captors, drunk with excitement, flourished lances, knives, and great boat-hooks, wounding again and again not only the whales but their fellows as well. The women shrieked in unreasoning fright, and gesticulated as though the whole township was mad, as perhaps it was.

One incident was amusing. A very small whale came rushing ashore close to where a knot of women were standing. Now, it was not clear whether it had been driven to this course by a certain boat, which certainly was managed in a way calculated to drive any whale to desperation, or whether it had grounded of itself. The men made for the shore to secure their prize, and now the women noticed that they were men, not of their own, but of a neighbouring island, and worse than this they were neither fishermen nor Shetlanders, but shepherds and Scotchmen. At that recognition the women took instant action. For a shepherd to a Shetlander, as to an ancient Egyptian, is an abomination. Dashing into the surf, before the boat could reach the beach, they seized on the living whale and bore it bodily up on to the grass. There they surrounded it, and so determinately fronted the canny Scots that they wisely retired, leaving both victory and substantial booty with these daughters of the soil.

It was not until after several years that the startling cry of "whaals" again aroused me. I hurried to the shore, Already the hunt was well advanced, not a boat—not even the most rickety old shell—but had been launched and away. There was nothing for it but to join the very miscellaneous gathering of men, women, and boys, who were watching from the beach. This was at Uyea Sound, in

the Isle of Unst—it is a large and open bay with two entrances.

The odds were in favour of the whales. We could see them moving along so exceeding quietly that the sea around them was hardly rippled by their motion. Their upright back fins had almost the appearance of a procession of gentlemen in black walking upon the waters —at times one would spout—a clear, fine jet of vapour, as from a fountain. The hunt was being splendidly conducted. The boats, some thirty or forty in number, advanced in a beautiful crescent—steadily, quietly, and all keeping station. Occasionally a boat would break line, but it was waved back by a signal from the leader. The whales were being driven towards a long stretch of gently sloping beach in the N.E. of the bay. Slowly the shore was being neared, and we who were assembled on it fell back noiselessly. Noise in front would frustrate all. The very repression increased our excitement as moment by moment the whales came nearer. Suddenly they paused. Outside, the half-circle of boats paused too. Tail after tail was thrown into the air, and the whales seemed to go vertically downwards. They were sounding. The depth was not satisfactory, and after their return to the surface alarm was manifest in their every movement. Then one took the lead, and headed right for the boats. Away went the pack, the water ploughed into foam. The boats were expecting this, and now there broke from the whole forty of them a maddening uproar. The oars were clattered upon the gunwales ; the men halloed and yelled ; shower after shower of stones was hurled in the direction of the fast approaching whales, and fell splashing into the water ; lances were flourished and guns fired. It was too much for the whales. They stopped, paused, and then threw themselves round and went to their death upon the shore.

On swept the boats, all confused and full of uproar. They flung their volleys of stones so wildly, and fired their guns and flourished their lances, so that one expected half the

men in the leading boats to be killed. The leader of the whales made straight for the beach, swimming with such impetus that his head came up to the water's edge. After him came all, bringing with them a great wave, which, as it retreated, left them stranded every one, and before the wave receded the foremost boats were in among the whales. At the same moment the crowd upon the beach rushed down and met them in the water. Now began a struggle which baffles description. It lives in my recollection like a confused and hideous nightmare. Once seen, it could no more be forgotten than it could be told. Yet it was no time for sentiment, and the sickening repulsion with which one looks back on it was at the moment swallowed up in a fierce excitement. The whales were alive—very awfully alive—lashing, plunging, spouting; but all their struggles only forced them farther up on the shore. The boats pulled alongside of them, and lances and knives were plunged again and again and again into the quivering sides. The falling tide every moment left the miserable whales more hopelessly fixed upon the beach. Ropes were slipped round the tails of some that lay farthest off. But really all that now remained to do was to kill. The butchery went on. The black and white sides that still shone in the bright sun were barred by streams of warm, red blood. Everywhere there was blood—every one was reeking in blood. The dying whales spouted it in jets—every struggle of theirs sent up showers of their own blood, which fell like spray around, and for more than a quarter of a mile the waves were crimson as they broke upon the shore.

The morning was well advanced—but the sun had only dawned when the alarm came, and it was strange to see the fantastic attire in which both men and women had dressed themselves; every one seemed drunk, they laughed, they shouted, and, in a kind of purposeless fury, they lanced and gashed the dying whales. Presently, one after another was seized with its dying "flurry", which threw them into wild

contortions, and the stones of the beach were flung in showers into the air. Ever since they came on shore, a low, pained sound, which suggested nothing so much as a stifled moan, broke from them at intervals. What made it so awful was an apparent restraint, as though it was riven from them by very agony. One affecting incident was when some boys laid hold of a young one and removed it from under its mother's fins. She was badly wounded, almost dead in fact; yet, when too weak for struggling, she shielded her babe under her great flapper. As they dragged it away from her it shrieked aloud. That was the only unstifled cry. The mother could not even moan.

It must not be thought that after the whales have been stranded the killing of them is unattended by danger. At one hunt some men were killed outright, and many seriously maimed by the showers of stones thrown into the air by the dying whales; and on this occasion there was more than one very narrow escape.

By noon, the whales were all lying high and dry upon the beach, and flenching had already commenced. An uninteresting and dirty operation it proved, the blubber being cut into long strips and removed from the crang or carcass. It is then cut into small pieces, preparatory to being boiled down into oil. In the Caaing whale there is no whalebone, and their whole value to the captors used to be in the oil produced. In recent years, however, certain meat-preserving companies have bought the carcasses, for what purpose we will not inquire. The flesh is like very coarse beef. How it would eat I cannot say, but I bear witness that whale tongue, which I have tasted, is a toothsome morsel.

It follows, as a matter of course, that the share of booty which falls to every individual hunter must vary according to the number engaged in the hunt, and the number and size of the whales killed. Sometimes as much as £5 or £6 may fall to one who has taken part in the hunt in one of the boats, and half as much to him who has assisted

after the stranding. To women and boys a half-share falls, and thus every one comes in for part of the proceeds.

By the use and wont of the country, a very vexatious claim used to be made by the proprietor of the land on which the whales were landed. He claimed, and he took—for his claim there was none to dispute—one-half of the entire value of all whales captured. There was no law for this, and all analogy would seem to be against it ; for the fisherman may anywhere secure his boat, build his booth, and cure his fish, as best suits the convenience of his precarious calling.

In 1839, this pretended right was litigated in the Court of Session. No decision was given, the lairds agreeing to accept of one-third in place of one-half.

So the matter continued until some few years ago, when the Court of Session at Edinburgh, on a case being taken, decided against the lairds ; and now whatever comes of the hunt goes altogether to the hunters.

PREHISTORIC ART IN THE NORTH.

By J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.Scot.

As a preliminary to a paper which deals with subjects that are to a certain extent technical, it is almost necessary to give an explanation of the terms to be used. This I shall endeavour to do in as simple language as possible. Many, if not all, of the facts stated are perfectly well known to specialists, and to the more learned portion of my audience I must apologise for having to repeat things which are already quite familiar to them, in order to make my remarks intelligible to every one present.

Firstly, with regard to the term art, there is perhaps no word in the English language which is so often misapplied. When I speak of art in the following discourse I shall use the term only in one restricted sense, namely, to describe the skill and method exhibited in the representation of real or imaginary objects, or in the production of ornamental patterns by means of drawing, painting, sculpture, or some other technical process.

How, when, and where art first had its origin we have no certain knowledge, since the earliest art efforts of man have not survived to throw any light upon the subject. It is, nevertheless, possible to form some idea as to the most probable lines upon which the evolution of art took place, by watching the rude attempts made by untaught children to draw, by studying the decoration used by savage or uncultured peoples, and by assuming that the more difficult ways of representing objects were preceded by simpler ones.

It must not be forgotten that the process of seeing things is partly optical and partly mental. The human

eye is an instrument bearing a close resemblance to a photographic camera, by means of which a reversed image of every object presented to the view is thrown upon the retinæ. The images formed upon the retinæ of the two eyes are not the same, because each eye sees things from different points of view about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. apart. The illusion of solidity is the direct result of binocular vision, as is shown by the stereoscope. The idea conveyed to the mind by two different views of the same object upside down upon the retinæ is that of a single object the right way up. And the function of the brain does not stop here, because every mental image is influenced by every previously received and remembered image of the same thing. It is evident, then, that the highest grades of art must take into account the mental as well as the optical portion of the process of vision.

Let us now endeavour to arrange the various ways of representing objects in order of their development, placing the simpler ones first. The most elementary notion of drawing is to make an outline sketch on a flat surface of a thing, showing it from the most familiar point of view or from the one that is easiest to manipulate. Whether the sketch is made visible by means of contrast of colour, that is to say, by a black line on a white ground, or by drawing an incised line with a sharp-pointed instrument, the effect is the same. In the outline sketch neither surface nor solidity are taken into account.

The next advance in art is to separate the objects or figures from the back-ground by indicating the texture of the surfaces by lines, by contrast of colour, or by producing figures in relief upon a sunk back-ground, or sunk figures upon a back-ground in relief.

A further development is to endeavour to give the effect of mass and solidity on a flat surface by shading and perspective. The same result is attained in sculpture by rounding the edges of figures in bas relief, by undercutting the edges of figures in alto-relievo, and by getting rid of

the back-ground altogether by converting the figures into statues.

The later phases of art, which involve colour, ærial perspective, and impressionism, hardly come within the scope of our present investigation.

Quite apart from the technical processes employed in producing representations of objects, we are able to recognise different kinds of art according to the method of treatment and the purpose for which the work of art is intended. Thus we have art that is

PICTORIAL,
IMAGINATIVE,
CONVENTIONAL,
SYMBOLICAL,
DECORATIVE.

In pictorial art the representation is made as realistic as possible; imaginative art deals with subjects that are idealised; conventional art involves the stereotyping of certain features by continual repetition; symbolical art endeavours to convey some idea beyond the actual thing pourtrayed; and the function of decorative art is to beautify structures, monuments, and objects by patterns or conventionalised figures rhythmically arranged in definite positions with regard to the form of the thing they are intended to adorn.

It must always remain a matter for conjecture whether man's first artistic efforts took the direction of pattern making, or of trying to draw pictures of the familiar scenes with which he was surrounded. My own opinion is that it is in a great measure a question of race, some showing a remarkable facility for designing ornament, others finding figure drawing come to them as if by instinct, while certain peoples appear to be absolutely devoid of artistic capacity.

Mr. Henry Balfour, Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, has recently published an excellent little

treatise on *The Evolution of Decorative Art*, in which he traces its origin to "the appreciation by man of curious or decorative effects occurring in nature, or as accidents in manufacture, and the slight increasing of the same by artificial means, in order to augment their peculiar character or enhance their value as ornament." Patterns were thus suggested, which were afterwards produced, not only partially, but entirely, by artificial means. He attributes the metamorphosis of designs chiefly to two causes: (1) *unconscious variation*, in which the changes are not intentional, but are due to want of skill or careless copying, difficulty of material, or reproducing from memory; and (2) *conscious variation*, in which the changes are intentional, and may be made to serve some useful purpose (*e.g.*, marks of ownership), or to increase an ornamental effect; to emphasize some specially important feature in a symbolic design; to adapt the same design to a variety of objects or spaces, by the development of a new idea from the modification of a pre-existing design, etc.[1]

Mr. Balfour[2] believes it to be more likely that art owes its absolute origin to accident, rather than it is the outcome of intelligence, or the application of matured reasoning. If this be the case, it is quite possible—as pointed out by Mr. John Collier in his *Primer of Art*—that sculpture was the earliest means employed for artificially representing such natural objects as animals, the human form, etc., graphic design applied to flat surfaces being of later growth. A savage is not slow in noticing the accidental resemblance of a natural piece of wood or stone to the figure of a man or a beast, and, by the skilful addition of an eye or the improvement of some other feature, the likeness is made more perfect. Mr. Balfour[3] says "The carrying a little further of the use of artificial means to increase an accidental resemblance would in time have suggested

[1] *Evolution of Decorative Art*, p. 76.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

that the whole animal might be represented by carving; and that, therefore, any substance easy to work could be fashioned into the desired shape, and made to resemble animals and other objects. Thus the art of carving figures grew up from the simplest beginnings through the 'appreciative,' 'adaptive,' and 'creative' stages, passing from one to the other." Mr. John Collier has a rather far-fetched theory: the application of graphic art to flat surfaces may be traced to the slight scratched lines by which the details are often expressed on figures carved or modelled in complete relief. According to this, the art of sculpture in the round would precede that of drawing in outline, which is rather reversing the natural order of things.

The art of carving in *bas-relief* should be classed with graphic designs on the flat rather than with sculpture properly so-called, and it was probably developed from incised work by cutting away the back-ground.

Having said so much by way of preface, we are now in a position to investigate the facts which recent archæological research has disclosed with regard to prehistoric art in northern Europe.

Before the dawn of history, the lapse of time can only be estimated approximately by the rate at which certain geological, physical, and astronomical changes have taken place, but it is possible to divide prehistoric time into definite periods marked by an advance in man's culture at the beginning of each, due to the discovery of an improved material for the manufacture of cutting implements, tools, and weapons. The first three great divisions are the ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron. The end of the last overlaps the historic period, whilst the beginning of the first takes us as far back as the Pleistocene Age of the geologist.

These stages of culture did not necessarily extend over the whole world at the same time, for there are savage races existing at the present day who are still in the Stone Age, and, whilst the ancient populations of Northern Europe were only acquainted with bronze implements, the

Egyptians, Assyrians, and Greeks were well advanced in the Iron Age. It is not always possible to decide whether the new metals of bronze and iron were introduced by conquering races, or whether the transition from stone to bronze, and from bronze to iron, took place in peaceful times. However this may be, the periods generally overlap one another. Until bronze became comparatively cheap, polished stone weapons would still be used; and, even when stone was given up entirely, the forms of the bronze implements still preserve marks of their descent from a stone ancestor.

The duration of the stone age was vastly greater than that of either the ages of bronze or iron, and there was a gradual advance in the skill shown in the manufacture of cutting implements, from the rudely chipped flints of the river gravels up to the beautifully shaped polished celts which immediately preceded the invention of bronze. The difference between the first and the last of the series is so fundamental that it has been found expedient to subdivide the Stone Age into the Neolithic, or newer stone age, and the Palæolithic, or older stone age. The neolithic man is separated from the palæolithic, not only by the difference in the finish given to his stone implements, but by differences of race, climate, distribution of land and sea, and the animals by which he was surrounded.

When man first made his appearance in northern Europe the channels between England and France and between England and Ireland were non-existent, their places being taken by rivers draining a great continent extending as far as the 100-fathom line on the Atlantic side, where the bed of the ocean makes a sudden dip down from 100 to 2,000 fathoms, thus indicating where the position of the old coast line must have been. The highlands of the north of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales were covered with glaciers. The climate was much warmer in summer and colder in winter than at present, as is shown by the fauna, which consisted of a *southern group*, including the lion, hyæna, hippopotamus, and African elephant; a

northern group, including the arctic fox, reindeer, ibex, and chamois; and a *temperate group*, including the beaver, hare, rabbit, otter, bear, wolf, fox, horse, wild boar, stag, etc. In addition to these there were several extinct species, such as the mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the cave bear, and the Irish elk.

The oldest traces of man's handiwork yet discovered are the palæolithic implements of the river drift, which are characterised by their great size, the rudeness of their chipping, the discoloration of their surfaces, and the abrasion of their sharp edges. In 1847 M. Boucher de Perthes found palæolithic implements of this early type in the river gravels of Abbeville, associated with the bones of extinct animals.

Palæolithic implements of a later type, of smaller size, better formed, less discoloured, and not so much abraded, have been dug out of the caves at Kent's Hole, Torquay, by the Rev. J. McEnery, between 1825 and 1841; at Brixham by Mr. Pengelly, in 1858; and at Wookey Hole Wells, by Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, in 1859; in the same undisturbed strata beneath stalagmite are the bones of the lion, hyæna, cave bear, mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, and reindeer.

The Neolithic Age is separated from the Palæolithic Age by vast changes in the configuration of the sea and land by a complete alteration in the climate, by the extinction of the Irish elk, the mammoth, the cave bear, and the woolly rhinoceros, and by the migration of the reindeer northwards, and the disappearance of the hyæna and lion southwards. In the Neolithic Age the geography of Great Britain was much the same as it is at present, except that the now-submerged forests and peat bogs were then above high-water mark, and increased the area since encroached upon by the sea to a certain extent along the coasts of England and Wales. The climate may possibly have been damper than in the historic period, owing to the greater amount of forests and morasses, and the larger

area of land would produce a greater contrast between the temperature of winter and summer.

The neolithic implements differ from the palæolithic in being more highly finished; they exhibit a greater number of specialised forms in order to adapt them to a variety of purposes; they are smaller, because when fixed in handles there was no reason for wasting material in making the implement unnecessarily cumbrous; their cutting edges were ground, and often the whole surface of the implement polished.

With regard to the question of race, Professor W. Boyd Dawkins identifies the palæolithic man of the cave period with the Eskimo, and the neolithic man with the Basque. He believes that the palæolithic man became extinct in Europe at the end of the Pleistocene period, and that the Iberians were driven westward by an invasion of bronze-using Celts.

We now have to consider the question of the art of the ages of stone and bronze in northern Europe. It must be borne in mind, however, that it is only possible to found our conclusions on the examination of works of art made of materials not liable to perish, or which owe their preservation to specially favourable circumstances.

At different periods and amongst different races we find that decoration is lavished on a different class of objects, and if the particular class of objects exhibiting the highest perfection of art workmanship happens to be made of perishable materials, whilst inferior things survive, the deductions made from archæological research may often be very misleading.

Of the first beginnings of art we must be content to remain ignorant, for although palæolithic man of the river-drift period has left behind him countless examples of artificially formed flint implements, no object of any kind exhibiting decorative features has yet been discovered in the gravel beds from which the implements are derived. The only things that have been found suggesting that the

river-drift man or woman was fond of personal ornament are some little fossils (*coscinopora globularis*, D'Orb) with their natural perforations artificially enlarged for use as beads.[1]

The earliest works of human art, which archæological research has yet disclosed, are the carved bone implements found in caves and rock-shelters of England, France, Belgium, and Switzerland, associated with worked flints of the more recent palæolithic type, and the remains of the mammoth, cave bear, and reindeer.

The explorations made by M. Lartet and Mr. Christy[2] in 1863-4 in the caves of Perigord, in the South of France, were rewarded by the discovery of a very large number of bone objects carved by the prehistoric inhabitants. These caves are in the calcareous limestone rock forming the sides of the valley of the River Vezère just above its junction with the Dordogne, about 20 miles south-east of Périgeux, between Miremont and Les Eyzies. The valley is about 190 ft. deep, with overhanging ledges of rock that give the required shelter from the weather that induced palæolithic man to choose the locality as particularly suited to his wants. The preservation of the remains is due to the protection from wet afforded by the overhanging cliffs, and the dry soil without any vegetable matter or acid which would corrode. The principal caves, taking them in order as we ascend the valley, are Les Eyzies, Gorge d'Enfer, Cro Magnon, Laugerie Haute, Laugerie Basses, La Madelaine, and Le Moustier. The carved objects of bone have only been found in three of these, namely, Les Eyzies, Laugerie Basse, and La Madelaine. Since 1865 the examination of the caves of the Dordogne has been continued by M. Massénat.

Next in importance after the caves of the Dordogne for having revealed works of prehistoric art are the Bruniquel, Duruthy, and Kesserloch caves. The famous cavern of

[1] Worthington G. Smith's *Man, the Primæval Savage*, p. 274.

[2] *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ.*

the Bruniquel,[1] which was explored by the Vicomte de Lastic in 1863-4, is situated in the valley of the River Aveyron, in the department of Tarn et Garonne. The carved bones found here in association with palæolithic flint implements and the remains of the rhinoceros, reindeer, and Irish elk, are now in the British Museum. The Duruthy Cave[2] is situated on a rocky promontory of nummulitic limestone, near Sorde, in the Western Pyrenees, overlooking the junction of the Gare d'Oleron and the Gare de Pau, two tributaries of the Adour. On the lowest layer of the cave earth rested a crushed human skull, together with no less than forty canine teeth of the bear, some of which were engraved with figures, and three canine teeth of the lion, lying side by side in such a manner as to leave no doubt that they had once formed a necklace. In the layer above were bones of the reindeer and palæolithic flint implements. This cave was explored by MM. L. Lartet and Chaplain Duparc in 1874.

The Kesserloch Cave[3] is near Thayngen, in the Canton of Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, at the western end of the Lake of Constance. It was excavated by Conrad the Merk in 1874, and yielded a rich harvest, comprising remains of the rhinoceros, mammoth, and reindeer, a large assortment of flint and bone implements, and bones engraved with figures of animals.

The only cave in England which has produced an engraved bone of similar age to those in France is the Robin Hood Cave[4] at Creswell Crags, on the north-east border of Derbyshire, 5 miles south-east of Worksop, which was explored by Professor W. Boyd Dawkins and

[1] *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. clix, p. 517.

[2] *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, 1874, p. 101.

[3] *Excavations at the Kesserloch*, by Conrad Merk, translated by J. E. Lee.

[4] *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London*, vol. xxxi, p. 679, etc.; W. Boyd Dawkins' *Early Man in Britain*, p. 175.

the Rev. J. Magens Mello in 1878. The remains found in the Cresswell Caves are now in the British Museum.

The most astonishing thing about the cave man of the reindeer period is that he possessed a far greater capacity for art than would be deemed possible, considering the stage of culture he had reached. The implements, the sketches on bone, and the contents of the refuse heaps he has left behind him show that he lived by hunting and fishing. There is no evidence that he was acquainted with agriculture ; and the absence of pottery and spindle-whorls in the caves shows that he was very much behind the neolithic man, who succeeded him, in industries of a more settled and civilised existence. Notwithstanding this, he was superior as an artist not only to his neolithic successor, but even to the man of the Bronze Age, and some of his spirited sketches of animals could hardly be surpassed at the present day.

Examples of three different technical methods of producing representations of objects are to be found amongst the works of art of the cave men. The commonest method employed was to sketch the object in outline by means of a sharp-pointed flint on a piece of bone or stone, adding a few dexterous touches afterwards to indicate the texture of the surface. But, besides this, sculpture in low relief, and also modelling of the complete figure in the round was practised.

The treatment of the subjects chosen for representation was always realistic, there being no traces of symbolism, and but rarely of conventionalised features. The artists were sufficiently advanced to group figures naturally and to give the idea of skin texture.

The favourite subjects were the animals, birds, and fish that were most familiar to a race of men who lived by the chase. These included the mammoth, reindeer, urus, bear, seal, pike, horse, Irish elk, ibex, bison, and deer. The human figure is seen only occasionally.

The objects on which the sculptured representations

occur consist of pieces of bone and stone, bone implements with round holes in them (probably used as arrow straighteners), and dagger handles. In the case of the latter only is the animal placed in a conventional, as opposed to a natural, attitude.

Besides the figure subjects, ornaments of a simple kind, chiefly composed of straight-line chevrons, were extensively used for the decoration of the bone spear and harpoon heads for hunting. In a rare instance, from Veyrier, conventional foliage appears, being the earliest known case of the use of this kind of ornament.

The kinds of bone on which the carvings occur are various, and include those of the reindeer and mammoth.

We will now give some typical examples of the art of the cave man.[1]

(1) Mammoth; incised on a piece of mammoth ivory; from La Madelaine; in the Natural History Museum; Paris.

(2) Reindeer; incised on a piece of reindeer horn; from the Kesserloch; in the Museum at Constance.

(3) Mammoth; sculptured conventionally on dagger-handle of reindeer horn; from the Bruniquel; in the British Museum.

(4) Reindeer; sculptured conventionally on dagger-handle of reindeer horn; from the Bruniquel; in the British Museum.

(5) Man hunting the urus; incised on reindeer horn; from Laugerie Basse; Massénat collection.

(6) Group of four horses; incised on arrow straightener of reindeer horn; from La Madelaine; in the British Museum.

(7) Seal; incised on perforated canine tooth of bear; from the Duruthy.

[1] For engravings see G. and A. de Mortillet, *Musée Préhistorique*; Boyd Dawkin's *Early Man in Britain*; and Lartet and Christy's *Reliquiæ Aquitaincæ*.

(8) Pike; incised on perforated canine tooth of bear; from the Duruthy.

(9) Glove; incised on perforated canine tooth of bear; from the Duruthy.

(10) Ornament; incised on bone implement; from the Laugerie Basse; Massénat collection.

Professor Boyd Dawkins[1] and others have pointed out the wonderful resemblance which exists between the shapes of the bone implements from the caves and those used by the Esquimaux at the present time. The resemblance extends even to the decoration of the implements with groups of animals.

The objects most commonly presenting carved figures amongst the Esquimaux are arrow-straighteners and bows used with a leather thong for working a drill spindle.[2] From these analogies Professor Boyd Dawkins argues that the Esquimaux are the modern representatives of the cave men of the reindeer period.

The changes in the geography, the climate, and the fauna of Europe at the close of the pleistocene period were of such magnitude that we cannot expect to find any continuity of race or of art between palæolithic and neolithic times. The cave man disappeared as a natural result of his environment becoming completely altered, and possibly followed the reindeer and the cold climate to higher latitudes, where he could still pursue his favourite occupations of hunting and fishing, unmolested, leaving the neolithic farmer to take his place, and advance the civilization of the human race on entirely new lines. The bone harpoon, and the large ovate pointed flint spear heads were superseded by the beautifully finished arrow head and the polished stone celt. Woven garments took the place of skins sewn together with bone needles; the manufacture of pottery was introduced; man surrounded himself with

[1] *Early Man in Britain*, p. 233.

[2] *Ninth Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Inst., Washington*, pp. 178 and 389.

domesticated animals, lived in artificially constructed habitations instead of in natural rock shelters, and buried his dead with a care that indicates the dawn of a belief in a future existence, and with neslithic man the germ of religion makes its first appearance.

An intimate connection may be generally traced between art and the industries which require skilled workmanship. The hand and eye acquire a facility by practice in making necessaries, which finds a natural outlet in hours of leisure in fashioning objects which are beautiful, quite apart from the useful purpose they are intended to serve. We have an instance of this in the development of the art of carving from the manufacture of bone implements employed in the chase in the case of the cave man.

The number of works of art of the neolithic period which have survived is surprisingly small as compared with those of the later palæolithic period. Perhaps this may be accounted for by supposing that the domestic industries of spinning, weaving, and pot making, and the additional labours involved in farming, looking after domestic animals, and polishing stone tools or weapons, left but little spare time for anything else. It is possible also that art may have been turned into a new channel, and have been devoted to producing woven fabrics with beautiful patterns, or the decoration of objects, which, being of perishable materials, have disappeared, leaving no record behind them.

As it is, almost the only examples of neolithic art to which we can turn for information are the sculptures on the dolmens and other megalithic structures in the district of the Morbihan in Brittany. These dolmens are known to belong to the polished stone age, both on account of the presence of stone and absence of metal amongst the grave goods found in them, and because in several cases representations of stone axes, with and without their handles, are sculptured on the great slabs of granite of which the sides and roofs of the dolmens are constructed.

The art of the neolithic period exhibits a curious mixture of symbolism and rude attempts at ornament. A good instance of this is to be seen in the decoration of the side walls of the great chambered Cairn of Gav'r Inis in the Morbihan. Of the 53 slabs of granite of which the chamber and passage are built, 30 are sculptured with patterns composed of parallel lines, forming series of chevrons, semicircles one within the other, and concentric circles. Single and double spirals occur in a few cases. On nine of the slabs there are representations of rows of stone Celts, varying in number from 2 to 20, in the midst of the ornament, and on one of the slabs serpents accompany the celts. On a small stone behind two of the larger slabs is carved a stone axe with its handle. There can be little doubt that the hafted axe, the celts without handles, and the serpents, have a symbolic signification, and are not intended merely as realistic representations of objects. Other sculptures of axes are to be seen on the dolmens of Locmariaquer, Carnac, and other localities in the Morbihan,[1] the best example being that on the underside of the cap stone of the Dol ar Marchand, at Locmariaquer.

Ceremonial axes are used for carrying in procession by savage tribes; the ancient Egyptians had one of their hieroglyphics made in the shape of an axe to signify god; and it is not to be wondered at that an instrument which has played so prominent a part in enabling man to control the powers of nature, and thus advance civilization, should have been selected as an emblem of power.

Another symbol of frequent occurrence on the dolmens of Brittany has an outline not unlike that of a bell or of a Buddhist Tope. The principal support of the Dol ar Marchand is sculptured into this shape, it is represented in

[1] Dol ar Marchand, Mané Lud, Mané er H'roek, Mené Rethual, and Mein Drein, at Locmariaquer; Kercado, at Carnac; Petit Mont, in Arzon; and Penhap, Ile aux Moines.

colossal proportions on the huge cap-stone of the Dolmen du Mané-Rethual, and there are other examples of it on a slab found in the Dolmen of Mané er H'roek, on the Dolmen du Mané Lud, the Dolmen de Keryaval, and the Dolmen on the Ile Longue. In addition to the symbols just mentioned, an object like a cattle-yoke is repeated several times ; and on one of the supports of the chamber of the Petit Mont tumulus there is a unique instance of a sculpture of a pair of naked feet.

The general conclusions to be drawn from the very scanty evidence we possess is that the art of the neolithic man was inferior in every respect to that of his palæolithic predecessor ; and that it was decorative and symbolical rather than realistic or imaginative. As far as negative evidence goes there is no reason to believe that the neolithic man was able to represent the human form or animals. The naked foot-prints on one of the stones of the tumulus of Petit Mont, in Arzon, are the nearest approach to figure drawing that have come down to us.

In discussing the art of the stone age, Scandinavia has not been mentioned, because during the palæolithic period it was covered with glaciers, which unfitted it for the abode of man, and the evidence of neolithic art that is scanty in other parts of Europe is entirely wanting there. For information as to the art of the bronze age it is to Sweden, Norway, and Denmark that we must chiefly direct our attention.

On the west coast of Sweden, between Gothenburg and Frederikshald, are to be seen the most remarkable series of prehistoric sculptures in Europe, which I shall endeavour to show are of the bronze age. This part of the coast of Sweden lies at the end of the Skager Rack, between latitude 58° and 59° north, corresponding in position to Caithness and Orkney in our own country.

The sculptures were known as early as 1627, but the attention of archæologists was not seriously directed to them until the publication of Alex Holmberg's magnificent

work on the subject, entitled *Skandinaviens Hällristningar*.[1] Interest was again revived in them by M. Oscar Montelius' paper, *Sur les Sculptures de Rochers de la Suède*, read before the International Congress of Anthropology held at Stockholm[2] in 1874. Professor Brunius, Mr. N. G. Bouzelius, and others, have also writtten about them.

The sculptures are found on granite rock surfaces, polished by the agency of the glaciers. Some of the rocks are almost horizontal, but they are more frequently slightly inclined, and never vertical.

The size of the sculptured surface is often considerable.

The method of the execution of the sculptures is very peculiar. The figures are not drawn with incised lines, or carved in relief, but the whole of the figures are sunk to a lower level than the background.

The subjects represented consist of ships, men, animals, and a variety of symbols. The reasons for assigning these sculptures to the Bronze Age are (1) that the subjects correspond exactly with those engraved on bronze knives and other objects of the Bronze Age found in Sweden and Denmark; (2) that the shapes of the swords and axes with which the men are armed show clearly that they are of the Bronze Age type; and (3) that the symbols, more especially the wheel with four spokes, are specially characteristic of the Bronze Age, and no other. Several considerations, moreover, prevent our assigning them to the Iron Age: (1) the entire absence of Runes; (2) the non-occurrence of the Swastika amongst the symbols; (3) the difference in the shape of the ships from those of the Viking period; (4) the method of executing the sculpture by sinking the figures, which is never found in the Iron Age; and (5) the style of the figure drawing, which is not the least like that of the Iron Age.

[1] *I.e.*, Scandinavian rock-engravings, the word *Heller* meaning a rock surface of the hard granite peculiar to the North.

[2] *Compte Rendu de la 7e session*, vol. i, p. 453.

Sculptures similar to those of Bohuslan have been discovered in other parts of Sweden, and more rarely in Norway and Denmark.

The bronze objects which most frequently exhibit exactly the same kind of art as the rock sculptures are the small bronze knives found in women's graves of this period, but the ships, wheel symbols, etc., occur also sometimes on the bronze mountings of horns.

The art of the rock sculptures is apparently partly pictorial and partly symbolical. Ornamental patterns are conspicuous by their absence on the rocks, although we know from other sources that the Bronze Age inhabitants of Scandinavia were capable of designing very beautiful forms of spiral decoration. A great advance on the art of the neolithic period is to be observed in the power of representing groups of human figures, and treating scenes with a good deal of realism.

The symbolism of the Bronze Age in Sweden is very different from that of the Stone Age dolmens of Brittany, although some forms, such as cup-markings, cups and rings, axes, and footprints, are common to both. The characteristic symbol of the Bronze Age is the wheel with four spokes, and in some cases the ship seems to be intended for a symbol. Many attempts have been made to explain the meaning of these symbols, the favourite theory being that they have to do with sun-worship. When an archæologist is in doubt he always falls back on the sun-god.

By far the most interesting fact disclosed by the Swedish rock sculptures is that even in the Bronze Age the Scandinavians were already a maritime people. The stage of the dug-out canoe of the neolithic man was long gone by, for here we see great vessels, with prows and sterns high out of the water, manned by a large crew, and propelled by oars, and in rare instances provided with a single mast and sail. It is easy to trace in them the parentage of the Viking ships, which in the 9th and 10th centuries were the terror of all Europe; and we cannot help speculating

whether the possession of a splendid navy may not have tempted the Scandinavians of the Bronze Age to commence their piratical inroads on their neighbours even in prehistoric times.

The rock sculptures of Sweden afford some of the first representations in the North of wheeled vehicles, ploughs, and men on horseback. In drawing conclusions as to the culture indicated by the sculptures it must clearly be borne in mind that the Bronze Age was much later in Scandinavia than in other parts of Europe.

Works of art of the Bronze Age are not sufficiently common in Great Britain to throw much light on the question of whether any connection can be traced between this country and Scandinavia in prehistoric times. The bronze implements found in Great Britain are but seldom ornamented, and in the few cases where they are the decoration consists either of concentric circles, chevrons, or triangles and lozenges filled in with diagonal cross hatching. The most curious works of art of the Bronze Age yet brought to light in England are three drum- or cheese-shaped objects of chalk found by Canon Greenwell with the body of a young child, in a barrow, in the parish of Folkton, in Yorkshire, and now in the British Museum. They are covered with patterns formed of concentric circles, diagonal lines, and have rude attempts to indicate a human face on the round sides.

Decoration of a very similar character occurs on the stones of the chambered cairns at New Grange and Sliabh-na-Caillighe, co. Meath, Ireland, and on cist covers found in Scotland, at Carnwath, Craigie Wood, near Edinburgh.

The only instance of an object of any kind being represented on a work of art of the Bronze Age in Great Britain is a slab forming the end of a cist discovered at Kilmartin, in Argyllshire, which has sculptured on it axe heads, showing clearly by their shape that the originals were of bronze. The sculpture is sunk, as on the Swedish rocks.

Cup and ring sculptures also probably belong to the Bronze Age, and form a class of symbolic representations by themselves.

The art of the Bronze Age in Great Britain is decorative and symbolical only, there being a complete absence of figure subjects.

Cup and ring sculptures are common to Scandinavia and to this country, but the wheel symbol does not occur here except in one case, on the stone of a cist found at Aspatria, in Cumberland. A curious figure, like a curved form of the swastika, has been observed both at Tossene, in Sweden, and at Ilkley, in Yorkshire. With the exceptions just mentioned, the archæological evidence tends to show that although there are isolated instances of similarities between the art of England and of Scandinavia in prehistoric times, the connection between the two countries could never have been so close then as it became subsequently.

Our task is now accomplished, for with the introduction of iron the historic period commences, and with it took place a complete revolution in the native art of every country in Europe, due to two great causes—contact with the civilization of Rome and Greece, and the overthrow of Paganism by Christianity.

ON

THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE SEA,

AND THE

SUBSIDENCE OF LAND, AS SEEN IN THE ISLAND OF SANDAY.

By the late W. TRAIL DENNISON.[1]

(*Read: June 1st*, 1893.)

FIRST of all, gentlemen, I must crave your indulgence in presenting this paper to a scientific society, because its author is no scientist. Unacquainted with scientific terminology, he gives in language best understood by himself, what has come under his own observation. Allow me to hope that where I am in error, a more scientific investigator may be induced by my errors to search for and find the truth. Will you then condescend to hear unscientific thoughts suggested by the dug up remains of trees, specimens of which I present?

These remains are found on the west side of the Bay of Otterswick, and can, so far as I know, only be got at low water line, during spring tide. And as the sea recedes further during spring tides in March, that month is the best for obtaining specimens. We first dig through a thin layer of sand, from one to two feet in depth, and then reach a bed of moss, in which the decaying skeletons of trees lie in every conceivable position. It is a melancholy sight to look into the open grave of what had at one time been an umbrageous forest, blooming in all the sylvan beauty of stately trunk, spreading bough, and green leaves; where beasts roamed and fair birds sang. The joyous murmur of that once leafy forest is for ever hushed. Ever

[1] The death of the author has prevented his being able to revise the proofs.

and anon, the restless waves roll over that forest's grave. From this moss-bed specimen No. 1 was dug up in March 1850. Anxious to know if the lapse of 40 years had produced any noticeable change on the forest *débris*, I procured, in March 1890, from the same bed, many fragments of trees, of which specimen No. 2 is part. In subjecting the two specimens to comparison, it should be remembered that No. 1 has been in a dry position for 40 years, while No. 2 has only been exhumed for a few months. Examining both when first dug up, I found no discernible difference in the amount of decay. There possibly may be remains of larger trees lower down in the moss-bed, but from its situation, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to dig to any depth through the moss. There can be, however, no doubt that we have here the remains of trees that have at one time grown and flourished at a level considerably above their present position. And this is no isolated instance of submerged trees being found in Orkney. We hear of them in many bays of the mainland and south isles. I have heard of them being dug up in the bays of Pierowall, Westray, and Millbay, Stronsay. And, to my own knowledge, they have been found in Storehouse Bay, N. Ronaldshay.

Now, what do all these submerged graves of long departed forests prove? Belonging as they do to the flora of dry land, those trees prove that they once grew on land above the level of the sea, and that land is now below sea level. Those submerged remains prove to my mind, incontestably, that land in and around the Orkney archipelago has been for many ages undergoing a process of gradual subsidence. Further, I hold, and taking the island of Sanday, with which I am best acquainted, as an example, I hope to show, that this sinking process is going on at the present moment.

In our "tall talk", we speak of the firm, stable, immovable earth. No words can be more fallacious when applied to our world. The truth is, we live on a globe of fire, ready

at any moment, from many causes, to be hurled into terrific destruction. Imagine a huge chasm opening longitudinally in that part of the abysmal area on which the two Atlantic oceans rest or roll. Those oceans would at once be precipitated on a tremendous mass of igneous matter, whereby an amount of steam would be generated sufficient to explode the world, making the earth like a bursting bombshell. There are many other imaginable contingencies that would easily cause the destruction of our world. And while we talk of the immutable laws of nature, we should remember that all these laws must succumb to the inexorable law of exhaustion.

But to return to the subject on hand, the so-called earth's crust may be compared to the skin of an enormous bladder filled with matter in a state of fusion. The wrinkles in this skin, in reference to the size of the globe it encloses, are not so deep as careworn furrows on an old man's brow in relation to the human head. The greatest depth of which I am aware, ascertained by soundings over the abysmal area, is at a place called the Tuscarora Deep. Here a depth of 30,000 feet below sea level was found. From this greatest known depth of ocean to the highest point of dry land is less than 12 miles. Doubtless, a great height, when thought of as a vertical line; but, looked at as a horizontal plane, it is not so formidable. A fast locomotive like the "Flying Scotchman" might run its length in 12 minutes. The thinness of earth's crust is well shown by those ulcerous excrescences we call volcanoes; which, while they deform earth's fair skin, yet act as safety valves and outlets for the fiery elements that war within. It is well known that those igneous elements shut up within earth's crust have, perhaps, by changes in their temperature, the tremendous power of sometimes elevating, and at other times depressing, large portions of earth's surface. The instances of mobility in earth's surface are numerous and well known. I need only remind you of one instance, which happened in a

latitude near our own. In the year 1783, about 30 miles from Iceland, an island with precipitous cliffs was raised in and above the sea. The island was taken possession of by the King of Denmark, and named Nyoe; but, alas, for the power of kings! in a year, the new-born and christened island sank again into the ocean, leaving only a reef of rocks below sea level. This happened immediately before a great outburst of volcanic eruptions from mountains in Iceland; and, if you will allow an interpolation, the years 1784 and 1785 were called by old Orcadians "the years o' the black snaw", because of the large quantities of volcanic dust blown to the Orkneys in those years, "black snaw" being the name given to such dust showers.

An instance more appropriate to our subject, also occurring in the North, is that of Heligoland. That morsel of earth, lately ceded to the German empire, was once one island, but by a gradual process of sinking it has been separated, and is now two islands. It were idle, before a scientific society, to prove the well-known phenomenon of the gradual upheaval of earth's surface, and of its slow depression in other parts.

As most *à propos*, let me only quote the words of your much respected President, spoken at a former meeting of this Society. I quote from the *Orkney Herald*, "Orkney being in the sinking area, has, for a century or two, been slowly submerging."

From whatever cause, there can be no doubt that along all the shores of Sanday the sea has been and is continually encroaching on the land. We often find fragmentary ruins of old houses, originally built with one end facing the sea. This seaward gable, the side walls of the house, and the ground on which they stood, are gone; and we find the foundations of the landward end of the house on the beach, below high-water line. The loss of ground indicated by such instances, is not only that covered by the houses, but a broad space which, doubtless, existed between

the sea bank and the houses when erected. On such a space of ground I sat more than fifty years ago, in company with an old soldier, whilst he poured out his doleful tales of the American War of Independence, in which he had been a Royalist soldier. At every tale of mishap to the British army he would launch out into imprecations against the British commanders. If I told of Clive, in India, the old man's eyes would flash, and he would swear, "If we had only been commanded by a Clive, by Jove, we would have told the Yankee lubbers another tale!" We sat in the shelter of the west gable of the soldier's cottage, on a plot of grass that lay between that gable and the sea bank. This grassy plot would be from fifteen to twenty feet in breadth, and rose a few feet above the sea beach. In ten years, this bank had been eroded by the sea. In five years more the west gable of the house had been undermined and carried away; and, at present, the sea has encroached beyond where the landward gable stood.

In 1808, a kelp store was built on Hamaness, with its gable end next the sea. The late Mr. Reid, by whom the store was erected, told me that when built the store stood 20 feet from the shore. In 1851, the seaward gable of the store was washed by each high-water tide. The site of the store, about 20 feet in length, has now, 1891, disappeared. On the same Ness, in 1850, a road existed sufficient for a horse and cart to pass between certain dykes and the shore; that passage is now gone, and some of the stone fences knocked down by the sea. Houses that once stood near the shore at Swarthammer and Pool, have been swept away by the encroachments of the sea.

For about a quarter of a mile at the head of Brough Bay the beach is formed by what is locally known as an "ayre". It is a huge heap of water-worn stones, flung up by the waves. On this natural breakwater, the sea acts in a different manner, but still so as to make constant advance on the land. When a westerly storm and high tide come simultaneously, the stones on the sea side of the ayre are torn

up and flung over to its land side, so that with every heavy surf the whole mass of stones is hurled in landward. For draining purposes, this ayre was cut through, a sluice laid at sea end of cut, a drain built from inner end of sluice to the backwater, and all covered up to natural height. The sluice was 24 feet in length, having the sluice valve at its seaward end, where 2 feet of its length were left uncovered, thus leaving 22 feet buried under the ayre. This was done in 1857. In 1865 the ayre was so far rolled back as to leave 18 feet of the sluice cylinder uncovered. In 1867 the sluice cylinder was removed 20 feet further inland, and again strongly embedded under the ayre. In 1871, during a storm, the whole sluice trough was left bare and ultimately torn up.

The places already mentioned are on the west side of Sanday. Let us now turn to the more northerly shores of the island. We find, running out from the point of Riv, a rocky shoal lying dry at spring ebb for three-fourths of a mile, and separated from Riv point by a narrow channel. Now I suspect there is good reason for believing that this reef was once above sea level, and covered with herbage. Will you here allow me to call into court the evidence of tradition. And, truly, when Huxley, perhaps the greatest scientist of our day, attempts with one swoop of his sceptical besom to brush into the limbo of idle fancy all eastern traditions that tend to prove the reality of the Deluge, I may well hesitate to speak of tradition before a scientific society. Let me remind you that tradition is now a science, rejoicing in the name of folk-lore. Here is my tradition regarding Riv. A lady who died in 1851 told me that when a girl she heard an old man, Olie Scott, tell that his grandfather used to drive horses on to the Holms of Riv. The Holms were then accessible at ebb-tide, and, during flood, the horses were confined by water on the Holms. Another argument is, that old people always called this shoal the *Holms* of Riv. The word holm is only applied to islets whose sur-

face is always above water, as the word skerry is to tidal rocks.

The north, and north-easterly seaboard of Sanday is full of rocky shoals, running out from, or at small distances seaward of the shore. From Start Point to Ire, we have Claybrae, Langware Ting, Kreeso, a low reef from Whitesmill, Riv, Bas, or Bars of Trevan, Lather, and Tuo of Ire. And three and one-fourth nautical miles to sea of the north Holm of Ire, lying nearly at equal distance from Papa Westray and North Ronaldshay, we have Rimabrake. On this rocky shoal there is only a depth of 20 feet at spring low water, with an average of as many fathoms deep around the reef. I enumerate these reefs, because I believe them to be the broken and fragmentary remains, or the skeleton, of what was once dry land united to Sanday. Here, again, I bring in tradition. The following phrase was once in common use among old Orcadians, "in a' the braken isles o' Orkney." Does this saying bear on our subject? Be this as it may, here is another tradition more *à propos*. Some time, long ago, a Sanday woman in her youth went to live in Norway, and continued long in that country. When an old woman, she returned to her native island; and after looking around her, she put this question to the Sanday people, "What has become of the rabbit links of Kattasand, the woods of Otterswick, and the ba' green of Runnabrake?" All three had disappeared during her residence in Norway.

With regard to Otterswick, the probability is that the deepest part of the bay, where large vessels may anchor at a depth of four fathoms, has first sunk, leaving a margin of low sloping ground around the sunk portion, which would then form a narrow inlet of the sea. Along this long and narrow creek, which formed the first beginning of Otterswick, would stretch a margin of low ground, probably covered with trees, the submerged remains of which still exist. This wooded margin would be broadest towards the west, on the ground now covered by the shallow waters of

the present bay. That this land once occupied a higher level is proved by those remains. Another proof is that one of the dangerous shoals in Otterswick is still called Back *Holm*, a name which must have been given when that shoal held its head above water. Kattasand is now a pretty large sweep or plain of flat sand. It is covered by the sea at high water, and left dry with every receding tide. Tradition constantly speaks of this sand as having been at one time a rabbit warren. If this be correct, Kattasand must have then been at a much higher level than it now is; because rabbits will not burrow in low, damp ground. It is curious that when mentioning the Kattasand and Kettletoft to an Iceland gentleman he at once said, "These names indicate that the places so called have undergone some catastrophe or violent change." It is fair to say that the wind, by blowing away the sand, may have been an agent in lowering Kattasand. But I do not think that this agency alone could have brought it to its present level.

We have now come to the east side of the island, and though not exposed to the roll of the Atlantic waves, I suspect it will be found that the sea encroaches on this side with equal rapidity as on the west.

On the easterly sea-board of Sanday a long bight extends like a bent bow from Lopness to Tressness. This long curve of sea line shows an almost continuous sandy beach, backed by a low ridge of what is locally called sandy braes. This ridge, originally raised by the action of wave and wind, is now in many places the only unstable barrier against the advance of the sea. This sand ridge is somewhat diminished by dry easterly gales in the latter end of spring, wafting much of its loose particles inland. This loss is compensated by the ever restless sea, grinding the *débris* of rocks, sea weeds and shells into sand, and sweeping it on shore. Now, I may not be able to prove what I do believe, that this frail rampart is gradually being rolled landward. This ridge is nothing but a wave of earthy matter, in slow but sure motion, first on and closely fol-

lowed by waves of the sea. What the forlorn hope is to the assailants of a fort this sand wave is to the sea. The only corroboration which I have heard from folk-lore is a vague story that the Teeng of the old houses, now a tidal ridge, lying on the shore of this bight, was once dry land covered with green sward. The name Teeng seems to support this tale. Were there time, I could bring from the names of shoals on the foul ground east of Tress-ness etymological argument in favour of my opinion. But why overlay with burden of proof a self-evident fact?

While preparing this paper, I wrote to my intelligent friend Mr. Harvey in Lopness, asking him to give me what information he could on the subject. He kindly sent me the following note, which I subjoin :—

"Lopness, 12th November, 1890.

"In reply to your communication as to whether the sea has made any advance on the land in this part of the island, I beg to say that the sea has made a slow advance on the land around the bay Sandquoy, and also on the sandy beach west of Lopness.

"A very considerable advance has been made east of the house of Galilee, at Sowardy and Hyngreenie and round Scuthow or Scurvie Bay, on to the Park, and two crofters' houses on the south side there had to be shifted a few years ago, owing to the encroachments of the sea. The sound of Start Point is now about three times as wide as it was when I came to Sanday. A gale from S.E. and a high tide in Feby., 1883, made a very wide breach there. The sea has also encroached round the bay of Newark, and I see a very considerable advance on the land on the east side towards the house of Tressness."

Mr. Harvey came to Sanday in 1857. I now leave this part of the east coast, only remarking that the isthmus connecting the peninsular point of Elsness with the island has become narrower within the memory of living men. And the same is true of the isthmus connecting Tressness.

On the shore of Kettletoft stands an old store originally built for the storage of feu duties, paid in kind. It is said that the Sanday lairds were much exercised about the site of this store; Fea of Clestron wishing to have it built on his land at the bay of Store, while Traill of Elsness wished

it on his side of Kettletoft. Some time after it was built, the laird of Brough and the laird of Clestron, arguing over their cups on the suitableness of its site, concluded by the following bet. The one wagering that the end of the store next the sea was seven tethers length from the brink of the low crag on the shore, while the other party betted that the distance was only one tether length, the forfeit to be a guinea and a keg of gin. A Kirkwall lawyer present suggested a difficulty in the variation of the size of tethers. "Ye muckle fuel," said the laird of Brough, "is that a' the laar the law has learned you? Every herd boy kens that the lawfu' lent o' a tether is four fathoms and a half." When the betters came from town, where the bet was taken, the ground was carefully measured, and was found to be three lengths of an orthodox tether. Now, if this tale be true, we have a gauge by which to measure the encroachment of the sea during a period of upwards of two centuries; and, without dogmatising on the subject, I give it for what it is worth. Three lengths of a tether gives $13\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, or 81 feet, as the distance between store and crag, when the store was erected. The space between them now is 15 feet, and would have been much less but for mason work erected to protect the crag. The store, as we know from an inscription on its wall, was erected in 1677. This gives the amount of land lost since that date as 66 feet. Seeing that the mason work has retarded the eroding process in recent years, we may regard the oceanic progress at this place to have been at the rate of 33 feet in the century. And, during the 40 years immediately previous to building up the face of the crag, elderly people acquainted with the locality can confirm the statement that the progress of encroachment has been much more rapid than the above figures indicate.

Farther south, on the two sands of Quoyaness, I can, from fifty years of personal observation, affirm that the sea is gradually encroaching. To seaward of these sands, in Sanday Sound, lie shoals, on which the waves of the German Ocean roll and break heavily with every easterly

gale. Every ground-swell violently breaks up, or helps to erode, the surface of these shoals. Stones on which seaweeds grow, mussels adhering to the seaweeds, are torn off; shells that burrow in the sand are torn up; and this mass of marine *débris* is hurled landward, and in its course is rolled to and fro, pounded, ground, and flung on shore in the form of sand, the sea being a first-rate pulverising machine. This sand is gradually being blown up, and now forms an extensive rabbit warren, rising to a considerable height behind the sandy shore. From the enormous amount of sand heaped up for ages on this warren, here, if in any place, the island may have undergone some surface elevation; but here, also, the work of disintegration is in full progress. Thousands of rabbits are ever rending the rough mantle of bent grass with which nature would seek to consolidate and cover the naked sand. The sand, having the wind for its propelling power, is as capricious and uncertain in its movements as are those of the element by which it is transported; so the sand, picturesque in its dissolution, has been whirled into every imaginable shape of miniature hill and valley. The surface of the ground presenting the nearest approach to the wild undulations of the sea, where a ground-swell rolls through a rapid tideway. This heaped-up sand will inevitably be swept down on the cultivated land to the west, thence to be ultimately blown into the sea from whence it came. I say to the west, because it is with the dry easterly gales that sand-drifts generally take place.

Long and wearisome as my indictment against the thievish propensities of the sea has been, I am persuaded that if we could fling back the dense curtain of water that now separates the "bracken isles of Orkney", and could look on the shoals and reefs lying hidden between these islands, we should be more easily convinced that Orkney has at one time been a continuous whole. In most of man's researches into nature, he is assisted by his powers of vision; but when investigating the sea bottom, he has,

so to speak, to do so by feeling with the sounding lead. To the inexperienced eye, the sea's surface gives little indication of the wonderful floor on which it rests. Standing on the southern extremity of Sanday, we see at our feet a pretty broad channel separating Spurness from the Holms of that name. In this channel we see a tumultuous body of water madly rushing through, and forming, as it bursts from the confined channel, a raging and dangerous sea. Now, no one unacquainted with the fact would imagine that there is on this channel a depth of water of only 16 feet at low tide.

Allow me now to mention a few things relative to the subsidence of the island. Let us first turn to the Bay of Stove, with the house of that name standing at its head. My father, who had passed his youth in this house, left it in 1794. He told me that at that time there lay a green lawn of considerable extent between the sea and the entrance gate of the court in front of the hall. My father was told by his grand aunt, a Miss Fea—sister of the Fea who captured Gow—that, in her lifetime, the sea had swallowed up more than half of the ground she remembered when young. That in her youth, young gentlemen visitors used to play golf with her brothers on the large green between the house and sea. This lady died in 1793. The lawn was then called the Yet Green. At present, every vestige of this green has disappeared ; its place is covered by the sea at high water, and left a desolate sand at low tide. More than seventy years ago, the fine old gateway, and 10 feet from the end of the hall next the sea, had to be removed, the sea having begun to undermine both. The present tenant of the farm informs me that the progress of marine encroachment goes steadily on.

Now, the one fact to which I request especial attention is, that with all the advance of the sea on an inclined plain, gently rising as it recedes from the shore, there is not the slightest appearance of the beach being raised in height as the sea advances into the rising land. We should

expect to find the remaining foundations of the old hall at least 2 feet above high water level, but such is not the case, thus proving unmistakably that, as the sea has advanced, the land has sunk.

This fact is better seen, and more powerfully augments the argument, at a place called Pool, on the west side, because here the ground rises more abruptly than at Stove, while receding from the shore. Three houses stood here in a row, with their backs to the sea, and having a plot of ground for kail yards between them and the shore. This piece of ground in 1847 measured 38 yards from the back wall of the cottages to the beach, where grass ceased to grow. This ground is now wholly swallowed up, and the foundations of the cottages are being undermined by the sea. When a boy, I knew the old beach as it then was well, and there is no perceptible difference in the height of the present beach from that of the beach as existing in 1847. The foundations of the cottage wall, then at least 18 inches above high water level, are now below sea level at high water. I wish to emphasise this fact, that while the sea has advanced more than 100 feet in half a century—advanced, be it remembered, on an inclined plain, gradually rising as it recedes from the shore—yet, at the point of high water line, the bank or beach is no higher than it was fifty years ago.

Turn now to a district called Overbirster, on the east of the island. I have been told, but have not personally seen it, that in some places where the cultivated surface is now pure sand three or four feet down, you come to a layer of fine vegetable mould, containing roots of plants. This layer having evidently at one time been the surface of the ground on which vegetation flourished, though now at a depth below sea level. It is curious that this is the district from which several complaints are made in Lord Sinclair's Rental, 1497, of "blawn land". Indeed, "blawin landis" are the last words of the rental. I have heard of other parts in the island where a rich vegetable loam is said to

underlie a depth of surface sand. But, unless the present level of such layers relatively to sea level was ascertained, such examples prove nothing. I suspect, however, that proper investigation would show those vegetable subsoils to have been first sunk by depression from below, and that the sunk surface has afterwards been buried by moving sand swept over the depressions. Be this as it may, let us now look at the north-east extremity of the island. Here is what is, and what has ever been called the Start *Point*, which in reality is now a small islet, on which a lighthouse stands. Now, in none of the old rentals in print, or MS., that I have seen, is this island noticed, as it most certainly would have been had it existed as an islet at the date of the rentals. Had it then been separated from the rest of the island it would have been called by them the Start Holm, and rented, like other holms, at so much oil. Sibbald, in his map of Orkney, 1711, shows no separate land at the Point.

Anxious to know what McKenzie in his once well-known chart of Orkney gives regarding the Start, and not having a copy of his chart myself, I wrote to a friend who possessed one, asking if McKenzie marks or notices a sound running between the island and an islet at Start Point? His answer is curt, but decisive. "McKenzie does *not* separate the Start from the rest of the island on his map." McKenzie's work was published in 1750, and we may rest assured that had the sound existed at that date it would have been given on his map. There is evidence, however, that Start Point existed as a continuous whole at a much later date. On March 15th, 1802, the foundation of Start lighthouse was laid with masonic honours. The Rev. Walter Traill, of Westove, made a speech on the occasion; and I was informed by him, by the late William Strang, Lopness, living in the immediate vicinity, and by my father, that at the time the lighthouse was built there was no part of Start Point separated by the sea from the rest of the island. This fact alone is sufficient to prove the subsidence

of the land. It may be said that the tide rushing through the now existing sound is sufficient to deepen and widen the channel. Doubtless quite true. But how did the sea at first gain an entrance into the channel if the relative levels of land and sea have remained *in statu quo* since creation? The relative lines of elevation must have changed before the one element could overlap the other. And to revert to my text, I must continue to believe that the existence of trees buried under the sea proves that the earth has sunk. It can only be when some competent geologist shows a better reason that I can alter my belief.

Indeed, after long attention to the subject, I am convinced that, at the present rate of subsidence, every part of Sanday will be submerged in less than 400 years. If my forecast be correct, alas, for the landowners of Sanday! With the crofters on one hand, and the ocean on the other, their position is well described in the words of the old saw as being "between the devil and the deep sea."

I have said the island will be sunk in *less* than 400 years, but there falls to be taken into account another powerful force which, once it comes into play, will vastly accelerate the disintegration of the island.

There are at least four more or less easily distinguishable lines of depression on the surface of the island. These depressions, speaking generally, run across the island on a line from north-west to south-east. One of these depressions begins at the east head waters of Otterswick, ending at Sandgoe on Katasand. The next lies like a trough across the isthmus connecting the peninsular parish of Burness with the island. The third begins at Ayre, on the bay of Brough, and runs in a slight curvature, owing to a small elevation in its course, till it ends at the bridge of Oyce on the tidal head waters of Kettletoft. The last has its northerly end formed by two branches, beginning respectively at the two creeks of Pool and Braeswick, and ending at the head of the bay of Stove, itself a continuation of the line of depression. It is evident that as subsidence

of the land goes on these depressions will be the first through which the sea will form channels, as it has already done at Start Sound ; and the moment these channels are formed a rapid tide will pour through them from the Atlantic with the flood, and from the German Ocean with the ebb tide. And such perpetually alternating currents will powerfully tend to disintegrate the island, soon leaving only its rocky skeleton.

Yes, our island home is doomed.[1] In a few short ages the lobster and crab will crawl on our cold hearthstones ; whales and fishes will disport above where our chimney tops now reach ; sea-weeds and limpets will grow on our gravestones, and our graves be nowhere.[2] But our dust will be safe in that most glorious of all sepulchres—the mighty ocean—on which "time writes no wrinkle."

Now, gentlemen, I have to thank you, if you have had patience to hear my long story. Methinks I hear you saying, regarding its author, "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*"

[1] The author does not seem to have taken into account the fact that the depressions of the land below the sea do not always go on continuously, but are often followed by periods of re-elevation. Great Britain has more than once been given a salt-water bath by Dame Nature, and has come up again smiling above the surface of the ocean all the better for the dip.—ED.

[2] If our graves will be nowhere, it is not easy to understand how limpets can grow on them.—ED.

THE

BOAR'S HEAD DINNER AT OXFORD, AND A TEUTONIC SUN-GOD.

By KARL BLIND.

(*Read: April 27th*, 1894.)

LAST year, when I had the honour of addressing the members of this Club, the subject was, *Shetland* Folk-lore, as containing strange survivals of the grand, weird, and at the same time charmful Odinic creed of our common Teutonic forefathers. To-night I have to deal with an ancient custom on *English* ground. But this, too, as will presently be seen, concerns all men of Norse, and generally of Germanic, origin. It is a custom which once prevailed as a great religious rite — nay, which here and there still exists in some form or other—among the dwellers between the Rhine and the Danube, on the shores of the Baltic and of the German Ocean, among Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons.

I speak of the celebrated Boar's Head Dinner, held every year, on Christmas Day, at Queens' College, in Oxford. Truly, a tale of very ancient origin hangs by that time-honoured Yule-tide meal, which took its rise in a long-forgotten primæval worship of the Aryan race.

Most of you have, no doubt, seen a description of the quaint Oxford custom. Some have perhaps been present at the ceremony, as students at the University. Years ago I myself had the pleasure, through kind invitation, of sitting, as a guest, at the side of the venerable Provost of Queens' College, the late Rev. Dr. Jackson, and so was enabled personally to take stock of the details of a ceremony in which I was much interested from the point of view of

mythology. I will at once add that there were plenty of good things on the table to save it from any appearance of being a mere myth. I used the occasion of my stay at Queens' College also for looking up the several versions of Christmas Carols, in order to leave nothing undone which could shed light on the hallowed custom as maintained in the old University town.

The performance is, in short, in this way. On Christmas Day a large boar's head is solemnly carried into the Hall of Queens' College, by three bearers. It is on a silver platter, adorned with a crown, wreathed with gilded sprays of laurel and bay, as well as with mistletoe and rosemary, and stuck all over with little banners ;—a very remarkable honour for a dead, bristly four-footer. A flourish of trumpets announces the entry. The bearers are accompanied by a herald who sings the old English Song of the Boar's Head. At the end of each verse those present join in the Latin refrain. A formal procession of the Provost and Professors precedes the coming in of the boar's head. The people of the town—this is very notable—are for a short while admitted to the Hall before the repast begins, when the gilded sprays, little banners, and other ornaments of the dish are distributed to the crowd by the Provost. This shows at once that the ceremony was, of old, a public one, concerning the community at large. The temporary admission of the townsmen is a last remnant and survival of universal fellowship.

The song, as at present sung in Queens' College, runs thus :—

The boar's head in hand bear I,
Bedecked with bays and rosemary,
And I pray you, my masters, be merry,
Quot estis in convivio.
(As many as you are at the feast.)

Caput Apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino.
(The boar's head here I bring,
Glorifying the Lord.)

The boar's head, as I understand,
Is the bravest dish in all the land ;
When thus bedecked with a gay garland—
Let us servire cantico.
(Let us serve it up with song.)

Caput Apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino.

Our steward hath provided this,
In honour of the King of Bliss ;
Which on this day to be served is
In Reginensi Atrio.
(In Queens' College.)

Caput Apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino.

Now, what is the meaning of this wonderful boar worship—for practically it comes to that—which is so curiously mixed up with Christmas?

At Oxford, the origin of that Yule-meal is traditionally stated in a very fanciful and modernising form. The well-known legend is, that a scholar of Queens' College, about 400 years ago, was walking in deep thought in a neighbouring forest, when he was attacked by a wild boar. He quickly despatched the animal by throwing down its throat the Aristotle he was just reading, with the exclamation : "*Graecum est!*" "It's Greek!" In remembrance of this miraculous escape, the Boar's Head Dinner is said to have been introduced at Christmas. Why at Christmas, the tale does not say! And, to this day, a bust of Aristotle adorns the large fireplace in the College Hall. So, who, of course, could doubt the correctness of the legend, which is repeated, year by year, in the reports of the Press?

To render the tale even more likely, the Queens' College preserves the picture of a saint, with a boar's head transfixed on a spear. A similar representation is found in the window of the church of Horspeth, a village on the southern slope of Shotover, not far from Oxford. The name of Shotover, by the by, is one of those frequent corruptions of words which you meet with, for example, in the name

of Rotten Row—originally in Norman French *Route du Roi*, King's Road; or in the family name of Cowderoy, where the cow seems to come in, whilst originally the name was a very swell one: *Cœur de Roi*, King's Heart. In the same way, Shotover originally was, in Norman French, *Château Vert*, the Green Castle; mispronounced afterwards Shot-ovér, and then Shotover. In mythology one often comes upon similar corruptions; and then, when the real meaning of a word or a custom is forgotten, some one is certain to start up with an explanation, "quite out of his own head," as the children say—and thus a fresh legend grows up which has no connection whatever with the true original sense.

Now, as to that Aristotle which was thrown by the Oxford student into the animal's jaw, I will not deny that Greek would be a most dangerous and very indigestible morsel for a boar. But I think it will easily be granted that this rather absurd tale does not quite account for a stately dinner, at Christmas, at an ancient seat of learning. Nor does it seem very probable that the boar who wanted to strike the student down, would receive the honour of being remembered at an annual festivity, with a crown being put on his sovereign head—for indeed, in one of the Christmas carols, the boar is literally called the "soverayne beste", or Sovereign Beast, which gives him a very exalted rank.

To say it at once, the Oxford ceremony is a survival of a sacrificial meal, in which the Sun-Boar, the symbol of the German and Norse God Fro, or Freyr, played a great part at the winter solstice among the Teutonic tribes. Freyr —the brother of Freyja, the Goddess of Beauty and Love —was a deity representing Light, Love, Peace, Goodwill, and Fertility. In this latter quality, he was connected with the Sun, the luminous agency which brings forth the fulness of the earth. His sacred animal was a golden-bristled boar—the golden bristles poetically signifying the rays of the heavenly orb.

The wild boar, whom I have often enough seen in our

German forests, and once even rather unpleasantly met as he rushed by, is, in spite of his seemingly clumsy body, a very nimble beast. He often outruns a horse. Of Gullinbursti (Golden-bristles), as Freyr's animal is called in the Edda, it was fabled that he ran quicker than a horse through air and water. The air means the sky; the water stands for the sea, into which the sun was supposed to drop in the evening, in the Far West. Riding on this Golden-bristles, the Sun-God made his quick daily course from east to west. Now at the winter-solstice festivities, which afterwards were supplanted by Christmas, it was the custom, among Germans and Northmen, to worship Fro, or Freyr, by a holy meal in which his sacred animal figured as a dish. Here we have the true origin of the Boar's Head Dinner.

This fact is as clearly provable as anything could be, from the history and the poetry of the Teutonic nations. I was, therefore, much astonished on finding that the aged Provost of Queens' College, who had presided at many a dinner of that kind, actually had never heard of the true explanation. Such is the tenacity of fictitious legends when once they have been set up. Well, seeing that the subject was quite new and unexpected to the Provost, I entered into it, at first, somewhat cautiously, but soon saw that he was highly interested in it; and when I had given him the full explanation, he expressed himself, if I may be allowed to mention it, very much satisfied and highly grateful—which was all the more pleasant, considering his eminent clerical status.

In order to show that the tale about the student is a mere fabrication, I need only point out that a similar custom, as at Oxford, exists, though on a very much reduced scale, at St. John's College, in Cambridge. There, a boar's head is also served up at the supper on St. John's Day, Dec. 27. Again, the same custom, but in a more stately manner, formerly flourished in the London Inns of Court. Dugdale, speaking of the Christmas Day ceremonies

in the Inner Temple, says that at the first course is served a fair and large boar's head upon a silver platter, "with minstralsye." Yet we have not heard that any London lawyer had saved himself, in the wilds of the Strand, from the tusks of a bristly quadruped, by throwing an Act of Parliament down its throat, which might have been even more deadly to an English boar than an untranslated Aristotle.

The Christmas custom in question, once generally prevalent, exists to this day also, in a reduced form, at the Queen's table. There, I understand, it was introduced, or re-introduced, from Germany, after the accession of the Duke of Cumberland to the throne of Hanover. In olden times, the same custom was upheld in all the English land, at Court, in noblemen's mansions, and in yeomen's homesteads. It was the universal German, Anglo-Saxon, Norse, Icelandic Yule-tide observance for peer and peasant, for the high and the hind.

One of the oldest records in this country, dating from 1170, says that King Henry II, upon the young prince's coronation, "served his son at table as a sewer, bringing up the boar's head, with trumpets before it, according to the manner." The stately and pompous way in which it was always done, was so well known that the chronicler simply says, "according to the manner." So far as I am aware, there is no further trace of it in any earlier historical record of England. But the missing links between the facts just mentioned and the epoch of the old Anglo-Saxon and Norse creed are easily found. They are contained in one of the oldest records of the faith of our forefathers—namely, in the Edda, as well as in the universal existence of the same customs throughout the nations of Teutonic origin.

As late as 1678, Aubrey wrote:—"Before the last civil wars, in gentlemen's houses at Christmas, the first dish that was brought to the table was a boar's head, with a lemon in his mouth." Again, there is an account of an Essex

parish, called Hornchurch, where on Christmas Day the boar's head was wrestled for by the peasants, and then feasted upon. All this will explain that taverns with the sign of the Boar's Head—such as we know from Shakespere's "Henry IV"—should once have been common in this country. Even now the custom observed with so much stateliness at Oxford, is, though with no pomp at all, to be found in a few country houses ; in some parts of England even among the common people, who have a simple sucking pig served to them.

In the old Christmas Carol literature there is a general agreement as to the Boar's high and distinguished position. In a song printed by Wynkyn de Worde, that animal's head is called the "chefe servyce in the lande". In all these songs, the joyous and somewhat boisterous character of the original Odinic festival is still traceable—as, for instance, in this version, which I will read in the older English :—

Hey, hey, hey, hey, the borrys head is armyd gaye.
The boris head in honde I brynge,
With garlands gay and byrde syngynge.
I pray you all help me to synge,
Qui estis in convivio.

The boris hede, I understond,
Ys chiefly sirved in all this londe,
Wher so ever it may be fonde
Cervitur cum sinapio.
(It is served with mustard.)

The boris head, I dare well say,
Anon after the xvth day
He taketh his leve and goth a way.
Exiuit de patra.

He goes out of the country ! Rather difficult for a boar in an island. In another version we hear :—

He takes his leyfe, and gothe his way,
Gone after the tweyl ffyt day—
With hay.

These verses clearly mark the ceremony as a peculiar one of a fixed period, corresponding to ancient Odinic rites. The twelve days after winter-solstice were specially hallowed. When we are told that, after that time, the boar goes out of the country, we come, as it were, upon the borderland between reality and myth; for Freyr's sacred animal, which had until then appeared as a substantial dish on the table, suddenly vanishes into the clouds like Lohengrin's swan. This is, no doubt, the original meaning of the words: "He goes out of the country."

Walter Scott, in his "Ancient Christmas", gives a good picture of the Yule festival in olden times:—

> The fire, with well-dried logs supply'd,
> Went, roaring, up the chimney wide;
> The huge hall-table's oaken face,
> Scrubb'd till it shone, the day to grace,
> Bore then upon its massive board
> *No mark to part the squire and lord.*
> There was brought in the lusty brawn,
> By old blue-coated serving man;
> *Then the grim boar's head frowned on high,*
> *Crested with bays and rosemary.*
> Well can the green-garbed ranger tell
> How, when, and where the monster fell;
> What dogs before his death he tore,
> And all the baiting of the boar;
> While round the merry wassel bowl,
> Garnished with ribbons, blithe did trowl . . . .
> Then came the merry maskers in,
> And carols roar'd with blithsome din.
> If unmelodious was the song,
> It was a hearty note and strong.
> Who lists, may in the mumming see
> Traces of ancient mystery.

As among the Romans during the Saturnalia, so also were the divisions of rank obliterated among the Teutons during Yule, when the great clog, or log, was lighted in token of sun-worship. Christmas, I need scarcely mention, was introduced as a festival only as late as the fourth

century. The Fathers of the Church are quite explicit on this subject. Christmas replaced, in fact, the various winter-solstice celebrations, among different nations given to sun-worship both in Asia and Europe.

Under cover of a New Faith, the old traditions, however, often survive. Thus, the name of Yule, which means the sun-wheel, and which perhaps comes from the same root as the Greek word "Helios" (the sun), is preserved to this day in the North, and in England, and at least in a part of Germany—in Mecklenburg—in the sense of Christmas. In Italy, the common people still call Christmas *ceppo*—that is, block of wood, Yule log.

In 1648, Thomas Warmstry, answering a question as to whether the Christian festival had not had its rise and growth from the conformity to the feasts of Saturnalia and of Yule, says that "since things are best cured by contraries, it was both wisdom and piety in the antient Christians (whose work it was to convert the Heathens...)" to act in this manner. Similar advice as to preserving deeply-rooted heathen customs, wherever possible, in order to facilitate conversions, was formally given in a well-known letter by Pope Gregory to the Abbot Mellitus, for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. The same counsel was offered by the Bishop of Winchester to Winfrith, or Boniface, the missionary who went out to preach the Gospel to the Germans. He did not follow the advice, and was killed by the Frisians.

German Christmas customs still show a strong trace of the old worship of Odin, or Wodan; of Thor, Thunaer, or Donar, as we called the God of Thunder; and of Freyja —that is to say, in the ancient mummeries which, with us, precede the Christian festival by a few days. Some of the very names, of the qualities, and of the symbols of this ancient circle of deities are yet recognisable in the strange masquerades that are to be seen in our villages and small towns, about the middle of December. Among the Saxons of far-off Transylvania, in Hungary, whose ancestors, many

centuries back, carried their popular customs from Germany into their new Carpathian home, a boar, or pig, figures in numerous processions at Christmas. Much that has now a mean or ridiculous aspect in these vulgar performances, had its origin in a creed to which a certain wild grandeur and poetical significance cannot be denied. The humble pig which is still made to trot in a boorish Christmas masquerade in Transylvania, is actually the last representative of a Germanic sun-worship and Aphroditean cult that had affinity with corresponding classic forms of worship.

If it should be thought extraordinary that a boar is taken as the symbol of a Deity representing the Sun and Love, I believe it would be wrong to ascribe this to any want of finer poetical feeling among our barbarian forefathers. Both Freyr and his sister Freyja were supposed to ride on a golden-bristled boar. These two deities came into Asgard, the heavenly abode of the Teutonic Gods, from the circle of water-deities, called Vaenir, whose very name has perhaps contact with that of the classic Venus. Now Venus, or Aphrodite, the foam-born, also stepped up from the waves of the sea, landing at Cyprus ; and curiously enough, a similar animal, but of a still lowlier form or name, was sacred to her, even as to Freyja.

If we turn to the Edda, the great Norse Scripture, we learn that the blessed heroes in Walhalla, or Valhöll, feasted every evening upon the flesh of the boar Sährimnir. It was really most celestial food ; for Sährimnir clearly typifies the Sun. Every day—it is said in the Edda—he is boiled ; yet every evening he is whole again. That's quite the case with the sun, who is always in a boiling state, yet whole and fresh again after having gone through that process during the day.

Coming down from the mythical realm of Asgard to the realities of this earth, we find that in the Scandinavian temples it was the rule, as in the households, to serve up at the Yule festival, as part of a kind of Holy Supper,

a boar dedicated to Freyr and Freyja. Its name was *Sónargaltr;* which may either mean Sun-boar or Boar of Atonement. In the Eddic "Song of Helgi', Hiörward's Son," that ceremony is mentioned in a Yule festival, when "vows were made, and the Boar of Atonement was brought in; the men placing their hands on it, and making vows by the cup of Bragi, the inspiriting God of Poetry."

This ceremony, though its origin is no longer understood by the people, is yet observed in Oster-Gothland, in Sweden. On Yule evening, the so-called *julbucken*, a block of wood covered with pig-skin, is put on the table. The housefather then places his hands on it and offers a vow that in the coming year he will be a loving father to his family, a kind master to his servants. Formerly, Freyr, the God of Peace and Goodwill, and his sister, were appealed to at this ceremony. The name of Bragi was introduced—as if he who made great promises wished to be remembered for his deeds in the songs of the skalds. Now, the names of those deities are forgotten; but the ceremony remains the same.

Cakes are still baked, in Sweden, at Christmas, in the form of a boar. The same is also done in some parts of Germany for the Christmas tree. In Sweden, the peasants preserve pieces of those cakes until spring, when they mix them with the seed or with the oats for the horses used in ploughing, or give them as food for the ploughboys who sow the seed. A good harvest is expected from this observance. Freyr, it ought to be remembered, was a ruler of rain and sunshine; he, therefore, was also a harvest-god. This boar symbol, though no longer understood, is by popular superstition in the North looked upon as efficient in agriculture even now.

In Germany, the custom of serving up a boar's head, or a sucking pig, adorned with rosemary, with its snout gilded, and a golden red apple or an orange between its mouth, was long prevalent, as may be seen from Grimm's work on "German Mythology." The gilding of the snout and the bright

colour of the apple evidently symbolise the sun. In Thuringia the belief has long lingered that he who on Christmas Eve does not partake of any food until supper time, will see the vision of a golden farrow. In the Uckermark, in Northern Germany, a pig's head is up to this day the festive dish during the twelve nights, but more especially on Christmas Day. On the Lower Rhine the superstition is, that, during the night following Christmas Eve, a spectral figure goes its round, called "Derk with the Boar". Derk, or Dietrich, takes here the place of Freyr. Dietrich, which signifies "Ruler of Men", corresponds to a cognomen of Freyr, who in the Edda is called the "folk-ruling God". Such substitutions of names are frequent when mythological ideas verge upon their decay.

In the "Statistical Account of Scotland", of 1793, it is recorded that in the parishes of Sandwick and Stromness in Orkney, every family that has a herd of swine kills one of the animals on a fixed day after the middle of December, which for that reason is called Sow-day. The account says:—"There is no tradition as to the origin of the practice." In some parts of Yorkshire a similar practice still prevails. It is to be found in various Germanic countries; so also in those parts of France to which the Frankish and other Teutonic invaders and conquerors, who gave Gaul its new name, evidently imported it. The sacrificial origin of the custom is patent from all that I have stated to-night. The sacred animal of the God to whom particular worship was addressed at Yule-time, naturally became the holy dish of the occasion. Primitive nations generally eat what they revere. A boar or pig was, therefore, killed for Freyr's sake on a particular day.

In the Christmas carol sung at Oxford it is said:

> Our steward hath provided this
> In honour of the King of Bliss—

and a Christian explanation easily suggests itself. Yet we must not forget that Freyr, who in the Edda is called "the

first and the best of the Aesir", or Gods, also was a King of Bliss; his very name pointing to friendliness, love, and the bliss connected therewith. The dwelling of this radiant deity, "against whom nobody is," is in the Home of the Light Elves whose face shines "more beautifully than the sun." He is a representative of peace, of happiness, and of good-luck. Hence Yule-tide, when he was particularly revered, was held to be a time of general peace and goodwill. The sword was sheathed and a three weeks' "Yule Peace" observed. That ancient King of Bliss may, therefore, have been sung already, in grey antiquity, at the Yule festival before it was changed into Christmas.

Odd as it may sound, there is every probability that the idea of good luck, as connected with the God and his boar, lingers even now in a vulgar German phrase. When we say of somebody: "*Er hat Schwein*," it is a synonym for: "He has great luck." I am inclined to believe that another unrefined phrase of that kind: "*Da möchte man auf einem wilden Schwein davonreiten*"—"One would like to ride away on a wild boar"—which means a wish to get well out of an unpleasant position, has also reference to Freyr. The saying seems to be tantamount to a desire to get away from trouble into the realm of undisturbed happiness. Many such, now vulgar, locutions are clearly traceable to ancient heathen ideas.

The figure of Freyr is, together with that of his sister, the noblest and most beautiful in the Teutonic Olympus. Both divine figures did, no doubt, degenerate occasionally into crudely sensual images, like similar conceptions of Greek and Roman antiquity. There were higher as well as lower kinds of Freyr and Freyja worship—even as there was an Aphrodite Urania, who carries men's hearts to the starry sky, and on the other hand, an Aphrodite Pandemos, or *Venus vulgivaga*.

As a God of Light, Freyr in many respects resembles the Greek Helios and Phaethon, or the Persian Mithra—the "Immortal with the swift steeds." In the Edda, we find

various beautiful images referring to the phenomenon of daylight. Not only has Freyr a golden-bristled boar in his solar stable; but we are also told, in a song called "Odin's Raven Charm", that the God of Day careers along the sky in a chariot, drawn by a horse adorned with beautiful gems, whose sparkling splendour shines over the world, whilst the sun, whose rays illumine the face of the Light Elves, is sitting in the refulgent wain. I think that beats anything the Greeks have produced in that line.

Once, it is said, Freyr possessed a shining sword—again the ray of the Sun!—which brandished itself against the Frost Giants. In other words, the warmth of the Sun vanquishes the Ice of Winter. A saga mentions that on a hill in which Thorgrim, a zealous worshipper of Freyr, was buried, the snow never remained, and that eternal green covered the spot. The power of the Sun-god is here strongly expressed.

There is a romantic story connected with this solar deity and God of Love, Peace, and Goodwill. You will find it in the "Skirnismál"—"The Lay or Journey of Skirnir"—in the Edda. It has all the charm and at the same time all the grim fierceness of the old Norse character. Gerda was the name of the bride ardently wooed, and at last won, by Freyr. He is said to have become love-sick as soon as he perceived that beautiful maid, whom he saw walking in her grandfather's gardens, when the air and the sea became bright from the splendid whiteness of her arms.

I do not wish to harrow your feelings by going into the cruel details of the procedure of Skirnir, Freyr's servant, who delivered the God's love-message to Gerda. The way in which Skirnir urged Freyr's suit, is not the way in which young ladies would allow themselves to be addressed, or won, to-day—and, so far, I am sorry for the manners attributed, in the poem, to Freyr's very rude messenger. But then, all this happened so very long ago, in the heyday of these roystering young Gods. I must explain that Gerda, as her very name shows, is the Earth, into which the ray of

the Sun at last penetrates. The "nine nights", during which the God, almost dying of impatient longing, had to wait until Gerda meets him in the secluded grove, evidently are an allusion to the nine months of unfruitful season in the high North, during which the Sun has no power over the earth.

As a bridal gift, Freyr sends to his beloved one eleven golden apples, which some would interpret in an astronomical sense as signifying eleven months of the year. In the end, I am glad to say, Freyr and Gerda lived happily together for ever—at least as long as the Odin religion existed.

On the Christmas-tree, in Germany, we always hang red and golden-hued apples, and gilt nuts. They, too, symbolise the sun. To Freyr, the God of Fertility, the apple-tree was specially sacred. Apples, a very wholesome fruit, play a great part in the Odinic creed. Idun, the Goddess of Life, who dwells in the branches of the great World Ash, or Tree of Existence, Yggdrasil, keeps the whole circle of the Aesir with that fruit in good health ; and it is said that when once the supply momentarily failed, the very gods began to wither.

Now, in some parts of Germany and England there still exists the well-known custom of standing, during Twelfth-night, round an apple tree, when a rime is sung, praying for a good fruit-year. Keeping all this in mind, we shall better understand that German Christmas story which says that, at the birth of Christ, winter gave way to spring ; that the snow vanished from the ground ; that flowers sprouted up everywhere ; that apple-trees especially began to blossom, and that the sun leapt twice for joy. This is manifestly an old Teutonic idea in a later Christian garb. Of the apple put in the boar's gilded mouth at Christmas, ere the orange or the lemon replaced it, I have before spoken as a solar symbol.

More than a thousand years have passed since the Woden religion died out in England ; nearly a thousand

years since it was quite overthrown in northern Germany by armed force; a little above seven hundred years since it has ceased to exist in Sweden. The old customs, however, survive, in some cases, with wonderful tenacity. A striking instance is this famous dinner at Oxford, the origin of which seems to be known to so very few, although, of yore, it was a general sacrificial rite, which many a Viking must have observed at Yule time, even when abroad.

We are far removed to-day from the ideas which gave rise to such customs; but not farther—rather considerably less so—than from similar ideas of the Greeks and the Romans. And I, therefore, believe that it is well worth our while to study these things which connect the past with the present. In this way, through a better understanding of the mythological conceptions of our own forebears, we shall obtain a poetical enjoyment similar to that which we derive from noble classic sources, but which it would be an error to think could be derived only from them.

GODHILDA DE TONI,

WIFE OF BALDWIN I, KING OF JERUSALEM, AND HER FAMILY OF TONI AND LIMESY.

BY THE LATE HYDE CLARKE, V.-P.R.HIST.SOC., AND OF THE VIKING CLUB.[1]

(*Read: November 2nd*, 1894.)

IT seemed to me that the incident of a Norman Queen of Jerusalem is one worthy of the notice of the Viking Club. It is that of Godhilda, or Gotthilda de Tony or de Toeni, wife of Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem.

This event is not referred to in the usual places. There it is stated that Baldwin de Boulogne or Bouillon, who succeeded his brother, Godfrey de Bouillon, as King of Jerusalem, married the widow of the Count de Mellent or de Meulem.

This hides the identity of Godhilda, for before marrying Robert, the Count de Mellent,[2] her name was Toni, being a daughter of Ralph de Toni the elder, by Isabel, daughter of Simon de Montfort, and most probably born at his chief seat at Flamstead in Hertfordshire.

Godhilda belonged to an illustrious house, styled by the Duchess of Cleveland (*Battle Roll*, iii, p. 175) "royal" which it was, being of identical descent with the Dukes of Normandy, and from Malahulch, uncle of Rollo. The name is Toni, Tony, Toesny, or Todeni, but in England it took various names. One great branch was named Limési or Limesy. The name perhaps best known in England is

[1] In consequence of the lamented death of Mr. Hyde Clarke, it has been necessary to print his paper without any revision by the author.

[2] Dugdale, *Baronagium*, 1, 469, quoting Ordericus Vitalis, mentions both marriages, but says nothing of Jerusalem.

that of De Stafford. In England, having largely shared n the spoils of the Norman invasion, these have become the foundation in female lines of many of the present ducal and other leading houses. Such are the Dukes of Rutland, Newcastle, and Devonshire, the Clintons, the Earls of Crawford, the Gresleys. The Dukes of Bridgewater, the Cholmondeleys, and others claim this descent, but their affiliation is doubtful. For eight hundred years they have held place in the Baronage.

The near connection with the ducal house of Normandy gave the Tonis and the Limesy strong claims, and they held high positions in Normandy. The Tonis were hereditary gonfanoniers or grand standard-bearers of Normandy. In this respect they distinguished themselves and maintained their military reputation. Roger de Espania was a popular hero. He made a crusade against the Moors in Catalonia, and rescued from them the County of Barcelona in 1018. Hence he had the name of Roger of Spain. He married Godhilda, daughter of Raymond Borrel, Count of Barcelona, and his name and hers long lived in the family of Toni. She was daughter of Raymond by Ermesinda, daughter of the Count of Carcassonne, and sister of the King of Navarre.

The Tonis acquired large possessions in Normandy.

At Hastings the standard-bearer, Toni, was present, and achieved distinction, but preferred to act as a warrior in the thick of the fight.

At Hastings, the Duchess of Cleveland says (*Battle Roll*, vol. iii, p. 171), six of the Tonis are commemorated in the Dives Roll as having taken part. They appear in the form of Touny, and appear as Ralph, Robert, Juhol, Berenger, and William. The Duchess states that Juhol is a mistake, as he was Juhel de Toteneis or Totness.

It may be mentioned incidentally that a miracle was performed by the father of Godhilda, Ralph, on his brother Roger de Toni, he being reputed to have been one of the few men who returned to life. It is said that, after his

death, when his brother addressed him, he came to life again, and recommended to his brother the care of his soul.

The family founded many religious establishments in England and Normandy, to the latter of which they made many English grants. In Hertfordshire were the Priory of Hertford, founded by Ralph de Limesy, and the Nunnery at Flamstead, in which Godhilda was probably brought up.

Her name of Godhilda was an old one, borne by an ancestress, Godhilda, wife of Ivar Vidfamer, King of Norway.

The Toni and Limesy were connected with the royal houses of England and Scotland, and with many others. It appears probable that these alliances, as Lord Lindsay suggests, influenced the settlement in Scotland of the Lindsays and many other Normans.

These alliances continued later. Robert de Toni left his possessions to his sister Alice, who married, secondly, Guy de Beauchamp, second Earl of Warwick. Her son was Thomas, Earl of Warwick, who distinguished himself at Cressy and at Poictiers, and was one of the first Knights of the Garter. His descendants were Isabel, wife of George, Duke of Clarence, and Anne, widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, and Queen of Richard III.

Of the line of Stafford, Shakespeare commemorates, in his Richard III and Henry VIII, the two unfortunate dukes.

Fair Rosamond, mother of William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, was of Toni blood.

Descendants of Toni and Limesy put forward claims to the crown of Scotland on the disputed succession.

The Limesy were a younger branch of the Toni, as determined by Lord Lindsay, and took part also in the invasion.

The Limesy Castle in Normandy, near Rouen, is still held by their female descendant of illustrious parentage, the Countess of Bagneux. It is a remarkable fact that in the land of revolutions this possession is, after a thousand

years, in the hands of a representative of the founder of the line.

The arms of the Limesy are, *Gules*, an eagle displayed *or*. The eagle is not common as a Norman bearing. It is to be noticed that the Lord of the Isles bore, *Argent*, an eagle *gules* in a galley *sable*. It is possible the Limesy bearing may have reference to the descent from the sea kings of the isles.

Regnar de Limesy, apparently brother of Ralph, had mimms and possessions in Herts. He must have died early, and a circumstance worthy of note is that no mere share of the spoil was assigned to him. In *Domesday* his possessions are found in the hands of Bishop Robert de Limesy, who perhaps received the bishopric as a compensation for claims of his father. The inheritance passed to the De Somerys, who perhaps represented a sister of Bishop Robert of Lichfield.

The history of the Toni and Limesi may be considered in their relation to English history, and that of Limesi is perhaps the most profitable. The possessions of Ralph de Limesi and Regnar de Limesi in Normandy were confined to one moderate fief or manor, which can have afforded them scanty resources, to take part in the invasion of England, and yet they stand in *Domesday* for some forty manors ; Robert de Stafford, or de Toni, held two hundred. The forty of Ralph were, however, a magnificent portion.

Many of the chroniclers and county historians say that Ralph de Limesy was nephew of William the Norman, but no one states how this was. In the usual sense of nephew, Ralph cannot be affiliated. It is likewise to be observed that the near relatives of the King, even on the mother's side, were much more largely endowed than with forty manors.

My solution is that Ralph was regarded as what the French call, *neveu à la mode de Bretagne*, a relationship which I have noticed among many populations, and with which I was familiar among the Albanians. The Duke

being regarded as the head, the younger branches were treated as nephews. This relationship would apply to the large body of members of the ducal house in Normandy and England. They considered themselves as a privileged class or Athelings, and the title became equivalent to the later Cousin of the King here, or Prince de Rei in Portugal.

It will be noticed by the student that, so far as Hertfordshire is concerned, both Toni and Limesi are recorded in *Domesday* as holding manors. The late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (Lord Lindsay) a distinguished inquirer, went further, for he found this alliance in other shires, and that, as a general principle, the Normans were grouped according to families. This is of importance. It is generally held by historians, that to prevent his Barons from acquiring power by consolidated possessions, William astutely distributed them over the country. This was, however, by no means the case. There were many large domains, while Lord Crawford's discovery shows that near relations held their possessions side by side and could readily unite.

The solution of the fact must be sought in some other way. Ralph de Limesi received his portion by instalments. The first he and Regnar received was in Hertfordshire. This was one of the first regions available for distribution after the battle of Hastings had given possession of the Southern shires. Then as other regions were acquired Ralph received other instalments, some of them of little value.

The presumption is that the payments were made in virtue of an original compact before the invasion, in consideration of the assistance given. It was a kind of joint-stock company transaction. Ralph would not have represented himself alone, for, as stated, Limesi was a small manor and fief. Neighbours we know were associated with him, as was general, and probably Jews of Rouen and shipowners on the coast.

In each centre in England Norman society was organised, which is a feature to be taken into account.

Of Baldwin, much is to be found in the annalists of the Crusades as Prince of Tarsus and King of Jerusalem (July 1100). In the *Jerusalem* of Tasso he figures as the opponent of Tancred. He died in an expedition to Egypt 26th March 1118, and was buried at Jerusalem.

Henry Gally Knight, in his *Normans in Sicily* (p. 41), says that Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, sent an embassy to Simon, Count of Sicily, to solicit the hand of his mother, Adelaide (quoting *Alexander Celesinus*, lib. 1). Adelaide, niece of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, and widow of Roger Guiscard, Count of Sicily, willingly accepted the proferred crown, but, after two years' marriage, she discovered that Baldwin had another wife, and returned to Sicily in disgust, and, entering the convent of Palli, soon after died.

Baldwin was uncle of King Stephen.

With the Tonis is associated the Order of the Swan, famous in the annals of chivalry. Toni was the Knight of the Swan. Roger de Espania is supposed to have begun the title.

It was attributed in the Middle Ages to the Tonis. The Duchess of Cleveland, in her great work, the *Battle Roll*, which has done so much for Norman history and genealogy, says of Robert, the last of the Barons Toni, that he is the Knight of the Swan spoken of at Caerlaverock—

> Robert de Toni, ki bien signe,
> Ki il est du Chivaller a Cigne.

The Order subsists, having been revived by the King of Prussia, and is enrolled among the Orders of Germany. Baring Gould, in his *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, has given the legend of the Knight of the Swan, a well-known romance. The descent of the Order is not made out, nor how the Dukes of Bouillon, Lorraine, and Cleves, became possessed of it. The only link is the marriage of Baldwin to

Godhilda de Toni, but she had no title to transmit the succession.

An unexplained circumstance, in relation to Ralph de Limesy, is the entry in *Domesday* as to his then holding half of the Castle of Strigul, in Wales. This is not found to have passed to his family, but other properties not entered to him in *Domesday* are found in the inheritance, including large manors in Warwickshire, etc., previously held by the Lady Christina, the grand-daughter of King Edmund.

How Ralph became possessed of the moiety of Strigul has not been explained. The castle of Strigul was built by William Fitzosbern. In the *County History of Herts*, by Clutterbuck, it is suggested that Ralph married a daughter of Fitzosbern, and thus inherited his claim to Strigul.

Strigul we afterwards find passing in the inheritance of the Fitzosberns, and it can scarcely be otherwise than that the King gave the Princess's land to Ralph in cession of his claims on Strigul, which became united under the Fitzosberns, and afterwards passed to Strongbow, who was styled Earl of Strigul.

Many of these obscure points would be cleared up if the proposition of Mr. William Alexander Lindsay for a Society to publish the Norman Chartularies were put into effect.

In connection with the possessions of the Toni and Limesi, some light is thrown on the part the Normans or French took in dispossessing the English cultivators of the soil. On landing at Hastings the Normans ravaged the country, and the consequence was the manors at *Domesday* were of little value. The value of a land grant really depended on the cultivators, and the English cultivators being turned out could seldom be replaced by Normans, who preferred their abodes in Normandy.

The policy of the Normans altered, and their object was to get the same return from their fiefs as the former holders had had in the time of King Edward. In the

north, where they pursued the same course as in Sussex and overcame the resistance by ravaging the country, they left it bare and little remunerative.

In the greater part of England the cultivators remained, and it was of small importance to them whether the Norman Lord of the Manor superseded the ancient Danish or Saxon holders; their position remained the same, cultivating the soil, and dividing the produce with the lord. The relations between lord and tenant became more peaceable. By political events the lords were cut off from Normandy, and the new Norman-English community was formed.

I regret that, suffering from illness, I am not able to apply my materials and pursue the subject at length, and that I must bring these desultory notes to a close.

The probability is that there is much more Norman blood in the English population than anthropologists acknowledge, and this in its entirety and its details is a subject of much more interest than it has met with from historians and anthropologists. The growth of historical societies in the United States, and their application to genealogical studies, promise to obtain much more attention in the future. The American branch of the English-speaking community is devoting itself to the establishment of its English descent, and none the less of Norman descent. The Viking Club can scarcely engage in any branch of research offering more promising results.

Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. I. PART II.

ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY & MUSEUM.

IN addition to the gifts to the Library and the Museum given on pp. 2—4, the following have since been received :—

GIVEN BY

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.

"Some Manx Names in Cumbria." With Notes by Mr. Eirikr Magnusson. Kendal, 1895.

DR. JOHN STEFANSSON.

"Is King Oscar II. a Constitutional King?" London, 1895.

PROFESSOR SOPHUS BUGGE.

1. "Om Enkelte Nordiske Mythers Oprindelse." Foredrag ved de nordiske Filologmóde i Kristiania. 1881.
2. "Sproglige Oplysninger om Ord i gamle Nordiske Love." (Særtryk af "Nord. Tidskrift for Filologi." Ny række, iii.)
3. "Nogle Bidrag til det Nórrone Sprogs og det Nórrone Digtungs Historie, hentede fra Verslaren." (No date.)
4. "Om Versene i Kormaks Saga." Kjóbnhavn, 1889.
5. "Blandede Sproghistoriske Bidrag. II." (Arkiv for nordisk Filologi, ii.) (No date.)
6. "Nyere Forskninger om Irlands gamle Aandskultur og Digting i dens Forhold til Norden." Kristiania, 1892.
7. The same.
8. The same.
9. The same.
10. "Lidt om de ældste nordiske Runeindskrifters Sproglige Stilling." Kjóbnhavn, 1870.
11. "Bemærkninger til Nórrone Digte." (February, 1883.)
12. "Svensk Ordforskning." (May, 1887.)
13. "Om Runeskriftens Oprindelse." Christiania, 1874.
14. "Den danske Vise om Gralver Kongens Sön i sit Forhold til Wolfdietrich Sagnet." (Arkiv for nordisk Filologi, xii. Ny följd, viii.)
15. "Bidrag til nordiske Navnes Historie." (Arkiv f. n. Fil., vi. Ny följd ii.)

PROFESSOR SOPHUS BUGGE.

16. "Bemærkninger om Runeindskrifter pá Guldbrakteater." Kjóbnhavn, 1871.

17. "Remarques sur les Inscriptions runiques des Bractéates en Or." Copenhague, 1871.

E. H. BAVERSTOCK (*Lawright-man*).

"Laurentius Saga." Translated by O. Elton.

POULTNEY BIGELOW (*Jarla-man*).

"Paddles and Politics Down the Danube." By P. Bigelow.

ALFRED HENEAGE COCKS, M.A.

"Bird-life in Arctic Norway." By. R. Collett. Translated by A. H. Cocks.

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.

"Thorstein of the Mere, a Saga of the Northmen in Lakeland." By W. G. Collingwood.

GILBERT GOUDIE, F.S.A. Scot. (*Fræthi-man*).

"Orkneyinga Saga." Translated by Ion A. Hjaltalin and Gilbert Goudie, and edited by Joseph Anderson.

"Diary of Rev. J. Hunter. Shetland, 1734, 1745." Reprinted from the *Scottish Antiquary*, December, 1891.

"Ancient Local Government of the Shetland Islands." By G. Goudie. Reprinted from Universitets Jubilæets Danske Samfunds *Blandninger*. 1886.

And the following pamphlets by G. Goudie, reprinted from the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland :—

"Notice of Ancient Legal Documents in Shetland."

"Notice of a Report on the Revenues of Parochial Benefices in Shetland, 17th Century."

"Notice of Unpublished Rentals of the Lordship of Shetland, and of the Earldom and Bishopric of Orkney."

"On the Shetland Horizontal Watermills."

"Danish Claims upon Orkney and Shetland."

"Some Forgotten Incidents and Personages in the Local History of Shetland."

"Fouds, Lawrightmen, and Ransellmen of Shetland."

"A Norwegian Mortgage of Land in Shetland in 1595."

"Commission by King Charles IV. to Magnus Sinclair, Captain of the Ship *Leoparden*. 1627."

J. F. C. HEDDLE.

"Cours de Littérature." 17 vols.

"Old Statistical Account of Scotland." 21 vols.

Nineteenth Century. Vols. 2, 5-10.

"History of Scotland." M. Laing. 2 vols.

"History of America." W. Robertson. 2 vols.

"Roman Antiquities." Basil Kennett.

Byron's Works. 10 vols.

"Junius Letters."

Longman's Magazine. Nos. 1, 4, 6-8, 12, 14-17.

Saturday Review. 6 vols., 1858-1860.

And 7 miscellaneous works.

MISS MURIEL HOARE.
"Sagan af Gunnlaugi Ormstunga ok Skalli-Rafni." 1775

MISS CORNELIA C. F. HORSFORD.
"Photograph and Plan of Thing-völlr or Glimr völlr" [near Cambridge, U.S.A.]
"An Inscribed Stone."

W. F. KIRBY (*Lawright-man*).
Anglo-Russian Literary Society's *Proceedings*. No. 10, 1895.

LADY PAGET.
"The Irish Naturalist." May, 1893.
Specimens of Orkney and Shetland Lamps.

MRS. WALTER PITT.
"The Tragedy of the Norse Gods." By Ruth J. Pitt (Mrs. Walter Pitt).

MISS CAR. GUDRUD RAFN.
"Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed." Vols. 1836-1860.

MRS. JESSIE M. E. SAXBY (*Jarla-kona*).
"The Home of a Naturalist." By the Rev. Biot Edmondston and Jessie M. E. Saxby.
"The Birds of Shetland." By H. L. Saxby.
And the following works :—
"Auld Lerwick."
"Heim Laund and Heim Folk."
"Lucky Lines."
"A Camsterie Nacket."
"West-Nor'-west."
"The Lads of Lunda."
"The Yarl's Yacht."
"Viking Boys."

E. M. WARBURG (*Skattmaster*).
"Die Sagen des Rheinlandes."

SPECIAL DONATIONS TO FUNDS.

THING-SKATT (General Fund)

	£	s.	d.
John Walker, Esq.	0	16	0

FOY-SKATT (Concert Fund).

M. A. Laing (Jarla-man)	0	5	0

SAGA-SKATT (Literary Fund).

Miss Muriel Hoare	0	15	0

SPECIAL FUND (For Inspection and Report on English Amphitheatres, &c.)

Miss Cornelia C. F. Horsford, Cambridge, U.S.A.	12	0	0

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

Among publications by the members of the Club during the year are the following :—

"The Stories of the Kings of Norway, called the Round of the World (Heimskringla)." By Snorri Sturluson. Vol. iii. (Vol. v. of the Saga Library. London, 1895.) By Wm Morris and Eirikr Magnússon.

"Odin's Horse Yggdrasill." By Eirikr Magnússon, M.A. (London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge).

"Yggdrasill : Oðin's hestr." (Ritgerð lesin í málfræðingafélaginu í Cambridge. 24 Januar, 1895. Aukin og breytt útgáfn. Reykjavík, 1895. By Eirikr Magnússon, M.A.

"Thorstein of the Mere : A Saga of the Northmen in Lakeland." By W. G. Collingwood. (London : Edward Arnold).

"British Family Names : their Origin and Meaning." By Henry Barber, M.D.

"Furness and Cartmel Notes." By Henry Barber, M.D.

"The Place-Names of the Danelagh, and Contributions to Local Etymology." By Henry Barber, M.D.

"The Saga of King Olaf Tryggwason." By the Rev. J. Sephton, M.A. (London : David Nutt).

"The Saga-Book of Lunda." By Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby.

Dichterische und geschichtliche Zeugnisse alt-Germanischer Feuerbestattung (Poetical and Historical Evidence of Ancient Germanic Fire-burial), by Karl Blind, in the Literary Gazette of the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* ; a series of four articles.

Die Hauptwaffe der alten Germanen (The Chief Weapon of the Ancient Germans), by Karl Blind ; in the same paper.

"Notice of a Cave recently discovered at Oban, containing Human Remains and a Refuse-Heap of Shells and Bones of Animals, and Stone and Bone Implements." By Joseph Anderson, LL.D.

"Notes on the contents of a Refuse-Heap at the base of the fortified rock known as Dun Theurain at Gallanach, near Oban. Recently excavated by Mr. J. Patten MacDougall of Gallanach." By Joseph Anderson, LL.D., in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland.

Vol. iv. of the "Grimm Library" contains an essay by Alfred Nutt upon the Irish vision of the "Happy Other World" in which reference is made to kindred Scandinavian myths.

Mr. J. Moyr Smith has illustrated Dasent's "Icelandic Tales ;" "Tales from the Fjeld" by P. C. Asbjörnsen, translated by Sir G. W. Dasent, and has in hand an etching to be entitled "Karlavagn" (the Car of Men), representing Odin and his warriors driving through the sky.

Forthcoming Works.

"Queen of the Isles." A Shetland Tale. By Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby.

"Welsh Stone-Buildings." By Lady Paget.

"The Stories of the Kings of Norway." (Vol. iv. of the Heimskringla: Life of the author, notes, genealogies, indexes, &c.) By Wm. Morris and Eirikr Magnusson.

"Codex Lindesianus." (Description of a lately discovered Icelandic vellum in the Library of Lord Crawford of Balcarres, Wigan, to be published in Danish in "Arkiv för nordisk filologi.") By Eirikr Magnússon, M.A.

A Translation, by R. L. Cassie, of a collection of Short Tales, by Alexander L. Kielland will probably be issued this year by Elliot Stock.

A notice of the "Dwarfie Stone" of Hoy, Orkney, is to appear in the April number of the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*, from the pen of the Law-man, Mr. Alfred Johnston.

*** *The Editor will be glad if Members will bring to his notice any article or publication by them which might find a place here.*

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

THIRD SESSION, 1895.

AL-THING, JANUARY 11TH, 1895.

MR. WILLIAM MORRIS (Jarla-Man and Viking Skald) in the Chair.

IN the absence of Dr. Eirikr Magnússon, who was unable to read his paper, Mr. Albany F. Major (Umboths-man) read a paper on "Survivals of the Asa Faith in Northern Folk-lore," which will be printed in a future number of the *Saga-Book*.

Mr. Morris, in introducing the subject, remarked that no history was more complete, as history from one point of view, than popular mythology, because at the time when people were under the influence of superstition they had not learnt the art of lying, or, if they did lie, they did it so transparently that it was very easy to read between the lines and divide the true from the false. So they might say that folklore represented the "absolutely truthful lies," and was therefore in complete opposition to the ordinary newspaper article.

Mr. Major, after apologising for the fragmentary form in which his subject was presented, owing to the very short notice he had received, which had compelled him to confine his survey to a very small field, said that, though much of the ground he traversed would probably be found familiar, he, nevertheless, believed that some few of the points brought forward were new, and that, at any rate, the subject as a whole had not hitherto received from any English writer the attention it deserved. Taking first the Eddaic myth of the building of the burg of Asgard by a giant, he traced it through various stories of churches built by trolls in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, to legends of buildings erected by the Devil in North Germany, the Netherlands, and other parts of Europe. He then pointed out that the name-guessing incident, on which some of these stories turn, reappears in marriage-tales of the Rumpelstiltzkin type, of which an English variant, "Tom Tit Tot," is

included in Mr. Jacobs's *English Fairy Tales*; and he suggested that these stories also might be derived from the Eddaic myth. Next, he compared the relations which existed in the mythology between Thor, the Thunder-God, and the giants with the relations shown in the folk-tales between various saints and others, and the trolls, dwarfs, and similar beings. In Norway and Sweden St. Olaf in particular seems to have stepped into the place and inherited the attributes of Thor in the mythology; and it was possible that the representation of this saint as a warrior trampling on a troll or dragon may have led to his identification with St. George, and to the adoption of the latter as the patron saint of England, for St. Olaf was closely connected with English history, as the account of him in the Heimskringla shows, and churches dedicated to him are not uncommon in this country. The frequent occurrence of a dragon-slayer in English legend was adduced in support of this theory, and evidence mentioned of the former prevalence of Thor-worship in the land. Possibly, too, the banner of the Fighting Man—Harold's standard at Hastings—represented the warrior-saint Olaf. Thor's attributes as a Thunder-God, and their reappearance in the folk-tales recounting the dread which trolls and dwarfs had of thunder and of any loud noise, such as the sound of church bells or of drums, which recalled it, were next pointed out; and some incidents in the myth of Thor's journey to Jötunheim were traced in various English and other folk-tales, while the likeness between "Jack the Giant-Killer" and the stories about Thor was referred to as another striking instance of the survival of the Thor legend on English soil. Yet another instance has been recently referred to by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, in the use of a folk-charm, in which Thor, Odin and Loki figured, in Lincolnshire so late as 1857 or 1858. The lecturer went on to trace the legend of "The Wild Huntsman" through its various forms in various parts of Northern Europe, in many of which a reference to Odin was perfectly clear. He ascribed its origin to the myth of the Valkyries' battle ride. The connection of the god Freyr, and his sacred boar with Christmas observances, which had been pointed out by Dr. Karl Blind, was then alluded to; and two legends of Loki's capture by giants were given, whose

influence can be traced in folk and fairy-tales. The belief that spirits haunted waterfalls and streams can also be traced in the Eddas. With regard to traditions which occur respecting a three-footed Hel, or Death-Horse, it was suggested that the eight-footed steed of Odin, King of Heaven, may have had its counterpart in the three-footed steed of Hela, Queen of the Nether World. The metal-working dwarfs of the Eddas again reappear in the fairy smiths of folklore, of whom the Wayland Smith of Berkshire traditions introduced by Sir Walter Scott into "Kenilworth," is an instance. He is identical with the Völundr of the Eddas, whom King Alfred was familiar with as "Weyland." Instances were also quoted in which Jormungand, the mighty snake which surrounds the world, and Groth, the magic quern that grinds out whatever its possessor desires, have survived in later traditions, as well as of the persistent recurrence of the story found in "Beowulf," the first English epic, and of the legend of the Everlasting Fight. Finally, the belief in the power of shape-changing was briefly dealt with, and its re-appearance in tales of witchcraft, as well as in legends of nightmares and were-wolves, and stories of swan and seal maidens, pointed out. The swan maidens of the Edda are Valkyries, from whom the fairies of the higher order, who mingle with men and preside over their destinies, appear to originate. Such are the fairy queens of romance, who intermarry with mortals, and the fairy god-mother so familiar in nursery tales. A Valkyrie, Brynhild, in the Völsunga Saga, is probably the original of the Sleeping Beauty in the Wood. In summing up the result of his survey, the lecturer urged that, if his contentions were admitted, not only were the results very important to students of folklore; but it would appear that the myths of the Asa faith were more widely diffused and more generally known than had often been imagined, and it would also seem probable that many of the most remarkable features in it, which were usually ascribed to the influence of Christianity, had an independent origin.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Karl Blind said that Mr. Major had given many interesting and instructive cases of survivals of the ancient Germanic creed from the Scandinavian countries and North Germany. There were also a great many

Roman Catholic legends in Germany in which such survivals appeared. This was, in a large measure, the result of the policy of the Roman Church, as exemplified in Pope Gregory's letter to Bishop Mellitus, bidding him to deal gently with the cherished beliefs of the Anglo-Saxons, so as to gradually lead them over to the New Faith. In Germany there were legends of the Virgin Mary derived from the worship of Freia, and of St. Peter founded on that of Thunar or Donar, the Norse Thor, both of these cults having been deeply ingrained in the hearts of the Teutonic race. Again, while the Wild Huntsman was called Wod in North Germany, he was also known as Wode, Wut, or Wotn, in Austria. In a Swabian tale the Wild Huntsman is called the "Neck," and he rides on a sea-born stallion. In another South German tale the hunt is preceded by a fish. The name of the "Neck," given to the Wild Huntsman, represents Wodan-Nikor, or Odin-Hnikar, in his quality as a sea-god. Swabian and kindred German tribes once dwelt near the Baltic, and gradually pushed their way up to the German highlands. Hence the remembrance, to this day, of Wodan as the "Neck," and hence the fish in the Wild Chase. The Wayland (in the Norse, Völundr) tale undoubtedly came into England with the Anglo-Saxons. There is still a "Wayland's Cave" in Southern England. In the Edda, Völundr is not a Scandinavian, but a German, a captive in the North, who laments his being far from his home on the Rhine, where he had more gold. The Rhine once was a gold-carrying river, and is partly so even now, much money having formerly been coined from its washed sands. Sigurd, the Siegfried of the Nibelungen Lied, is also, according to the Edda, a German ruler on the Rhine, and near its banks the whole tragedy is enacted. If we can go by the Algonquin legends (as given by Mr. Charles Leland), there would seem to be even a trace, however faint, of a survival of the Odinic creed in North-Eastern America, which the Northmen had discovered five hundred years before Columbus. Some of the tales about Glooskap and Lox, as told now by the Micmacs and other Redskins, have been quoted as proofs, the name of Lox being referred to Loki. Eskimo, through whom the Redskins might have got such tales, formerly dwelt in those regions; at any rate, it is recorded in an Icelandic Saga con-

cerning the discovery of the great Western land that the Northmen captured two native boys, presumably Eskimo, baptised them, and taught them the Norse tongue. For more than three hundred years the Northmen remained in that American land; and it is well-known that when they had been converted they still respected the traditions of their ancient creed. Folk-tales have until now had a wonderful vitality; but there was much danger of their passing away at last from the people's mind. Care ought, therefore, to be taken to preserve them on account of their importance for our knowledge of a dim and distant past; and to this end such a society as the Folklore Society does invaluable work.

Mr. W. F. Kirby said that it was curious to notice how the building story thins out as it goes southwards. At Revel, in Esthonia, it is Olaf himself who falls from the summit of the church when his wife calls out his name. At Cologne the architect is hurled from the top of the unfinished edifice by the Devil whose plans he had appropriated. A little further south, at the castle of Rheingrafenstein, on the Nahe, the story assumes a particularly ludicrous form. The castle was built by the Devil on condition that he should have the first person who looked out of the window. So they dressed up a donkey in the priest's vestments, and pushed his cowled head out, when he was at once seized upon by the Devil in great glee. When the latter discovered the imposture, he hurled the donkey into the river in a rage, but vanished immediately, for he had accepted the offering, and the spell was broken. Mr. Kirby thought it unlikely that the effigy of St. Olaf was the origin of the standard of the Fighting Man at Senlac, only thirty-six years after St. Olaf's death; nevertheless, it may be mentioned that the great Abyssinian chief, Ras Michael, who was contemporary with Bruce, had already become a legendary character when Mansfield Parkyns visited Abyssinia about half a century later. We had plenty of dragon-slayers in England who were said to have lived before the Conquest, such as Sir Guy of Warwick and Sir Bevis of Hampton; and as regards the former, he might originally have had some connection with St. George, for in the late mediæval romance of *The Seven Champions of Christendom* Guy is the name of the eldest son of St. George, whose exact connection with England is not easy

to trace. In every mining country trolls and dwarfs and gnomes were found with practically the same characteristics; and swan-maiden legends were found from Lapland to Egypt and Persia, being particularly numerous in Lapland. Drums and other noisy instruments were still made use of in India and China during the eclipses to drive away the demon that was devouring the sun or moon.

Mr. Alfred Nutt, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, thought he could best show his appreciation of the paper by criticising it in a friendly spirit. He hoped the lecturer would proceed to build on the foundations he had laid down, but suggested that distinct historical and topographical areas should be marked out in which to work, and that the Eddaic versions should not be treated as the original starting-point of the myths. The Eddas were the finished work of artists, and should not be taken as a standard, nor could it be assumed that all less complete forms of the myths were necessarily degraded from the Eddaic form. All ove Europe, for a period stretching back a thousand or fifteen hundred years before Christ, similar beliefs to those of the Eddas were to be found embodied in myth, ritual, and custom. Thor's visit to Jötunheim was a somewhat artificial version of a widely spread legend, in which an allegorical colour had, to some extent, been given to the story. The episode of the goats, for instance, was found in Nennius, derived from a lost Life of St. Germanus, dating back to the fifth century. In fact, the Eddaic tales could only be regarded as variants of tales generally current. He hoped the lecturer would not abandon the subject, but would approach it from more definitely historical lines, which might lead him to different conclusions. It should be remembered that Eddaic survivals in England may be of two kinds—remnants of a pan-Teutonic mythological system, or remnants of a specific Scandinavian form of that system introduced into England by the Danes. There was no doubt that the Eddas assumed their latest form under stress of competition with Christianity. The Norsemen were shrewd enough to see the points which gave the new faith its advantage, and so to turn their own stories that, while substantially the same, they were enabled to maintain the struggle; although, as the speaker had always maintained, the Eddaic legends were in the main genuine myths, and not mere poetic inventions.

Mr. Morris asked to be allowed to second the vote of thanks from the chair, and in doing so said that he agreed very largely with Mr. Nutt, and quoted, as an instance of a similar legend existing in several places in apparent independence, the story of the apprentice's pillar in Rosslyn Chapel, which is found also at the Cathedrals of St. Ouen and Strassburg, suggested, probably, in each case by the marked superiority of workmanship shown in the work. With regard to Wayland Smith's Cave, with all his love for Sir Walter Scott, he could hardly forgive him for his misuse of that legend in "Kenilworth." He had been greatly struck by the curious similarity of certain negro stories in recent collections to stories found in the Norse. For instance, with regard to shape-changing there was a negro story, in which the "ham," left about while its owner was embodied elsewhere, was peppered and salted to preserve it, causing him much inconvenience on his return, and another resembling that of the man who planted the tails of the slaughtered oxen, and when the troll pulled them up, persuaded him that the animals had gone underground. Were these independent variants or comparatively modern copies? In conclusion, he must point out that the "Gylfaginning" in the prose Edda was very much later then Sæmunds Edda.

In moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Dr. Karl Blind first observed that they had listened to a lecture by one who, in his *Sagas and Songs of the Norsemen*, had already shown himself an efficient adept of the Norse God of the Skaldic art—that is, Bragi. They had the good luck of having in the chair one of England's greatest poets, who, by his *Niblungs and Völsungs*, and kindred work, such as *The House of the Wolfings*, had powerfully revived the interest in these ancient Germanic traditions—an interest and a study too long neglected in this country. This world of strife and suffering, in which we live, was unluckily far yet from being an "Earthly Paradise." All the greater gratitude are we owing to those who, in the words of Heine, "carry us on the wings of song" into the delightful realm of poetical enjoyment. Among them Mr. William Morris stands one of the foremost; and for his having presided, a hearty vote of thanks was sure to be passed.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 1ST, 1894.

DR. J. G. GARSON (Jarla-man) in the Chair.

Mr. A. H. Cocks read a paper on "A Boat Journey to Inari," which will be reproduced in a future number of the Saga-Book. The lecturer commenced by saying that "Inari" (in Norwegian "Enare," in Swedish "Enara Trœsk," and in Lappish "Anar Javre") was probably not known by name to any of his hearers; yet it was a lake which was said to be the sixth largest in Europe, being, roughly speaking (for it had never been accurately surveyed), seventy miles from north to south, by fifty from east to west, and about seven times the size of the Lake of Geneva. It was studded with islands (said to be 1,700 in number) on which Scotch firs grew, besides lesser holms and rocks. His route to it lay sometimes in Norway, sometimes in Russia, and sometimes in Finland; and the greater part of the journey was performed by water up the River Pasvig (Norwegian), or more correctly Patsjok (Lappish), which is rather a series of lakes joined together by waterfalls and rapids than a river as we understand the term, while sometimes it flows in two parallel systems of lake and rapid. The country was for the most part virgin forest, with here and there a glimpse of low mountain ranges. There is no accurate map of it, and no complete account of the country he traversed has ever been given; so he had practically an untold tale to tell. There was no road through the country but the swirling river; and the traveller might be thankful if at night he could reach the hut of a Lapp or of a Kvæn colonist in which to pass the night. If not, he must camp out with only an upturned boat to shelter him from the frost. Kvæn is the proper name of the people we know as Finns, for throughout Scandinavia the name "Finn" is applied to the Lapps. The Kvæns who push out into these distant parts are for the most part of a very rough class, and by no means favourable specimens of the nation. The Lapps are, with the exception of the Samoyeds who inhabit the north-east of Russia eastwards of the White Sea, the most primitive inhabitants of Europe. Since 1811 only Russian Lapps have been allowed to graze reindeer in the Czar's dominions; and this cruel edict has pressed very hardly on this diminutive people, for the Lapps are very averse to choosing Russian nationality, and the Reindeer Lapps are principally Norwegian or Swedish. Diminutive people is a term justly applied to them, for the men seldom exceed 5 feet 4 inches, and the women are frequently under 5 feet in height. They

are divided into four nationalities—Norwegian, Swedish, Russian, and Finnish. Of these, the Norwegian and Swedish Lapps have been often and fully described; but the Russian, and equally so the Finnish Lapps, are almost unknown. Therefore, as the lecturer travelled with Russian Lapps, and besides met many parties of them and also of Finnish Lapps, his journey, besides its geographical, had considerable ethnographical interest. He found that the Russian Lapps, except as to their clothing and the addition of coffee and sugar to their food supply, are living now much the same life as their ancestors probably lived two thousand or more years ago—a far more primitive life, in fact, than that of the Reindeer Lapps. They have not yet begun to use tobacco, and reading and writing are entirely unknown among them; but each individual has his mark, which is as well recognised as a name would be elsewhere. Unlike the three other divisions of the race, they are a very cheerful, light-hearted people, and have the curious habit of expressing their thoughts aloud in extemporary sing-song. The Lapps are the remains of a non-Aryan race, which undoubtedly extended at one time much further south than at present, probably over the greater part of Europe. Their numbers were estimated by Prof. Friis in 1871 at: Norwegian Lapps, 17,178, besides 1,900 half-breeds; Swedish, 7,248; Russian, about 2,000; Finnish, about 1,200, or under 30,000 in all. The lecturer then gave a detailed account of his journey, starting from Vardö, whither he had gone for the whale-fishing in the late summer of 1888, across the Varangerfjord, up the Bögfjord, and then up the inner Klosterfjord to the mouth of the river Patsjok. The furthest point reached was the hamlet of Inari, on the further side of the lake of the same name. The lecture was profusely illustrated with a series of magic lantern slides, prepared by Mr. Cocks from photographs which he had taken.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. J. G. Garson said that the thanks of the meeting were due to the lecturer for the account of his very interesting journey. He thought that it was evident why so little is known of Lake Inari, as the hardships and difficulties Mr. Cocks had described would deter most people from adventuring thither. The Lapps were undoubtedly a remnant of the Mongolian element once so widely distributed over Europe. They belonged to the yellow race of mankind; but probably Mr. Cocks could not say if this was apparent in those he had met with, as from the account he had given of their habits he had probably never seen the colour of their skin, as they appeared never to

wash. But in any case, both the Turks, who were almost the only other European representative of this race, and the Lapps were so mixed as not to show any marked trace of their Mongolian characteristics. But their language showed their kinship to other Mongolian races in Northern Asia. Prince Roland Bonaparte had spent some time among the Norwegian and Swedish Lapps, and had published some of his observations of them and of the dialect they spoke. From the photographs exhibited, it appeared that the Lapp dress was very similar to that worn by the Samoyeds, which consisted principally of a loose robe tightly girt in at the waist. It was probable that both nations had found this best adapted to keep in the heat of the body. The Samoyeds wore gloves, or rather mittens, which were sewn on to their sleeves, with a slit at one side, so that they could get their hands out if they wanted to. He should be glad to know if Mr. Cocks had noticed the same practice among the Lapps.

Mr. A. F. Major said that there was one question which he should like either the lecturer or Dr. Garson to answer if possible. Were the Finns and the Lapps of the same stock? Mr. Cocks had said that the Lapps were called Finns in Scandinavia. We constantly read of Finns in the Sagas, which Cleasby's Icelandic-English Dictionary renders as "Finns or Lapps," the word Lapp, according to the same authority, occurring only in Orkneyinga and in late annals. Were then the Finns and Lapps at that time scarcely distinguished? Mr. Poultney Bigelow had remarked at the last meeting on the resemblance he had observed between the Japanese and Norwegian Lapps. On this point there was a note in the *Daily Chronicle* of January 31st, to which it might be worth while to call attention. It said that Dr. Winkler had been studying the origin and family connections of the Japanese, and had come to the conclusion that they are physically and liguistically different from the Chinese, and "are not even a Sinitic people." On the other hand, they seem closely allied to the Ural-Altaic stock, which includes the Samoyeds, who still wander by the shores of Arctic Europe and Asia, the Finns, the Magyars, and in a less degree the barbarous Tungus.

Mr. Cocks said, in reply to Mr. Major, that there was little doubt all these tribes were connected, and the Lapps and Finns were certainly distant connections of one another. With regard to the Japanese, he had himself noticed a striking resemblance between them and the Samoyeds, when the Japanese village was

being exhibited in London, having gone thither immediately on his return from the company of Samoyeds. The Japanese inhabitants seemed to him to be civilized Samoyeds. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Lapp race was very much mixed at the present time. With regard to the question asked by Dr. Garson, the Lapps wore mitts like the Samoyeds, but these were tied on, not sewn to the *pesk*.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 15TH, 1895.

PROF. W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. W. F. Kirby recited an original poem, "The Nornir," from *Ed-Dimiryaht, an Oriental Romance, and other Poems*, after which Mr. E. H. Baverstock (Lawright-man) read a paper on "Sword and Saga," which will be reproduced in a future number of the Saga Book. He commenced by quoting the story from the Arthurian cycle of legends of a damsel girt with a sword who came to King Arthur's court seeking a champion and propounding three questions concerning the sword: How should it be borne? Where did it come from? What is its best quality? The answers given by the knight predestined to achieve that adventure were: that it should be borne valiantly, yet humbly, aloft in the press of battle, but lowly at the altar's foot; that it came from the armourer, for it was no sword at all till it came out of the hands of the smith; and that its best quality was its honesty, for it never takes life without giving death in exchange. The importance given to the sword in this story testified to the spirit in which the "white arm" was formerly regarded. Its history has been divided into five periods, designated: First, the pure carnage epoch; second, the period of impossible feats of arms; third, the feudal age; fourth, the season of fence; fifth, the period of decay—which last extended down to, and included, our own day. It was far from his intention, however, to profess to give a history of the sword in the short time at his disposal. He only proposed to string together a few out of the very voluminous notes he had gathered together relating to the subject. The importance of the weapon in ancient times could hardly be over-estimated. Mahomet, in the Koran, spoke of it as the key of Heaven and Hell; and he had a list of no less than eighty names of swords, each with its own especial legend. In the stories of old time the sword is endowed with a life of its own. It was the friend and companion of its master; and we read in the Sagas of swords that killed of them-

selves, or sprang from their sheaths of their own accord. In many ancient ballads the heroes talk to their swords, which are represented as returning an answer. In the Hindu mythology Indra, the lightning-god, is the possessor of a supernatural sword; and this weapon has been identified with Odin's sword Gram and with Gungnir, his magic spear. Indeed, it may be taken as the type of all supernatural weapons. Frithjof, the hero of the Saga on which Bishop Tegner founded his famous poem, was the possessor of another typical sword called Angurvadel, younger brother of the lightning, which had a hilt of gold and was inscribed with runes. In times of peace these runes were dull, but they shone brightly like a cock's comb when battle was near. There were many swords with similar properties recorded in ancient legend: for instance, Antar's sword "Dhami," forged from a thunderbolt. Not only did similar legends attach to the sword in various lands, but a resemblance might be traced between the stories relating to the originator of the sword in different countries. We may compare, for example, Tubal Cain in Jewish legend, Vulcan in classic tradition, and Völundr in northern saga. In the East, as elsewhere, a good sword was a possession highly treasured; and he had seen a sword given to an Englishman in India by the chief of a tribe who owed him a debt of gratitude, which had been handed down for fifteen hundred years. Its blade bore an inscription in a dialect no longer known. Völundr, the famous smith who forged Odin's sword, appears as a swordsman also, under the name of Wieland, in the German legend of the slaying of Amilias. His sword Miming was of such wondrous temper that his adversary did not know he had been wounded, but when told to shake himself he fell in halves. Time failed, said the lecturer, for all he would like to touch on: as, for instance, the history of the famous sword Tyrfing, related in the Hervarar Saga.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. W. F. Kirby said he wished to remark on some celebrated swords, and would pass from west to east, commencing with the English story of the Lambton Worm. Sir John Lambton was instructed how to overcome this monster, but was warned that, unless he slew the first living thing which he met afterwards, for nine generations the lords of Lambton should never die in their beds. He ordered his favourite hound to be loosed when he winded his horn to announce his victory; but his father was so overjoyed that he rushed forward before the

dog. Sir John slew the dog, hoping thus to avert the doom; but it was nevertheless fulfilled. Possibly, in this and similar stories, the original idea may have been that of a sacrifice to the sword. As regards dragons, much information respecting them might be found in a recent book, Gould's *Mythical Monsters*. In the Esthonian epic, "The Kalevipoeg," the hero buys an enormous sword which his father Kalev has bespoken from a Finnish smith, who had been working on it for many years. But the hero slays the smith's son in a fit of drunken fury, and the smith dooms the sword to avenge his fate. The sword is afterwards stolen from the hero by a sorcerer, who drops it into a brook. The Kalevide, being unable to recover the sword, lays an injunction on it to cut off the legs of him who brought it there, meaning the sorcerer. But when he steps into the brook long afterwards, the understanding of the sword is confused by the smith's curse, and it cuts off the hero's legs. The famous sword of Amadis of Gaul was made of the green spine of one of the winged serpents which inhabit the boiling ocean between Tartary and India. Scott's story of the Fire King is so well known that it is only necessary to say that, although Scott mentions that the apostate knight is a semi-historical personage, it is not clear whether the sword in the story is also based on some legend, or was imagined by Scott himself. Among the stories respecting Richard I. was one relating to a trial of skill between himself and Salah Ed-Deen. Richard clove an anvil at a blow, perhaps with a sword stroke, but more probably with a blow of his battle-axe, and Salah Ed-Deen with his scimitar divided a lace veil as it was floating in the air. Among the swords mentioned in the Thousand and One Nights we may specially note that of Joodar, obtained from the magic treasure-cave of Es-Semendel, which, if shaken in the face of an army, would rout it; but if its owner said to it, "Slay this army!" a flame would proceed from it which would destroy the whole army. Another was the sword of Saéd, with which he cut the Ghoul in twain at one stroke; but he was forbidden to repeat the blow, for then the Ghoul would live and not die, and would destroy himself and his companions.

Mr. A. F. Major said that the only fault he had to find with Mr. Baverstock's paper was the title, which was somewhat misleading. It might more fitly have been styled "Sword and Romance," and the Sagas proper had received comparatively little attention. He was not altogether sorry, however, as this gave him an excuse for dwelling on this side of the subject. Prof.

Hodgetts, in his *Older England*, a reprint of lectures delivered at the British Museum, gave a very interesting chapter on the Northern sword, in which he pointed out that its blade was fashioned on the sword-like grass of the North, which is called "blæd" in Icelandic, whereas the model of the Greek and Roman sword, in Latin, "gladius," was the leaf of the gladiolus. The latter would have small chance against the Northern form of weapon, still less so the bronze swords of the Britons, copied from the Roman "gladius," which are found lying together in quantities in river-beds and other places, while the Northern war-blade is found by the warrior's side in his tomb. From these facts alone it could be deduced, without any knowledge of history, that a race in these islands using a bronze sword had been overcome by another race using a more powerful weapon of iron or steel, which ultimately possessed the land and was able to bury its dead in peace. The value of a good sword to a warrior was emphasised in the Sagas by many stories of a sword failing to cut. Thus in the Eyrbyggja Saga, Steinthor of Ere is described as wearing a sword very beautifully wrought and elaborately decorated. But when a fight occurs we read that "the fair wrought sword bit not whenas it smote armour, and oft he must straighten it under his foot." The art of tempering a sword was evidently rare, but in the Sagas the failure of a sword to bite is generally attributed to witchcraft. Thus in Egil's Saga we are told of his sword Dragvandill that there was no sword more biting. But in his combat with Atli the Short it would not bite; so Egil grappled with Atli, bit through his throat, and slew him so. Thus, too, in the Saga of Howard the Halt, Atli the Little, finding his sword would not bite on Thorgrim, who was said to be a great wizard, slays him in the same way. Of Gunnlaug Wormtongue we read that, while he was in England at the Court of King Ethelred, Thororm, a berserk, picked a quarrel with him. The king was much grieved, because, as he told Gunnlaug, the berserk's eyes could dull any weapon. However, he gave him a sword, bidding him use it, but before the fight to show another. Thororm asked to see Gunnlaug's sword, and, being shown the second one, said, "I fear not that sword." Gunnlaug, however, slew him with the king's gift. A good sword was, as may be guessed, highly valued, and considered a royal gift. Athelstan, King of England, gave Hacon, his foster son, who afterwards became King of Norway, a sword "of which the hilt and handle were of gold and the blade

still better; for with it Hacon cut down a millstone to the centre eye, and the sword thereafter was called Quernbiter." King Olaf the Saint gave Sighvat the Skald a gold-hilted sword, and King Olaf Tryggveson gave Hallfred Vandraedaskald a sword without a scabbard, bidding him sing a song with the sword in every line. Hallfred did so, complaining in his song that his sword had no scabbard. Then the king gave him the scabbard, and said: "But there is not a sword in every line." "Yea," answers Hallfred, "but there are three swords in one line." Another point that deserves notice is the breaking open of burial barrows for the sake of the sword buried with the dead warrior. There is an instance of this in the short sword which Grettir the Strong won from the barrow of Karr the Old, after a struggle with the barrow-dweller, whose head he cut off and laid by his thigh to lay the ghost in the approved way. Thorfinn, Karr's son, took the sword, but gave it to Grettir on his delivering his house and family from a band of berserks. When Grettir was finally slain by his enemies, the short sword could not be got from him dead till his hand was chopped off. Thorbiorn Angle, the leader of the slayers, hewed with it at the dead man's head, and the blow broke a great shard out of the blade. Thorbiorn was outlawed, went to Micklegarth or Constantinople, and took service in the Varangian Guard. Thorstein Dromund, Grettir's brother, who did not know him by sight, followed him and also joined the Varangars. At a weaponshow, Thorbiorn, in answer to questions proudly tells the tale of the notch in the blade. Thorstein, being present, waits till the sword reaches him as it passes from hand to hand, then cuts down Thorbiorn, and so avenges his brother. Another weapon famous in story was "Graysteel." We meet with it first in Gisli's Saga as a sword belonging to the thrall Kol, said to have been forged by dwarfs, so that it would bite whatever it fell on, nor could its edge be deadened by spells. Gisli borrowed it to fight a duel, much against the thrall's will, who said he would never be willing to restore it. Gisli pledged his word to give it back, and won his battle by its aid. But, as the thrall foretold, he tried to persuade him to sell the sword, and, failing, would not return it. They quarrelled; Kol buried his axe in Gisli's brain, who smote at his head with Graysteel. The sword would not bite, but so stout was the blow that Kol's skull was shattered, and Graysteel broke asunder. So both perished, but Kol, dying,

foretold ill-luck to Gisli's kith and kin from the sword. A spear-head was afterwards forged from it, of which we read again in Sturlunga Saga, where it is said that, at the battle of Orlygsted (in 1238, some 275 years later), Sturla, who was a descendant of Gisli, fought with the spear hight Graysteel, a great spear of the olden times, wrought with runes, but not well-tempered, for it often bent and he had to straighten it under his foot. The kennings, or periphrases, used in poetry for the sword are very numerous. From the songs scattered through Grettir's Saga alone Mr. William Morris gives six, and there is another list of eighteen given by Du Chaillu in his *Viking Age*.

Miss C. A. Bridgman would be glad to know where the story of Wieland and Amilias, quoted by Mr. Baverstock, could be found. She knew the story of Völundr, as given in the Eddas, but had not met with the other version.

Mr. F. T. Norris said that though, as had been remarked, swords were handed down from father to son, yet the earlier plan was to bury the sword with the dead warrior, as was evidenced by the many reports in the Sagas, embellished with magical developments, of entries made into the grave-hills of buried warriors in order to become possessed of their treasured weapons. In many parts of England, too, evidence was forthcoming of similar practices. Here, in the oldest shire, in Kent, the chalk had served to preserve even the skeletons, and in one instance a man and woman were found lying side by side with their skeleton arms interlocked, and by the man's side lay his long sword. These were Saxon burials, and armour-burial was a distinctive characteristic of Saxon as against Roman burials. But many Scandinavian swords with runes had been found in England, and among the objects found in the undoubtedly Scandinavian grave-hill, or "low," at Taplow, which are now in the British Museum (vessels of gold and ivory, drinking-horns, arms, &c.), there was, he believed, a sword with runes. In any case, the British Museum and provincial museums possessed several such swords found in England.

Mr. Baverstock, in reply, said that he had been very much interested in the remarks of Mr. Kirby, especially as he had not yet had an opportunity of studying his recently-published work on "The Hero of Esthonia." He looked forward to tracing in it the sword in Esthonian story. He feared he must plead guilty to the charge of wandering away from his title. His difficulty had been

to confine himself within any limits. Many points to which he had merely alluded might have formed of themselves the subject of a paper—for instance, the story of Angantyr and the Sword Tyrfing, which occupied the whole of the Hervarar Saga. With regard to the source whence he took the story of Wieland and Amilias, he had found it in MM. Depping and Michel's exhaustive monograph on Völundr.

AL-THING, MARCH 15TH, 1895.

PROFESSOR W. WATSON CHEYNE (Jarl) in the Chair.

Dr. J. G. Garson (Jarla-man), Vice-President of the Anthropological Institute, read a paper on "The History of the Early Inhabitants of Orkney." He began by saying that, although the connection of Orkney with Norway probably dated back only to the close of the eighth century, the Norse element is undoubtedly more strongly predominant there than in other parts of Britain formerly occupied by the Norsemen. But in earlier and prehistoric times the inhabitants appear to have been ethnologically the same as elsewhere in Britain. He then briefly sketched the way in which, by means of ancient burials, the anthropologist is enabled to gather information about races of whom no other record remains, and he appealed against the superstition and vandalism which too often led to such remains when discovered being destroyed. Orkney, however, was comparatively rich in ancient burial-places, and other remains. Man's early history in Britain might be divided into four periods—*i.e.*, the palæolithic, the neolithic, the bronze, and the historic. These represent various stages of culture, which may often overlap in different parts of the same country. Man in palæolithic times came into Britain by land, as in late pleistocene times the land extended over the greater part of what is now the bed of the North Sea as far as Shetland and into the Atlantic beyond the Hebrides. But in this age man apparently did not pass north of a line drawn from the Bristol Channel to the Wash. His implements at this time were of flint, unpolished, wood and bone, and he was skilful in carving. His skeleton shows a long, narrow head, strongly developed frontal ridges, low forehead and receding chin, his last lower molar tooth being arger than the others, contrary to what we find subsequently

in Europe. His stature was a little over five feet. In neolithic times the distribution of sea and land was almost as at the present day, but the climate was more continental and moister, and the land was covered with forest as far as the Orkneys. Man had made great strides in civilisation and lived in fixed habitations, his stone implements also are better formed, those characteristic of the period being beautifully ground and polished. The flint used for making them was quarried from below the surface of the ground. There also seems to have been some commerce in implements, as even in Orkney jadite or nephrite axes have been found which probably came from Central Europe. Their burials took place in long oval barrows. The stature of the race at this time was about 5ft. 5in.; the skull is large and well formed, long and proportionately narrow in shape, with feebly developed brow and other ridges, cheek-bones not prominent, well-formed chin and straight features. The people of the bronze period succeeded those of the previous age, and at the time of the Roman invasion, which may be regarded as the dawn of history in these islands, were in full possession of the country. They came over from Belgium and France, and are the so-called Kelts. The use of bronze shows a marked advance in civilisation. The lake-dwellings and beehive houses of Ireland belong to this period, and perhaps the Picts' Houses of Scotland; but some authorities think these last neolithic. In the early part of this age the dead were buried in circular barrows and sometimes in the upper part of the older long barrows. Later on cremation became fashionable, and the cremated ashes were then buried in the round barrows. The skull is now large, broader and rounder than in neolithic man, brow ridges large and strongly developed, ridges for the attachment of muscles large and well marked, cheek-bones prominent, jaw large, and upper jaw somewhat prominent, and chin well formed. In stature the race is tall, averaging 5ft. 9in. Palæolithic man is not found in Orkney; but neolithic man undoubtedly dwelt there, as we know from implements and skeletons found. Besides these, the circular burghs are probably neolithic, though many consider them to be of the bronze age; for at Oxtro stone cists containing cremated interments of the bronze age and bronze orna-

ments were found, below which were discovered the remains of a circular burgh with walls still 5ft. to 6ft. high. Only stone and bone relics were found in this, the bronze remains being confined to the upper strata. The Picts' Houses, such as that at Skaile, Sandwick, probably belong to the end of the neolithic period, or beginning of the bronze age, though no metal remains have been found in them; while the megalithic stones and stone circles, such as Stennis, have hitherto been ascribed to the bronze age, but there is a growing tendency now to put them back to the earlier age. Typical neolithic skeletons have been found in Orkney, some of which are now in the museum at Cambridge. Many remains of the bronze period are found in Orkney, such as round barrows containing skeletons and cremated remains, and weapons and utensils of various kinds. A typical skull found at Newbiggin is preserved in the museum of the College of Surgeons. The neolithic and bronze people existed side by side and are found interred together; but the bronze were the preponderating and probably the conquering race, and they were doubtless the principal part of the population down to the time of the Norse invasion. The lecture was illustrated with magic-lantern views, showing the various types of skulls, implements, etc.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. F. T. Norris said that he had been most interested in Dr. Garson's paper, but he must join issue with the conclusion he came to, that these skulls and stone implements described were all Keltic. This appeared to him to beg the whole question, as it is very doubtful whether some of the reputed neolithic skulls are not Teutonic. There was probably a Teutonic immigration into the islands earlier than the Scandinavian in 872. Tacitus speaks of a Teutonic race dwelling in Caledonia in his day, when many of the German tribes used only stone implements; and there could be very little doubt that in very early times the whole of the north and east coasts of Britain were infested by sea-rovers of Teutonic origin, who had formed settlements there, as during the Roman occupation an officer was appointed, styled "the Count of the Saxon shore," to repress their incursions. Probably there was a large Teutonic element in North Britain in the stone age, and these would supply their quota to burials attributed by the lecturer

to the Keltic stone age. With regard to the primitive population of Britain, there was still a question to be decided as to who were the Silures and other tribes mentioned, who were strongly differentiated from the Kelts, and also who were the Kelts themselves; as, according to historical data, they were, as to one half, Teutonic, and, as to the other Gaulish. Mr. Norris would be glad to know the authority for the existence of a race in the bronze period averaging 5ft. 9in. in height, as he had not met with any evidence of such a race at that period. He considered that, save in exceptional cases, the evidence usually sought to be deduced from the three divisions of stone, bronze, and iron was inconclusive for chronological purposes, unless supported by other evidence.

Dr. Jon Stefansson said that the western part of Iceland had been very largely peopled by a mixed Norwegian and Keltic population from the Orkneys, as the story of Aud, among others, showed. She was the wife of one of the Norse kings of Dublin, and on her husband's death she migrated first to Orkney, then to Iceland, where she finally settled. There had for a long time been constant intercourse between Orkney and Iceland, but very little trace of this appeared to be left now. A young Faroese philologist, Mr. Jakobsen, was at the present time investigating this question in the Orkneys and Shetland; and he found that, though the old Icelandic had disappeared from the common dialect, very many of the old words were still to be found in the dialect used by the fishermen at sea. It is a superstition with them that it is unlucky when at sea to mention various objects under the ordinary names given them on land, and various old Norse words have been preserved for use in this way. Several hundreds of such words had already been collected from the fishermen's speech. The Keltic influence in Iceland had not yet been satisfactorily traced. The differentiation of the Icelandic people from that of Norway was, in a large measure, owing to Keltic admixture.

Mr. A. F. Major said there was one question as to the early inhabitants of the Orkneys that he should like to raise. Sir George Dasent, in the Introduction to his translation of the Orkneyinga Saga, recently published in the Rolls Series, said that it seemed probable that the early inhabitants of Orkney, who dwelt in the weems and burghs

described in the lecture, had passed away from the islands before the time of the Norse immigration, and that at that time the islands were only inhabited by a few papal anchorites of the Irish Church. This supposition was quite contrary to the views taken by Mr. Joseph Anderson in his Introduction to the earlier translation of the Saga, in support of which he adduces passages from Nennius and from Irish Annals. It is somewhat surprising to find these statements overlooked in the latest authority on the subject published under Government auspices. The Sagas, it is true, give no account of the conquest of the islands, but they only take up their history when they were already occupied by the Northmen.

Dr. Karl Blind proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Garson for his valuable paper. In speaking of the early history of the Orkneys, he said we should not forget Pytheas, of Massilia, who had voyaged up the English Channel and visited the German Ocean and the Baltic, and sailed as far as Thule in the high North. This Thule has by some learned writers been identified with Orkney. The works of Pytheas are unfortunately lost, but fragments are quoted by other ancient authors. A passage in Solinus, rather corrupt in its Latin, runs thus : "Thule larga et diutina pomona copiosa est." Bessell has started the hypothesis that *pomona* does not mean "fruit," or the goddess of garden culture in this passage, but refers to the name Pomona, given to the mainland of Orkney. The word sounds like a Latin one ; but its termination "a," Karl Blind thought, might be the Germanic "a," "aa," or "ey"—that is, "island." He agreed with almost all that had been said by previous speakers, and held it to be most probable that there had been a Norse immigration into these islands in prehistoric times, and that the historic invasion into the Orkneys was only a second wave. The races mentioned by Tacitus as inhabiting Britain are the Caledonians, who, according to the Roman historian's assertion, represent a Germanic element ; the Kelts, who came from Gaul ; and the Silures, who, hailing from Spain, are the Iberian substratum which can be traced in the population of Wales. When, therefore, it is said that the earliest inhabitants of the Orkneys were the same as those of Britain at large, the fact must be kept in mind that there were three races in this country even then. Cæsar,

speaking of Gaul as also divided into three parts—Belgian, Aquitanian, and Gallic—says that they differ in language, institutions and laws. From his description it is clear that, in his time, Central Gaul was peopled by Kelts; the South-west by an Iberian race, kindred to the Basques of the present day and to the Iberian immigrants into Wales. As to the Belgian part of Cæsar's Gaul, we must remember that he declared he had found out that most of the Belgians were of German origin, even as they are to this day. The evidence for an early Teutonic immigration into Britain from various sides is thus manifest. The Picts, who appear in the place of the Caledonians, have been variously attributed to the Teutonic, the Keltic, and even to the Turanian stock. He himself inclined to the first-named view. Dr. James Fergusson and many others have declared for a Norwegian origin of the "brochs." With regard to the peculiar fishermen's language at sea in the Faroes, there is a similar kind of hieratic fishermen's speech in Shetland and the North of Scotland. From Shetland many such words had some years ago been sent to him. Some are evidently pure Norse or Teutonic, and had thus survived from the more ancient speech of the country.

Dr. A. Wallace hoped as a visitor that he might be allowed to say a word or two, as he thought the previous speakers had somewhat misapprehended the drift of Dr. Garson's lecture. The lecturer, as he understood, did not undertake the investigation of the historic period at all, although he had incidentally referred to the coming of the Northmen to the eastern shores of Britain in his introductory remarks; but having divided his subject into four periods, he only discussed the three first. The evidences he had described were all prehistoric, and he confined his survey to the prehistoric remains alone. Dr. Wallace expressed the interest he took in the investigation, and referred to his visit to Kent's Cavern, and his examination of the remains collected from it by the late Mr. Pengelly. He there saw evidences of man's existence, alongside of the polar bear, probably at a period as remote as sixty thousand years ago. The evidences collected in Orkney of prehistoric man were, of course, meagre; but when examined by such authorities as the lecturer, they were found to possess similar characteris-

tics to those found further south, and thus they bear out the idea that prehistoric man had inhabited these northern parts, as evidenced by the human remains and implements characteristic of the three periods found in the places of burial, thus establishing the lecturer's thesis.

Dr. Garson, in reply, said that the remarks of Dr. Wallace in the course of the discussion answered the most important questions asked. Almost all those who had spoken misunderstood the period he dealt with. He went back into geological times; and, although he did not like to state any fixed number of years, or even centuries, he might mention that the bronze age is conjectured to have been at its height in this country about 500 B.C., while the polished stone age was long before that. The ancient Iberians have been usually considered to be of the same race as the people of the neolithic period, who probably extended over the greater part of Western Europe. The people of the bronze period were probably the first people speaking an Aryan tongue to enter Britain. The osteological characters of the people of these two periods are very definite and distinct. The earliest skulls found in Scandinavia are Turanian or Mongoloid. "Gaulish," or so-called Keltic, immigrants into Britain of the bronze period had undoubtedly a stature of 5ft. 9in. This he could say without any hesitation after numerous observations. Also he could affirm that remains of the neolithic race had been found in Orkney. He had searched the accounts of the people of Britain given by the early classical writers, not only in Roman but in Greek also; and he found them so indefinite in their descriptions and use of names as to be almost useless for anthropological purposes. As regards the Silures, no accounts are given of their characteristics by which it is possible to recognise them; but most likely they were the remains of the long-headed neolithic people, as we know from the explorations of General Pitt-Rivers near Rushmere that they lived in the western parts of England even in Roman times, separate and distinct from the other races forming the population.

AL-THING, APRIL 5TH, 1895.

SURGEON-COLONEL ROBERTS in the Chair.

A paper was read by Dr. Phené on "A Ramble in Iceland," which is printed in full in the present number of the *Saga-Book*.

In the discussion which followed, Prof. T. Rupert Jones said that, never having visited Iceland, he might talk on the subject with great freedom, as he would only have to draw on his imagination and the recollection of what he had learned from books and travellers. He could well realise the lecturer's description of the grand and weird aspect of the scarred and riven lava rocks. Dr. Phené had had some exciting escapes from morasses and other difficulties in crossing the country. The speaker remembered an adventure which had befallen two students, one of whom he knew (now an eminent scientist), who were travelling there. Making their way across country on foot they came to a wide and deep fissure or crevasse in the lava. There seemed to be no way of crossing. It was impossible for them to retrace their steps, as they were a long way from their base and without provisions. One of them, first throwing his knapsack across boldly sprang after it and just cleared the gulf. Then, lying down on the brink, as his comrade leaped and just fell short, he caught his hands and pulled him up safely. The speaker had greatly enjoyed Dr. Phené's account of his voyage and travels. It must add greatly to his enjoyment when travelling abroad that, being observant of the works of nature and art, as well as of men and manners, he always found something to investigate wherever he was, whether the elephant-mounds of America, the serpent-mounds of Scotland, the dragon-mounds of Italy, the ship-mounds of Scandinavia, or others. He could not sit down without expressing his high sense of the great services Dr. Phené had rendered to archæology by his investigations into the origin of these mounds, and their probable relationship to sun-worship, serpent-worship, and possibly to other cults ; and, though all do not yet understand the points and bearings of his observations, the speaker trusted that in time they would, and that Dr. Phené's long life would be happily extended with the satisfaction of his conclusions being received at last.

Mr. R. Wright Taylor said that he remembered his visit to Iceland well, and it had struck him as a country of unique interest. He had been most impressed by the spectacle there presented of a brave and kind-hearted people engaged in an impotent struggle with the forces of Nature. Cultivation and population alike seemed to be fast disappearing before the

floods of lava and the volcanic powers at work. The primitive character of the people had also been another striking feature. There were only two policemen in the island, and they acted also as Custom House officers. A prison had been built at Reykjavik, but for want of occupants it had then been turned into a public library. There was no carriage in the island and he believed no garden ; and he thought he was correct in stating that the woods had disappeared, till there was now only one tree remaining in the whole country. He had visited the Fiskivötn, or Fish Lakes, abounding in fish, but remarkable for gnats. He had found his usual quarters in a tent ; but had also been lodged in the churches, which were comfortable wooden structures with benches apparently intended for the accommodation of travellers.

Miss C. A Bridgman inquired in what sense the lecturer had used the term "Baalistic."

Mr. Annesley Owen asked for some further explanation of the illustrations of animal-shaped mounds, which the lecturer gave.

Mr. A. F. Major, in reply to a request from Dr. Phené for any historical light on subjects mentioned in his paper, said that the custom of taking possession of unoccupied land by the ceremony of fire-hallowing occurred in several Sagas. A very interesting instance would be found in "The Story of Herr Thorir," translated in vol. i. of the Saga Library, where Blundketil, an Icelandic chieftain, was attacked and burnt to death in his house. His son sought help from a neighbour named Odd ; but when Odd reached the scene, he took a blazing rafter from the house, and ran round the house with it, saying that he took the land for himself, as he saw no house inhabited there. So he snatched the dead man's landed property from his heirs. The introduction to the volume quotes other instances and details of the custom in varying forms.

Dr. Phené, in reply, offered his best thanks to Prof. Jones, whose words were valued by all who knew him, for the sympathy he had expressed with his studies. He had been cheered by many marks of sympathy from unexpected quarters in his labours in elucidating early mythology. He was obliged also to Mr. Taylor for his remarks about the country. There were evidences that it had previously been much more wooded than at present. In reply to the question

asked by Miss Bridgman, he, of course, only used the word "Baalistic" in a symbolical sense, as a way of indicating sun-worship that would be generally understood. Burton uses "Baalistic" in the same way in connection with Orkney. Dr. Phené then exhibited some specimens of Icelandic native costume, calling special attention to the gold embroidery used in its adornment. He also showed some of the ornaments mentioned in his lecture, and an Arabic talisman made of jet which he had discovered in Iceland.

AL-THING, MAY 10TH, 1895.

THE REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. F. T. Norris (Saga-master) read a few notes on a book describing "An Inscribed Stone" in America which Miss Cornelia Horsford, the author, had presented to the Club. He said that Miss Horsford had invited the opinion of the Club upon it; but, after careful consideration, he favoured the conclusion that the supposed Runic letters were glacial markings. In this view he was supported by an eminent geologist whom he had consulted. He had, however, asked Miss Horsford to send, if possible, a rubbing of the stone for examination.

The Rev. W. C. Green then read a paper on "Kennings in Icelandic Poetry." *Kenning* is the term given by Icelandic grammarians to certain periphrases, descriptions by metaphor or otherwise, which are largely used in old Icelandic poetry. Not the plain straightforward name by which a thing is known is a "kenning," but something that is not that. You do not use a "kenning" if you call a spade "a spade," but if you call it "clod-cutter," "Eve's husband's bread-winner." Some sorts of kennings are used in most poetry, but their use in Scandinavian poetry became very prevalent. And though in some respects they were overdone, and became artificial, ungraceful, even laughable, there is much of interest that attaches to them. Snorri Sturluson (who died A.D. 1241) is our chief authority on early Scandinavian versecraft in *Skáldskapar-mál* "Poetic Diction," a part of his prose Edda; and the kennings of which he treats most fully are those grounded (or believed to be grounded) on mythology. One deity's name may be put for another if something be added that belongs to the other. And the

same principle may be applied to other things—*e.g.*, if you want to speak of a raven or eagle you may join to "bird" such a word as "slaughter," "blood," or the like, and that is your kenning. Nay, you may even say "battle-crane," "blood-grouse," "wound-partridge." Kennings may be simple, double, multiple. And as the plain name of the thing is never to be added, they are often very puzzling, sometimes intentionally so, like riddles which may be guessed, and are guessed, differently by their interpreters. Snorri, as is observed in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (vol ii., Excursus i.), did not observe the right proportions in his treatment and classification of kennings, "beginning at the wrong end." His object was not the study of the old poet's mind, but the production of a handy Gradus. The metaphorical kennings are really the older, "the germ from which all sprang." We see in them "quaint primitive ways of thought," not only common to old Northern poetry, but such as would readily occur to early poets of all times—*e.g.*, when flesh is called "locker of the bones"; breast, "the abode of thought"; hair, the "sward of the head." "In Egil's vigorous and concise figures we have the noblest example of this kind." "Later than these early metaphors are those synonyms based on early beliefs respecting cosmogony." Most true all this. The metaphors or tropes admit us into the minds of the poets; we find that their like exist in all poetry; in some of these touches all bards are kin. Kennings of some sort are in all poetry, especially in old poetry. But the Northern poets use them where other poets use simile. Simile in Northern poets is hardly ever used—*e.g.*, where another poet might say "swords in battle flashed as snakes," the Icelandic poet says, "battle-snakes flashed." The earlier and better Icelandic kennings metaphorical (and even some mythological) may be illustrated from old classical poetry. Names of Zeus resemble names of Odin and Thor. As "king" has kennings in Icelandic, so also in Greek, "shepherd of peoples," "god-born," "rudder-turner," "steersman." "Ships" are kenned in Greek "sailors' cars sea roving, linenwinged" (Æsch.); animals, "house-bearer"= snail, "the boneless" = polypus (Hesiod). "Chaff-scatterer" = winnowing fan. A cloak is "a remedy of cold winds" (Pindar). And plenty of such may be gathered. Imagina-

tion has worked alike, but with differences: the Northern Skald loving to put his metaphor or comparison into one word or phrase. The clearest way to exhibit Icelandic kennings seems to be to class them according to their nature: (1) Metaphors; (2) quaint descriptions or conceits; (3) enigmatical, or purposely obscure; (4) mythological. And the examples given in this paper are chiefly from the Egils-Saga, which has been scantly done justice to by Snorri Sturluson. First, of metaphorical kennings, heaven or sky is "wind-cup," and earth "wind-cup's base or bottom." Friends ride to the generous Arinbjorn (sings Egil) "from all ways upon the base or floor of the wind-cup," *i.e.*, from every wind of heaven. Sea is "path of gulls." "To cast to the sea mews' path rough with winds," is to spend in vain. Sea is also kenned by "earth's isle-studded girdle"; mountains are "the reindeer's path"; wind is "forest destroyer," "willow-render"—*cp.* Lucretius' *silvifraga flabra*. Serpent is "dale-fish," "bright thong of the ling." Eye is "brow-moon"; stern glance is "moonshine"—both used in one verse about King Eric. War and battle have many kennings; "snowstorm of weapons," "shield rain," "metal-storm," "spear-music"; sword, "hilt-wand," "slaughter-fire," "wound-flash"; axe, "wound-wolf"; spear, dart, "wound-fowl"; arrows, "wound-bees"; ship is "wave-horse," "sea-king's swan," "sea-snowshoe"— this last is not unapt for the long ship when we think of the long Norwegian *ski* — gold, "sea-fire," "arm-fire"; silver, "crucible-snow." Man (warrior) is kenned from his occupation; "wolf's tooth dyer," "raven-glutter," "oak of Odin," "shield-tree" (*i.e.*, bearer of shield); woman from hers: "goddess of drinking-horns," "brooch wearer"; poet is "song-smith," *cp.* Gr. τέκτονες ὕμνων; and song is "timber of minstrelsy"; a song of praise is a "tower of praise." Many are the curious descriptive kennings of parts of the body: breast, "ship of mind"; head, "helmet-cliff," "bolster-mate"; eye-sockets, "pitholes of the brows"; ears, "hearing-tents;" tongue, "voice-plane" — "easy to smooth with voice-plane is the material of my song"; brows are "jutting cliffs of the eye-lashes"— *cp.*, our "beetling brows"; Shakespeare's

> "lend the eye a terrible aspect;
> . . . let the brow overwhelm it

> As fearfully as doth a galled rock
> O'erhang and jutty his confounded base."
> *Henry V.*, act iii., sc. 1.

For curious kennings of parts of the body, Solomon's description of the old man in Eccles. xii. 3-5 may be referred to: "Keepers of the house, strong-men, grinders, those that look out the windows" (arms, legs, teeth, eyes). Also probably, "doors" are ears, and "voice of a bird" and "daughters of music brought low" are to express weaknesses of age in voice; as also "grasshopper shall be a burden" means the once nimble leaper shall move him heavily. Curious are the kennings for summer, "serpent's delight"; winter, "serpent's grief." Stinginess is "gold-numbness." Sometimes kennings are meant to be enigmatical. Indeed, old riddles were descriptions by kennings—*e.g.*, Samson's, where he tells what he had done with "eater and strong" as kenning for lion, "meat and sweetness" for honey. To this very day country riddles are of this descriptive kind. Egil calls his friend Arinbjorn, "Bear of the table of the birchwood's terror"; *arin* is hearth or fire-table; fire, "birchwood's terror"; *bjorn* is bear. Obscurities of this kind are purposely aimed at: but very seldom in Egil's verses. For kennings of the mythological class the curious may look to the Edda. These do not appear so interesting as the metaphorical; but they give occasion in Snorri's treatise for many interesting legends. Sometimes the kenning may be older than the myth. But on these this paper did not dwell. "Gold" as "Kraki's seed," seed of Fyri's field, has an amusing story; but perhaps "golden grain, grain the wealth of the field," is at the bottom of this. The metaphors are the most interesting kind of kennings, and they may be abundantly illustrated from the poets of many tongues and times.

In the discussion which followed Mr. Norris expressed the thanks of the audience to Mr. Green for his interesting paper, which was distinguished by the width of its range. It had recalled to his mind various kennings which are found in Anglo-Saxon poetry. In the Song of the Battle of Brunanburh the sea is called the "swan's bath." No doubt Mr. Green would consider this to be a compound kenning, by swan being meant ship. Otherwise the kenning would be too obvious, even were the swan a sea-bird. Again, the poet says that the Danish invaders had derived little profit from

"the commerce of the sword," the latter phrase being a kenning for "battle." The sword is also called "board-cleaver" or "shield-cleaver." Might we not assume that the kenning "sea-fire," or "water-flame" for "gold," which was usually classed as mythological, and had one or two legends annexed to it, was an allusion to the reflection of sunset on the waters, which would naturally suggest "gold" to any observer? In the most ancient fragment of Anglo-Saxon poetry, too, Cædmon's "Fall of Man," which begins.

"Nú wé sceolan herian
heofonríces Weard,
Metodes mihte
And his módgethonc,
wera Wuldorfæder."

"heofonrices weard," or "warden of heavenric," and "wera Wuldorfæder," or "glory-father of men," might be regarded as kennings.

Mr. E. H. Baverstock said that there were some lists of kennings given by Du Chaillu in his *Viking Age*, but it would be impossible to name them fully. With regard to kennings for bow and arrows, such names were given as "the bird of the string," "the swift flyer," "the work of Gusi." This last phrase referred to one of the three arrows of Orvar Odd. These arrows formerly belonged to Gusi, King of the Finns. They came afterwards into the possession of Ketil Hæng, father of Grim, who gave them to his son Orvar Odd, saying, "Here are the costly things which I want to give thee, Odd. They are three arrows, which have a name and are called Gusi's nautar" (Gusi's followers). Odd said, "They are very costly." The feathers were gilded, and the arrows flew off and on the string by themselves, and one never needed to search for them. The full story may be found in Orvar Odd's Saga.

Mr. A. F. Major said that they were fortunate in having had the subject handled by one who was an eminent classical, as well as an Icelandic, scholar, and who had therefore been able to show them that kennings, which were such a distinctive feature in Icelandic poetry, were not peculiar to it, but were to be found in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and other poetry. No doubt in modern poetry genuine kennings were few and far between, because, as Mr. Green pointed out, the majority of poets put their kennings in the

form of a simile, but such phrases as "hearts of oak" and "wooden walls" are genuine kennings for ship. He could readily understand how the fascination of finding kennings might grow on a poet. when once it became generally understood that kennings were the proper ornament of poetry, till at last, in uninspired writers, the poetry was crushed out by the kennings that overloaded it. With regard to "swan's bath" for sea, it was possible that swan was meant in its natural sense, as "gannet's bath," "sea-mews' bath" were found as well.

Mr. Niven ventured to differ from the author in thinking his lecture deserved a better title than that of "paper," which he had given it. He agreed that the phrase "water's fire" for gold would be naturally suggested by the appearance of the sea or any water when the sun is low. He could not, however, agree that the passages in Ecclesiastes—"The grasshopper shall be a burden," and "He shall rise up at the voice of a bird" might be explained as kennings. The latter he thought alluded to the light slumber of aged people. He quite agreed with Mr. Green's arrangement, but should have liked the exact chronological dates of the various kennings. With regard to other poets, the wonderful power of the similes in Homer, Goethe, and Milton struck him forcibly, and but for the late hour he could have pursued the subject at length.

Mr. Green, in reply, said that he did not expect to obtain universal assent to his proposed interpretation of the passage from Ecclesiastes, nor was it important to the general purport of his paper. He was glad to have had the opportunity of bringing the subject forward. It had occurred to him, though he had not included it in his paper, that instances of kennings were common in sporting slang, as in the old reports of the Prize Ring, in such phrases as "he caught him one on the potatoe-trap," or of the cricket-field, when a man's being stumped is described as, "he heard a noise in his timber-yard."

AL-THING, MAY 24TH, 1895.

THE REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. E. H. Baverstock (Lawright-man) read a paper on "Tyrfing, or the Saga of a Berserk's Sword," which will be reproduced in full in a future number of the *Saga-Book*.

VIKING CLUB AND THE IRISH LITERARY SOCIETY JOINT MEETING. EIGHTH SAGA-THING, SATURDAY, JUNE 8TH, 1895.

DR. KARL BLIND (Jarla-Man) in the Chair.

The Chairman, in his introductory speech, said that this was a combined assembly of men and women interested in the history, the literature and language, the mythology and folklore, and the music and art of their Teutonic and Keltic ancestry. They had come together irrespective of political principles, of religious creeds, or of special philosophical views. The meeting might be described as a section, or as sections, of the United (he would not say Kingdom, lest this should be looked upon as a political allusion), but he would rather say as sections of the United Republic of Letters and Art. In that Commonwealth, too, there was sometimes a great deal of lively argument going on; but this should certainly not prevent them from trying their best to be a happy family. The lecturer they were to hear had chosen for his theme a very important subject—one on which it is true, even the mass of educated people still required a great deal of teaching. In spite of the excellent labours of scholars at universities here and of Gaelic Societies in Ireland, it was an unfortunate fact that the studies referring both to the Anglo-Saxon and Norse, as well as to the Keltic or Kelt-Iberian past of this country are yet too much neglected. The Irish Literary Society, however, counted among its members such prominent workers as Mr. Standish O'Grady, Dr. Douglas Hyde, and Professor John Rhys. The Chairman then alluded to the "Book of the Four Masters," in which the first mention is made of the landing of Vikings in Ireland—a landing which had been preceded more than a hundred years before by the appearance of a Saxon fleet, in Egfrith's time, on the Irish shores. Probably not too many people, even of the highly cultured classes, were acquainted with that heroic poetry which has gathered in Ireland and Scotland round the name of those Fianna warriors, whom not a few foremost authorities look upon as a first pre-historic wave of Norse and Teutonic conquerors, and whose figures and deeds became afterwards mixed up, in song, with those of the later Danish and Norwegian rulers in Ireland. Such charming Irish poems and romances as "The Lay of Oisin, or

the Land of the Young," the "Children of Lir," the "Pursuit of Diarmid and Grainne," or "The Youthful Exploits of Fionn," to mention but a few, are evidently not so well known at least on this side, as they ought to be. Probably one of the reasons is that some of them, at any rate, are not accessible in sufficiently attractive English translations, but rather in literal ones for the student. Something might be done in this respect similar to what Simrock did in German for the Edda, for Beowulf, and for the mediæval heroic and other poetry of his own country. As the Viking Club also deals with anthropology, it might be as well to point out that there are few countries more interesting as regards such problems than Ireland, with its various layers of Iberian, Keltic, and Germanic races of the Norse and Teutonic branches. The Viking Club, the Irish Literary Society, and the Welsh Cymmrodorion or Brotherhood have for some time past earnestly striven to promote the study of all these subjects. He (the Chairman) might add that he had repeatedly perused with considerable interest reports contained in Dublin papers of lectures given on the Ossianic Saga by the learned Professor who was to address them.

Dr. Sigerson then read his paper on "Kelts and Sea-Kings." A portion of it was devoted to the removal of prejudices and erroneous statements concerning the Norse rulers in Ireland. We regret not to have been able to obtain from Dr. Sigerson an account of his lecture.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. George Graves, Mr. Norris, Miss Eleanor Hull, Mr. Baverstock, and others took part. A vote of thanks to Dr. Sigerson was passed. A vote of thanks to the Chairman (Karl Blind), moved by Mr. Graves, the Secretary of the Irish Literary Society, who said that the address from the chair had been distinguished not only by full knowledge, but also by a very sympathetic treatment of the subject of old Irish literature, concluded the proceedings.

AL-THING, JUNE 14TH, 1895.

THE REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. Albany F. Major (Umboths-man) read a paper on "The Vikings" which will be reproduced in full in a future number of the *Saga-Book*.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 15TH, 1895.

THE REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. Eirikr Magnússon (Jarla-man) read a paper on "Edda," which is printed in full in the present number.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Jón Stefansson said that he felt sure all present were very grateful to Mr. Magnússon for his paper, which he considered among the most important of any that had yet been given before the Viking Club. It was certainly one of the most learned; but that learning, and the clear logic with which it was set forth, had led to such a result as could not well be impugned, and, however new and startling Mr. Magnússon's conclusions might seem, his chain of reasoning seemed most difficult to attack. The Edda might be regarded as the Bible of the Scandinavian and English races—in fact, of the Teutonic world. It was therefore very important to establish rightly the meaning of the term; and although, from the nature of the case, Mr. Magnússon could not absolutely prove his own theory, but could only attain a high degree of probability, he had in a careful and conclusive manner disposed of all earlier theories as to the origin and meaning of the old and revered name of Edda.

Mr. E. H. Baverstock said that he was very glad to have heard Mr. Magnússon, as he had always hitherto taken it for granted that "Edda" meant "great-grandmother" or "mother earth." Apparently no one had previously known the true meaning, but the lecturer to-night had certainly thrown very great light on the word and its history. He wished to thank him personally, not only for this lecture, but also for the book in which he had thrown fresh light on the myths of Yggdrasill and Sleipnir. Of course a subject like this was one which an Icelander could discuss far better than an Englishman, as there were so many points in it which could only be fully appreciated by one who knew intimately the language and the value and sense of the words quoted. As Lord Kames in his *Principles of Translation* has said, words must lose something even in the best translation, even as wine loses something of its aroma when poured from vessel to vessel. He would, therefore, content himself with again expressing the intense pleasure with which he had listened to the lecture.

In reply to Miss C. Bridgman, Mr. Magnússon said that Snorri Sturluson did not himself write the MS. known as the Codex Upsaliensis, but there was very little doubt that it was either a direct copy of his original or the transcript of one. Prof. Bugge

had proved that Snorri did not use the MS. of the older Edda, which we know as the Codex Regius, but one that varies from it considerably. In the lecturer's opinion, "Edda" as the title of a book had no connection with the word as used in Rigsmál.

Mr. R. Niven said that he was much surprised to learn that Snorri Sturluson was a sealed book to the people of his own day. He had always believed that Carlyle was correct in his view, that the stirring history of the North was due to the inspiration of the songs of Edda, and that those songs were as familiar to them as the songs of Homer to the people of Greece, where we are told even women were to be found who could recite the Iliad and Odyssey.

In reply, the lecturer said that the Eddas were not popular books for the general reader, because they were so full of allusions to lost mythical and heroic traditions; and, while no doubt a great deal of them would have been intelligible, very much would not be taken in; for instance, all the allusions in Hyndluljod, because those allusions were very often to things which were not only unknown to us, but which seem to have been lost sight of in the time of Snorri. These books, moreover, were often obscured by the carelessness and want of intelligence of the scribes through whom they had come down to us. Carlyle might be right, but Mr. Magnússon had his doubts about it. With regard to the women of Greece and their knowledge of Homer, it must be remembered that of old the women knew the literature and traditions of the land much better than the men, whose time was fully occupied by the profession of the sword. Their influence we can see running like a red thread through all the histories, for it was the wives and mothers who by oral tradition handed down the records of the past.

Mr. A. F. Major said he wished to move formally a vote of thanks to the lecturer for a very powerful paper, which, he fully agreed with a previous speaker, was one of the most important to which the Viking Club had yet listened. Where an Icelander could find nothing to criticise, an Englishman could not venture to say much. It seemed to him that Mr. Magnússon had not only routed and slain, but finally buried, the theories hitherto set up to explain the word "Edda," and his own theory was certainly very clearly set forth and seemed very probable. If we talked of the Codex Upsaliensis, if in our own early literature we spoke of the Exeter Book and the Vercellai Book, why should not Icelandic scholars have talked of the Book of Oddi?

The vote of thanks was seconded by Mr. Baverstock, and sup-

ported by the president, who said that he wished to add his sense of his own personal indebtedness to the lecturer, whose destructive criticism was, he thought, most fair, though crushing; while the constructive part of his paper was, if possible, even more brilliant, and so lucidly set forth that to him, at any rate, it had carried conviction.

Mr. Magnússon, in reply, said that he must reserve for himself, as his platform, that he did not profess to offer anything as proven, but only a case of the strongest probability. Etymological speculation by itself was very unsafe; but as soon as we can make a philological chain of argument, supported by historical links in the evidence, we tread upon ground that we may consider fairly firm.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 13TH, 1895.

THE REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the chair.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., read a paper on "The Vikings in Lakeland," which is reproduced in full in the present number.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. J. Mitchell said that, with regard to the origin of the place-names referred to by Mr. Collingwood, while he was quite ready to admit that the Norsemen who colonised the Lake-country came thither from Ireland, he thought that the Welsh of Strathclyde were responsible for some of the Celtic names.

Mr. Collingwood replied to the effect that Celtic words compounded with Norse in the place-names of a Norse district might be regarded as Norse importations; but that there were certain districts in which clusters of place-names, both Cymric and Goidelic, showed survivals from primitive Celtic times and races.

Mr. F. T. Norris congratulated the society on the clear and learned paper to which it had been privileged to listen. He thought, however, that the particle "ing," occurring in place-names, did not invariably signify a Saxon tribe or family, but sometimes grew out of a genitive ending in "an." Buckingham, for instance, might mean "the ham of the beech woods." "Tun" was found as a Scandinavian as well as a Saxon form —for instance, in "Sigtuna;" so Ulfarstun might be Norse in both its elements. Place-names altered so completely, that in trying to trace and account for them it was highly necessary to consult the oldest form, otherwise derivations are sure to be false. No one, for instance, would suppose that Harrietsham in Kent was derived from a man's name,

yet Herigeardsham is the oldest form of it. He thought the Ordnance surveyors and their renderings of local pronunciation were responsible for many misleading forms and false derivations. The explanation of Rother as "trout-water" was very interesting, and would account for many similar names in various parts. With regard to the two forms "beck" and "leck," the latter was found in the Thames valley—for instance in the name Pimlico, and in Letchmere, on the opposite bank. With regard to sculptured stones, he might remark that in the *Building News* for the current week a stone at Bakewell, which had hitherto been considered to be a Christian monument, was shown to be Scandinavian, and with its figures of horses was connected with the worship of Odin. He should like to hear whether Mr. Collingwood could identify Agmondesham (now Amersham) in the Thames valley with the chieftain Agmund, who had left his traces in Lancashire.

Mr. Collingwood replied, that as there seemed to be at least one other Agmund known as leader of Vikings in the South of England, there was no need to connect the Agmund of the Lancashire settlement with the Thames-valley. With regard to "ham" and "ton," his point was that both might be Norse, though usually indicating Saxon and Anglian settlements respectively. Aldingham was shown by archæologists like Chancellor Ferguson to be an Anglo-Saxon *burh*, and its name was taken to be the "home of the Aldings," in agreement with a great series of names in "-ingham" and "-ington." But "ham" or "ton," occurring in a distinctly Norse context, might be Norse, and nothing else. We know from history that the Norsemen were an eminently versatile race, readily adopting the customs and identifying themselves with the people among whom they settled. In France they became Frenchmen and in a generation or two even lost their own tongue; in England they became English, and he thought it quite conceivable that they should adopt the Anglian ways of forming names of places and join the Anglian termination to a name of Scandinavian origin, so that Ulfar, a Norseman, settling near the Anglian Pennington, &c., might call his place Ulfars-tún.

Mr. E. H. Baverstock said that at Wantage in Berkshire there was a place called the Ham or, in old documents, Hame. There is also a village of the same name in Wiltshire, four miles from Hungerford, Berkshire, and other Hams in

Essex, Kent, Somerset, Surrey, and Sussex. Antiquaries had endeavoured to account for the name, but, so far as he knew, its meaning had never been traced. His own name occurred as that of a village in Wiltshire, and appeared in Domesday as Babes-toche—*i.e.*, Babe's or Child's Dowry; while to show how names got corrupted, he might instance Ducksfoot-lane, leading out of Cornhill, which, after much search, he had found to originate in Duke's Foot-lane, so named because the alley originally led to the Duke of Suffolk's town house, which stood hard by in Suffolk-lane. He was very grateful to Mr. Collingwood, not only for his lecture, but also for the pleasure he had derived from "Thorstein of the Mere," the Lakeland saga, in which the lecturer had embodied much of the result of his study of the early history of the district.

Dr. Jón Stefansson said he wished to move the vote of thanks which was certainly due to Mr. Collingwood for coming over three hundred miles to give the club his most scholarly lecture. Would that we could have similar ones on Northumberland, Yorkshire, and other Scandinavian counties! A great quarrel existed some years ago between the historians of Denmark and those of Norway as to the word "beck." The Danes claimed it as Danish, and Swedish scholars supported them; but the question could not be regarded as settled. "Bec" was a common termination in Normandy, and on the strength of this the Danes argued that Normandy was largely colonised from Denmark. As to "tun," it occurred in Sweden, and was found occasionally in Iceland; but it is fair to conclude that, speaking generally, it is a Saxon termination. The area of Norse settlement in England was very much widened by the conclusions of the lecturer; and it was hardly too much to say that the History of England would have to be largely re-written when nearly one half of the country was found to be Scandinavian.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, in seconding the vote of thanks, said he wished to include in it Mr. E. G. Pope, who had so kindly lent and worked the magic-lantern by which the lecture was illustrated.

The lecturer in reply said that, owing to the lateness of the hour, he would only remark that in some Danish parts of England "beck" was not found, while in the Lake-district the Norse testwords predominated.

VIKING NOTES.

THE following have been elected Fræthi-men (Honorary Fellows) of the Club during the year 1895:—Joseph Anderson, LL.D.; Dr. Karl Blind; Professor Sophus Bugge; Sir Henry Dryden, Bart.; Gilbert Goudie, F.S.A., Scotland; Dr. Hans Hildebrand, Royal Antiquary of Sweden; Eirikr Magnússon, M.A.; William Morris; and Dr. George Stephens (since deceased).

THE Ogham inscriptions of the Burrian Stone on North Ronaldshay, the Newton Stone, the St. Ninian's Stone, the Bressay Stone, the Coningsburgh Stone, the Lundsburgh Stone, and the Logie Elphinstone are treated by Mr. E. W. Nicholson, the Bodleian librarian, in the *Academy* for August 31st, under the heading "New Notes on Pictish Inscriptions."

AMONG the noteworthy Shetland men beyond our ranks who have passed away in the past year may be mentioned the late editor of the *British Journal of Photography*, Mr. Traill Taylor. His typical physiognomy and disposition, and his sturdy championing of the Norse origin of his homeland, are pleasing memories in the recollection.

OUR Jarla-Man, Mr. Gilbert Goudie, F.S.A.Scot., has been taking part in the past year in the discussion which has been going on in the pages of the *Shetland News* regarding the origin of the *brochs* or round towers of Shetland. Mr. Goudie's view is that they are pre-Scandinavian—that is, prior to the advent of the Norsemen to the Islands in the ninth century—and by builders of a different race and genius.

A FRAGMENT of the "Tale of Wade" and his magic boat, which Chaucer makes Pandarus tell Cresyda, has been discovered in a 13th century sermon on "Humility," in Peterhouse Library. The lines, and their Latin introduction, in modern English run: "So that they can say with Wade, 'Some are elves And some are adders; Some are nikers That dwell by the waters; There is no man, But Hildebrand alone.'" The language is much like that of the early chronicler Layamon. Wade, which is the metonym for Wodin, is frequently met with in Anglo-Saxon legend. His son, Wayland the Smith, is the Völundr of the Eddas, and the forger of Odin's sword. He is popularly treated by Sir Walter Scott in "Kenilworth."

IN the "Beiträgen zur nordwest deutschen Volks und Landeskunde," Herr W. O. Foke, of Bremen, has unearthed from old chronicles a list of 144 townships once situated on the North Sea coast, which have now disappeared. Six were prosperous islands at one time; but since the eleventh century, through spring tides and shifting sands, these districts have one by one been removed from the face of the earth. The help towards accurate antiquarian and historical research which maps giving the physical appearances of districts at particular periods would afford is undoubted; this is true of nowhere more than the British Isles, where no shore line, and hardly a single river, are as they were, say, in Roman times.

IT is a shrewd emendation which is offered by Mr. Charles Plummer in the *Academy*, of November 2nd, as to the entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 876 relating to Halfdan's conquest of Northumbria. The text runs: "And þy geare Halfdene Norþanhymbra lond gedælde, and ergende wæron, and hiera tilgende." This is usually rendered: "And this year Halfdane dealt out Northumbria land, and (they were) ploughing and (some

were) tilling." This rendering went on the supposition that *ergende* was the present participle of *erian*, to ear or plough. Mr. Plummer suggests it is the past participle of *hergian*, to harry, with the "h" omitted. The last clause would then read thus: "and (some were) harrying and (some were) tilling." This agrees with the well-known Norse habit expressed in the phrase: "half to the land, half to the strand." It has not hitherto been pointed out in this connection the general agreement of this Norse practice with Tacitus's account of the practice of the Suevi, who set half their tribe to go a warfaring and half to till in alternate years.

AN important moor-find is reported by the New York *Nation* from the island of Fünen in Denmark. The find consists of seven swords, most of them bent together after the usual fashion, and a number of spears, both of iron and bone. The spears, especially the bone ones, are in an almost perfect state of preservation. Many of them still contain their shafts, the construction of which shows that they must have been used for throwing. "Another novel feature lies in the receptacle itself, which is the site of an old road"—it is not told whether they were buried or merely lying upon the road—"dated from the Iron Age, and still in a good state of preservation. The construction is very much like that of the best modern Danish stone road, care having been taken to prevent spreading by the use of large stones along the sides." It may be presumed that if such a find had been made in England it would have been classed at Roman—especially the road. Nobody but the Romans, according to popular ideas, were capable of building stone roads, or, indeed, any other kind of engineering works.

THE Bakewell Cross to which allusion was made during the discussion on Mr. Collingwood's paper on the "Vikings in Lakeland" has hitherto been regarded as a Christian memorial. Dr. Cox, in his "Churches of Derbyshire," followed the vogue in interpreting the figures on the top panel as representing Christ's entry on an ass into Jerusalem. From the scroll and knot work, however, he is persuaded that it is Anglo-Saxon work and not later than the eighth or ninth century. With better archæological judgment Professor G. F. Browne, F.S.A., (now Bishop of Stepney, D.D.) in the Proceedings of the Derbyshire Arch. Soc. (vol. 8) thus speaks on the cross: "It will be seen that the ornamentation of the great cross at Bakewell consists of a magnificent scroll springing alternately right and left from a sort of cornucopia. The scroll at the top has a somewhat nondescript animal nibbling at the topmost bunch of fruit. Now, the Northmen believed in a sacred tree, known as the world-ash, in which four harts nibbled the buds. The tree was, besides, a pathway for the messenger between the gods and the earth, and this messenger was the squirrel. I suggest that the animal on the Bakewell Cross recalls this early belief, for, nondescript as it is, there is no question at all that its forelegs clutching the fruit excellently represent the attitude of a squirrel with a nut in its paw. In this case we should have . . . . a continuation of the Christian and Teutonic religious beliefs, the Christian view of life and the pagan messenger of the gods on its topmost branches." The necessity of the last remarks as to the blending of the two beliefs for an adequate interpretation of the symbol does not readily appear, seeing that one alone, and that the heathen, from the writer's own showing, is sufficient for that purpose. Doubtless the explanation of the dual references is to be found in the portion of Mr. Browne's speech omitted. The cross is 8ft. high, without the foot, and

about 2ft. in width. In the *Building News* for Dec. 17th, 1895, is a drawing of the cross by Mr. F. H. Cheetham.

MR. JAMES TAIT, of Owens College, Manchester, has successfully vindicated Mr. Green from the charge of carelessness levelled against him by Mr. Round in his work "Feudal England." The latter stated that "Mr. Green, in his 'Conquest of England,' pp. 121-276, alluded to the Danish 'bys' as found, by exception, 'about Wirral in Cheshire,' and held that Norsemen from the Isle of Man had founded the little group of Northern villages which we find in the Cheshire peninsula of Wirral," and then added, "I cannot find them myself. . . . Raby is the only place I can there find on the peninsula with the 'by' termination. . . . There were doubtless Norse elements in the peninsula, *but they were not strong enough to change the place-names* or divide the land on their own system." Mr. Tait, by pointing out the existence of seven additional "bys"—(West Kirkby, Frankby, Greasby, Irby, Pensby, Raby, and Whitby)—besides Norse names like Thingwall, Nesse, and Denwall, and probably Hesswall and Gabwall, not only justifies Mr. Green, but practically retorts the charge of carelessness on his accuser. Mr. Round cannot escape by alleging these are modern names, for they are all found in the old charters, and even in Mr. Round's pet Domesday, where Helsby is also cited, but in the neighbouring hundred of Eddisbury, not to speak of an unidentified Signeby mentioned by Ormerod. Mr. Round's published reply is extremely weak, first absurdly citing the Domesday Book as "our oldest authority" for place-names, and pretending to test Mr. Green's statement by it, and then stating as his excuse for not quoting the names instanced by Mr. Tait that they were merely hamlets, and not mentioned in Bacon's atlas, whereas they are actually found there; and are, moreover, not in all cases hamlets, but important towns—Whitby, for example.

DEATH-ROLL.

PROF. DR. GEORGE STEPHENS, F.S.A., was a Jarla-Man and had just been elected a Fœthi-Man of the Viking Club, and at the date of his death, which occurred on August 17th, 1895, was nearing his 82nd birthday. Born at Liverpool on December 13th, 1813, he went to Sweden in 1833, and spent there eighteen years, removing to Copenhagen in 1855 to be made Professor at the University, a post which he held till his death. During his residence in Sweden he interested himself chiefly in bibliography, archæology, and early Swedish folklore, publishing as the results of his labours "Bihang til Frithiofs Saga," in 1841; "Svenska Folksagor och Afventyr," in 1844; "Förteckning ofver de Fornämste Brittiska och Fransyska Handskrifterna uti kongl. Bibliotek i Stockholm," in 1847; "Ett forn Svenskt Legendarium, &c.," in 1847-8; and "Sveriges historiska och politiska Visor," in 1833. But his great work is undoubtedly "The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England," which appeared in London and Copenhagen in 1866-7. This work presented to the public for the first time a complete collection of the oldest Runic inscriptions, most accurately and artistically reproduced, and has ever since been of invaluable service to Northern scholars. Indeed it was by the aid of the drawings in Stephens' book that Prof. Bugge was enabled to complete his epoch-making interpretation of the Golden Horn

inscription. Henceforth the Runes became Prof. Stephens' favourite study, and the last thing he wrote, "The Runes, whence came they?" published in London only twelve months ago, shows that the veteran scholar's interest in the subject was to the last as keen as ever. Occasionally the genial professor made excursions into the domain of *belles lettres*, and melodramas, poems, and literary and political contributions bore witness to the manysidedness of the man. . . . A list of his works up to 1895 may be seen in "Supplement til almindeligt Forfatter-Lexicon," by Erslev. Since that date, among others, have appeared "Macbeth," which identifies the place of that king's death by a Runic stone (1876); "Thunor the Thunderer" (1878), explaining a remarkable Swedish font A.D. 1000; "Some Runic Stones in Northern Sweden," and "On the Dialect of the First Book printed in Swedish" (1879); "Handbook of the Old Northern Runic Monuments" (1884); "The Oldest yet found Document in Danish" in later Runes on a small leaden tablet (1887); &c.

THE late Jarla-man, Hyde Clarke, Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society, who passed away in the second week of March, was originally an engineer and spent a considerable part of his life in the Levant. In his early years he betook himself to the study of philology, writing as early as 1848 on the identification of the Varini of Tacitus. He was a multifarious writer on ethnology, philology, and archæology, one of his latest productions being the article "Godhilda de Toni, wife of Baldwin I., King of Jerusalem, and her Family of Toni and Limesi," which appeared in Vol. I. Part I. of the *Saga-Book*.

WALTER TRAIL DENNISON, Göfgir-man (hon. member) of the Viking Club, J.P., Orkney, was born October 6th, 1825, and died September 2nd, 1894. He was educated at Kirkwall, and in 1852 he took the lease of the farm of, West Brough in his native island of Sanday, which he continued to occupy until the time of his death. Among his literary works are "The Loves and Death of Lady Sarah, a lay of the Orkney Isles," written in the Orkney, dialect, and published anonymously in 1872; "The Orcadian Sketch-Book," giving traits of old Orkney life, written partly in the Orkney dialect, 1880; papers on Orkney customs, &c., in Peace's Orkney and Shetland Almanacks for 1880, 1881, 1883, 1885, 1887, and 1888; articles on Orkney folklore in *The Scottish Antiquary*, September and December, 1890, March and December, 1891, June and September, 1892, January, April, and October, 1893; "Manufacture of Straw Articles in Orkney," in *Orkney Herald*, Nov. 7th, 1894; and "The Subsidence of Land in Orkney," in the *Saga-Book* for 1894. The aim he steadfastly set before himself was to do all that in him lay to preserve the speech, the customs, and the traditions of his native island.

JOHN RAE, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., &c., Göfgir-Man (hon. member) and first Viking-Jarl (hon. president) of the Viking Club, or Orkney, Shetland, and Northern Society, London, hon. corresponding member of the Geographical Society of America, hon. member of the Natural History Society of Montreal, &c., was born at the Hall of Clestrain, in Orphir, Orkney, on September 30th, 1813, and died in London, July 22nd, 1893. His first fifteen years were spent in Orkney, where he acquired, besides a good education, a knowledge of boating, shooting, crag-climbing, and other outdoor pursuits. When sixteen years old he commenced his medical studies at Edinburgh University, and, not twenty years old, passed as surgeon in 1833. He then entered the Hudson's Bay service, and after residing ten years at

Moose, he undertook in 1845 the survey of a part of the Arctic shores of America, which several previous naval expeditions had failed to accomplish. This was done in open boats, with twelve men, of whom five were Orkneymen and Shetlanders, when 700 miles of unknown coastline were traced. In 1848 he went second in command in the expedition under Sir John Richardson in search of Sir John Franklin, which proved unsuccessful. In 1849 he was appointed to command another expedition. In about eight months his party travelled 5380 miles, 700 of which were through newly discovered territory. In 1853 he commanded another expedition on behalf of his company, which resulted in the discovery and survey of the Quoich River, and in obtaining information and relics which confirmed the fact that Franklin and his men had perished from exposure and hunger. He returned to London in 1855, when he found he was entitled to the Government reward of £10,000 for news of Franklin's party; this sum he shared with his men. He paid in all seven visits to the Arctic coast, besides arranging expeditions to various parts of the Northern seas. In 1850 he published a "Narrative of an Expedition to the Shores of the Arctic Seas in 1846 and 1847." He contributed valuable reports to the Royal Geographical Society.

SIR ROBERT G C. HAMILTON, K.C.M.G., Göfgir-Man (hon. member) of the Viking Club, was born in Bressay, Shetland, August 30th, 1836, and died in London, April 24th, 1895. His grandfather, the Rev. Gavin Hamilton, minister of Hoy, in Orkney, married Penelope, daughter of the Rev. John Macaulay, minister of Cardross, and sister of Zachary Macaulay, father of Lord Macaulay. Sir Robert graduated M.A. at Aberdeen University in 1855, and shortly thereafter he received a clerkship in the War Office, and was sent to the Crimea in the Commissariat Department. He subsequently filled the offices of Accountant of Education, Accountant and Assistant Secretary to the Board of Trade, Secretary to the Civil Service Inquiry Commission, Accountant General of the Navy, Secretary to the Admiralty, Under Secretary for Ireland, Governor of Tasmania in 1886, and Chairman of the Board of Customs, besides serving on several Royal Commissions. In 1893 he was sent to enquire into the state of affairs in the Island of Dominica.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR EDWARD BRUCE HAMLEY, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Jarla-Man (vice-president) and Göfgir-Man (hon. member) of the Viking Club, was the fourth son of Admiral William Hamley, K.L., by his wife Barbara, daughter of Mr. Charles Ogilvie, of Lerwick, and was born at Bodmin, in Cornwall, April 27th, 1824. Passing through the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich he entered the army on the 2nd May, 1843, and served in the Crimean campaign, receiving the brevets of Major and Lieut.-Colonel for his distinguished service. Subsequently he filled other important offices with distinction till the Egyptian campaign, when he commanded the second division which stormed the enemy's lines at Tel-el-Kebir, for which he was made K.C.B. and K.C.M.G. He was the author of several novels and other works, and numerous essays contributed to the magazines.

C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A., Jarla-Man (vice-president) and Göfgir-Man (hon. member) of the Viking Club, came of a distinguished Scottish family. His death took place in March, 1895. He was Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, a member of the Anthropological Society, and a frequent writer on anthropology and prehistoric archæology. He contributed the paper on "Udal and Feudal" to Vol. I., Part I. of the *Saga-Book*.

SHETLAND FOLKLORE AND THE OLD FAITH OF THE SCANDINAVIANS AND TEUTONS.*

By KARL BLIND.

Those northernmost islands of the United Kingdom which, hundreds of years ago, were given in pledge to the Scottish Crown, and thence passed into the possession of England, are as stepping-stones to that still more distant Land of Ice and Fire to which we owe the Edda and the Heims-Kringla. The Edda is the Scripture of the ancient creed of our common forefathers—of Scandinavians, of Englishmen, of Lowland Scotch, and of the great parent stem of Germans. The Heims-Kringla ("The World's Round") contains the chronicles of the Northmen from semi-mythic times down to the twelfth century. To this very day the saga spirit is yet fully alive in Iceland. In Orkney and Shetland, where the Norse race, a branch of the great Teutonic stock, has made an equally deep imprint by its blood, its speech, and its laws, there are yet tales and bits of old rimes current, in which we sometimes hear strange echoes from the Germanic world of Gods — weird voices from the overwhelmed Odinic faith.

Now, do people in general, nay, do even the best educated classes, fully understand that these floating relics of a bygone creed often contain, under a wildly fantastic garb, curious ideas of what once was an endeavour to frame a natural philosophy, a cosmogonic system, a conception of the origin of things and beings, and of the destiny of mankind?

* The above is the full text of the lecture given by Dr. Karl Blind, at the Viking Club. The greater part of it appeared in the December (1894) number of the *New Review*, with the permission of whose editor it has been embodied in this publication.

We study the mythology of Greece and Rome, of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, India, and China—even of Mexico. Are they alone to be looked upon as worthy of the attention of cultured men ? And are the very threads which still, in the more out-of-the-way places, bind the thoughts of the masses of this country to the survivals of an ancient, grand, and partly even charmful creed—are these threads to be allowed to slip unobserved from our fingers, perhaps soon to be lost altogether ? Why this neglect, when yet Norse, Anglo-Saxon, and German mythology—and whatever remnants there are still of its Keltic counterpart—often show poetical traits not less lofty and attractive than those of the classic nations ?

However, since the year 1878, the London Folklore Society, now under the able and excellent direction of Mr. Laurence Gomme, and with the distinguished aid of men like Mr. John Abercromby, Mr. Clodd, Miss Cox, Mr. Hartland, Mr. Jacobs, Mr. Alfred Nutt, Mr. Wheatley, and many others, has done first-rate work for the recovery of such valuable relics. I am glad to say it has been my good fortune to obtain, during the last sixteen years or so, with the kind help of friends and correspondents, a large number of those odds and ends, those waifs and straysl of folklore, some of which were found to have an important bearing upon moot or dark points of our fore-elders' view of the world and its rise.

Shetland, more especially, has proved to me a very fruitful ground. It still possesses many scattered fragments, much nteresting wreckage—flotsam and jetsam, as it might be. called—of the old, much-forgotten religion of the Teutons. The term " flotsam and jetsam " is perhaps all the more appropriate because not a few of these survivals point to a system of Water-worship, which in grey antiquity was the peculiar creed of one section of the Germanic race ; another section holding to a Light and Fire worshipping creed. Now, strong traces of the worship of the Water Deities are pre-eminently to be met with in Shetland folklore, as is natural in such a storm-tossed country.

Among the friends there to whom I owe a tribute of thankfulness for remarkable communications, I have to mention the late Mr. Arthur Laurenson, a merchant of

Lerwick, a highly gifted, learned, and most thoughtful man ; Mr. Robert Sinclair, of the same town, who in his youth was an unlettered fisher-boy, and afterwards became a well-to-do tradesman ; and his son, Mr. George Sinclair, an art decorator—both living now in Australia. Through them I have had contributions from many more people in Unst, in Yell, in Fetlar, and several other parts of Shetland. But as there is a certain bashfulness as regards publicity in small communities, I have to leave out the names of these latter. Otherwise, I should have been only too glad to give them their due.

In Shetland there was a curious experience in regard to these matters. Women are often the chief holders of popular tales. The child learns these things at the mother's knee. I myself was brought up on the fullest fare of such folk-tales, through peasant girls serving in my father's house in town. In later years I was astounded, when first reading "Grimm's Tales," to find there, not only the same account, but sometimes, word for word, that which I had heard from country women unable in those days to read and write. Such was the fidelity with which then the traditionary lore was handed down. The brothers Grimm themselves learnt the famous *Märchen* from women of the popular classes.

In Shetland there were until lately, and perhaps there are even now, aged women who combine the preservation of this kind of knowledge with practices of witchcraft. This is, or was, rather a lucrative trade. Now, it seems that, after the first Essay, founded on letters of my Lerwick friends, had been published, the news was speedily bruited about among some of the cronies. After that Mr. Robert Sinclair found it very difficult to get further information from the same quarters. One of those wise women to whom new questions had been put, exclaimed :—"Güde trüth ! gin I wid tell you onything, ye wid shüne hae it in print ; an' dan da gude o' it ta me wid be düne !"

The fact is, the people who guard the tale-treasures look upon them as something sacred. They certainly do not know their inner meaning, but they evidently feel that some mysterious sense attaches to that which is given in such attractive garb. At the same time they do not wish to have

these things exposed to the public gaze, or to see them subjected to scientific explanation. They even fear that there might be an inclination, among outsiders and fine townspeople, to scoff at them. So, when asked, they often pretend not to know anything at all. It is only when their confidence has been gained by friendly intercourse, and when they have got some insight into the character of the inquirer, that they gradually and slowly show a readiness to open the gates of the eerie Folklore Castle, and to reveal their knowledge.

It was through his daughter that one of my friends re-obtained information. She knew how to gain the confidence of these close women, by beginning to enter into relations with them on quite different affairs. In course of time the secret drawer of tale-treasures was then unlocked by willing hands. I mention this for the guidance of those who would help in saving the precious remnants of that which is frequently the last vestige of " a grand and savage faith of mightiest power," as Southey has called the mythology of the Northmen.

I will now rapidly refer to the subjects of some of the communications from friends and correspondents in Shetland. There came, first, the text of the fragmentary Unst Lay. It is a curious Christianised version of the beginning of Odin's Rune Song in the Eddic " Hávamál "—that is, the " Song of the High One." This Shetlandic relic of the grand old Norse myth shows both the staff-rime and the end-rime ; also the vowel harmony of assonance.

In the Edda, we hear of Odin hanging on a wind-rocked tree, nine long nights—" on that tree of which none knows from what root it springs." The Unst fragrant begins in this way :—

Nine days he hang pa da rütless tree (" Nine days he hung upon the rootless tree") ; and it goes on to say that he (it is not mentioned who) hung there " nine lang nichts i' da nippin' rime." The aged woman who recited the eight lines was quite aware that they could not strictly apply to Christ. She knew in what points they differed from the Biblical statement. More than the fragment of eight lines she did not remember. The version was curious for the way in which the mighty World-Tree of Norse mythology—the Tree of

Existence, Yggdrasil, which symbolises the Universe—is confounded with the Cross. An old creed thus often slips imperceptibly almost into a new one.

That all-nourishing ash-tree, Yggdrasil, is one of the loftiest ideas of the Norse religion. An evolution idea is contained in it. In the branches of the vast Tree of Existence, the Goddess of Life, Idun, dwells, who, by her rejuvenating apples, preserves the heavenly rulers from becoming aged and wrinkled. In the dark regions below the colossal tree, a Serpent works with destroying tooth. It is an image of the never-ceasing struggle between the powers of Life and the forces of Destruction in Nature. There is a passage in the Eddic Song of Grimnir—where these demolishing forces are described—which says :—

> The tree Yggdrasil
> Suffers heavier wrong
> Than men can think.

The deep mystery of grief, which, as Luther said, underlies all life, is apparently pictured in that verse.

There are three fountains near Yggdrasil, in which the endless process of rejuvenescence, of preservation, and of transformation is clearly indicated. At one of those fountains the Norns live, the Sisters of Fate. Their names—Urd, Verdandi, and Skuld—mean the Past, the Present (or rather the process of growing), and the Future. A Rainbow Bridge extends its noble arch through the leafy dome of the Tree of Existence. The Gods daily ride over that lofty bridge which spans Heaven and Earth, in order to reach a Place of Judgment near the dwelling of the weird Sisters of Fate. At last, when all things are nearing their doom, a horn is blown that lies at the bottom of the World-Tree. Then, the immense tree quivers and shakes ; a Fire-God comes with his flaming sword of annihilation ; and Idun sinks down from the branches of Yggdrasil. Life in its present cosmic form is then at an end.

But I refrain from going into a further description of this powerful mythological image, which, assuredly, lacks neither poetical aspect nor philosophical depth. I will rather mention what else came from Shetland in the shape of curious survivals.

I had asked one of my correspondents whether he could

find any further Beetle Rimes in his country, like those about the lady-bird. That tiny red insect was once sacred to the Germanic Goddess of Love and Beauty, Freia, in whose heavenly realm, at the bottom of a bourne, according to German folklore, the Unborn dwelt in a garden, or in a meadow with bushes, where fragrant flowers grow and the song of birds never ceases. When the time came for the human embodiment of the Unborn, their souls were carried earthwards in flashes of lightning.

In connection with this idea, the red-winged lady-bird, and the red-billed and red-legged stork, became the sacred animals of the Goddess—red being the colour of lightning. That is why the stork brings children even now in Germany. And that is why the lady-bird—the bird of Our Lady Freia —became a heavenly messenger of hers. For Freia, whose worship had been most widely and most deeply prevalent among the Teutonic race, the Virgin Mary was afterwards substituted. Hence one of the many names of the lady-bird in Germany is *Marien-Käferchen*. Its ancient connection with Freia's sunny domain is, however, still visible from many other names, such as *Sonnenkalb*, *Sonnenkäfer*, *Sonnen-Hühnchen*, *Sonnenwend-Käfer ;* for Freia was also a Sun-Goddess. In the Low German dialect that insect is called *Mai-Katze* (May Cat), which appellation points to the time of the year that was sacred to the Goddess, and to the cat, a team of which drew her car.

Strange as it may seem, it has been proved by a comparison of many children's rimes concerning the insect in question, that the well-known verse :—

> Lady-bird, Lady-bird, fly away home !
> Thy house is on fire, thy children all roam—

or, " Thy children will burn," refers to that terrible catastrophe in which the Teutonic creed assumed this world to end, after which a new Earth would arise from the waters, when evil would be amended, and a Reign of Bliss come about. In this song, in Germany, we even hear of the beetle's father (evidently Wodan) being in the war, whilst its mother (Freia-Holda) is in Holler-Land, which has been burnt. The word " Holler-Land " I have been able to rescue from oblivion in a verse sung by children in the Baden Palatinate. It means Holda's land.

Beetle-worship is a part of Germanic mythology not yet fully explored. Still, there is some material at hand which forms a link, as it were, between cults apparently standing so wide apart as the Teutonic Creed on the one hand and the Egyptian circle of ideas and Paphian rites on the other. However, a Shetland correspondent to whom I applied, and who was then in Scotland, was only able to make a slight contribution as regards beetle-lore. "The name of the water-beetle—Witchie-clock"—he wrote—"is suggestive enough."

Instead of the hoped-for beetle rimes, he sent a number of spell-songs and incantations, mostly in use among Shetland boys. There was, for instance, a rime about the skylark, or lady-hen, which, I understand now, is also called "lady-bird" in some parts of the Northern Isles. Like the insect of the same name, the lady-bird, or skylark, must once have been sacred to the Germanic Queen of the Heavens. Its eggs were hedged by a peculiar divinity—a custom explainable even from a wish to preserve the heavenly songster. Very often sensible notions and intentions are to be found under the cover of popular superstitions. I remember what sanctity surrounded the house-swallow, as well as the stork, in the eyes of German children.

The Shetland friend also sent a spell-song and some strange stories about the ravens—Odin's holy birds, whose names, Hugin and Munin, signify Mind and Memory—and about a wonderful vivifying stone which the ravens bring from a "holy land." One of those raven stories seems to refer to Thor, the God of Thunder. Then there was a fragment about "Da Hellie Dam that cleds eraw (?) in blue." Sadly corrupted as this fragment is, it appears to point to the Teutonic Venus, Freia, or Hellia; not in her snow-white garment as Holda, but in her typical sky-blue dress as Perchta. There can be no doubt that "cleds eraw" means "clothes herself all" (er' a') in blue. Instead of "herself," the Shetlanders say "her"—similarly to what is done in German.

All these names—Freyja or Freia, Hellia, Holda, and Perchta—are only off-branchings from the original form of the Goddess. Perchta—or, in the present softer speech, Bertha—means the fiery one. Her name comes from the same root which means fire in German, in English, as

well as in Greek (πυϱ). A sky-blue dress, or, rather, a lightning-blue one—*blitzblau*, as the word is in German—Perchta, who kindles the fire of love in human hearts, still wears in village mummeries of Southern Germany. We have a great deal of such mummeries in our country, and even the wardrobe of a Goddess is not easily lost in folklore.

One of the Shetland rimes, similar to Scottish, English, and German ones, appeals to the spider, who is called Willie Buck, as a weather prophesying insect. This is quite correct, scientifically speaking, as those know who have watched the habits of spiders. In folklore there are often embodied good observations about physiology and the phenomena of Nature. Prehistoric races of huntsmen and herdsmen were much given to such studies. The weaving spider was sacred to Freia in her character as a guardian of domestic industry, who had much to do with the spindle and the loom; and Freia-Holda was also a weather-making deity. The later aversion to, and fear of, the spider among women, especially in Germany, may have arisen from a doctrinal inculcation of the Christian priesthood, who taught them to spurn the symbol of a Goddess whose worship it was found most difficult to root up.

I pass to what is by far the most remarkable spell-song which I have been able to get from Shetland. Hitherto only two introductory lines have been known. The remainder was thought to be irrecoverably lost. Dr. John Leyden, in his observations on "The Complaynt of Scotland," speaks of those two lines. Mr. Robert Chambers, in his "Popular Rhymes of Scotland," quotes them from him. Jacob Grimm sought, even from that scanty material, to draw a connection between the Arthurian cycle of legends and the tale of the Wild Huntsman, who is the later substitution of Wodan or Odin.

The two Scottish lines alluded to are these :—

Arthur Knycht he raid on nycht,
With gyltin spur and candil lycht.

Now, the spell-song sent to me, under the title of "An Incantation to Prevent Nightmare," runs thus, in Shetlandic speech :—

Arthur Knight
He rade a' night

Wi' open swird
An' candle light.
He sought da mare ;
He fan' da mare ;
He bund da mare
Wi' her ain hair,
An' made da mare
Ta swear :
'At she should never
Bide a' night
Whar ever she heard
O' Arthur Knight.

At first sight there is, in that spell-song, nothing of the nightmare in the present common meaning of the word. Expressions are used in it, for the exorcising of the nocturnal disturbers of sleep, which had originally a different connection. To say it at once : there is good ground to believe that this incantation contains, under a slight, or perhaps only apparent, British guise, a Norse Odinic myth about the Valkyrs, Allfather's messengers of death on the battlefield, who, in folklore, have gradually become night spectres in the horse or mare form. With Grimm, Simrock, and other eminent interpreters of mythology, I assume " Arthur Knight " to be, in this case, a later substitution for the Germanic God of Storms and Battles, who is a leader also of the nocturnal Ride of the Dead to Walhalla. In folklore he was changed into a stormy hunter with a ghostly retinue, careering, at night, through the clouds.

Perhaps " Arthur," in that nightmare song, may only be a later mispronounciation of the old Norse name Ottar, or Ottie (Otto, Otho), which, down to last century, was a frequent fore-name in the North Isles. In the Edda, Ottar appears as the darling or husband of Freyja who is but a differentiation of Frigg, the consort of Odin. The process of mythology shows a continual splitting up of divine figures into new forms. Hence also, no doubt, the assonance of the names of Ottar and Odin. Now, Freyja, as may be seen from the Eddic Song of Hyndla, was herself a Night-Rideress ; and from other sources we know that she is a leader of Valkyrs—that is, of humanised mare-forms.

The " mare " whom Arthur (in reality, Odin) seeks and finds, and then binds with her own hair, I interpret as one of those Battle-Virgins, or messengers of death, whose figure

was evolved from clouds in the shape of horses. The oath which the mare is made to swear reminds us of the oath or promise broken by the valkyr Brynhild, who brought about the death of a Gothic warrior king whom Odin had wished to spare. Wherefore she was entranced by Allfather, and surrounded with a fiery circle on a hill in Frankland, near the Rhine, until Sigurd—or Siegfried—re-awakened and freed her.

The scene of the whole Sigurd story, I may here incidentally state, takes place, in the Edda also, not in Scandinavia, but on the lower and upper Rhine. Northerners travelling in Germany had heard the great heroic tale, and brought it to their own country. In its pure heathen form the Nibelung story is, therefore, preserved in the Icelandic Scripture. Our own ancient sources were destroyed by fanatic monks. Though a grand epic, our Nibelungen-Lied is only a later Christianised version of the heathen Siegfried tale.

Remarkably enough, there is a fragment of the Völsunga Saga, in which we find Sigurd riding, with open sword, and golden spurs on his heels, over the blazing fire to woo Brynhild, whom the saga describes as a shield-maiden, a Valkyr ; that is, a mare-form. This open sword, and the golden spurs, occur again in the fragmentary Scottish lines, and partly in the now recovered Shetlandic " Incantation to prevent Nightmare." The proof of Arthur Knight having been put in the place of Sigurd, who himself is a heroic variation of Odin, is thus clear enough. As to the original Valkyr character of Night-Mares, or Night-Riders, it can be fully shown, both from Eddic passages and from German folklore. In some parts of Germany the nightmare is actually still called Wal-Riderske, Wal-Rideress (Death-Rideress), that is Valkyr.

A great many letters have for years reached me from Shetland about the Nuggle, or Njöggle, that mythic Water-Horse who in Scotland is called the Kelpie. The word " Kelpie " cannot be explained from Keltic speech. So Mr. Campbell, the Keltic scholar, who collected " Popular Tales of the West Highlands," gave it as his opinion in a letter to me. Kelpie is probably connected with " calf ; " in Danish " Kalv ; " in German, Kalb. Seals are also called sea-calves.

Mythic water-horses, water-bulls, or cows, are mentioned in the religious systems of many nations of old. They represent the creative power of water, from which, in many cosmogonic stories, the earth and its living beings were assumed to have arisen. In the first chapter of Genesis even we hear :—" And the spirit of God moved upon the waters." In Vedic, Persian, Babylonian, Greek Roman, Germanic creation tales we find a theory about a " wet beginning of things." This is a notion which in our days has been worked out scientifically ; for instance, by Häckel. There is frequent resemblance between the results of modern research and the seemingly most fantastic ideas of ancient mythologies.

Without doubt, the Shetlandic Nuggle, or Njöggle, belongs —as his very name proves—to that large circle of Neck, Nöcken, or Nix forms in which Teutonic mythology is so rich. The sea, the lakes, the streams, and the brooks were peopled with these moving figures. They are partly of a gruesome, partly of a charmful character, quite in accordance with the varying effect of water, which is by turns useful and friendly, attractive and healing, or tumultuous, treacherous and destructive. Thus, myth is often but a fanciful rendering of the phenomena of Nature.

In the Icelandic and Scandinavian sagas we come upon beautiful dapple-grey horses, called Nikur or Nennir, who, rising from the waves, sometimes appear on river-bank or sea-shore. I will not go here into the description of those four-footed spooks which otherwise truthful but highly imaginative people—trained up, as they are, in lingering mythic beliefs—positively profess to have seen. Be it enough to say that those Nikur or Njöggle stallions are, so to say, from the stable of the Scandinavian Water-God, who in this quality was called Odin Nikor. When he fell from his high estate, he became " Old Nick." Ancient deities are, as a rule, devilled by a New Faith.

Odin Nikor was a father of the Nixes, of the Mer-men and Mermaids. He himself was evidently worshipped of yore in horse shape. Let us remember that Neptune comes up from the deep with his horses. To this day, when the white foam-capped waves appear far out at sea, people in some parts of England call out :—" The horses are showing their manes." One of Odin's surnames was " Hroshársgrani,"

the Horse-hair-Bearded. Such an idea strikes us now as extraordinary. But are we to forget that Hindoo, and Egyptians, and highly cultivated Greeks, had deities with animal attributes, or in animal transfigurations—nay, that the Athenians worshipped sacred snakes down to the time of the Persian invasion ? These things are to be taken figuratively. They had a symbolical meaning, known to those who knew their inner significance, but more grossly believed in by the masses.

From Shetland I have had many Finn stories—tales about those sea monsters who were able to exchange their human shape with that of seals. Those stories by no means refer to people from Finland, who do not even call themselves Finns, but Suomalainen. They refer to the Norse race, to Vikings who were at home on land and on sea—even like seals. The seal, the sea-dog, the Finn : that was the Northman from over the sea. The male Finns are described as most daring boatmen, with powerful sweep of the oar. They pull across, in no time, between Shetland and Bergen, in Norway ; and they chase foreign vessels at sea. At the same time they are held to be versed in magic spells, in soothsaying, and in the healing art. When on shore, they take off their wrappage—that is, their armour ; and then they are and behave like real human beings. In a Shetlandic song, one of those Finns exclaims :—

I am a man upo' da land ;
I am a selkie i' da sea,
An' whin I'm far fra every strand,
My dwelling is in Shöol Skerry.

That is, Seal or Sea-dog Skerry. It is well known that the Vikings were fond of hiding in the skerries, or rocky islets, from whose bays and creeks (" viks ") they issued forth for their bold adventures. " Wick," by the by, meant a bay also on the German Baltic coast, in Pomerania.

The very human character of the Finns appears in a Shetland charm-song against the toothache. It has both alliteration and the end-rime. It begins with the words :—

A Finn came ow'r fa Norraway
Fir ta pit töth-ache away.

Perhaps, in this case, a medicine-man from the really Finnish race, as we call it now, may be meant. But the mass of the " sea-monsters " certainly meant the Scandinavian

Vikings. Among the older generation in Shetland, persons are still heard of, who boast of hailing from Finns, and they attribute to themselves a peculiar luckiness on account of that higher and nobler descent. Many Shetlanders were reported to have married Finn women who had been captured, when their "sealskin" was taken away from them. These women made good housewives, as the Norwegian and other Scandinavian ladies generally do. It was said that, without their sealskin, Finn women could not escape to their Northern home, for which they often had a longing. The "sealskin" means the boat by which they could have returned to Norway. But, like the Picts, or Pechts, these Finn people gradually became nearly a myth, or a supernatural kind of being.

In some parts of Shetland, the Finns were recently connected with Greenland. This notion may have arisen from the fact of Eskimo having occasionally been drifted with their canoes to the Northern Isles, when the "Finn" name would be applied to them. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that Norwegians, having first settled in Iceland, then went to Greenland, and from there discovered the American Continent. A "Finn" from Greenland could, therefore, again be a Northman.

Finn is an old Germanic name. In the pedigree of kingly, families of the North it occurs between the names of Thor Frealaf, and Woden, or Oden (Odin); for Teuton and Scandinavian princes, even common free folk, once bore these divine names. The Finn or Fenian race, of which so much is heard in Scottish and Irish poems and legends, clearly came over from Norway, from "Lochlann," the land of lakes. They were probably an even earlier wave of conquerors, or lansquenets, than the historically well-known invasion of Norwegians and Danes who held sway in Ireland from the ninth to the twelfth century.

These Finns, or Fianna, of Ireland are described, in ancient Irish lays, as golden or yellow haired, blue-eyed, white-skinned, red or fresh-faced, broad-shouldered, tall, most martial, musical, and also rather given to carousing habits with their drinking-horns. They were eminently fighters, and fond of the sea. In short, they had all the characteristics of the Norse or Teutonic stock.

A number of distinguished Danish, German, Scotch and Irish scholars have no doubt about the Norse origin of the Fianna. Many names in the Ossianic and Fenian poems, like Oscar, Karul (Karl), Erik, Armin, Arno, Rothmar, and so forth, are clearly Germanic. Even if these names were later insertions, it stands to reason that Irish bards, writing in Keltic, would not—in addition to the historical Norwegian and Danish conquest of their country—have given to the still earlier Fianna rule all the characteristics of the Teutonic race unless there had been good grounds for doing so in popular tradition.

From Shetland I have had numerous communications on matters connected with the sea. One of my correspondents wrote :—" ' The sea,' said an old woman, who was regarded as a good authority in our occult lore, ' is the greatest witch in all the world.' " This is unquestionably a remnant of an early view about the procreative power of the sea, the aboriginal or regenerative fluid of the world. " A vast number of our superstitious beliefs," the same friend wrote, " especially those that are, or rather were, connected with forecasts, luck, injuring neighbours by witchcraft, or spells to counteract such craft, have a direct connection with the sea—though sometimes also with fire."

I need not say that Water and Fire—in the sense of warmth and light—are the two great agencies of life in this world. Therefore we find them as agencies in mythology and in the witchcraft arising therefrom.

Many remarkable contributions have reached me from Shetland about the sacredness of certain fishes, in whose very names a remembrance of Divine worship seems to linger; for instance, the halibut or holy but. The unspeakable, unmentionable holiness of the sea, the religious awe in which it was held, is apparent from a curious habit prevailing in Shetland and among the seafaring class of Lowland Scots. This habit is, that, on board ship, other words must be used for many things—persons, animals, and occupations—than what is done on land. A periphrastic, hieratic 'anguage is adopted. To use the ordinary words brings ill-luck.

Thus the sea has to be called " holy toyt." A boat is spoken of as a "fair"—a word clearly connected with " ferry,"

the German *Fähre*, from "to fare," in German "*fahren*." Though the Shetlanders came from the Norse race, there is perhaps an admixture of what may be called a German-Gothic element among them; which probably accounts for the fact of many Shetland words having closer kinship with Gothic and later German that with Icelandic. The shipping and trade intercourse with Holland and Germany also partly accounts for it.

Instead of saying a "kirk" (church), the word "bell-house" has to be applied at sea. The minister is called "the man with the black quyte" (coat). To have a clergyman on board is altogether unlucky. A trace of this idea is also to be found in the Nibelungen-Lied. On the water, the Old Creed manifestly still rules. A cat is called on sea "footie," or "snistal," or "vanega." The word "snistal," I think, is traceable to an old English verb: to snie—to swim. Vanega seems to mean the one that goes on the water. Vana is a word for water, which we can trace in Aryan and even Ugrian speech from India to Germany, to Scandinavia, to Iceland, and to Shetland itself.

True, it may appear strange that an animal proverbially so shy of the water as the cat is, should nevertheless, by her sea-name, or in a mythological sense, be spoken of as a swimmer, a water-being, or one that walks on the sea. We can, however, account for it. First, the cat is the sacred animal of Freyja, a sea-god's daughter, and herself a Water Goddess, who is called "Vana-dis" (that is, Water Goddess). Secondly, there is the great story in the Edda about the cat which the God of Thunder was asked to lift, in the dwelling of the Giant, Utgard-Loki. This enormous cat, which Thor could only lift a very little, was—as the Giant afterwards confirmed—"not what it seemed to be, but the Midgard Serpent which encircles all lands;" in other words, the Ocean.

The grey or foam-speckled German Ocean, which often, cat-like, puts up its back in tumultuous waves, was figuratively spoken of as a gigantic cat. So, from two parallel lines in mythology, from the cat of the Vana-dis Freyja, and from the monstrous animal in the castle of those Giants who represent the enormous, untameable forces of Nature, we can explain this Shetlandic name of "Vanega."

Dr. Sullivan, the former President of Queen's College in Cork, traces the mythic meaning of the cats in all the Irish sea-legends to a northern growth, to Teutonic mythology, and more especially to Freyja's sacred animal. In Bavarian and Swabian folklore—he quite correctly adds—the Vana or Water Deities have sunk to "heathens" bewitched into cats. In those German tales, Freyja Vana-dis has become "Frau Wana;" and her spectral followers are called Katzen-Wanen, a kind of transmogrified, demonialised pussies.

In the early part of this century there was, among fisher-folk in Shetland, a most extraordinary bit of lingering belief in a great sea-monster inhabiting a far-away region. To the breathing of that colossal marine animal the tides were supposed to be due. That sea-serpent was said to take about six hours to draw in its breath, and six hours to let it out; which accounted for the rise and fall of the water. The friend who had heard that in his youth, when he was an unlettered fisher-boy, wrote to me:—"At that time I knew nothing of northern mythology, and know but little still. But after a peep into Mallet, etc., I was led to the conclusion that what I have referred to was simply some traditional idea of the Midgard Serpent which I had caught at the vanishing point."

But there is something more wonderful still. We hear from Pytheas, the Greek mathematician, astronomer, and traveller, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, of quite a similar idea as to the ebb and flow of the sea. Pytheas was the earliest known traveller to Britain. He made a voyage from Massilia (Marseilles) to the Channel, to the German Ocean, and the Baltic, up along the coast of Norway, and to islands in the North—to all evidence, Shetland and the Orkneys, perhaps also Iceland. He speaks, so far as we can gather from the fragments of his works, of the Ocean in the high North as a frozen sea, where the earth, the water, the air, and all things seem confused. He compares the whole mass of these elements to an enormous kind of sea lungs, through which, people said, an immense marine breath is drawn. Knowing better himself, he contests this theory, which seems to have become accepted even in Greece, and he explains ebb and high tide by the action of the moon.

Is it not extraordinary, however, that so strange a mythic idea as that about the immense sea-animal causing the tides,

should have been preserved in the North, from the days of Pytheas down to our time?

Thus we find in Teutonic mythology, as in the similar systems of other nations, a curious intermixture of lofty and beautiful, of terrible and grotesque, conceptions. It would be idle, no doubt, to look for great depth in all the shallows of these early attempts at fathoming the mystery of the Universe. But this much is clear, that if we are to wean men from crude, superstitious notions that haunt them, and yet to promote the enjoyment of fancies which serve as embellishing garlands for the stern realities of life, we cannot do better than spread a fuller scientific knowledge of that primitive circle of ideas in which those moved who moulded our very speech.

From an artistic point of view—as I have expressed it more fully before—the spread of such knowledge is also desirable. We feel delight in the conceptions of the Hellenic Olympos. We store in our museums the statues of Jupiter, Juno, Diana, and Venus. Painters, sculptors, and poets still go back to that old fountain of fancy. Why, then, should we not seek for similar delight in studying the figures of the Germanic Pantheon, and the rich folklore which has grown up around them? Why should that powerful Bible of the Norse religion, which contains such a wealth of striking and picturesque descriptions, not be as much perused as are the Iliad, the Odyssey, or the Æneid?

It is a subject as yet too much neglected by both poets and artists. Certainly, there are some powerful exceptions. A few Scandinavian sculptors have nobly and effectively represented the Gods of their forefathers. Wagner's "Ring of the Nibelungs," and William Morris's "Stories of Sigurd," and of the Niblungs and Völsungs, are also excellent cases in point. In the main, however, whilst the eternal classic figures, Madonnas, and threadbare subjects from Italy and Spain, never cease to be treated, the Germanic deities, in spite of the poetical halo which surrounds them, are generally left to wander about disembodied, waiting for the gifted hand that will mould them into form. Yet the artist who deals with this subject is assuredly not placed in a worse position than his Hellenic predecessors, who also had to make their selections from a number of floating mythological ideas, which

it was their merit to have wrought into a harmonious whole.

No doubt, there is some truth in Mannhardt's assertion, that the Teutonic divinities have not the perfect harmony and quiet plasticity of the Olympian ideals. Still, I should say that a closer inspection reveals the fact that this notion of quiet plasticity is rather founded on our thinking of the sculptures left to us from antiquity, than on the records of the life and doings of the dwellers in Olympos. On the other hand, can it be said that there is a lack of poetical conception in the figure of Wodan, the hoary ruler of the winds and clouds, who, clad in a flowing mantle, careers through the sky on a milk-white horse, from whose nostrils fire issues, and who is followed at night by a host of heroic warriors whom he leads into the golden, shield-adorned Walhalla?

Is there a want of artistic delineation in Freia, an Aphrodite and Hera combined, who changes darkness into light wherever she appears—the Goddess with the streaming golden locks and the siren voice, who hovers in her snow-white robe between heaven and earth, making flowers sprout along her path, and planting irresistible longings in the hearts of men? Do we not see in bold and well-marked outlines the figure of the red-bearded, steel-handed Thor, who thunders along the sky in his goat-drawn car, and who smites the Mountain Giants with his magic hammer? Are these dwellers in the Germanic Olympos mere spectres without distinct contour? And if their strength often verges upon wildness; if their charms are sometimes allied to cruel sorcery: are they not, even in their uncooth passions, the representatives of a race whose pulse throbbed with youthful freshness? Or need I allude to that fantastical throng of minor deities, of fairies, and wood-women, and elfin, and nixes, and cobolds, that have been evolved out of all the forces of Nature by the Teutonic mind, and before whose bustling crowd even Hellenic imagination pales?

Then, what a dramatic power the mythology of our forefathers has! The gods of classic antiquity have been compared—albeit, perhaps, with a degree of undue exaggeration—to so many statues ranged along a stately edifice; no idea of action, of tragic conflict, arising out of the whole. In the Germanic view of the Universe, on the other hand, all is action, struggle, dramatic contest—with a deep, dark back-

ground of inevitable Fate that controls alike Gods and men. The battle-spirit and the terrible earnestness of our forefathers reflect themselves in this creed. The religion which a race produces is generally an image of its character. "In his deities," Schiller says, "man portrays himself."

At the end of Time—the Norse race believed—Odin is to be devoured by the wolf, Fenrir; Thor to be destroyed by the Serpent's poison. The heavens and the earth stand in a lurid blaze; the abodes of Gods and heroes are doomed to destruction; and only after this terrible catastrophe shall have ended, will there be introduced a new and peaceful reign with eternal bliss. So, on the score of dramatic and pictorial interest, the creed of the Teutons has something to show.

In conclusion, I would say this in regard to Folklore, which often contains the residue of such early ideas. Anyone able to do so should try to collect, and carefully note down, whatever he or she may hear in the shape of tales and mythic notions from popular sources. Do not be afraid of what, at a first blush, may sometimes seem to be an undecipherable confusion of words and meanings. Often old rimes are still current in various versions, some of them quite corrupted, but the careful comparison of which has occasionally brought out the real sense, when it was found that these so-called nonsense verses were but sadly disfigured ruins of the once grand religious structure of our forebears.

On strange shores, in distant lands, a sea-shell is not seldom found overgrown with weeds, thick with slime, almost hidden in a tangled mass of things hanging about it. It is only when the dirt and dross are removed, that the noble shape, the beauty, the bright and dazzling colours of the shell strike the wondering eye. So it is frequently with stray bits of Folklore. I would therefore, urge all those who have an understanding for such matters, to devote close attention to these forlorn things, wherever they may find them. In this way we may all help, not only in pouring a flood of light on the dark world of superstition, and thus promoting human progress, but also in doing a service to science, and, last but not least, in rescuing from oblivion the fragments of what once was a powerful poetical creation—nay, even an early attempt at a philosophical speculation under the many-coloured garb of Nature-worship.

THE VIKINGS IN LAKELAND:

THEIR PLACE-NAMES, REMAINS, HISTORY.

BY W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.

PLACE-NAMES :—

1. Corrections of the 'tests'—*ham*, *ton*, *by*.
2. Value of early forms and dialect pronunciation.
3. Names, Norse in meaning,
4. And in grammatical form,
5. Show that the settlement must be dated earlier than hitherto supposed,
6. And prove the immigrants Irish-Norse.

REMAINS .—

7. Antiquarian evidence : dialect, customs, arts.
8. Archæological :
9. Of the Thingmount and Tynwalds.

HISTORY :—

10. The Danes in Deira and Cumbria.
11. The Norse in Lancashire and Cheshire.
12. The Irish-Norse in the Isle of Man.
13. Occasion of their emigration.
14. The colonists at the Commendation.
15. Invasions by Saxons.
16. Evidence of Domesday and Charters.

THE VIKINGS IN LAKELAND.

IT has long been held that the ancestors of the English in our north-western counties, and more especially in the Lake district, were Vikings, of Norse rather than Danish origin. This, though formerly denied, is now generally conceded to local antiquaries ; whose diligence in collecting evidence from dialects, survivals and remains has greatly strengthened the theory, since it was first stated in a somewhat tentative form by Mr. Robert Ferguson, M.P., F.S.A., forty years ago.

It is the object of this paper to offer, in brief notes, some additional suggestions from place-names, archæology, and history ; fixing the origin and date of the settlement, and the extent and fortunes of the colony.

PLACE-NAMES :

1.—In drawing the ethnographical map, it has been usually

assumed that names in *ham* are Saxon, in *ton* Anglian, and in *by* Danish. This is true when we find considerable groups, but it does not hold for isolated instances. There are many names ending with *ham* in Anglian districts; some in ancient Norway are practically parallel, for Thrándheimr, Unarheimr, Stafheimr, and Sœheimr* would become Thrandham, etc., in English; and Medalheimr,† in Iceland, is simply Middleham. Consequently an occasional Dearham or Brigham, Spunham or Waitham, do not prove the presence of Saxons in Cumberland and the Lake districts.

Ton, again, though not common as a place-name ending in Scandinavia, is found in Túnsberg and Sig-túnir: and *tún* in old Norse means just what it means in Lake district names: not 'town,' but the ground on which a group of farmbuildings stands. Where we get *-ington* we may assume an Anglian family settlement; and where (as in Low Furness) there is a group of *-tons* near *-ington* or *-ingham*, we have the tokens of Anglian population. But a casual *-ton* in a Norse context—like Kettleton in Galloway, Colton and Ulverston in Furness, etc.—may be regarded as a Norse settlement.

By is also common enough in Norway and Iceland (in the form of *bœr*) to be no proof of exclusively Danish settlement. Where we find a distinct group of *bys*, there we may assume Danish origin, but an odd Sowerby or Kirkby does not imply a Danish colony.

Local antiquarianism has to eliminate names that are not coeval with the original settlements. Some of these are modern, like Maryport; while some, like Parsonby and Oughterside, are very old, but not primitive Danish, Anglian or Norse foundations.

2.—It is important, also, not to despise the help of ancient forms and local pronunciation. Neither source of information is infallible; for if the mediæval sometimes misspelt a name that seemed to him uncouth, the modern native sometimes mispronounces a name of which he has forgotten the origin. The place now called LANGanby, and written Langwathby, was in mediæval times written Lang-Waltheof's-by. Country folk say Bow-ness (*Bow* to rhyme with *now*),

* Heimskringla, Harald, 40. † Heidarviga Saga.

and Torpenna, for the mediæval Bulness (*Ból-nes*) and Thorpen-how (*Thórfins-haugr*). But taking both the rustic pronunciation and the various thirteenth and twelfth century forms, when they are available, and correcting one by the other, we find in nearly every case that Lakeland names are practically identical with Icelandic names, or very closely analogous.

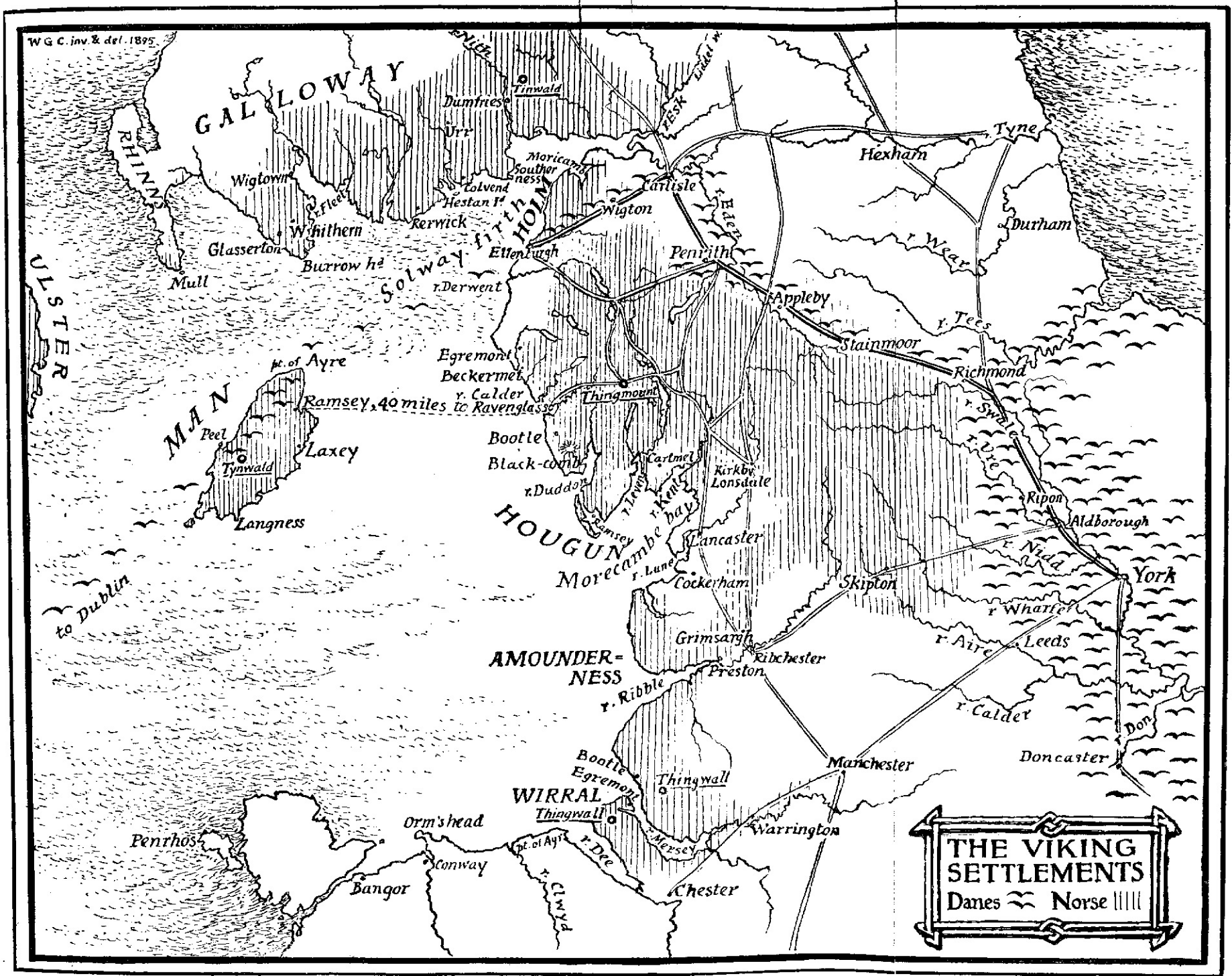
3.—Every tourist to the lakes knows, as "Norse test-names," *beck* and *bowse*, *fell* and *force*, *guard* and *gill*, *hause* and *holm*, *lathe* and *lund*, *nab* and *ness*, *raise* and *rake*, *scale* and *scree*, *tarn* and *thwaite*. But it is not perhaps so commonly known how neatly and completely the old form of our country names can be transliterated into Norse; how often the translation explains what are otherwise meaningless appellations.

What, for instance, does Blawith mean? or Claife, or Gascow, or Greenodd? Ickenthwaite, Greta, Latterbarrow, Satterthwaite, or Sunbrick? These have no meaning in English nor even in dialect; but when with the help of early mediæval forms we write them as old Norse, they become not only sense, but thoroughly good sense—appropriate descriptions of the places:—*Blá-vidr*, *Kleif*, *Gard-skógr*, *Græn-oddr*, *Grjót-á*, *Ikorna-thveit*, *Látra-bjarg*, *Sætra-thveit*, *Svina-brekka*.

4.—Not only the meaning, but also the grammar of the old Norse is preserved in these place-names. For example, Osmotherley used to be written Asmunderlawe, for *Asmundar-ljá*; Arnside (mediæval Arne-side) represents *Arna-sida*; but Rampside (Rammes-heved) correctly represents *Hramns-höfdi*. The early form of Broughton is Borch, for *Borg*; but we find the genitive case preserved in Borrowdale, mediæval Borcheredale, for *Borgar-dalr*—a name given to two valleys from the Roman forts in them.

There are, of course, a number of difficult and puzzling examples; but the percentage of such is trifling. In an area which can be mapped with precision we may say that the names as a whole are Norse, indicating Norse settlement and continuous habitation. This is no new theorem, and it has long been taken as proved. I think we may venture to add two corollaries as to the date of the settlement, and the origin of the settlers.

5.—The Lakeland word for "brook" is always "beck,"


W G C. inv. & del. 1895
GALLOWAY
RHINNS
ULSTER
MAN
HOLM
HOUGUN
AMOUNDERNESS
WIRRAL
Solway firth
Morecambe bay
to Dublin
Tinwald
Dumfries
Urr
Wigtown
Whithern
Glasserton
Burrow hd
Mull
Rerwick
Colvend
Hestan Id
Southerness
Moricambe
Wigton
Carlisle
Ellenburgh
Penrith
Appleby
Stainmoor
Richmond
Hexham
Tyne
Durham
r. Wear
r. Tees
r. Swale
r. Ure
Ripon
Aldborough
York
r. Nidd
r. Wharfe
r. Aire
Leeds
r. Calder
Don
Doncaster
Skipton
Lancaster
Cockerham
Grimsargh
Ribchester
Preston
r. Ribble
Manchester
Warrington
Chester
r. Mersey
r. Dee
r. Clwyd
pt. of Ayr
Orm's head
Conway
Bangor
Penrhos
Egremont
Beckermet
r. Calder
to Ravenglass
Thingmount
Bootle
Black-comb
r. Duddon
Cartmel
Kirkby Lonsdale
r. Leven
r. Kent
Ramsey
Thingwall
Bootle
Egremont
Ramsey, 40 miles
pt. of Ayre
Peel
Tynwald
Laxey
Langness
r. Derwent
r. Esk
Liddel w.
r. Eden
THE VIKING SETTLEMENTS
Danes
Norse

never "burn," as in Anglian districts; rarely "leck" for the *lækr* of tenth century Icelandic place-names. This seems to show that our settlers belonged to an earlier generation than those who fixed the names of Iceland, for they used the old word *bekkr*, which dropped out of currency after the ninth century.* In other words, they were men whose fathers had left Norway with Thorgisl and Olaf the White, not Norwegians of Hakon the Good's time or later, in touch with the general progress and development of the North.

Our dialect, though not our place-names, gives also "brant" for *brattr*; on the other hand old place-names have "breck" and "brick" for *brekka* (not "brink"), and "back" seems to stand for *bakka*, instead of "bank," *e.g.*, Sunbrick and Backbarrow. Whether it is possible that Thorgisl's companions said *brantr*, or whether our word regained its *n* under English influence, which certainly modified the settlers' Norse into the Dalesmen's dialect—this must be left for the judgment of scholars.

6.—We also learn from the place-names that our Vikings, like the Icelanders, but more distinctly than they, were Irish-Norse. There are several Gaelic words so firmly rooted in compounds or contexts of Norse form, that they must be regarded as loan-words from the Gaels, with whom these 'Galls' combined to form the tribe of Gallgaels. These words are chiefly names of things which must have been unfamiliar to the Norse on their first arrival in these islands: as *boireand*, 'ruins' (appearing as borran, burn, barn), applied to Roman remains (Borrans ring, the Ambleside camp) or British cairns (Barnscar, Burn-moor, etc.); *bothar* (*bohev*, in Manx *bayr*), 'road,' in Bare, Barbon (Domesday, Berebrune): or hardened (as in Leinster, to *batter* and *botter*) in Butterilket, Butterliphowe, etc.; *kil*, 'chapel' in Killerwick (Kilverdiswic, *temp.* Richard I, and Chil-uestre-uic, Domesday); *korki*, 'oats,' in Corby (Korkeby); *peel*, 'fort,' and *parak*, 'a fenced field other than a *tún*,' and other such words in common use, show a strong Gaelic infusion in the Lakeland Vikings.

* Preserved however in Icelandic poetry, Mr. Magnússon says, down to the seventeenth century; adding, "A settler from Halogaland in Norway, Olaf, son of Karl in Biarkey (Birchisle), set up a home in Iceland which he called *Kvia-bekkr* (sheep) pen-beck."

Remains.

In drawing our map, we are not left entirely to the guidance of the place-names. We have some help also from antiquarian and archæological evidence.

7.—The dialect, as many antiquaries have shown, is full of Norse words. Customs, such as the arvel feast, and arvel-bread; the Shepherds' Parliament at the Steading Stone on Thirlmere; the use and name of the 'lug-mark' for sheep, and many similar farming traditions; the folk-lore of the Rowan-tree, etc., may be passed lightly over, as this part of the subject has been treated by others, especially by the Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver, in various papers. The arts of the Vikings seem to have survived in wood-carving, in which



NORSE SURVIVAL IN FURNESS.
(KIST-PANEL, CUNSEY, 1692.)
(Height, 10 inches; breadth, 7 inches).

Norse "worm-twist" panels are frequent, and the knitting-sheaths described by Chancellor Ferguson* as closely

* Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. and Arch. Soc. for 1882.

resembling traditional (Norse) types in the Orkneys and Shetlands. The twisted ironwork of the country smiths differs hardly at all from finds of the Viking age.

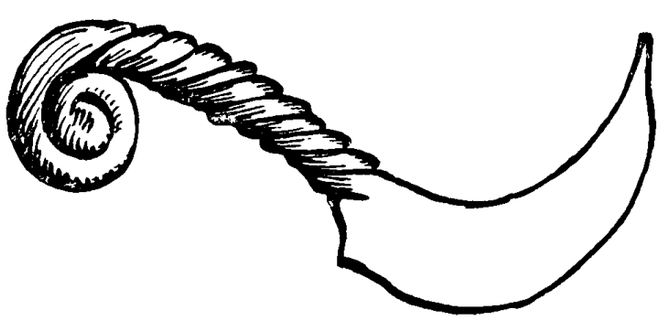
The Norse wooden house has naturally disappeared, and on its site subsequent generations have built their own



WESTMORLAND RUSHLIGHT-HOLDER (length, 4 inches).

homestead. But in this it is perhaps not merely fanciful to trace survivals of characteristic features. The old north-country farm-buildings grouped round a courtyard; the 'fire-house,' as the Dalesmen call it, translating *eldhús*, with stone hearth and peat fire, and mutton hanging from the beams to smoke for winter; the long table and bench against the wall; the porch with its high threshold and oaken door studded with 'dead nails'; the outside stair and pent-house or gallery, and loft bedrooms, with little unglazed windows under the eaves—all these recall the descriptions of the Sagas, though not in themselves a convincing kind of evidence.

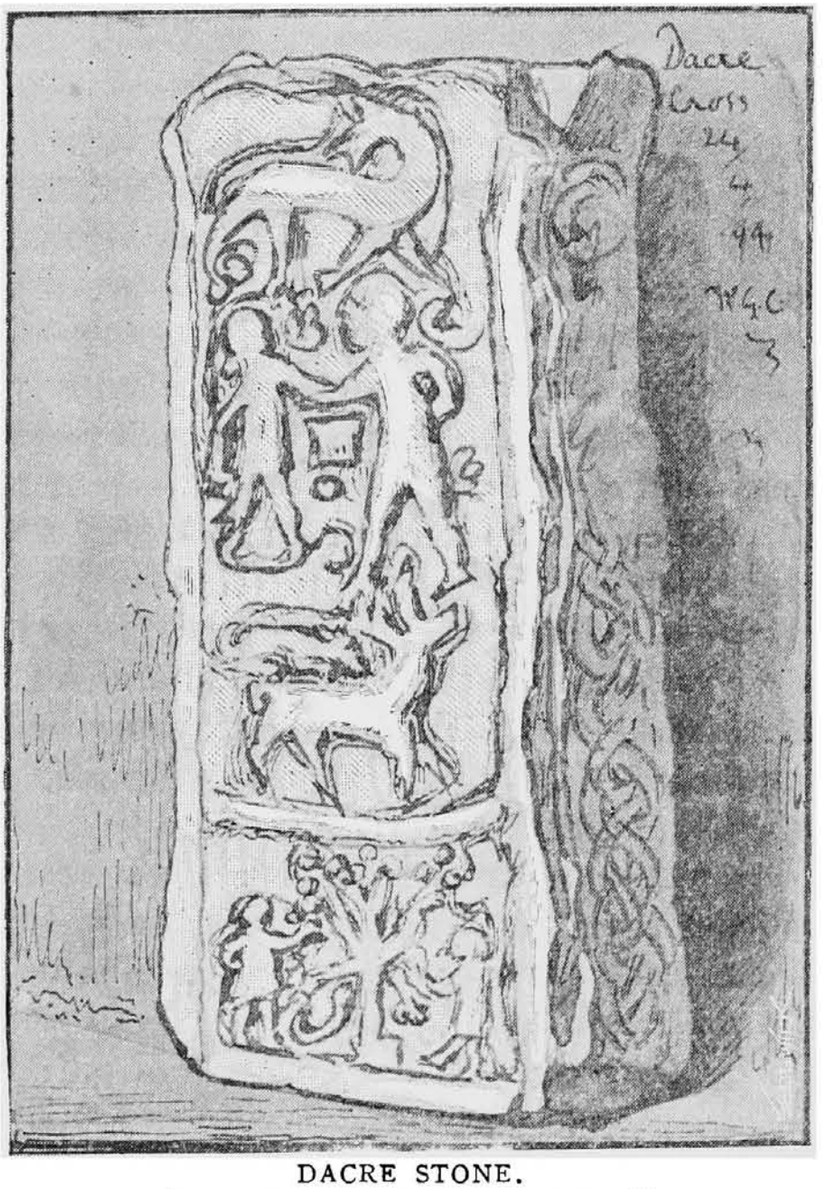
8.—Of archæological remains, there are at present fewer than in other Viking homes. It seems likely that the settlers were Christianized before they had greatly multiplied, and that once Christianized, the burial-hoard went out of fashion. There are, however, many tumuli yet unexamined, like the



VIKING KNIFE (length, 4 inches).

Ellabarrow at Pennington, where, tradition says, Lord Ella lies with his golden sword. In 1789 a tumulus was opened at Aspatria, and a kist of sculptured stones was found. The carving on the stones was referred by Mr. James Fergusson

(in "Rude Stone Monuments") to the Viking age. Chancellor Fergusson (Trans. C. and W. Ant. and Arch. Soc., xiii., p. 397) thinks that the sword and dagger, gold fibula and other fragments found with the gigantic skeleton "probably mark the interment as a result of the settlement of Cumberland by the Northmen."



DACRE STONE.
(ANGLIAN. TENTH CENTURY?)
(Height, 38 inches; breadth at foot, 14 inches).

This, however, is in a district which I should incline to map as Anglian or Danish. The crosses, of which so many fragments have been recovered by the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., member of this Club, are in Anglian neighbourhoods, and, so far as they can be dated, seem rather to be Anglian than Norse.

In a distinctly Norse district, at the foot of Esthwaite water, were found a number of felt hoods, buried in peat-moss. One of these is in the possession of Mr. H. Swainson Cowper, F.S.A., and resembles, in all but the fringe, the

well-known Orkney Viking hood figured in Anderson's "Scotland in Pagan Times." ("Iron Age," p. 103.)

9.—Some have seen in the so-called 'Druid circles' the doom-rings of the Northmen; but, so far as they have been explored, they have yielded only British remains. The place-names near them do not point to their use by the Vikings: 'lund' and 'legbarrow,' and '-ergh' are not found in the immediate neighbourhood of circles; although this negative evidence from place-names is not in itself conclusive: for, curiously enough, there is no tradition attaching to the most remarkable monument of the Viking age which Lakeland possesses—a monument which was unknown to antiquaries until it was made the subject of a paper, quite recently, by Mr. H. S. Cowper,* whose attention had been called to it by a hint of the late Dr. A. Craig Gibson, of Coniston.

This is a terraced mound, like the Manx Tynwald and the Thingmote formerly existing at Dublin. It stands in a central position, at the junction of three Roman roads, and a fourth probable route, making it accessible from all parts of the district; and it is surrounded by the proper complement of flat fields, with a convenient site for the "hof"—as complete as the most rigorous of law speakers would demand. This thingmount in Little Langdale may be regarded as the Lakeland Tynwald. The northern colony has left the name Tinwald in Dumfriesshire, and the southern has left two Thingwalls by the Mersey. Of minor lögbergs and lunds and hörgs there are so many that it might almost be possible to reconstruct the map of Norse Lakeland with all its divisions and godords complete. It will be enough to shade it broadly to represent the settlements of different races; and in the light of this consensus of testimony we can hardly doubt the fact of Norse occupation. We only have to ask from history the explanation of our ethnological chart.

History.

10.—At the end of the 8th century the Anglian power had passed its meridian. Danish pirates had begun to attack it in the rear, calling it back from its work of colonization along the Roman roads of Cumberland and Lancashire, to defend its old home in Northumbria. The Danes came in at Humber and Tees and spread up to York, making all the

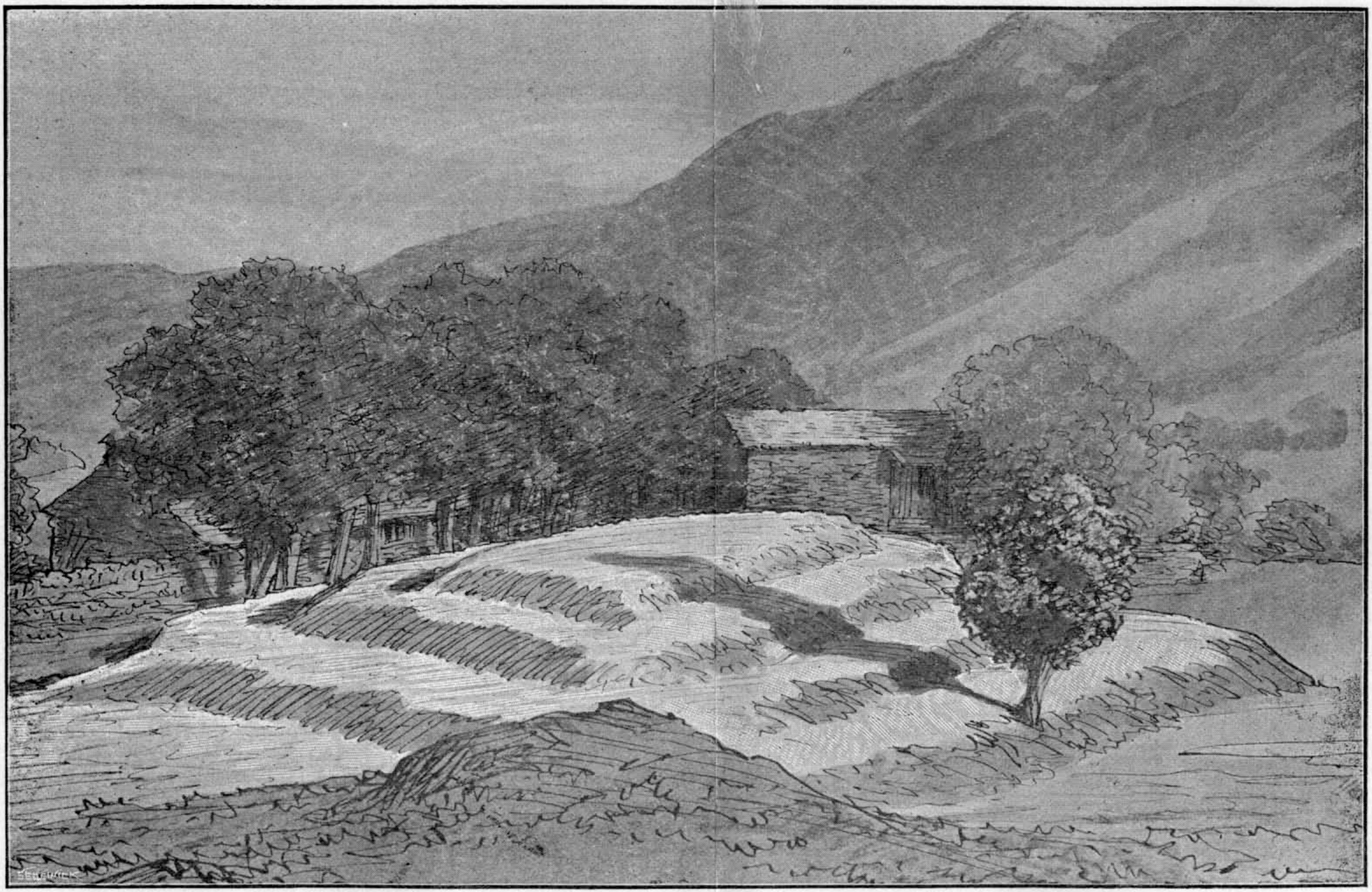
* Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. and Arch. Soc. for 1890.

East Riding Danish land. Taking York in 867 (Symeon of Durham, "Hist. Reg."), they went along the road to Carlisle, leaving settlements marked with the ending *by* in a close group to Appleby and Kirkby Thore and Sowerby; and then, for reasons which we can only guess, avoiding the direct high road to Carlisle, but following the river Eden, they reached Carlisle 876, destroyed it utterly, but settled in its neighbourhood. Thence they spread along the great road to Maryport. The use of these groups of settlements becomes clear when we see how valuable that line of country was for strategical purposes.

About 894 Sitric the Elder,* having established himself on his father's throne at Dublin, attacked Northumbria, to recover his rights in York, where his father Ivar had been king. His son Guthferth held both towns, and died at York in 896.† Thenceforward, until the middle of the tenth century, the Danes were constantly travelling between their two capitals. Their most direct route would have been by Chester and Manchester, but this would have led them into hostile Mercia, and every journey would have been a battle. To have gone by Preston and the Ribble to Aldborough would have been possible, but, as we shall see, there was probably by this time (the beginning of the 10th century) a hostile Norse colony in that neighbourhood. Their best road was, therefore, by Man to Ellenborough (Maryport), the old Roman harbour, and through Cumbria over Stainmoor. That this was a common route we learn from several hints, such as the death of Eric, met and killed on Stainmoor in an attempt to recover York (Wendover, 950).

Having secured this line they seem to have taken no interest in the surrounding districts. Some "bys" indicate that they occasionally used the alternative road via Keswick and Penrith, but speaking in general terms we may say that the Danes avoided the hill country of the Lakes, Westmorland and Craven, just as the Anglians had heretofore avoided it. And until the Norse came and settled it, the only inhabitants must have been wild Welsh, the survivors of the old kingdoms of Cumbria, Westmaria, and in the south of Craven, Elmet. And though there is mention—perhaps apocryphal‡—of a

* 894, Ethelwerd; see also 893, "Ulst. Ann." † 896, Ethelwerd; 894, Symeon.
‡ In the story of Eadgar's boat crew on the Dee. It seems apocryphal because other names in the context are apparently anachronisms and forgeries.



THINGMOUNT AT FELLFOOT, LITTLE LANGDALE.

king of Westmorland in the latter half of the tenth century, these Welsh, cut off from the great centres of their race in Strathclyde and Wales, can have been no more than a decaying remnant of helpless hill-folk.

11.—Meanwhile, as everyone knows, other Vikings, Norsemen, had settled on the shores of the Irish Sea from the middle of the ninth century onwards. Under Olaf the White (852—870)* the Norse (Lochlann, Finnghoill) held Dublin; but after his death, for a short time, Ivar the Dane, and then again after the rule of Cearbhall, Sitric Ivarson in 885, with their Dubhghoill, or "New Danes," as they were sometimes called, dominated the Dublin Norse.

Some of these Norse (Lochlann), weakened by the famine of 895,† emigrated to Iceland. The remnant were expelled in 897 by Cearbhall of Leinster. They crossed the sea under Hingamund (Agmund), and after some years of fighting in Wales, they begged Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, for a home to settle quietly, "for they were weary of war." So in 900 she settled them on lands said to be "near Chester," where Hasting had just been ravaging.

This, I think, dates the Norse colony shown by place-names, and by landowners' names in Domesday, nearly 200 years afterwards, in the neighbourhood of the Mersey. It is possible that they extended northward along the Lancashire coast and that Amounderness (Agemundrenesse of Domesday) got its name from Agmund their leader. The account of lands given in 705 to Ripon at "Hasmundernesse" may use the name retrospectively, for it is a Scandinavian word with the regular Norse genitive inflexion. But in any case there is no indication that these settlers colonised Lakeland. They had two thingwalls near the Mersey. They joined the revolt of 911 (A. S. Chron.), and submitted with the rest of the south-west to Eadward in 922—"All the people of the land of Mercia who before were subject to Æthelflæd submitted to him, and the kings of the north Welsh . . . and all the people who were settled in Mercia, as well Danish as English, submitted to him" (A. S. Chron.). But the incident shows how colonization was proceeding on this coast.

* *i.e.*, he appears first in 852, and disappears after 870, in the "Ulster Annals."

† Caused by "locusts," or some vermin "which fell from heaven." (Welsh and Irish annals quoted in Haliday's "Scandinavian Dublin," p. 49).

12.—We look more naturally to the Isle of Man for the source of our Lakeland immigrants, as Mr. Robert Ferguson has suggested.* He, however, dates their arrival 945—1000; I think the reasons already given oblige us to set the clock back. We have to find the occasion when Irish Norse of the earlier swarm, akin to the Dublin and Manx Vikings of Olaf the White, settled in Cumberland and Westmorland.

Before the Viking age, the Isle of Man was subject to Ulster. In 852 it was harried by the Norse of Olaf the White, and thereafter, until 913, it seems to have been in the hands of the Finnghoil—*i.e.*, of the Dublin Norse, and then the Ulster Norse under Baridh (Bardi) and his sons. Baridh, a Lochlann, married an Irish princess in 873,† and was killed in 878‡; his son, named after her father Uathmharan (which may perhaps be rendered by Ottar, Othere, as Cearbhall=Kiarval, and Muirgheal=Myrgiol), seems to have been the father of another§ Baridh who was killed off Man in 913 by Ragnald O'Ivar the Dane.‖ Some few remnants of his people may have gone to Cumberland; but as his army was almost entirely destroyed, this does not account for the main settlement. We learn, however, that Man had long been and was still Irish Norse, though there had been a moment when the Viking colony intentionally and effectively emigrated *en masse*, in the same manner and almost at the same time as the people of Agmund.

13.—Heimskringla (Harald, xxii.) says:—"Harald the King speered to wit how Vikings harried the mainland—they who a-winter were beyond the western sea. . . Then was it on a summer that Harald the King sailed with his host west over sea. He came first by Shetland and slew there all Vikings then who fled not from under him. Thence sailed Harald the King south to the Orkneys and cleared them all of Vikings. After that fared he all in the South Isles and harried there; he slew there many Vikings who ruled over hosts erewhile. He fought there many battles, and had always victory. Then harried he in Scotland, and battles there he

* "The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland," p. 11.

† See Haliday's "Scandinavian Dublin," p. 85.

‡ 880, Barreth, the great tyrant of the north, killed ("Ulster Ann.," Johnstone); 878, Barred, a fierce champion of the Northmen, killed ("Ann. Four Masters").

§ This is Haliday's suggestion, p. 85. The younger Baridh could hardly have been more than 20 at his death.

‖ "Ulster Annals" (Johnstone).

fought. But when he came west to Man, there had they already speered what harrying he had garred before there in the land. Then fled all folk into Scotland, and the island was unpeopled of men: all goods that might be were shifted and flitted away. So when Harald's folk went a-land there took they no booty."

The latest date for this attack on Man is 895.* We see how King Harald was sweeping the seas from the north-west and north, driving all before him. No fugitives could escape in the direction of Galloway; east and south they could sail and be safe. Snorri Sturluson, writing 300 years later, still uses the old Norwegian phrase "west to Man;" and he still uses the old political geography, I think, in calling the coast of Cumberland and North Lancashire by the name of Scotland. This was once strictly correct. Cumberland was Scotland until William Rufus expelled Dolfin from Carlisle. The shore of Morecambe Bay was, in 895 and thereabouts, no-man's land—beyond the bounds of Mercia, neglected by Danish Deira, and held only by a few surviving Anglians and Welsh.

I take it, therefore, that Snorri's account is meant to imply that the Ulster Norse in Man crossed, bag and baggage, to the Cumberland coast, and settled up the firths to begin with, and among the fells as time went on. They could have found no better refuge, whether they wanted it as a hiding-place or as a home. They must have known the seaboard at least; it is visible from Man, and it is possible that already some of their number had settled there. Through the channels of Solway and Morecambe Sands, Harald's great ships could not follow them, and he turned back foiled of his vengeance. After Man, we read no more of his victories. But here we have the cause and circumstances of our colony.

14.—We are not left without further indications of the presence of the Irish Norse in this district early in the tenth century; about a generation after the flight from Man. In 924 all the north submitted—as all the west had submitted two years before—to Eadward. "Then chose him to father and to lord the Scots' king and all the Scots people, and Regnald, and Eadulf's son, and all those who dwell in Northumbria as well English as Danes, *and Northmen and others*, and eke the

* This is the old chronology of Johnstone. Munch put it c. 870, and Hildebrand c. 885. Mr. Magnússon informs me he considers the latest date possible.

Strathclyde Welshmen's king, and all the Strathclyde Welsh" (A. S. Chron., 924; Florence of Worcester, 921).

The chronicler seems to be anxious to enumerate all the parties to the treaty, as in the case of the previous commendation of the west. He begins in the north-east with Constantine and his Scots, coming down the east coast to Ragnald O'Ivar, "dux Galwalensium,"* and his Galloway Vikings, then harrying in Northumbria; next naming the Bamborough Anglians, next the Danes in Deira under Sitric. Then crossing the country he notices "Northmen and others," Gallgael, Irish Norse, on the west coast, and completes the circle with Strathclyde.

These "Northmen and others," cannot be the Orkney and South Island Vikings, who were quite out of the range of Saxon politics. Agmund and his people had been pacified two years before; Ragnald and his Galloway men are separately mentioned. No other Northmen existed in the sphere included in this treaty, unless they were the Lakeland settlers, whose colony was now a generation old, and already beginning to grow into an important factor in the politics of the day.

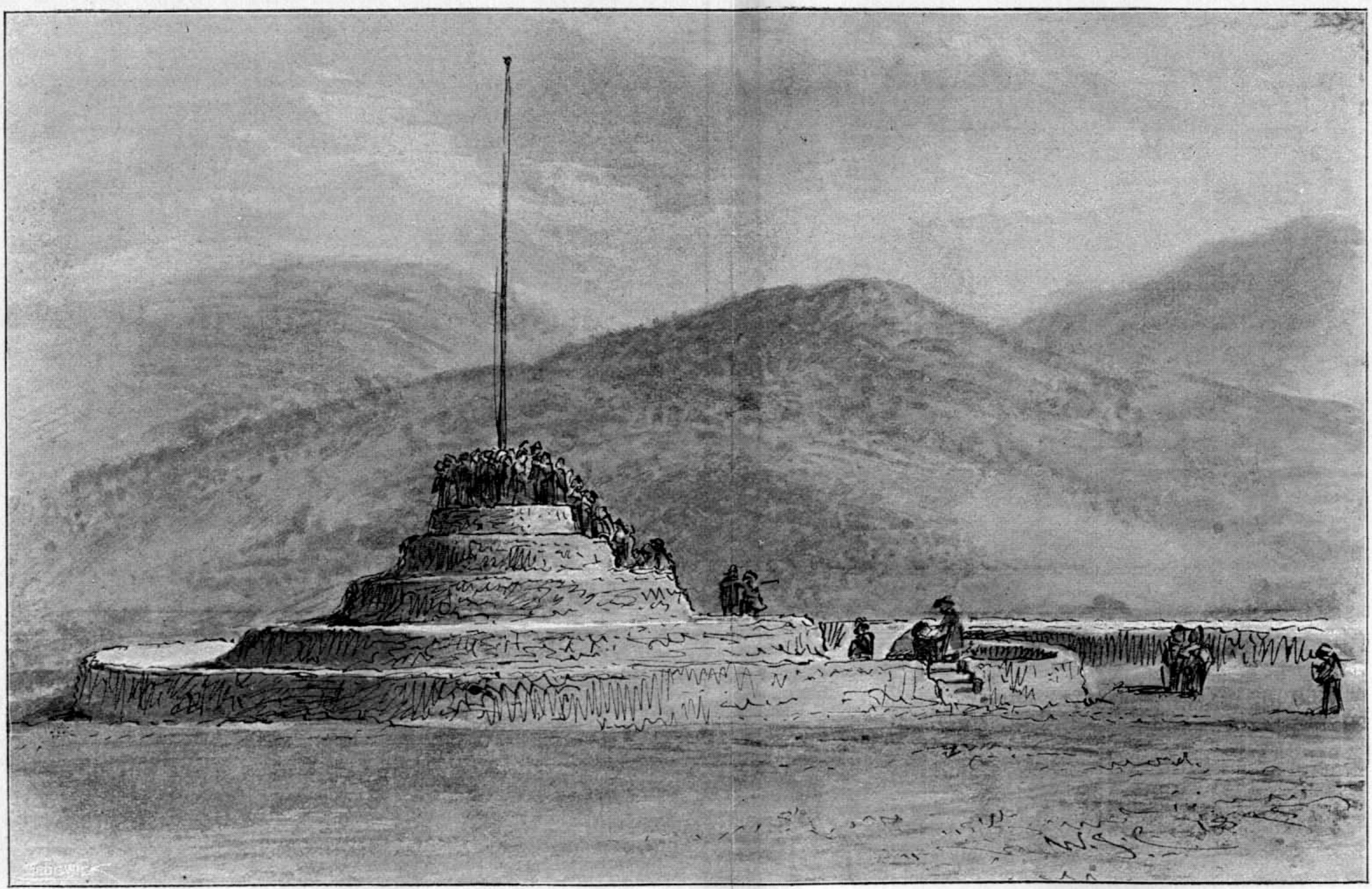
Understanding this, we get the key to several events which followed, otherwise very insufficiently explained.

15.—Twenty years later, 945, Eadmund ravaged Strathclyde and Cumberland—not to possess himself of the country, which he handed over to the Scottish King Malcolm, but in pursuance of his policy to keep down the Vikings. If our Norse colony were then growing and extending inland, as we see from the place-names it did, we get a reason for Eadmund's presence in the middle of the Cumberland fells; a much stronger reason than can be supplied by any quarrel with the feeble Celts of the old race.

Twenty years later, 966, Thored ravaged Westmorland. It is Mr. Freeman's view that he did so as Eadgar's lieutenant, under English orders,† but the Welsh of Westmorland were then of the least dangerous kind—a handful of miserable natives who lurked in the crannies of the hills; their king, Juchill or Inkill, is only named in the half-mythical account of Eadgar's boat crew on the Dee; they were the Celtic fringe,

* See Skene, "Celt. Scot.," i., p. 373, and Agnew, "Hereditary Sheriffs o Galloway," i., p. 31.

† "Norman Conquest," i., p. 65.



THE MANX TYNWALD.

fast wearing away, of the diminishing kingdom of Cumbria. On the other hand, the place-names show that all their land was being taken up by the Norse, who during the last half-century must have been spreading into the dales, and adding thwaite to thwaite, up the Kent and Lune, and down the Swale and Wharfe ; filling the heart of the country with a vigorous and dangerous race ; and seeming, to the ministers of the Saxon kings, a standing menace to the peace of England.

Henry of Huntingdon tells us of Æthelred's invasion, in 1000, of Cumberland, " which was at that time the stronghold of the Danes ; and he vanquished them in a great battle, and laid waste and pillaged almost all Cumberland." Whether Henry uses the word " Danes " in the usual loose way, or whether he means especially the Danish " bys " of Edenside and North Cumberland, he tells us plainly enough the secret of Saxon policy with regard to this borderland.

16.—Punitive expeditions, however, do not result in extermination. In spite of repeated attacks, we have the strongest evidence that the Norse colony survived : not only in the place-names, but in the distinctly Norse or Gallgael landholders who are recorded in Domesday Book.

In the Lancashire colony, where Agmund's Viking settlements were nearly two centuries old, and only fringed a thickly inhabited Anglian district, which might easily have absorbed them, we find Osmund (Asmund) in Warrington, Gamel in Salford, Chetel (Ketil) in Halsall, Steinulf in Holland, Bernulf (Biörnúlfr) and Stainulf in Toxteth (Stock-stead)—and Dot, which must be the French scribe's phonetic attempt at Thord, in Huyton.

In South Lancashire, as was natural, the fusion of Norse and English had begun. In North Lancashire and in the area of our central colony, so far as it comes into the survey, with the exception of Earl Tosti, all the old landholders are Norse or Gallgael. In Hougun (the district round about Furness) there are Ernulf (Örnulfr), Turulf (Thorolfr), and two Gallgael, Gilemichel and Duvan (like Dufan in Landnámabók, the Gaelic Dubhan). In Lonsdale are Torfin (Thorfinnr) and Chetel (Ketil). In Craven, two Ulfs, Orm, Cliber (Klyppr, whose namesake Klyppr Ketilsson is mentioned in Islendinga Saga), Machel (Maelchael, a

Gaelic name grotesquely Latinized into 'malus catulus'), Ghilemichel, Fech (Ofeigr), Burun (Björn), Archil (Arnkell), Carl, and one great holder Torfin, Dolfin's son, Gospatric's son, Arkyl's son. This last was expelled to make way for a Norman; but most of the others were undisturbed. We gather this from the frequency of Norse names in the charters of the next century: such as Arnketil, Asketil, Dolfin, Frostolf, Gamel, Hamund, Havard, Ketel, Malchael, Lyulf (not 'Le Ulf,' which is an invention of antiquaries, but Ljótulfr), Orm, Ranulf, Ravenkell, Siward (Sigurd), Swein, Thorphin and Whelp. Here, I think, we get the explanation of those holdings of the north country 'statesmen' traditionally dated from before the Conquest, and enjoyed on a tenure which puzzled the lawyers, and forced them to invent "border service,"* as an excuse for the allodial independence of the Dalesmen.

And so we trace the Northmen in Lakeland, and round about, for three hundred years from their arrival. That they have left no account of themselves in Sagas is not to be wondered at—no more did the Irish and Galloway Vikings; for the Saga was the late growth of Icelandic culture. That they were not more explicitly described by English chroniclers is no marvel, for the ground they occupied was not then English soil. Gradually, during the middle ages, they forgot their alien and heathen origin, of which, like the Normans, they were careless or ashamed, in the presence of the older civilisation into which they became incorporated.

* Mr. G. Gatey, "How Customary Tenure was established in Westmorland" (Trans. Cumb. and West. Assoc., No. XI. pp. 1-11.)

NOTE.—In the Map of Viking Settlements the roads roughly represent the direction of the old Roman roads, still in use in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Danes' route is marked with thicker lines.

The Manx Tynwald is circular. Its dimensions are 256 feet round at the base; 12 feet in total height; the steps each about 3 feet high; the lowest 8 feet broad, the next 6 feet, the third 4 feet, and the summit 6 feet across.

The Fellfoot Thingmount (seen in the sketch from the north-west) is oblong. Its summit is about 70 by 20 feet; each step is about 3 feet high and 14 feet broad. Total height on south and east sides about 12 feet.

A RAMBLE IN ICELAND.

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A series of delightful journeys which it had been my pleasant experience to make with some old and valued friends, for many consecutive years, to various parts of the Old and New World, led to the events related in the following account.

A friendship of now nearly fifty years, from its initiation at Alma Mater, was no slight bond in uniting tastes, interests, pursuits, and higher feelings than those resulting from any ordinary matters of interest. My friends had not then travelled much, and as Europe was well known to me, I was able, when certain localities were reached, to plan excursiosn, and to seize opportunities which a favourable moment, or our presence in this or that vicinity, permitted. Our journeys had an appetizing effect, and instead of satisfying produced a desire for longer wanderings, and a more extended insight into the wonders and beauties of nature. With sufficient difference of pursuit to avoid sameness, there were many points in common in our tastes, so that we easily adapted ourselves to each other's plans. To me this had a doubly agreeable effect, as for many years it enabled me to re-inspect places and matters of interest with which previous acquaintance had left a desire for further knowledge, and as my earlier visits had been often made alone, the addition of agreeable companions, and the pleasure of being able to act cicerone, now made the whole more enjoyable.

But I was startled out of all this self-complacency one day by a proposition to visit a place I had never had within the range of my even intended expeditions. My old Cambridge friend was a professor of geology, and the wider the field of his research became, the wider he wanted to extend it. So a journey to the North Cape was determined on. As our other companion was his wife, whose health was much

benefited by sea-voyages, it became a custom with us, when the usual tourists' routes and the objects of more general interest had been visited, either to part and meet again at Christmas in each other's homes to recall our adventures; or make arrangements to meet later on in the year at some well-known place, and again take up our journey, after I had done some rough by-ways a little too much for the lady's strength; or sometimes, where there was a risk, taking it myself without allowing either of my friends to share the danger.

For example, on one occasion we had another geological professor with us, and a rather warm dispute arose between the two as to whether serpentine was to be found on the Matterhorn. It seemed likely to end as it had begun, in mere words. So I started off before daylight and made a partial ascent alone. I felt sure that no specimen would be found on the route of ascent tourists' usually took, or serpentine would have been, ere that a known fact whereas the supposition of its existence was only arrived at from certain suggestive features. I had climbed till midday, when, weary and hungry, I sat down to dispatch a meal of biscuits, the only refreshment I had taken with me.

The intense grandeur of the severe surroundings, in a part of the mountain never visited by those usually making the ascent, repaid me for what I had already set down as a fruitless expedition, when, to my surprise, I caught sight, lying near me, of a fine specimen of what I was seeking. Instantly hunger was forgotten, and in my satisfaction I arrayed myself all over with edelweiss. Then I made the descent, and arrived in time for a late supper at Zermatt. On another occasion, in Norway, when we arrived at a place which seemed to me to have some historical associations, from the result of enquiries I had made, I heard of some supposed archæological remains far up in the region of distant mountain glaciers, to be reached only by a difficult path of many hours' ascent; so I left my friends at midnight, and started off with a guide to the heights. Again successful, I, on my return; found my friend sketching, his wife deep in the mysteries of Norwegian cookery, and the horses very thankful for a day's rest.

I am not going to tell you about the North Cape, but this

preamble is simply to give you an insight into the conditions under which I visited Iceland, for our expedition to the North Cape having been most successful, my friends' appetites grew by what they fed on, and the next journey was fixed to be to Iceland.

Arrangements were accordingly made for comfortable berths, with Mr. Slimon, of Leith, in whose hands the whole traffic between North Britain and Iceland seemed to be, and we started from Granton in his comfortable steamer *Camoëns*, arriving at Reykjavik after a singularly impressive voyage. As we went northward we noted the increase of length in each day as we had done in our previous journeys in the northern seas, and the wide difference between the rugged rock-bound coast of Norway, and the snow-covered and softened outlines of the Icelandic Jökulls. The atmospheric changes were also unusually productive of effects ; and the whole of the scenes presented such new features in our experience as made the voyage full of unexpected charms and novelties.

Much has been written and said on clouds assuming various shapes and conforming their outlines to those of mountains near them. The mountains are colder than the wind-borne humidity, and colder also in proportion to their bulk ; hence where the largest mass of rock is, there the largest of the cumuli will form. Whether it was that we were highly favoured, or whether our inexperience of the island made a wonder to us of what was a usual effect, I cannot say, but the configuration of the cumuli was so grandly picturesque that it seemed to us that all the old Scandinavian gods were assembled to watch the new comers on their route to the great parliament-place, Thingvallir, where the old faith was given up and in its stead the Christian faith established. While the sensations were therefore novel, we ourselves were determined to be pleased, nay, enchanted, with everything.

During the passage, debates often arose in our little party as to the probable objects of this or that passenger in making the journey. The ordinary kill-time tourist was identified at once, only to be avoided. But one could also detect the artist, whether professional or amateur, by his frequent application to his sketching-book ; the more earnest tourist,

by his bundle of handbooks and maps ; the fisherman by his occasional inspection of rods and flys ; and the fowler by his gun-cases.

One thing, however, struck me as singular. With the exception of one person, a young fellow of fine physique, but somewhat forbidding manner, who, however, united the possession of books and maps with a large assortment of tackle, and therefore looked as if he meant business, no one else had made any preparations for an inland tour. No one else out of our party, for I, being an old traveller in the desert and in desert places, had arranged with the owners to supply me with tinned provisions for two months for myself and pony men.

The weather being fine, these provisions were on deck near my baggage, and a tarpaulin was at hand for cover in case of rain. But near them was a smaller assortment, and the two lots bore duly the names of their respective owners.

As it was prudent to keep a superintending eye over these valuables, lest the crew might take a fancy to some of them, I and the young Titan, who was very proud of his well-formed frame, occasionally met, and scowled at each other—why, I don't quite know, but it became chronic.

I got a little piqued at this, and tried to force him one day to join in breaking the ice. He was looking over his rods and tackle, and walking up to him, I said, "You are a fisherman, then?" A scowl and a look of annihilation, which said plainly, "You can see that, can't you?" was the uncondescending rejoinder, which was the whole of that day's conversation. Next day I tried again. Going up to our two packages of provisions when he was near, I remarked, "You and I seem the only two sensible people on board. I wonder how the others will fare when they get in the country?" "Are you going with the rabble?" he observed. "No, I always travel alone." "You seem truthful too, considering you have two companions, and one of them a lady." "Yes, but my friends only come for the sea-voyage, while I go into the interior." "Well, as to your being sensible, I see no particular signs of it. Where are your rods?" "I am not a fisherman." Alas! he turned aside with a look of contempt.

The third day I tried again. "I see you have plenty of books and maps, but, from a book I have, I have worked out

the principal fishing rivers, with an account of the fish they are noted for." He looked doubtingly at the account I had written out, and then, comparing it with some data of his own, really said, "Thank you."

The fourth day I tried again. "Some of the best rivers are in my route; we are both provided with provisions, so need be under no obligation; we both evidently wish to avoid the tourists—can we go together?" Had the old god Thor struck his hammer on the anvil of Vulcan, a more expressive sound could hardly have issued from it. A thundering "No" with a sort of detonized terminal, put, as I supposed, an end to our intercourse. But two days after our arrival at Reykjavik, he came to my room in the hotel and said he had engaged an eight-oared gig to go along the coast, and if I liked to share it with him I could.

I had not, so far, planned any course, my friends coming from the steamer to see me each day, and we in this way examined the neighbourhood of the capital, and I had made some early excursions to "doomrings" and old "hofs" at a distance. But I closed with the offer at once. The time was come for the steamer to continue her course northward, and with as little baggage as possible, we, like two Vikings, set out for our coasting tour with eight stout oarsmen for our locomotives—we were out night and day while we occupied the boat.

I found myself in a difficulty before leaving that was quite new to my experience. Never travelling with more cash than the wants of any journey demanded, I had always waited till my return to, or arrival at, a terminal town or city to change circular notes, and so discharge my attendants I was cautioned before leaving England that no paper money would be of use, not even bank-notes. I therefore took gold. But to travel through a rough country with a mass of gold coin being undesirable, I enquired for the bank. There was no bank in the capital; and my only plan was, I found, to leave my English money in the hands of a small merchant, who, without counting it, threw the bag into a drawer and wished me God speed. The gold would have been of no use on the road, as there was not a place where a sovereign could be changed; so I took from the merchant silver, also in bags, without counting it, for expenses on the way.

Though the nights were not cold at sea in the boat, they were damp—and spray, dew, and moisture fairly saturated the woollen clothes I wore. There was no tarpaulin to act as a cover, and I looked out anxiously for the sun in the morning to dry up the dampness of the night. But the young Titan, who I found was a Galen of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, had a system of animal heat which would more justly indicate his relation to the Cyclops than the Titans, and economized his coats by folding them and placing them under him, and so keeping them dry. There was no place for a reclining attitude, as our baggage and boxes of provisions set that aside, and the sitting posture night and day became very wearying.

A farmer's daughter had asked the rowers to solicit a seat for her, as we were to pass a place where she lived. The medico was much more civil to the natives than to the passengers from Granton, and asking if I had any objection, the young woman was placed behind us in the stern of the boat and perhaps got some rest. We were delighted at noon the next day to find that she was nearing her home, and we made the rowers moor the boat and all got out on a rock, where the relatives of the young woman would call for her, and we had a dinner on the rock, exercising our stiffened limbs in the meantime.

Another night and day, then another night, and the next morning we put into a creek—it could not be honoured with the name of fiord. There was no feature of interest in the place, till finally a house was seen as the boat rounded a point, and it was moored. We turned in without eating, and slept all day and through the night, waking the next morning with appetites that, had we not provided ourselves with food, it would have been difficult to satisfy. The rowers were also glad of a rest.

We had had enough of coasting, and being now far from any route of tourists, determined to make our starting point from the little creek.

The owner of the house farmed his own land, spoke a little English, and was good-natured enough. He had ponies in use on his farm, but demurred at letting them out, as the hay had not been secured, and there being no carts, the ponies are used as carriers.

His charges being reasonable, we were easily able to supplement them, so that the wavering of his mind was arrested. Not anxious to have another thundering "No" from my companion, I let him have the pick of everything, as being of greater weight and length of leg than myself, and, when he was fairly equipped, I explained, to the dismay of the worthy farmer, that we were quite independent of each other, and that I also must have a guide, sumpter ponies, and a change of riding ponies. The poor man, up to this time, thought he was keeping men and ponies back for his hay and farm purposes, but, seeing my companion ride off, and that my case was hopeless without help, he provided the beast, of burden, but explained that his remaining solitary servant was no guide, never having been from home, but that he was a good boy, and understood a little English. I put him at his ease at once by saying that my books and maps would guide me, and that if the new boy would only follow my directions, I should be content.

The poor lad was also dismayed when he was told that I and my companion might separate, and the whose responsibility of my cavalcade would devolve on him ; but I encouraged him by saying he would see the world, and that I would give him no trouble if he would mind the ponies and follow my directions. I foresaw that if my new companion found a good fishing place he would not leave it, and that I must then move off alone, so I determined that he should start separately at first, and keep his men and cattle to himself, This, as will be seen presently, became a most important matter.

As travelling in Iceland is rough, fatiguing, and often slow, we will let the ponies have a run, and return again to the farm house and surroundings at Hvitarvöllum.

The house was nearly new, but it had been built near to an old one now used for a pony-stable and barn. And the old house had a history. It had been erected on a former wooden structure said to have been the remains of a Norwegian Viking's house, who made this his seater or summer residence on his visits from Norway. The position left him the range of the western ocean, where he no doubt found a hunting field for cetacea to supply oil for his craft, ropes, &c. The worthy farmer had heard of archæology, for there was

a museum at Reykjavik, to which he had sent some finds, but the localities of these, which were to me still more interesting than the finds themselves, had been carefully preserved, and cooking-places in the ground, still full of charcoal, showed where probably blubber had been reduced to oil. Or, they may have been, as will be seen further on, remains of the fires to prove possession of an estate in very early times, subsequently so utilised. Rude fibulæ and quasi buttons were found, pins of fish-bone, and sundry articles of no great interest beyond the rareness of finds of this sort in Iceland.

But this was not all. My attention was drawn to a most curious mound not far from the house, and my enquiries produced very interesting answers. There was a legend of a female Viking who roved the seas and brought her captured treasures here, and secreted them at this mound.

The mound was very symmetrical in form, with a top sloping away on each side like the bottom of a large boat, sloping from the keel.

Its appearance was so bewitching that I fancied I had another Viking's ship mound like that discovered at Sandy Fiord. This was not so. The owner did not wish it to be molested, and yet it was too important to turn from. As the mound was externally of earth I procured an iron rod pointed at one end and pierced the earth in regular lines and at equal distances. The result was, that the rock, which was reached at an almost uniform depth, was nearly the exact form of the mound, but less in size by the thickness of the soil. The rock, whether naturally or artificially shaped, clearly resembled an inverted boat; it appeared to be *in situ* and it seemed to have been covered with earth intentionally. It is quite possible that it contained a cavity, perhaps an artificial one, in which rich booty was deposited for security, as the worthy Viking lady to whom the tradition referred had the credit, or discredit, of bringing home gold and silver as the result of her marauding expeditions.

There were other features of interest in connection with the mound. These were either an avenue—that is, two lines —of stones, or, as it seemed to me from their alternate positions of distance from the larger rock, instead of the positions being of equal distance, which in the case of an

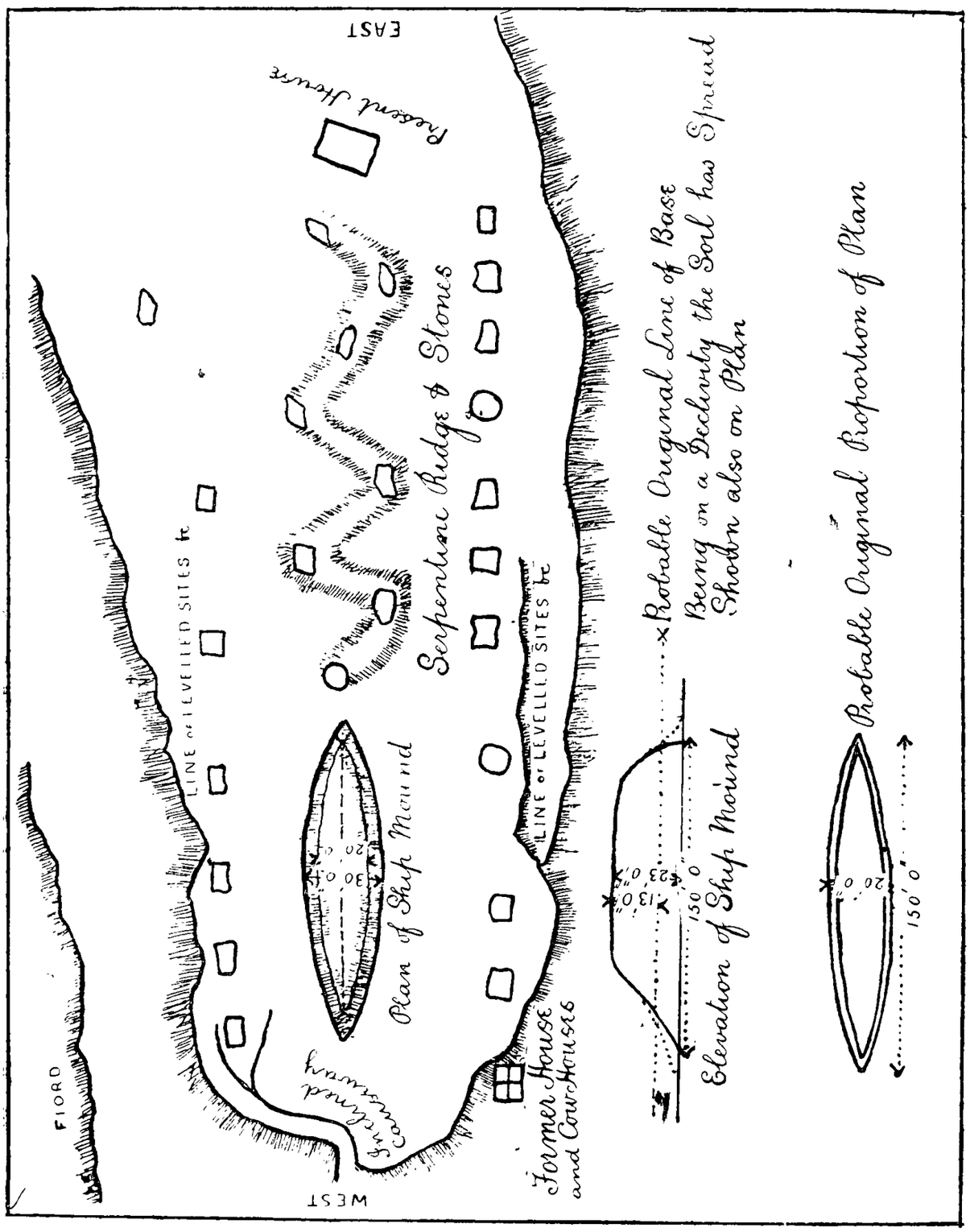
avenue I assume they would be, they appeared rather to represent the sinuations of a causeway, such as I have found in several parts of Scotland, and forming as these did a serpentine approach to the larger mound. The causeway may have been removed for the value of the soil, though not, I was assured, within the memory of the present owner, who, moreover, without any information of other similar arrangements, had been sufficiently impressed with the singular positions of these stones not to permit them to be used in the construction of his new house—an example that might well be followed by proprietors in Great Britain.

There is yet another way in which the stones may have been originally placed. I found just such an avenue in Scotland as shown on the diagram, and they may have either been such an avenue, or have bounded or surmounted a serpentine continuation of the mound, like that in Scotland.

At one time I was under the impression that they had acted as rude and uncarved bauta stones ; but taking the tradition into account, I am disposed to think that the serpentine was the original form of a continuation of the mound, which, with the mythological aspect of the serpent in Scandinavian pagan ideas, may have been a place of worship or of sacrifice and so have gained an ideal protection against marauders for the asserted wealth the Lady Viking accumulated.

As in those days of the early pagan settlers, each chief man or woman, took possession of land at will, and established his or her followers into a community, and as the chief also established a pagan place of worship to his or her special deity, which was rendered sacred and inalienable by fires placed, on taking possession, at distances, so as to include the newly possessed area, and as the altar or temple was rendered sacred by a deposit of earth from the former place of worship of the settler in Norway—a system that was adopted also in early Christian times by procuring earth from Jerusalem to form the Campo Santo, of Pisa, and other places in Italy—and as the traditions of this mound are given as 1000 years ago—and as proved by the finds in bronze, must have been very ancient, it is not improbable that it is one of the oldest remains in Iceland, and may have been dedicated to Jormungander, the Midgard Serpent deity, as protector of the Lady Viking's ship and treasure. The more

so as that serpent was the guardian of the seas, and it was probably after it that the Vikings called their vessels serpents, and the small ones snakes. In which case the protection of the dreaded serpent deity would be more effectual than that of an army. In London and all our ports, this old superstition



is still perpetuated ; the bottle of wine thrown by a lady in christening a new vessel being a retention of the libation in the former Scandinavian dedication to, and invoking of, the great Serpent of the deep they believed in.

This last view is strongly supported from the fact that

the whole area round the mound and the sinuous stones, has been levelled; and these curious objects appear to have been the central features in a primitive village; two regular lines of foundations of early dwellings enclosing them, as it were, in a long street, the lines of which are equidistant from the mound and stones on each side, and evidences of a raised earthwork are distinct in the course of the stones and there only. The soil, if arranged as I have suggested, would be very valuable, on removal, for the garden purposes, which in that isolated spot must have been a great sustainer of the more modern household.

But it is time that we rejoin the ponies. We will suppose our ride has brought us to Reykholt, a place savouring, however, of the presence of tourists, for remembrance of the great Saga writer, Snórri Sturluson. Here also is a mound, but though I fancy not examined, it is at least known to be where the writer's house was, so we will wander further afield.

My young Thor was getting sharp at archæology, and seemed to think there was something in the world besides fishing rods; he gave me every help at some very interesting excavations later on, though indications had already occurred which made it clear we could not long continue to travel together.

Taking a cross route over the mountains to Lundr; on the way, the son of Thunder was in difficulties. He beckoned me to come to him, and then confided to me, that, though in England a horse was only a horse, yet that a pony in Iceland was a thing he had not contemplated. In short, he could neither sit nor walk. Virtue has its own reward. Had I not let him have the best of everything at starting, and had it been known that we were quite independent of each other, he would have got the farmer's pet saddle, which he had made for his own use. A wretched thing had been reserved for me, but when it was found that I also was a paymaster, it was admitted that my mount was not good enough, and a new well-padded and very easy saddle was arranged for me. Seeing the difference, I dismounted my companion, and strapping a thick woollen plaid over his saddle, changed his position, and gave him a soft easy seat, when again he seemed willing to admit that there were more things in the world than fishing rods.

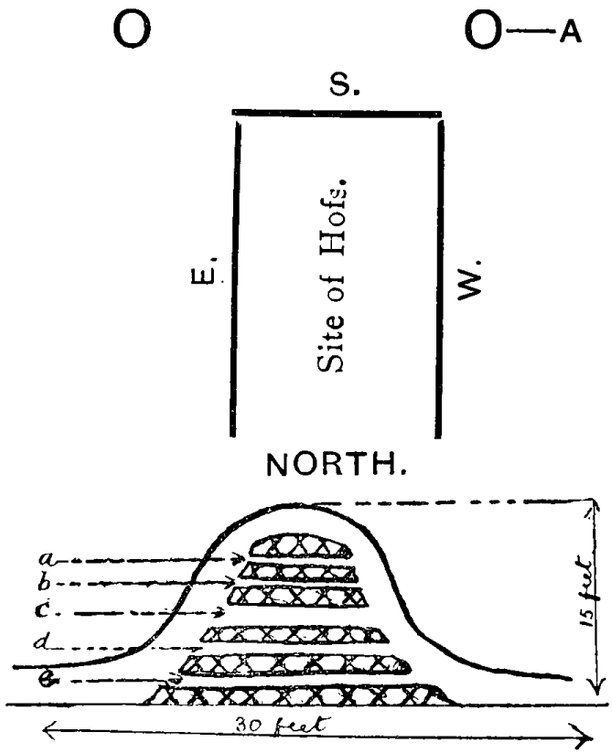
He was out to a neighbouring stream before daylight next morning, and returned with some fine trout for breakfast, and an announcement that there was another mound. After which I began my survey. My willing guide was apt also, and remembering the ship mound at his native farm, at once comprehended me when I pointed to the unmistakable tumulus near the church. The clergyman, at whose house we had slept, was summoned, and gave permission to dig. The mound was a very symmetrical one, and evidently formed with great care. At three feet below the surface clear signs of cremation became visible, which continued to a depth of five feet more in strata, separated in each case by a deep stratum of earth, forming in all fifteen feet.

This was not a kitchen midden, of which I found several in my journeys, but a most carefully made tumulus, and the bones of sheep and oxen in all stages of burning were so uniformly arranged, that each layer seemed the counterpart of the preceding one; they were not heaped pell mell, but in every case were in the centre of the mound, which had grown up at apparently long intervals by fresh additions. I did not come to any speedy conclusion, though the mound, from the care in its formation, and each of the strata producing the same result, was exactly like what I should have thought to be a mount of sacrifice.

The clergyman was quite surprised and much interested, and after careful examination, he took me to another mound of similar external appearance and wished me to examine that. I and young Thor and my young man, for he was really not a guide, did not wait for a second request. This mound also was in exact layers, with bones of oxen and sheep in similar stages of cremation, laid and arranged amongst the charred wood in the centre, and a considerable interval of time was shown by accumulated earth between each of the strata.

I now expressed the opinion that there must be other remains of antiquity near at hand. The clergyman admitted that we were near a "hof," or former temple of the pre-Christian period, the site of which he showed me, and, upon making careful measurements, these two mounds were found to be in true positions to the south-east, and south-west angles of the site of the "hof," external to it, and at some

distance; but in positions that would agree with the points of the sun rising and setting, perhaps about the third and ninth months in the year, or our Lady Day and Michaelmas; though I did not make minute calculations on these points as to the latitude which would indicate the sun's position at changes of the equinox. But the different positions, together with the bones of the oxen and sheep, recalled strongly to the clergyman and myself the sacrifices of the oxen and the rams of Balak on *different* sites.



SECTION OF TUMULUS A.

Widths of earthen deposits:—*a* 8 inches; *b* 6 inches; *c* 24 inches; *d* 18 inches; *e* 12 inches. External and upper deposit three feet. Intervals of bones varying from 9 inches to 14 inches in thickness.

Burton states that it is believed that Baalistic sacrifices are still made in secluded parts of the Orkneys; and I find a recent record of such rites in a secluded glen in Scotland. Near some of the old "hofs" I examined were tumbled heaps of bones and charred wood, evidently disturbed by searchers, which, but for the care with which I found these tumuli had been made, I should have taken for kitchen middens, but which I now recognize to have been altars to Baal, a most remarkable example of which I unearthed on the great serpentine mound at Skelmorlie on the Clyde.

My impression at first was, that the intervals of time indicated by the intervening strata of earth were the result of

periodical sacrifices of perhaps every seven or other number of years. But on carefully measuring the varying breadths of the earthen strata at the sections I made, I found them so widely different in thickness, that I concluded the sacrifices were made on the death and succession of a chief or priest.

In the records referring to the early settlers in Iceland the chiefs are said to have acted as the priests of the temples which they made for their own retainers, who had to pay a tax, of course in kind, to maintain the worship—a position bringing into prominence the Oriental position of priest and king, for these chiefs had absolute power of life and death and therefore were kings.

I can well imagine that these sacrifices were voluntary offerings by the new rulers on the ceremonies of installation, and that, with like Oriental customs, the slaughtered animals were, as in the hecatombs of the Greeks, the provisions for popular feasts.

After we parted I opened other tumuli further east with most satisfactory results and finds. There is no time for description, but I exhibit some very interesting objects exhumed from them.

It was with a feeling of regret that I had to announce to my skilful pupil in archæology that we must part. Once known and allowing for a few eccentricities—no greater, I daresay, than my own—he was an agreeable companion, versed in botany, and aiding me in the osteology of the mounds. He provided nice breakfasts and luncheons with his rod, and was not above consulting me about his difficulties and the sorrows incident to Icelandic ponies. Though, through a want of experience, he was so lavish with his provisions to his men, that the expedition would have been counted by days, instead of by weeks or months, had we continued together.

As I failed to impress him with the necessity for economy, I one morning, when his rod had produced no breakfast, either of trout or salmon, laid my compass on the top of an empty tin, lately devoted to curried rabbit (for there were neither chairs nor tables even in the houses of the clergy) and asked him to select any one point to which he did *not* intend to direct his steps, explaining that, so far as I was concerned, the whole world was before him, except that one

point which I would take myself. In this way, our intercourse, which had otherwise become mutually satisfactory, came to an end, and the young God of Thunder passed away, and I, Odin, or Wuotan like, had to go on my peregrinations alone. Weeks after, on my reaching Thingvellir from the east, I found that my prognostications had proved correct, for within four days of our parting he was there on his return to Reykjavik, his provisions having given out. So that the worthy farmer got his men and ponies in time to, garner his hay after all.

I now plunged into the thick of the fight. Mountain, morass, hill and valley, were traversed, as though I had been led by the Walkyries. My boy asked the way each morning to a place of rest for the night, which I carefully noted on my maps, and took the bearings of with my compass, enquiring if there were dangerous passes on the road, to avoid retracing my steps. But the track was soon lost, no living being, not even a dog, appeared, but all the rivers I came to were fordable. Sometimes a ford had been indicated before starting. So, as the crow flies, as nearly as I could, on my return journey I made for the cabin or homestead to be reached before darkness set in, and as the daylight was much extended this was sometimes late, but of accommodation there was generally little beyond a roof and the contents of tin canisters I had brought with me.

Fortune now again befriended me. The farmer had reserved a spirited little pony for my personal use, and apologised for the other, which, though not a baggage pony, was heavily built in comparison with the elegant little creature he mounted me on. It is imperative to take more than one riding animal, on the score of daily fatigue alone, to say nothing of accident. I named the first "Cut the Wind," and the other "Blunderbuss." But Blunderbuss on the upshot turned out the most useful, for as my mode of travel often took us over swampy places, the delicate little creature I started on would have been engulfed with his rider, whereas the other, though heavier, was broad in chest and body, and on account of his great strength, was able to bear me safely through.

I now revelled in the wonders of Icelandic scenery quite out of tourists' tracks; not that I would depreciate the

wonders to be seen on the ordinary routes. Had I had a regular guide, I should have seen nothing but what these afforded ; now all these came in afterwards. My boy was delighted, his fortune would be made, he could now act as a guide to the less known places, and I had all his help.

There was great advantage in all this. The only places of reception were the houses of the pastors, but even in these two visitors were, I found while with my companion, demurred at. There was but one unfurnished room of reception to sleep and eat in, with sometimes a bench to sit on or a flap of wood against the wall raised for a table. The extra men for the ponies and baggage were, however, not liked. Of course hay for the beasts was paid for, but the stock of this was often not great. As there are no servants, beyond your own, and the pastor's wife brings your coffee and sees to your comfort, a single traveller giving no trouble, and having the means of satisfying his own wants, is most welcome.

But other points there are even beyond this. A feeling of delicacy arises in having a lady doing as it were menial offices for you. These clergymen and their wives are the only upper class away from the towns, the others, whether proprietors or not, are mere peasants, though often very intelligent. The clergy have the bearing of gentlemen, and their wives of ladies. In the secluded parts I visited had there been a word of truth in the allegations against their sobriety I must have seen evidences.

As coffee does not agree with me, I always, when travelling, carry tea, made up into small packets of a quarter of a pound each. I could not resist the coffee made in Iceland, it surpasses that of any other country ; it is their one sole luxury. The air and exercise made me think I could now take it, so my tea was not used. There is, of course, some payment to be made for your roof, and the kindness offered you. This is never asked for, but your guide gives you the idea of how much, which, even then, is not paid into the hand, but left in some prominent part of the room you have occupied. But I hit on a most agreeable mode of parting. The guide, no doubt, indicates that you have left cash for discharge from obligation to which no reference is made. And when at parting I presented my hostess, as, from taking coffee, I was able to do, with a packet of English tea, the expressions of appreciation were unbounded.

Moreover, I obtained a double advantage. Once the barriers of restraint were gone, in many cases, my boy, who was a favourite, told me that the lady was so obliged that she hoped I would return that way. If I said no, I was asked if I had any other object in coming to the country besides travel, or if there was anything they could get for me of Icelandic interest. And on my asking in return what could be got, I was repeatedly shown gold and silver heirlooms of the family, from which I was asked to select a souvenir.

It was with difficulty I could force a return by payment, as it was said it was a return for my attention. But, knowing the very low income of the clergy, I always managed to effect this in one way or another, and thus obtained articles the family would not otherwise have parted from, some of which I show you.

This fine jewelry, much of it very antique, and no doubt correctly described as having been brought with the first immigrants from Norway, is now treasured all the more from the fact that on the tourist routes it has been nearly all bought up, either by visitors or for the museums at Reykjavik, Stockholm, or Christiania, and is now jealously



ENTWINED KNOTWORK IN SILVER PLATES.

Secreted beneath the saddle flaps, and in the linings of saddles, which latter were richly decorated with bronze margins in *repoussé* relief, showing contests with animals, &c.

secreted. The horse trappings must also have been valuable for these coroneted silver decorations, representing the Scandinavian Dragon Knot, which I took from under the flaps of some old Icelandic saddles, which I was also similarly favoured with, were apparently secreted magical protectors,

being strongly rivetted in their hidden places. These, with a host of wooden articles, which I stowed in my now fast emptying panniers, attracted the attention of an agent of the museum at Reykjavik, who asking to see them offered me a round sum for them. But I could not sell what the kind-heartedness of my hosts, who sometimes dropped a tear as they handed me their treasured relics, had so feelingly put into my hands. And on enquiry I found that to have done so would have been to court the knowledge of the act, and the anathemas of people who had opened their hearts to me.

The snowclad Jökulls of Iceland contrast so much with the angularity of the Swiss Alpine scenery that to any one used to the latter the effect is surprising. But in the interior where the heights of basaltic lavas are not so lofty, and are not snow-covered in the *summer*, the level plateaux often terminate in vertical precipices producing terrific effects. These are simply indescribable, for to describe there must be pre-knowledge, or at least comparison.

The only mode of giving you my sensations on beholding the wondrous interior of Iceland is to describe it as like the photographs of the moon's surface, except that the ebullitions of lava are so vivid, that, surrounded as they are, in some cases, by the steam of boiling springs, they appear to be still seething, and it is impossible, till actual test is applied, to believe that they are cold and hard. The configurations of the cooled lava are so different to the pentagonal forms of our basalt of the Giant's Causeway, and Fingal's Cave that I was induced to bring a variety of these forms over with me from Iceland.

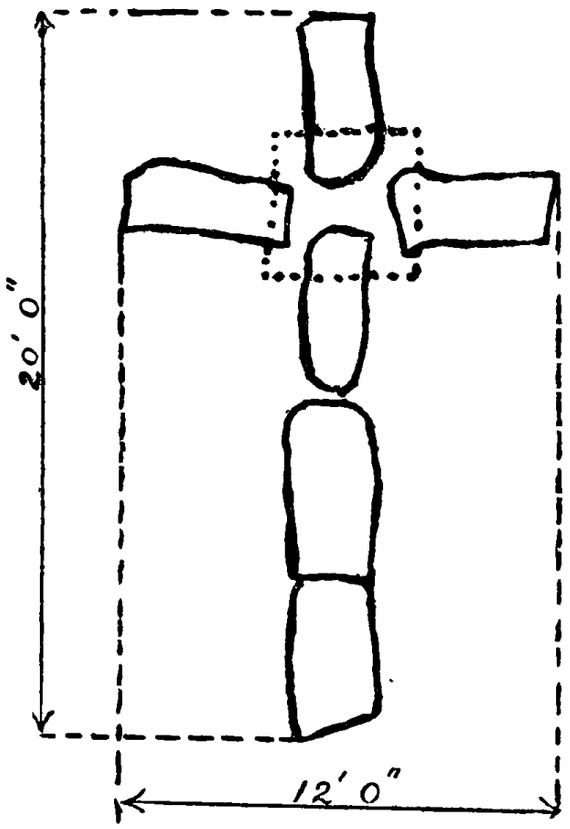
In humid or showery weather, the mountains assume transparent spectral appearances, as though the scene was a necromantic vision.

I may also mention that my good pony Blunderbuss acted so well, and I believe saved my life in passing morasses on more than one occasion, that, in parting with my boy at Reykjavik, I purchased the pony and the saddle, which made riding him easy; brought them, with the blocks of lava, over to England; put the pony in clover for the rest of his life; where, with his native lava, he occupies my ground. He was renamed Reykjavik, but the servants, being unable to pronounce the word, reduced it to Rucke-

back, whence a diminutive was evolved, and he is now called Rickles.

Returning southwards from the vicinity of the Lang and Hofs Jökulls, I proceeded down to Hekla and made the ascent. I took a guide from a farm, but he would go no further than the ponies could mount. My poor boy's dismay was terrible when I told him he must come to the summit, although I had myself never ascended. He tried strongly to dissuade me, but without success; so each swinging a small tin of provisions over his shoulder, we went up—after seeing the three ponies tied head and tail together, in the form of a triangle, so that it was impossible for them to move away.

The climbing was no very hard task, but the cold was intense, and it was only by going into the warmth of the crater that we could get strength enough in our fingers to



LAVA CROSS.

Rude cross formed by seven blocks of lava, carefully laid in a horizontal position, on plain west of the Lake of Thingveller.

The seventh block, shown by ⋮ ⋮ dotted lines, is superimposed at the junction of the arms and shaft.

The position of this cross, about a mile west of Thingvellir, is remarkable, as orientating the place where Christianity was publicly adopted, and the idols abandoned. There being no reliable monoliths at hand accounts for the horizontal position, and it may either have been a place of resort for the new Christians till churches were built; or a place of secret meeting and fraternity for those who introduced the new faith prior to the public acceptance of it. Its form and position approximate to the horizontal cross formed by upright stones at Callernish, in the Isle of Lewis.

open our provision cans; when that was done the contents rapidly disappeared. And after placing my card in the glass bottle preserved in the cairn on the highest point, we were quite ready to warm ourselves by a rapid descent. The boy's face was now all radiant with joy at what he had achieved. The great waterfalls, called *fosses*, were, of course, seen; but all of *that* you may find in guide books.

The geysers were visited on our return, and behaved very well at the moment of my arrival, though some unfortunates had been waiting three days for their action. Then the tourist's route was followed to Thingvallir; and the story recalled of the Althing, and the change to Christianity—and after a visit to Krisuvik, to some friends who were engineering the sulphur pits, Reykjavik was again returned to.

Here I had to stay, as I expected, and rather hoped, for some time, on account of the kindness of the people, the natural wonders of the country and the still greater wonder how people could choose to live on its sterile wastes. Certainly, nothing but the greatest love for freedom of mind and body could have induced the first emigrants from Norway to have adopted it as their future country. It showed an almost unexampled case of a large portion of a people self-expatriated like the Pilgrim Fathers, and, like the latter, also retaining unblemished honour and amity with mankind. All these considerations made me want to know more of them, and in their capital I determined to work out the problem. I had, as I hoped, just lost the steamboat, so I had some clear weeks before me.

After discharging my boy and the ponies, all save the purchased Blunderbuss, I called at the University and was received by a classical professor. To him I explained that I wanted to know something of the pre-Christian people of Iceland, and enquired what literary assistance I could find in the University. He asked if I read Norske. I did not, and he shook his head. "I was English?" "Yes." We spoke in French. He said he would do his best to help me, but he did not speak English.

This made it rather difficult, but a compact was made. I was to go to read with him each morning, and he undertook to give me an insight into pagan times, manners, and faith; but he could only do this in French or Latin, and

would only do it on my rendering it back in English, which he understood, but did not speak.

I enquired as to the fees, but he said it would be mutual, as he was very desirous of learning to speak English.

This was carried through, and though, of course, I did not become a Norse scholar, I learnt the fundamental parts of the language, and, what I wanted most, the pagan ways and doings.

A curious incident occurred. When I spoke of what little Norske I knew, I referred to the lexicon generally found in the larger libraries. He was very angry, saying, "That book has spoilt our beautiful language. It is very well if you want Danish." I had reason to prove this at the Bodleian Library some time afterwards. I was working up Scandinavian names near Oxford, and called there for Norwegian lexicons. The usual authority was produced. I don't want a Dane's book, I said, but the Norwegian books. Several hönd-bóks were brought me. I looked out the names in each: in the handbooks the meanings were full, poetical, and pungent; in the popular authority the Norsk meanings did not appear.

After several weeks of close study I went into the library one day with the professor, and my eye fell on an English translation of a book we had been reading. "I might have saved you the trouble, professor," I said: "here is a translation." "You think so," rejoined he. "Write down in English one or two of the passages I gave you from the Norske." He examined them. "That will do. Now refer to the same passages in the translation."

"Well, what can you make of them?" "Nothing." "Nor can anybody else."

On consulting a young Danish resident at Reykjavik as to what books I could get to continue my reading, and he having examined the native handbooks I had procured, he said, "You must give up those if I am to advise you. We want to get rid of that old fashioned language."

But I stuck to them, for they are real.

I need hardly say the gold which I had left in charge of the merchant was found to be as safe as if it had been counted and a receipt given for it. In short, the bag had

never been opened, and I had to repay back from it the value of my silver.

I cannot conclude without stating that I had the good fortune to be requested to open the great tumulus which Hakon raised over his defeated warriors at Largs, on the Clyde, after repeated refusals by the possessor to the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh. But the interest raised by my works and excavations on the estates of the Duke of Argyll, the Marquis of Lothian, the Earl of Glasgow, and other large proprietors, was such that in this case the owner solicited my examination of the mound, a full account of which appeared in the *Times*, the *Scotsman*, and all the Northern papers; photographs of the mound are on the walls, with those of the animal formed mounds discovered by me in Asia and Europe, of one of which the serpentine form at Hvitarvöllum seems to be the skeleton.

"EDDA."

By Eirikr Magnusson, M.A.

I shall begin my remarks to you by at once stating how I propose to deal with the subject I have chosen for my discourse to-night. In the first instance, I shall draw attention to the one derivation that has been proposed of the word "Edda," as a genealogical term. Next, I shall consider the derivation and interpretation that the word, as a book-title, has received. Lastly, I shall endeavour to show what historical facts and probabilities may fairly be taken to favour one, to the exclusion of the rest, of the interpretations that have been given of "Edda" as a book-title.

In dealing with these points I shall endeavour to be as explicit as the nature of the subject will allow. But as we are left utterly without any direct documentary evidence showing how the name came to be used as a title of a book, we have to thread ourselves along, as best we can, by what side-lights we can obtain from the evidence of historical probability. Any conclusion arrived at, on such a ground, will carry conviction only proportionate to the strength of the evidence adduced. To expect or demand more, would be unreasonable.

The oldest document in which the word "Edda," as a genealogical term, occurs is the Lay of Rig (Rígsþula, Rígsmál), a poem which in editions of the Older Edda is included in the group of its mythic songs. The only old copy of it existing is found on a loose leaf, the 78th, of the so-called Codex Wormianus of the Younger Edda, a MS. that dates from the earlier half of the fourteenth century.[1] The end of the poem is lost with the leaf that once followed the one on which is now preserved what remains of it.

The term "Edda" stands in so peculiar a relation to the rest of the poem, that I cannot very well avoid giving a general résumé of it, though thereby I digress somewhat from the direct line of my argument.

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[1] No. 242, fol. in the Arnamagnæan Collection at Copenhagen. From Iceland it was despatched by its last owner there, Arngrímr Jónsson, as a gift to Ole Worm, Denmark's most famous antiquary of the seventeenth century, in whose possession it is known to have been already by 1628.

A short preface in prose tells us that the poem is evolved out of an *old tale*. Heimdal, the northern counterpart of the Agni of the Rig Veda, travelling along a sea-shore, so begins the poem, comes upon a homestead where the door was ajar; there was fire on the floor, and at the hearth sat together a hoary man and wife, called Ai and Edda (great grandfather and great grandmother); she, becoifed in ancient fashion. Heimdal sat down betwixt the two, and spoke wise lore to them. Then Edda took a lumpy loaf, heavy and thick and swelled with bran, and set it on the table; broth in a bowl on the board she placed, there was boiled calf, the best of dainties. Three nights the god spent at the house. In nine months' time Edda gave birth to a child, and the name given to it was Thrall (Þræll), slave. Well he waxed, and well he throve; on hands wrinkled skin, knotty knuckles, fingers big, foul his face, louting back, long heels withal.

Then he began to try his strength: to tie bast, to make burdens, and to bring fagots home the livelong day.

Next there came to the homestead the gangrel-legged one, with scars on her foot-soles, with sun-scorched arm, a crooked nose, and she named herself Þir (A.S. Þeow), a bondswoman. From her and Thrall sprang the progeny of slaves.

Again Rig came to a "hall" with a sliding door; fire burnt on the floor, man and wife were busy; the good man was whittling a loom-beam, his beard was trimmed, his hair shorne over the forehead, his shirt was tight fitting; there also sat the good wife and swayed her rock (spinning-wheel), plying her hands working stuff for weeds; on her head was a bent coif, a smock on her breast, a kerchief round her neck, brooches bedecked her shoulder. Afi and Amma (=grandfather and grandmother), owned the homestead. Rig again makes himself familiarly at home and spends three nights at the house, and in due course Amma gives birth to a son who, having been sprinkled with water, is named Karl, Carle, Churl. The mother swathed in linen the ruddy bairn with rolling eyes. The boy grew and throve apace, broke in oxen (to the plough), fashioned ploughs, timbered houses, built up barns, wrought carts, and followed the plough.

Next they brought to the house her of the hanging keys and of the goat-hair kirtle and wedded her to Karl. She is called Snor (=A.S. snoru, O.G. snuor, Lat. nurus)=daughter-in-law. She sat linen-veiled; the couple were married, they joined their rings

(wealth), spread the sheets and set up house. From this couple sprang the kindred of Karlar, Carles, Churls, Tillers of the Soil.

Again Rig went on his ways, and came to a castle, the doors of which faced the south. The door was let down (hnigin) and in it there was a ring. He went in. The floor was bestrawed (covered with straw or rushes). The married couple sat and looked each other in the eye. They were Father and Mother. The lord was twisting a bowstring, bending the bow and shafting arrows. But the lady was giving heed to her arms, ironing linen, starching sleeves, strutting (straight) was her coif, on her breast was a brooch, trailing were her garments, her sark blue-dyed: her brow was brighter, her breast lighter, her neck whiter than newfallen snow. Rig was entertained luxuriously. He spent three nights at the house and in due course of time Mother gave birth to a male child, sprinkled it with water, and swathed it in silk and gave it the name of Earl. His hair was flaxen, his cheeks were bright, his eyes were sparkling as a young serpent's. He grew up at home. He parried with linden-shield, fitted bow-strings, bent the elm-bow, shafted arrows, flung the dart, shook frankish spears, rode horses, flung the dice, drew swords and practised swimming.

So, one day, Rig comes running out of the wood and declares himself to be the father of the youth and gives his own name, Rig, to him. Earl Rig follows the profession of arms and conquers for himself an earldom and takes for wife the daughter of Hersir, called Ern(a). And from this union sprang "Konr ungr," the youngest of the sons of Earl and Erna: a term whereby the poet tries in his own way etymologically to account for the northern name of Konungr.

There are many points about this poem which go to show that it cannot be very old. The description of a thrall as a householder, tiller of his own fields and owner of a cow or cows, as the fare of the house testifies, goes against all we know from northern laws about the social status of a slave, who could own no property and could even inherit none. The author of Rígsmál is ignorant of this, which means that he pictures the thrall's social condition, not from what he knows from observation or daily experience, but from what, on deficient antiquarian study, he imagines was the case. And the conclusion lies therefore near at hand that the poem was written by one to whom slavery was an institution of the past, that

had left no other impression upon his mind than that the slave was a coarse-limbed, gross and ugly looking being. In fact he does not describe a slave, but a tolerably well-conditioned peasant cottager who tills his own plot of ground. It has been supposed by some interpreters that the fare that Afi and Amma dished up for Heimdal, and of which the lay makes no mention, must really have been the "broth" in a bowl and the "veal" with which Ai and Edda regaled the god. But the word "soð," which for want of a better rendering I translate "broth," means merely the water in which anything has been cooked. According to the lay of Helgi the slayer of Hunding, "soð" is an article of food for pigs; and to this day it hardly counts as an article of human food at all in Iceland. So there is no really urgent reason to transfer to Amma that part of the fare at Edda's which consisted in boiled veal served up with the fluid it was boiled in.

Now as to Edda, we can clearly see that she is in no proper sense a great-grandmother. The fact of the matter is that the poem, or rather the original story, out of which it grew, is illogically conceived. Its purpose is to account for the evolution of society, the ultimate goal of which was reached in the position of a king. The problem is solved by making the god Heimdal light upon the homes of three different married couples, all of them childless, Edda and Amma presumably long past all hope of ever becoming mothers. Ai and Edda must have had their parents, of course, as well as Afi and Amma, Father and Mother; but of this the poem takes no account whatever; nor of the fact that Heimdal's sons, begotten with these mothers, marry wives of their own class. That is to say, the poet does not conceive or realize that the three classes of society he calls in a god to procreate in a somewhat Don-Juanic manner, were all existing before Heimdal made his erotic round of the earth. He further commits the mistake of making slaves the original type of man. Again, there is no relationship of descent between the three classes he deals with; the consequence being that Edda is in no sense mother to Amma, nor Amma to Mother. If, therefore, he meant Edda to signify great-grandmother and Amma to stand for grandmother, his own production proved that these terms could in no proper sense bear such an interpretation.

Of course, we can see what the aim of the original story was, if it is faithfully reproduced by the poet; the idea was, to show how

from humble origins human society went through successive stages of evolution, until the highest dignity, that of king, was reached. In order to bring this idea home to people, the poet, or his original, hit upon the device of finding mothers with distinctive names to figure as typical starting-points of the three classes into which he thought fit to divide the god-begotten race. His language supplied him for that purpose with no other more suitable terms than just those he made use of. He was not working out any serious genealogical statement. The whole was a poetical conceit, not intended for serious analysis, which it could not bear, but for the amusement of the vulgar.

Since the Eddas became known to the outer world in the seventeenth century, scholars and interpreters have been agreed that, on the strength of the Lay of Rig, Edda must mean great-grandmother, although in the Icelandic—the most genealogical literature in the old Teutonic world—it occurs as a genealogical term, nowhere else—that is to say, if we except the so-called "ókend heiti" = simple appellatives in Cod. Reg. of the Younger Edda, where the term is simply borrowed from the Lay. But a serious attempt at giving an account of the derivation of the word in this sense has appeared first in our own day only. In the "Corpus Poet. Bor.," II., 514, Dr. Vigfusson proposed a derivation of the word in this sense which cannot be passed over. And lest by curtailing his remarks I should run the risk of seeming unfairly to present his view, I will quote him at such length as to guard myself against any charge on that score.

He says :—"The first point to settle is, how this word came "into the Lay of Rig; no solution, which does not account for this "part of the problem, can be correct. The poet makes *Edda* the "ultimate ancestress, grandmother, first mother, from whom, by "Rig, the earliest race of mankind sprang. Tacitus tells us how "the old poems of the Germans of his day make 'Terra Mater' "the mother of 'Tuiscon,' whose son is 'Man.' And he gives "the German name of Terra Mater—Mammun Ertham. Here, "between the *Ertha* of Tacitus and the *Edda* of the Lay, there is a "twofold identity, viz. the common *notion* of MOTHER, and the "*resemblance* of both words in form and sound. In the days of "the Righ Lay, the Low German form of earth would still have "been 'Ertha,' as in Tacitus' time, while the High German (even "Frankish ?) would be 'Erda'; the Old English 'Eorthe' weakened;

"the Old Northern 'Eorth' monosyllabic. Both words Earth "and Edda are, we take it, etymologically identical, Edda being a "poet's adaptation of the foreign bisyllabic form, by him aptly "designed as great-grandmother. The High German form meets "all requirements. According to the regular Northern formula, 'zd' "becomes 'dd' (thus the old 'hozd'- becomes 'hodd'-, the old 'hazd'- "becomes 'hadd'-, and so on). The Old Northern tongue had no "*rd*, only *rth*; the nearest sound to a German or foreign *rd* would "thus, in fact, be the assimilated *dd*."

"It is not hard to fancy," Vigfusson goes on, "how it came "about. Let us suppose that a Western man has learnt a snatch of "a High German song on that favourite subject with all Teutons, "the *Origin of Mankind* and *Mother Earth*, from a Southern trader "or comrade (there were Germans and Southlings in Orkney and "Scandinavia in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as we know from "history and Saga). In this song the word 'Erda' (or *Grandmother "Erda*) occurs; he puts it into his own tongue as neatly as he can, "and the result is 'Edda.' Or, if he himself did not make the "change, the minstrel would have done so, who sang it after him, "for the Lay had passed through many Northern mouths before it "got written down in our Codex."

Vigfusson's etymological argumentation, which is somewhat lacking in coherency, amounts then to this: There is the twofold identity of form and sound between the O.H.G. Erda and Icel. Edda, then Earth and Edda are etymologically identical, because "according to the regular Northern formula zd becomes dd."

But this argument is altogether beside the question, since no such Teutonic or other form as Ezda for a word meaning earth is known to exist. The known forms are: Greek 'ερα, Goth. airþa, O.H.G. erda, M.H.G. erde, O. Sax. ertha, A.S. eorde, Du. aarde, O.N. Icel. *erðo: eorð, iorð, jörð, Dan.-Swed. jord. That is to say: the *r* is a primitive element of the stem all through as far back as we can trace the word.

The *zd* examples of stem-terminations that Vigfusson quotes apply to *-a* stems only, and cannot have anything to do with a fem. *-i* stem like eorð or a fem. *-an* stem like Edda.

Besides, on Vigfusson's own showing, there was no *etymological* identity in this case, which was one of simple sound-imitation, or transference of a German sound to the organs of speech of the author of Rig's Lay or somebody else, who "put it into his own

tongue as neatly as he could," with the result that Erda came out in the form of Edda.

This, then, is a case of mechanical imitation strangely miscarried. For, since "the Northern tongue had no *rd*," but "only *rth*," why did the Northern bard then not follow this only law, and pronounce Erda erða?

Now he is supposed to have learnt from a Southern trader or a comrade a snatch of a German song on that favourite subject the Origin of Mankind and Mother Earth, in which for mother earth the word Erda occurred. This word, we are to believe, was so foreign to him, that he could do nothing with it but to imitate it, in the form of "Edda," and mechanically to foist upon it the technical genealogical sense of great-grandmother.

This poles-asunder sort of relation between the German word and the mind of the bard is made plausible by the statement that Southlings and Germans visited Orkney and Scandinavia in the tenth and eleventh centuries. But Vigfusson is not doing himself justice here. If there was one people the roving children of the North knew better than any other in the tenth and eleventh centuries, "the days of the Righ Lay," as Vigfusson has it, that people was their nearest Southern neighbour and kindred, the Saxon or North-German. If there was one idiom with which the Scandinavians were more familiar than any other in those days, that was German. Vigfusson's conclusion involves disregard of several points which must not be overlooked. We are to suppose that a person, intellectually so wide-awake as is the author of the Lay of Rig, on hearing a snatch of some Old High German song, found it so interesting as to want to learn it by heart, and yet, having accomplished his desire, not only did not understand what "erda" meant, but even troubled not to ask his Old High German friend what the proper sense of it was; the consequence being that, by his own efforts, he failed to recognise in it an equivalent for his own word eorð=earth, made a mechanical imitation of its sound, "edda," and imbued it with the meaning of *great-grand*mother, in the anthropological sense of "ultimate ancestress, grandmother, first mother from whom by Righ the earliest race of mankind sprang." All this is an obvious impossibility; and the supposition that *slaves* were the earliest race of mankind is flatly contradicted by the sad history of that unfortunate type of *homo sapiens*.

This is the only derivation of Edda, as a genealogical term, that, so far as I know, has yet been philologically attempted. I think I

have treated it with all the fairness that is due to the great scholar who is the author of it. If my reasoning is not at fault, then this derivation of Edda, as a genealogical term, must be impossible.

Now I pass over to the consideration of Edda as a book-title.

I must introduce this chapter of my remarks by showing, how Vigfusson accounts for the word having come to figure as a title of the Younger or Snorri's Edda. His words are these:—

"From the Lay of Righ the word Edda passed into that curious "list of synonyms, 'okend heiti,' which is the base of the Thulor "Collections and of Poetic Gradus, such as Snorri's. Thus the "name got applied to Snorri's book; for it is probable, though not "absolutely demonstrable, that this older draught of Scald-"skapar-mal was *headed* by our Lay of Righ, being in all likelihood "called forth by that very Lay. From it the text in Cod. W. is "derived, for the List of Synonyms, at the end of the MS. of Snorri's "unfinished work, contains the words '*móðir* heitir, ok *amma*, "þriðja, *Edda*.' Hence it follows that the author knew the Lay."

"From Snorri's work, as we have elsewhere shown, the word "came into general use as expressing the very spirit and essence "of the Court-poetry with all its intricate synonyms and figures."[1] "Thence, by false and misleading application of the scholars "of the Icelandic revival, it got transferred to the old heroic epic "Lays, the 'Eddic' poems."

What Vigfusson evidently means here, though he expresses himself somewhat obscurely, is this, that "ókend heiti," appellative nouns, form the base of the Thulor, metrical lists of such nouns (including proper names too), and form the base of Snorri's Poetical Gradus as well. By this "gradus" he means "Scald-skapar-mal," that portion of Snorri's Edda which deals with "Kenningar," *i.e.*, poetical circumlocutions (such as, for instance: "Hildar veggs hregg-nirðir" = "Nirðir hreggs veggs Hildar" = warriors; thus: "Hildr" = goddess of war, her "veggr" (= wall) a shield, the "hregg" (= squall, storm) thereof, battle, the battle's Nirdir (Niords, gods, creators) = warriors). The "ókend heiti" Vigfusson takes to have been the "older draught of Scaldskapar-mal"; at the head of this "old draught" he thinks the Lay of Righ probably had its place, and that this "old draught" was called forth by that lay. Into the probability or the reverse of this theory I do not propose to enter. I will merely

[1] "Corpus, P. B.," I., xxvi.

remark that the "þulor" show no sign of having specially drawn synonyms from the rich store of Rig's Lay. But attention must be called to what clearly is a slip, namely, that the present text in "Cod. W." [Codex Wormianus] of the "ókend heiti" is derived from the Lay of Righ, for we know not from where the old text of "ókend heiti" in that codex was derived, because the whole section of the codex which contained "ókend heiti," if it ever did, was lost, probably some time in the 16th century, and the lacuna thus created was filled up with paper MS. in the hand of an Icelandic amanuensis of the famous Danish antiquary Ole Worm, some time between 1635-40, the contents being drawn principally from Codex Regius. Consequently the authority Vigfusson means by "Cod. W." can be no other than "Cod. Reg." I do not maintain that "Cod. W." may not have contained the chapter of Snorri's Edda to which Rask gave the heading of "ókend heiti," but a stop-gap from the 17th century, demonstrably supplied from sources that no one can identify with the old genuine text of "Cod. W.," cannot be quoted as Codex Wormianus, and the words "*móðir* heitir—Edda" are evidently in part due to the 17th century scribe himself, who found the corresponding passage in Cod. Reg. reading rather oddly. (See below.)

Well, then, we depend upon the Cod. Reg. only for our knowledge of the fact that the term "Edda" is found included in the vocabulary of "ókend heiti." But Cod. Reg. is by a long way not the oldest MS. of the Younger Edda. The oldest is the Cod. Upsaliensis, of which I shall have more to say presently. Where that MS. runs parallel, as to subject matter, with Codd. Reg. and Worm., it distinguishes itself from both, irrespective of its extraordinary copiousness of scribal blunders, by at once greater brevity of treatment and more antique mode of expression. Now considering how importantly this MS. bears upon the question of the derivation of the word "edda," it is of importance to confront the chapter in it that deals with the simple appellatives for women with the chapter in Cod. Reg. that deals with the same subject. I quote from both chapters, of course, only as much as serves the purpose of my argument:—

Cod. Reg., *SE. I.*, 536$_{22}$—538$_{6}$.

Þessi eru kvenna heiti ókenn*d*.

— — — Ekkja heitir sú, er búandi hennar varð sóttdauðr. Mær heitir fyrst hver, en kerlingar er gam-

Cod. Ups., *SE. II.*, 347 $^{19\text{-}22}$.

Þessi ero kvenna nofn vkend Eckia heitir sv kona er bondi hennar er andaþr.

lar eru. Eru enn þau kvenna heiti, er til lastmælis eru, ok má þau finna í kvæðum, þótt þat sé eigi ritað. Þær konur heita eljur er einn mann eigu; snor heitir sonarkvon, sværa heitir vers móðir, amma, þriðja edda; eiða heitir móðir. Heitir ok dóttir ok barn, jóð; heitir ok systir, dís, jóðdís. Kona er ok köllut beðja, mála, rún búanda síns, ok er þat viðrkenning.[1]

Þær konr elior er einn mann eigo.

Kona er kollvð beþia. eða mala ok rvna bonda síns, ok er þat viðkenning.

From this quotation we learn not only how very largely a *res aucta* the text of Reg. is, as compared with Ups., but also, what is of still greater importance, that while the author of Reg. knows the term "edda," for a certain class of woman, and consequently, as Vigfusson says, must have been acquainted with the Lay of Rig wherefrom the term is borrowed, the author of the original of Ups. had no knowledge of the term in that application, and therefore knew not the Lay of Rig.

Now it is evident that the text of "ókend heiti" in Ups. must chronologically stand nearer to that "old draught" thereof, which Vigfusson was thinking of, than the text of Reg. And if "edda" was included in the nomenclature of simple appellatives for women in the original, from which the Ups. text was copied, it is incomprehensible that the scribe of that text should have left out the whole catena of synonyms in which that term forms one of the links; all the more so, because of all those synonyms "edda" must have presented itself to him as the most striking.

The only possible conclusion therefore seems to me to be this: the author of the oldest recension of "ókend heiti," in Snorra Edda, that we now can trace, was ignorant of the existence of such a term as "edda" for a great-grandmother. This author

[1] I translate the text of Cod. Reg. only. These are women's nouns "un-kend" (simple). Widow is that one hight, when (hus-)band hers got "sick-dead." May (is) hight first each, but carlines when old (they) are. Are still those women's nouns, that to(wards) blame-speech are, and may they (be) found in songs, though that be not written. Those women (are) hight "eljur" who one man own; "snor" is hight a son's wife, "sværa" (is) hight a husband's mother; "amma" (grandmother), third "edda"; "eiða" (is) hight a mother. (Is) hight also daughter and bairn, "jóð"; is hight also syster, "dís" "jóðdís." Wife is also called "beðja," "mála," "run(a)" of (hus-)band hers, and is that "with-kenning."

was Snorri Sturluson. Clearly, therefore, Snorri Sturluson knew not the Lay of Rig, consequently *he* could not have given the title Edda in the sense of *great-grandmother* to his work.

This, I beg to state, does not necessarily mean that Rig's Lay is of later origin than Snorri's age, 1178-1241. Still, I ask, what word, passage, turn of speech or allusion to life and manners in that poem tend to make it decidedly older than the 13th century?[1]

Again I must venture to say that on fair grounds no evidence can be admitted to exist showing that Edda, as an appellative for woman, originally was transferred from Rig's Lay to the so-called Snorri's Edda as a title of that book.

Coming now to the consideration of the derivations of Edda as a book title, the first that presents itself is Arni Magnússon's. After rejecting the great-grandmother interpretation and Biörn of Skardsa's suggestion that edda was derivable from Oddi,[2] the home of Sæmund the Learned, whom Biörn took to be the author of the

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[1] I would call attention to the words: "kom hann at sal, suðr horfðu dyrr": "came he to a hall, south looked the door," Rígsmál, v. 26. In itself there is nothing striking about the door of the aristocratic hall of Father and Mother facing the south. Only, the words quoted strike an Icelander, me, at least, as indicating that the door of this hall faced the south, because that was what the door of such a hall *ought* to do.

And why should the door of an aristocratic hall be supposed to face the south? Doubtless because those who supposed it thought it was the fashion. Now this notion finds, apparently, for the first time an expression in these words of the *Morkinskinna*, a vellum of the early thirteenth century: "Konungs hásæti var á lang-pallinn þann er vissi í móti sólu": "the king's high-seat was on the long = side-daïs that looked to the sun = the south," which really means that the king's seat was arrayed up against the northern wall of the hall, so that, when he sat in it, he faced the south. This means that the Icelanders, at an early date, got the idea into their head that royal and aristocratic halls, or even halls generally, were so built that their side walls ran west to east. That idea has maintained itself in Iceland down to our own day, cf. Cleasby-Vigfússon's Dictionary 765 4-5: "the northern bench facing the sun was called öndvegi it æðra, *the higher* or *first high seat.*" But the idea is quite mistaken. The position of a hall depended upon the lay of the land in relation to water (ocean shore, firths, lakes, rivers) and highways, and its side-walls could, of course, face any point of the compass.—If this mistaken notion of the Icelanders should run under the expression of Rígsmál quoted above, then that expression would serve a twofold purpose: proving the poem to be *Icelandic* and of comparatively *late origin.*

[2] Vigfusson, who has made a very careful study of Biörn's Edda speculations, does not mention this point, and I have no means of verifying the source of Arni's statement.

Younger Edda, he proposes to derive the term from "óðr," which originally means "wits," the faculty of thinking and reasoning. Later on it is used by the Court poets in the sense of poetry, song, poem, lay; undoubtedly, as I think, on the ground, that in the so-called Bragi's discourses, Braga ræður, in SE. I., 216, it is stated that whoso drinks of the fluid contained in the kettle Óðrerer, which fluid was the spiced blood of the wise Kvaser, which Odin stole from the Giant Suttung, "becomes a skald or a man of lore" (skáld eða fræða-maðr). Arni Magnússon is well aware of this evolution of the sense of óðr, and states it in his scholarly fashion in "Vita Sæmundi Multiscii" (in "Edda Sæmundar hinns Fróda" I., xxii.-xxiii., Hafniæ, 1787). As reason for deriving Edda from óðr he gives, that he has come across the expressions "Eddu list," the art of Edda, and "Eddu reglur," the rules of Edda, in two poets of the fourteenth century. From these expressions he says "it is clearly to be gathered that the said word Edda does not mean a poetical book, but the poetry itself or the doctrine (teaching) of poetry, since metrical art was in use long before the Edda was put to writing." But in this argument Arni overlooks the fact (possibly because he did not know of the existence of 'Upsala Edda') that the poets he mentions obviously knew the rules and art of Edda from a written corpus, which bore that name, and which was regarded by their contemporaries as the standard work, by the rules of which it was obligatory for poets to abide. For both poets, one of whom was a Benedictine abbot of Thingeyrar, the other an Augustinian canon regular of Thickby, bid defiance to the prevailing fashion of slavish adherence to the rules of this poetical law-code.

Arni Magnússon's derivation was taken up by Professor Konrad Gíslason of Copenhagen in a paper he contributed to "Aarböger för nordisk Oldkyndighed" in 1884. On the lines of comparative philology he endeavours, in a most learned manner, to show that Edda may be derived from *óðr*, and may thus mean what he in Danish calls "poetik," a term equivalent to ars poetica. In support of this derivation he adduces *stedda*, a mare, which he derives from *stóð*, a collection of horses out at pasture and not employed in domestic use; this word is really the same as the English stud. Another corroborative instance he detects in *ledda*, the leaden sinker on a line used for deep-sea fishing. I say leaden, which to you will appear a superfluous epithet to a sinker. But I do it, because I am old enough to remember the time when,

in the East of Iceland, where I was born and bred, the foreign sinker of lead, which exclusively went under the name of *ledda*, was driving out the homely sinker made of a surf-filed oblong spheroid boulder, the longer diameter of which was about eight, the shorter about five inches long. This kind of sinker was called *sakka*, etymologically identical with the English term "sink." When the *ledda* had got into general use, and the old stone *sakka* was gone out of existence, the two terms, *sakka* and *ledda*, were promiscuously applied to the lead sinker for a while; but now the genuine native term, *sakka*, is, I think I may say with certainty, the one universally and exclusively used; the reason being, that *ledda* was felt to be a foreign word for which there was no use any longer, when it had driven out of the field the old occupier. Well this word, *ledda*, Gíslason derives from *lóð*, which, amongst other things, means a mason's plummet, and as a technical term for that object, is a modern loan-word in Icelandic.

Now *stedda* is certainly a foreign loan-word. It is found in two fifteenth century MSS., one a copy of the romantic story of Parcival, the other a MS. of Grettis saga. But, of course, it is of a much older date, though most likely it came to Iceland in the Norwegian translation of Parcival's saga, which is founded on the "Conte el Graal" by "Chrestien de Troyes," and was done into Norse in the days of the Norwegian king Hakon the Old (1219-1263). Now, to derive *stedda*, a term for the individual we know by the name of *mare*, from *stóð*, a *collective term* for a number of horses of either sex and any age, including foals, seems to me simply impossible. So derived, considering that in that case, formally regarded, it would be a diminutive, what could the word possibly mean but little stud, a small collection of horses of any sex and age out on pasture? The same objection applies to *ledda* if derived from *lóð*: what could the word mean in that case but little plummet? In derivations to overlook the no less delicate than unerring logic of *sense-evolution* must necessarily lead to results that fail to hit the mark.

Now it is a fact that cannot be ignored, that of the many genuine Icelandic stems terminating in -óð there is not one that evolves a diminutive term -edd-. (Masculines: Hróðr, praise; sjóðr, purse; gróðr, growth; móðr, temper; róðr, rowing, &c. Neuters: blóð, blood; flóð, flood; kóð, fry of fish; skóð, scathing weapon; tróð, roof-laths. Fem.: glóð, gleeds; hlóð, hearth; slóð, sleuth;

track—in none of these, or any other similar cases that I can think of, is there any trace of a tendency to form diminutive derivatives in -edd-). And I certainly do not think I overstate the case in saying that such a form-evolution *is altogether foreign to the Icelandic language.* As to *stedda*, I must venture to suggest that it is simply derived from Engl. *stud*(-horse), a stallion, and meant originally a breeding mare.

Gíslason himself admits that Edda is to be regarded as a diminutive of *óðr*; but he translates it "poetik," *i.e.*, poétics, the art or doctrine of poetry. But to make a diminutive form of a word that means song, poetry, to express anything but song, poetry in some diminutive sense, is altogether contrary to the logic of sense-evolution. And I must regard it as a matter admitting of no doubt, that such a diminutive never could have conveyed the sense of teaching of or instruction in the vast body of laws that regulate the whole art. Besides, there is the incontestable fact, that Edda *was* the name of a book teaching the art of poetry, consequently Edda rules and Edda art are terms that simply mean the teaching relating to the art of poetry which is contained in the book called Edda.

The derivations I have now dealt with meet with so many and so serious objections as to render them obviously untenable.

Now, as the explanation of the name that I am about to venture on is not confined to etymological speculation only, but will be supported by historical facts and evidence of probability, I will begin by briefly glancing at the history of the two books that currently bear the name of Edda.

In the year 1639 one of the most learned men of the North, Brynjólf Sveinsson, was appointed Bishop of Skalholt in Iceland. Soon after his accession to the see he became the possessor of the MS. which contains nearly the whole of the songs that collectively go under the name of The Older Edda. There seems little doubt that he acquired this MS. in the year 1643, for his monogram ⊬, with that date affixed, is written on the foot of the first page of the MS. Where or from whom the Bishop got the book we do not know. He caused a copy of the MS. to be taken on vellum and gave it the title "Edda Sæmundi Multiscii." This copy he gave to the historian Thormod Torfason, but what has become of it is not known. About 1662 the Bishop made a present of the old book to King Frederick III. of Denmark, and now it is preserved in the so-called Old Collection in the Great Royal Library of Copenhagen,

No. 2365, 4^0. An excellent phototype edition of the MS. was brought out at Copenhagen, 1891, under the superintendence of Prof. Wimmer and Dr. Finnur Jónsson. The age of the MS. is variously referred by various palæographists to the 50 years between 1220 and 1270.

A fragment of a codex that has contained a collection of ancient lays such as we have in Cod. Regius of the Older Edda is preserved in the Arna Magnæan collection of MSS. at Copenhagen (No. 748, 4to). Bugge, in his excellent edition of the Older Edda, has made it clear that both these MSS., the only larger monuments of Old Eddaic Lays now existing, older than the seventeenth century, are descended through various intervening links from one common original.

The songs we now know under the common title of the Older Edda, seem from the beginning to have formed two groups within the same book: the mythical and the heroic group. Of each group there appeared, not later than the thirteenth century, a *popular edition* in the shape of a prose paraphrase, interlarded, after the fashion of the sagas, with verses from the songs themselves in corroboration of this or that statement. The paraphrase of the mythic songs was done by Snorri Sturluson, and goes under the name of Gylfaginning; that of the heroic songs is due to an unknown author, and is known as the Völsunga saga. Where these paraphrases draw upon, or quote verses from, songs which still are preserved in the Cod. Regius of the Older Edda, they show that the text of those songs was so closely in agreement with those still preserved, as to warrant the conclusion that both sets of lays descended from a common written source.

Now as to the Prose Edda, or the Edda of Snorri Sturluson, that work is preserved to us in three principal MSS., the Cod. Regius 2367 4^0, in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, from the early part of the fourteenth century, defective at the beginning; the Codex Wormianus, from about 1330, now in the Arna Magnæan collection at Copenhagen, N. 242 fol., an imperfect book with many lacunas; the Codex Upsaliensis, the oldest of these three, from about 1300, preserved as No. 11 among the Delagardian collections at the University Library of Upsala.

Besides these principal codices of Snorra Edda, there are still extant several fragments on vellum, all dating from the fourteenth century, except one from the fifteenth.

Of the three principal codices aforenamed, the one that

especially concerns us is the Codex Upsaliensis. It is agreed on all hands that it must be a descendant from Snorri's own original; and Dr. Finnur Jónsson, a first rate authority in these matters, takes the Codex to be a copy of Snorri's own work, or of an apograph of the same. It must have been written by some member of Snorri's kindred or at any rate under the auspices of one. It begins by a titular superscription in red letters, which in literal translation runs as follows:—

"This Book is called Edda. Snorri Sturluson has put it together according to the manner herein set forth. First there is (told) of the Æsir and Ymir. Next thereto is Skaldskaparmál and the names of many things. Last is Háttatal, which Snorri wrought on King Hakon and Duke Skuli."

This title is in the hand of the scribe who copied the MS. itself, and is clearly the first item he penned of it. Consequently it is not added later, or after the copying of the MS. had been executed. The words: "This book is called Edda," therefore, can hardly be the invention of the scribe. They must be derived from the original of which this MS. is a copy. Even if they were due to the scribe, they could only mean that he knew, or had learnt, that the name given by people in general to the book was Edda. But the most natural way of accounting for the title is, as I have said, to take it for a copy of an older original.

This MS. bears evidence of connection with Snorri's literary activity and of having been executed at the instance of near relatives of his. For it contains a list of Court poets corresponding to such an one as Snorri must have drawn up and used for his Heimskringla; it also contains a genealogy of the Sturlungs, Snorri's kindred, that terminates with a nephew of his, and lastly a series of the Speakers-at-Law (Lögsögumenn) down to Snorri's second speakership, 1222-31. The MS. is written probably rather before than after 1300, some 50 to 60 years after Snorri's death.

Such being the case, the conclusion seems warranted that Snorri himself gave this name to his work.

Well, then, this conclusion brings us face to face with certain historical facts connected with the life of Snorri Sturluson, which cannot be overlooked and must on no account be ignored, as hitherto has been the case, when a rational solution is to be attempted of the origin and meaning of Edda as a book-title.

Snorri Sturluson was born in 1178, in the west of Iceland, at a place called Hvam. A child of three years of age, he was taken into fostering at Oddi by the grandson of Sæmund the Learned, Jón Loptsson, 1181; and at Oddi the future historian of the Scandinavian races remained till he was 19 years of age, when (1197) his fosterfather died. Jón Loptsson was universally acknowledged to be the mightiest chief and the highest character in the land; and was succeeded by a son, Sæmund, Snorri's foster-brother, who combined all the best and noblest characteristics of the famous race of Sæmund the Learned.

What sort of a house was this, at which Snorri spent his studious and eager-minded youth, and where he laid the foundations of his future greatness as critic, historian, mythographer, poet, lawyer, politician? Why, it was a famous house of learning. Sæmund the Learned, after having spent many years in studious pursuits on the continent of Europe, particularly at Paris, was persuaded to return to his native land, a youth of twenty, in 1076. And settling down at the family mansion of Oddi soon bestirred himself in setting up a school there, which his descendants were most zealous in maintaining in healthy emulation with those of Skalholt and Hawkdale. Sæmund himself must have been, of all men in Iceland, about the best versed in contemporary learning abroad, and the wealth of his house supplied him with ample means for getting together a library suitable to his tastes as a scholar and satisfying his ambition as a schoolmaster.

What Sæmund began we know his descendants took zealous care of even into the thirteenth century.

So far, then, we are in possession of these historical facts: (1) That Snorri Sturluson was fostered for sixteen years at Oddi. (2) That Oddi was still a famous centre of learning at the time. (3) That Snorri is the author of the book which the Codex Upsaliensis says is called Edda. (4) That the first main portion of that book is a prose paraphrase of mythical songs such as we have collected in the book which variously bears the names of the Poetical, the Older, or Sæmund's Edda.

Other historical points present themselves. They are obvious, it is true, and therefore pass without any particular notice, somewhat after the fashion of the walk of man, which is an obvious and unheeded fact, but in reality a continuous succession of interrupted and counteracted falls. It is obvious that Snorri must have had before him a collection of mythical songs such as we know exist

in the Cod. Reg. of the Older Edda. It is obvious that a book containing this collection must have existed. It is obvious that it must have been kept somewhere, and that Snorri must have found it somewhere, or got it from somewhere for the purpose of paraphrasing it. Now the Older Edda is a book for scholars, and always has been. It has never been a popular book or a book for the general reader in the real sense of that expression. And though its language was generally understood by the people, being the same in grammatical form and syntactical structure as the idiom they spoke themselves, the mythic and heroic background of a vast number of its allusions was as much a sealed mystery to the general reader of the twelfth century as it is to him of the nineteenth. Nay, even more so. Orders for copies of such a book must have been few and far between. We know that we can gauge pretty accurately the popularity of the old books of Iceland by the number of MSS. and MS. fragments of them that have escaped destruction to our day. The Older Edda has reached us in two fragments only, for the Cod. Reg., though less of a fragment than A.M. 748, is still but a fragment.

It is an evident matter that such a work would chiefly be found in the libraries of seats of learning. Now, in the days of Snorri there were several such in the country: Oddi, Skalholt, Hawkdale, besides the monasteries. At some one of these such a book was most naturally to be looked for. But it was not a book one would expect to find in the house of an ordinary yeoman.

Seeing that it was quite as likely that it should be found at Oddi as at any of the other seats of learning in the country; and considering Snorri's long sojourn at Oddi and his intimate connection with the lords of that manor from 1181-1241, there is nothing whatever in the nature of improbability about the assumption that it was at Oddi that Snorri became acquainted with the contents of the volume, or that it was from Oddi that he borrowed it in order to bring out his popular prose edition of it, if, indeed, he did not do it before he left Oddi.[1] Now, assuming that such a perfectly natural thing should have happened, why should Snorri have given the name of Edda to a book of his, the first main portion of which was this very paraphrase? Or, if he did not himself give this name to the book, why should his family, under whose auspices the book

[1] I think it must be granted that in finished stateliness of style, Cod. Ups. stands far behind the later recensions, Reg. and Worm., and bears in comparison to them the stamp of immaturity.

was copied some fifty years after his death, give their sanction to the statement that the title of the book was Edda?

The natural answer to these queries is this: Snorri's book was called Edda by somebody or somebodies for some reason or another. The inventor of the title might have been Snorri or some relative of his or anyone else; but the reason why it took the form of Edda must have been one. Well, the book began with that most important section, the paraphrase, or popularized edition of mythical songs contained in a book preserved at Oddi. Scholars and other outsiders who knew of the existence of such a book at Oddi would naturally, in talking about it, give it a derivative local designation. That designation must take the form of a feminine, agreeing with "bók," understood, and be derived from the name of the place where it was preserved, in accordance with the laws and feeling of the Icelandic language. The term satisfying these conditions in every way was Edda = the book of, or at Oddi.[1]

Now what name could a popularized edition of this book bear more properly than that of the mother MS.? And this is even what, in my opinion, has taken place, that either Snorri himself or some one else who knew that Snorri's work was a prose edition of the famous Codex of Oddi, *gave the prose edition the name of its poetical original.*

That Edda, as a book-title, is to be derived from Oddi, is a proposition in support of which I may adduce one further consideration. We have seen already that the author of the recension represented by Cod. Upsaliensis did not know the term "edda" as an appellative for woman. Consequently he did not know the document—the sole document, so far as we know—that preserved this word, I mean the Lay of Rig. Yet he calls the book Edda when he sets about writing it; for the first words he penned of the book were these: "Bók þessi heitir edda," this book is hight Edda. Now, to me it is incomprehensible, that the author of this recension, or the copyist of it (the scribe of Cod. Ups.) should have borrowed out of Rígsmál the name Edda, in the sense of great-grandmother, for a title to the book, and yet in the chapter on "ókend heiti" should not only be ignorant of the term as a synonym for woman, but should even betray no acquaintance whatever with that poem. It is therefore an obvious matter that "Edda" has come to figure here, as a book-

[1] Edda is formed from Oddi in the same manner as is "hyrna" from "horn" in "Vatnshyrna," the book of Vatnshorn.

title, entirely independently of Rígsmál. And where could it then have been got from, but from Oddi, as already shown above?

But now, you will ask, what about the *etymology* of this strange word? Will that suit or unsuit it for the purpose you maintain it answers?

Well, the fact of the matter is, that we have to deal with two Eddas, sprung from an identical *sound-source*, but from two realities as distinct from each other as, *e.g.*, are Salisbury, England's prime minister, and Salisbury, the episcopal see of that name.

Primitive appellatives are parents of derivative appellatives on one hand, and of proper names on the other. In the Icelandic language there is an old appellative ODDR, an -a stem, meaning a *point* (of an instrument, a weapon, &c.); concurrently with this the ancient language (as well as the modern) has the form ODDI, an -an stem, signifying a point of land jutting into water. Both these appellatives pass at a very early age into proper names, without however at all losing their appellative character and use: Oddr into proper *personal* name only, Oddi into proper name for both *persons* and *places*. What Oddr and Oddi, as personal names for *homo masculus*, primitively signify, is a matter I need not go into. What Edda, derived from these names, etymologically must mean, is too obvious to require explanation. She is the female counterpart of Oddr or Oddi, as, for instance, Æsa is of Asi, Hrefna of Hrafn, Olöf of Olafr, &c. She is the passive, while Oddr or Oddi is the active principle in the evolution of the species, simply: *Woman. This is the Edda of Rígsmál.* From Oddi, as a local name, the derivative fem. Edda for a particularly notable book preserved at a place of such a name, is in every way appropriately evolved both as to form and sense. This I maintain is the derivation of the Edda of Cod. Upsaliensis, which, as far as any tangible evidence goes, has nothing to do with Rígsmál.

In both cases, however, Edda descends from the stems odd- and oddan- in a perfectly correct manner. Only, the palatal mutation of o > e is a phonetic change peculiar to Iceland and unquestionably of late date. Similar cases we have in hnot > hnetr, nut; kom- > kemr, comes; sof- > sefr, sleeps; brodd- goad, > bredda, big knife; boli, bull, > belja, cow; þollr, pine, > þella, pine sapling, &c.

If I am right in what I have advanced in the foregoing argument, with regard to the real derivation of Edda as a book title, all

attempts of modern scholars to show that the irrelevant lucubrations of Biörn of Skarðsá (1574-1655) are the original source of the tradition which to this day has linked the Older Edda to the name of Sæmund the Learned of Oddi, must be regarded in the light of irrelevancy themselves. That tradition must be allowed to date far rather from the twelfth or thirteenth, than from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. This being granted, the solution of the vexed and long discussed question : who was the probable collector of the songs of the Older Edda, need not wait much longer for a satisfactory answer.

HUTCHINGS AND CROWSLEY, 123, Fulham Road, S.W.

Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. I. PART III.

ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY & MUSEUM.

In addition to the gifts to the Library and the Museum given on pp. 2—4, and 115—117, the following have since been received:—

GIVEN BY

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

"Catalogue of the Manks Crosses, with Runic Inscriptions and various Readings and Renderings compared." Second Edition. By P. M. C. Kermode, F.S.A.Scot.

REV. J. SEPHTON, M.A.

"On Some Runic Romains." By the Rev. J. Sephton, M.A., Reader in Icelandic at University College, Liverpool, etc.

ALEXANDER BUGGE.

"Handelen mellem England og Norge indtil Begyndelsen af det 15de Aarhundrede." Af Alexander Bugge.

PROFESSEUR AD. DE CEULENEER.

"Type d'Indien du Nouveau Monde répresenté sur un Bronze antique du Louvre. Nouvelle Contribution à l'Interprétation d'un Fragment de Cornelius Nepos." Par Ad. de Ceuleneer, professeur à l'Université de Gand. 1890.

"Le Colorado. Conférence faite à la Société Royale de Géographie d'Anvers." Par M. A. de Ceuleneer, professeur à l'Université de Gand, Membre de l'Académie archéologique de Belgique, etc. Vol. I. 1890.

A. W. JOHNSTON.

"The Dwarfie Stone of Hoy, Orkney." Reprinted from *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist* for April, 1896. By A. W. Johnston.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

"Five Pieces of Runic Poetry." Translated from the Icelandic Language. By Bishop Percy, but published anonymously. London. 1763.

ALEXANDER GARDNER.

"Scandinavian Folklore." By W. A. Craigie, M.A., F.S.A.Scot. Presented by the Publisher.

A. W. JOHNSTON.

"Birds of Omen." By Jessie M. E. Saxby. (30 copies.)

A. G. MOFFAT.

"Scandinavian Literature." By Rev. J. Bosworth. 1839.

JOSEPH ANDERSON, LL.D.

"Notice of a Cave recently discovered at Oban, containing Human Remains and a Refuse Heap." By Joseph Anderson, LL.D.

"Notes on the Contents of a Refuse Heap at the base of a fortified Rock, near Oban." By Joseph Anderson, LL.D.

A. W. JOHNSTON.

A Pair of Rivlins, or Shoes made of undressed hide. Ancient type of shoe still worn in parts of Orkney and the Shetlands; made in Sanday, Orkney.

ACQUIRED BY EXCHANGE:

"Two Norse Lays." I. The Home-bringing of the Hammer. Translated from the old Norse, with explanatory notes. II. The Awakening of the Gods. Kirkwall. 1873. (Three copies.)

"Sturlunga Saga: including the Islendinga Saga of Lawman Sturla Thordsson and other works." Edited by Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson. 2 vols. (Clarendon Press).

"Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi." Edited from a 12th Century MS. By F. Metcalfe, M.A. (Clarendon Press).

SPECIAL DONATIONS TO FUNDS.

	£	s.	d.
John Walker, Esq.	1	11	0
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Miss C. Horsford	12	10	0
Samuel Laing, Esq.	1	0	0
Abany F. Major, Umboths-man	3	0	0

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

AMONG publications by members of the Club during the year are the following :—

"Queen of the Isles." A Shetland Tale. By Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby.

"The Bondwoman." A Story of the Northmen in Lakeland. By W. G. Collingwood. (London: Edward Arnold).

"In the Northman's Land." Travel, Sport, and Folklore in the Hardanger Fjord and Fjeld. By Major A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, F.R.G.S., F.R.S. (London: Sampson Low, Marsden & Co.).

"Norse Tales and Sketches." By Alexander L. Kielland. Translated by R. L. Cassie. (London: Elliot Stock).

"Handelen mellem England og Norge indtil begyndelsen af det 15de Aarhundrede." By Alexander Bugge (Christiania).

"Wulfric the Weapon-Thane." A Story of the Danish Invasion of East Anglia in the Days of Edmund the Martyr. By the Rev. Charles W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., L.S.A. (London: Blackie).

"Some Ancient Stone Forts in Carnarvonshire." By Lady Paget. (Privately printed).

"The Northmen in Wales." By Lady Paget. (Privately printed).

"The Caves in Allt Gwyn, Dwygyfylchi, Carnarvonshire. By Lady Paget. (Privately printed).

"On Some Runic Remains." A Lecture. By the Rev. J. Sephton, M.A. (Privately printed).

"The 'Dwarfie Stone' of Hoy, Orkney." By A. W. Johnston, in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist* for April.

FORTHCOMING WORKS.

"King Olaf's Kinsman." A Story of the Coming of King Cnut, and Olaf's Deeds in England. By the Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., L.S.A. (Blackie).

*** *The Editor will be glad if Members will bring to his notice any article or publication by them which might find a place under this or the foregoing headings.*

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

FOURTH SESSION, 1896.

AL-THING, JANUARY 10TH, 1896.

The REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. Gilbert Goudie (Jarla-man), F.S.A.Scot., read a paper on "The Norsemen in Shetland," which is printed in full on another page.

In the course of the discussion which followed, the Law-man, Mr. A. W. Johnston, said that an interesting point with regard to the Norwegian government of the islands was that the Earl of Orkney had to undertake their defence at his own cost, on which account he did not have to contribute any tax to the King of Norway, his nominal sovereign, as had to be done by the Earls in Norway itself. With regard to the pledging of the sovereignty of the islands by Norway, Orkney was first pledged by special treaty, and, there not being sufficient money to pay the remainder of the Princess's dowry, Shetland was likewise pledged, but without any treaty being apparently drawn up. The old Schynd Court, which granted a Bill to each successor to an Udal holding, has ceased to exist, so that at present Udallers have no proper legal method of making up their title to their heritages, an anomaly which calls for rectification. The speaker called attention to Sir George Dasent's theory, that the islands were empty and desolate when the Norsemen first invaded them, and that it was not before their swords that the ancient inhabitants disappeared: a theory which he drew from the fact that the Sagas are silent on the subject of conflicts. Mr. Johnson also pointed out that the "collie" or old black lamp was still in use, and that he had recently acquired one

in Orkney, as well as an iron mould, in which one had been made last year.

The Rev. John Spence said that Shetland as a whole was very dear to him, and he was sorry that he had not come prepared to discuss the subject at length. He also regretted that Mr. Goudie had not entered into fuller detail: light upon the place-names especially would have been most valuable. He hoped, however, that Mr. Goudie would favour the club again on the subject. He himself, as a Shetlander, had navigated the islands in every part, and knew every rock and headland round the coasts, and the whole country inland as well. He had also travelled all the world over, and knew and loved people of all nations; but he was bound to say that his heart always retained a special love for "the old rock" and its inhabitants above all others, and therefore the chance of being present that night had been very welcome to him.

The Jarl said that if the audience had missed something of the detail they might have desired, it arose, he thought, from the fulness of the lecturer's knowledge of his subject and his fear to overload it with details. Shetlanders could probably fill in for themselves many of the gaps, but possibly others who were not connected with the islands would have appreciated the lecture better had fuller details been given. He felt much interest in the problem of the Pictish inhabitants: for though Mr. Goudie said they were probably absorbed, local tradition in North Shetland at any rate said very decidedly that they were exterminated after long and desperate fighting; and to this he inclined, in spite of the opinion of Sir G. W. Dasent, quoted by Mr. Johnston, that they had previously left the islands, as no warfare is recorded in the Sagas. In Unst there was a tradition that the warfare continued till the only surviving Picts were a priest and his son. Their one possession of value was a knowledge of the way to brew heather-beer. The Norse invaders, coveting this secret, offered their captives their lives in return for the knowledge of it. The priest consented to teach it them on condition that they first slew his son. When this deed was done he defied them, and carried the

secret with him to his grave. So, for good or ill, the art of brewing beer out of heather was lost to the world. It was a question whether there was any real survival of Celtic names in Shetland. If there were none, the fact supported the view that the Picts had been exterminated, not absorbed, assuming that they had not been destroyed by pestilence. If we may judge from many other instances, place-names have such wondrous vitality that many of them must have survived, had the earlier inhabitants been absorbed. This was especially the case in a country like Shetland, where every feature in the landscape, each stone along the shore, every rock and skerry, even to the reefs below the surface, every knoll and dell, even to a dimple on a hill side, had a local name describing it. These names, however, were fast dying out; and for this the curse of the lovers of the past will rest on the Scotch schoolmasters and the officers of the Ordnance Survey. The schoolmasters transformed and explained away the names they were too ignorant to understand; and the Survey officials took down the local nomenclature from the lips of the most talkative, and therefore generally of the most ignorant, people. He was afraid, too, that the ministers, or many of them, would have also to stand in the pillory for the destruction they had wrought in their crusade against superstition. However, he was glad to say that the researches of Mr. Jacob Jacobsen had aroused much interest, and there was some hope that the process of destruction would be arrested. He himself had heard in use almost all the personal names mentioned by Mr. Goudie, and he thought that the Norse forms still persisted, the forms given as corruptions being pet names or diminutives. It had been very interesting to him, when visiting Norway some years ago, to find that seafaring terms used by the fishermen and boatmen, and also the peasants' names for flowers and plants, were practically identical in Shetland and Norway. As regards the prospect of the Norse element in the islands continuing, it must be borne in mind that Shetlanders have a wonderful faculty of absorbing other races, and even Scotchmen and their descendants settled in the islands soon become Shetlanders in feeling, and develop

a true insular hatred of everything Scotch. This hatred of Scotchmen was doubtless partly due to the fact that the ministers, schoolmasters, and lairds, classes all likely at one time or another to arouse animosity, were Scotch. As regards the landholders being mainly of Scotch descent, the way in which the native Udallers were rooted out and their lands acquired by foreigners made a very shameful record. In his boyhood Prince Lucien Bonaparte had visited the islands on the same errand as Dr. Jacobsen, and stayed with his father. The Prince's opinion was that the language in Shetland had never been a pure Norse tongue. Ecclesiastical buildings abounded; and this was especially so in the case of small chapels dating from Roman Catholic times, which were so frequent along the coast, all now in ruins. The ancient dykes referred to by Mr. Goudie were a noticeable feature in the landscape, and were remarkable. They exist only in outline, and are broken by many gaps. When used for division walls, if they were ever so used, they must have been constructed for the most part of turf. Possibly they were never intended to do more than indicate the delimitations of different townships. In conclusion, he would only refer to one more legend, that of the so-called New Kirk in Unst, of which the story ran that it had never been finished, for whatever the builders built by day the Picts came and destroyed by night, till at last the task was given up in despair. From careful examination of it, and calculation as to the amount of material remaining in the walls and ruins (there being little reason to suppose that the stones had been removed for other purposes), he thought that the story of its never being finished was true, and even that there might be some truth in the legend told about it. Close to the ruin there were the remains of a stone circle, perfect on the far side, though on the near side the stones had evidently been removed. (Query, to build the church ?) On the under side of the church was a green mound, into which he had dug, discovering many fragments of pottery, calcined bones, heather charcoal, and white, sea-worn pebbles, which (Mr. Anderson told him) were associated with interments where the dead had been burned. His conclusion was that the

building dated from early Christian times; and that a burial-place and place of meeting held sacred in heathen days had been chosen as its site, possibly out of the spirit of monkish fanaticism that led to the desecration of heathen shrines in other parts also. But many of the people, though perhaps outwardly Christian, still cherished their old beliefs, and, angered by the sacrilege, came by night to undo the builders' work till their superstitious fears led them to abandon it.

AL-THING, JANUARY 31ST, 1896.

Mr. W. F. KIRBY (Lawright-man) in the Chair.

Dr. Jon Stefansson (Lawright-man) read a paper on "The Saga." The lecturer said that when we speak of Sagas, we mean, *par excellence*, the Icelandic family Sagas. The fact that only Iceland, and not Norway, should have these, can only be explained on the supposition that the inhabitants of Iceland were differentiated from their kinsmen in Norway, not only by their new surroundings, but also by a strong infusion of the artistic spirit of the Celt. More than one-half of the settlers of Iceland were born and bred in the half-Norse and half-Celtic petty kingdoms in Ireland and the Western Isles. Story-telling had, after centuries, reached a high perfection in Ireland. The mode and manner of telling stories, the elaborate memorising of hundreds of them by heart, all agree with the Icelandic way. Yet the difference of the Irish and Icelandic Saga stands out in strong relief. In Iceland its power is concentrated on human emotion. In Ireland it deals more with the supernatural and gorgeous, though it has a feeling for nature, which the Icelandic Saga lacks. Fate does not work itself out more inexorably and artistically in tragedies of Sophocles than it does in some of the Sagas. Take, for example, the Laxdæla Saga. The final catastrophe is at first but faintly and vaguely indicated. Chapter by chapter, insensibly, it grows more clearly inevitable. The conflict is prepared with the most consummate art. No details, however small, are neglected that may contribute to bring about the end aimed at. The thread of fate, which

binds together all the moving incidents of the tale, is woven into it with a master hand. The elements themselves are leagued with fate. Geirmund does not get a fair wind on leaving Iceland until the sword, that was destined to give Kiartan his death-wound, had been taken from him. If character-drawing of men and women is the highest achievement in literature, the Icelandic Sagas rank with the highest literature of the world. Even their very excrescences are not so superfluous as is thought. Family registers are, in the light of heredity, useful helps to elucidate the characters of hero and heroine. The relation of the Sagas of Ireland and Iceland has not yet been studied by one who is equally equipped with knowledge of the vast body of Sagas existing in the two countries—in the case of Ireland mostly yet unpublished.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. R. Ford Smith said that he had been very much interested by Dr. Stefansson's paper, but there were one or two points he should like to comment on. With regard to the theory that the Sagas, or perhaps rather the power of composing Sagas, was principally derived from the intercourse of the Norsemen with Celtic races, it was surely the fact that the Sagas were written from Icelandic originals. Many Sagas—for instance, those contained in the Heimskringla and the historical Sagas generally—must probably have been brought from Norway by fugitives from Harald Haarfager, and Sagas so brought may surely be regarded as needing no alien inspiration. Their form was most likely derived from the shape given them by the actual tellers; for, as Dr. Stefansson had pointed out, the Sagas were handed down orally, and the fact of the whole people being more or less Saga-tellers is a strong argument for their preserving the actual truth of events, as everyone could check the teller if he erred. We were very fortunate in having them, as for this reason they had probably reached us in a very perfect state. He had always been under the impression that when the chief of a district rode down to the shore on the arrival of a ship, it was to fix the price of the goods in the cargo, rather than to learn the latest news. He would also like to protest against the description of Njal

as meekly giving in to his wife, and compounding for her quarrels. He had always looked on it as a very noble characteristic of Njal, that he declined to be dragged into a quarrel with his friend by female spite, counting his friendship worth the lives of many thralls.

The Umboths-man, Mr. A. F. Major, said he would endeavour to deal with some of the points raised by the last speaker, leaving it to the lecturer to correct him if he were wrong. It was, he thought, a fact that the chief of a district rode down when a ship reached the shores of Iceland, to fix the price of the goods, and to purchase what he himself required. Till he had done so no one might traffic with the merchantmen without incurring the risk of an onslaught from the chief's followers. He agreed also with the last speaker's remarks about Njal, and considered his refusal to be dragged into the quarrels of his wife a very fine trait. Njal valued his ancient friendship with Gunnar above the lives of many thralls, as Mr. Smith had said. With regard to the larger question of the origin of the Sagas, he thought northern scholars erred in insisting on the Icelandic literature as something quite unique in the North. The remarkable feature with regard to that literature was rather the fact that it had been recorded and handed down to us. But there was evidence that a considerable store of Sagas and songs very similar had also existed elsewhere in the North. In Denmark there were the Sagas on which Saxo Grammaticus founded his work; in Norway, the histories which the emigrants carried to Iceland to be handed down and committed to writing there; in England, the song of Beowulf, the lays of Caedmon and Cynewulf, the songs enshrined in the Chronicle, and the lays of the people of which King Alfred speaks. There had been found, too, in Denmark, a single leaf of a lost English poem, King Waldhere's lay. It evidently belonged to a work of great length, and it is probable that many other such poems had also perished, leaving no trace. He thought, too, that Dr. Karl Blind, had he been present, would have had something to say of traces of Sagas among the Germanic races, still preserved in the Nibelungen Lied, or in that later, though ancient, poem of

Gudrun, which must be founded on a lost Saga. It may be observed, too, that some of the Eddaic poems of the Nibelung cycle seem more akin to the German version than to the Icelandic one preserved in the Volsunga Saga, as Sigurd's death appears to take place in the free forest, as in Germany, and not as in Iceland by night in his hall. He knew but little of the Irish Sagas, but they seemed in spirit to differ widely from the Icelandic, though not perhaps more widely than the two lands; for the literature born among the loughs and wooded mountains, the green meadows, and broad streams of Ireland, would of necessity be far apart from that of the rugged rocks and gloomy valleys of Iceland, with its furious torrents brawling through vast lava wastes, and only a few scant acres here and there of fertile soil. Perhaps the most striking feature of the Icelandic Sagas, that they are practically the earliest prose writings of modern Europe, may be due to Irish influence, for most of the literature he had mentioned is in verse. But it could not be allowed that the kinsmen of those who sang the songs of Beowulf and Waldhere, or handed down the Sagas on which Saxo drew, needed a blend of Celtic blood to give them inspiration. They, too, had drunk of the mead that Odin stole from the giants: the mead that the goddess Saga poured out for the Skalds in Valhalla, and had listened to Bragi, the teller of the endless tale. Rightly considered, the marvel of Icelandic literature is that it has lived when so much has perished and left us scarce a vestige that it once was. All honour to the people whose sturdy love of freedom won them a home where they could keep the songs and records of their race alive, and the debt we owe them for what they have saved for us is very great. But other lands were less happy. When the Danes ravished England tirelessly for two hundred years or more, giving to the flames hall and garth and abbey with their stores of precious vellums, who knows what priceless treasures of song and story went flaring up to the blue lift above. Surely the Eddas and Sagas were but the peaks of a vast continent that elsewhere the sea of constant strife had swept away.

Mrs. Clare Jerrold thought the views of the last speaker were rather wide of the mark, as it could not be said that

scholars were agreed in regarding Iceland as the only land where myth and mystery were preserved. The ancient history of England, and all the lands about, were full of myths and stories. Yet it was true that the Icelanders were the only people who made a real literature out of their ancient Sagas, and they have probably preserved for us almost all their store. Was it not likely that these stories had a common source? The English tale of Beowulf, the Danish Grendel story, even the Eddaic myth of the ironwood, and the wolves and witches that inhabited it, seemed to spring from one stock. Perhaps Norway, or rather Norway and Sweden, for in this connection they were indivisible, was the place of their birth, whence they spread to surrounding lands, though to the Icelanders belongs the chief credit for their preservation.

Dr. Stefansson replied, as to the Icelanders bringing all their Sagas from Norway, it must be remembered that the history of Norway itself was written in Iceland. When he spoke, too, of the temple-chief coming down to the shore for news, he, of course, did not mean that he came down for that alone, but for that among other things, and to invite the chief man to stay with him, when, doubtless, news would be interchanged. It is true that Saxo incorporated many stories in his work; but, as he had pointed out, Saxo himself says that it was from Icelanders he learned them, or most of them. So he, a Dane, goes to Icelanders, staying at the Court of Denmark, to get the materials for Danish history, showing that if other northern countries had their Sagas, Icelanders alone could record them or relate them artistically. Of course, there were Sagas in other countries; but they have not come down to us, and seem to have been principally in verse, to which he did not refer. It may, perhaps, be fair to infer from a scrap that has reached us the existence of a vast body of early English epics, or Sagas; still, it can only be an assumption. The old English literature that we have is very inferior to the Sagas. Mr. William Morris is right when he says that Iceland should be to the North of Europe what Greece is to the South.

The Chairman said that it seemed to him that the peculiar

merit of the Icelandic literature was that it was largely in prose, unlike most other old literature that we possess. Scandinavia likewise seems to have had a character of its own, which has largely impressed the older literature of other nations. The ballad literature of Finland and Esthonia contains large traces of Scandinavian influence, while the folk-tales were to a large extent of more modern origin, apparently derived in the former country from Russia, and in the latter from Germany. Scandinavia had likewise left a strong impress on Lappish popular literature. But in dealing with any popular literature we must allow for diffusion, both in ancient and modern times, to an extent which we can hardly realise. Popular story-tellers still exist in Ireland; but even those who cannot read or write often take their subjects from the Arabian Nights and other printed sources. The aphorisms in the Havamal are so remarkably like those in the Oriental story of the Wise Heycar, that it is difficult to imagine that the Vikings did not bring back Oriental matter from the East before the time of the Crusades, when it is generally supposed that the influence of Oriental on Western thought and literature really began.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 21ST, 1896.

The REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. Einar Benediktsson read a paper on "The Ancient Thule, or the Isle of Sun." The old Thule, said the lecturer, was known long before Pytheas made his travels in the north-west of Europe. Thus, both Ctesias of Cnidos and Diogenes Antonius wrote on Thule; and, from a work by the latter, it is certain that the name was applied to a country near the region of Iceland as early as the fifth century B.C., One of the strongest proofs that the original Thule was Iceland is that the name, correctly understood, means the Isle of Sun ; for no other island, corresponding with the earliest descriptions, could have been known to the ancient Greek writers in which the sun for days never set. The main part of the name Thule corresponds remarkably with the

various forms of the Celtic *houl*, "sun." As we have Thule, Thyle, Thile, so we have *houl*, *heul*, *hiol*. The old writers differ as do old dialects. The original name of Iceland was Houl-i, or some other combination of the two words, meaning "sun" and "isle," according to the dialect of the discoverer, who is supposed to be a Celt from the British islands, the nearest inhabited land to Iceland at the time. The prefixed T may have arisen in various ways; *e.g.*, as a Gaelic euphonism before a masculine noun beginning with a vowel—and it may be remarked that Bede in one place uses the name Thyle as masculine, and that various forms of names for islands are masculine in old Gaelic dialects; or the prefixed T might be derived from the genitive sign *d'* changed into *t* before the aspirated vowel; or, again, it might have come from a wrong reading or pronunciation of the Greek equivalent of the name ἡ τοῦ ἡλιοῦ νήσος, a form in which the name probably passed into Greek, as such proper names as "a Land of Sun" are usually translated in foreign languages. Another possibility is that the Gaelic euphonic *it* was prefixed to the Norse name Sol-ey and changed to an aspirated *t*, or that the name Houli was adopted in Greek and not understood, the pronoun τό being prefixed, and later on passed in Θούλη. Isidore of Seville states, without giving any philological reason, that Thule is named after the sun, and he seems to have had some earlier authority for this. In fact, this explanation of the name turns out to be the most natural of the multitude of etymological definitions brought forward by writers on the mystic Thuleland. Whoever first set out to search for an island in the northern ocean must naturally have started in the season of the year when the days are long. Gradually he must have seen the day lengthen until he came to a large island where the sun never sets. Thus he got corroboration of the theories of old men of science about the length of the day in the north; and, struck by the glory of the midnight sun, which no one forgets who has once seen it, he gave the land a name harmonising with his strong impression of the wonderful sight. What was more natural than that he should call it the Isle of Sun? And what is more natural than it should be a Celtic name of that signification, which was given

to the land nearest to the British Islands, from which also the Phoenicians and Greeks must have got their earliest information about Ultima Thule. As Iceland was most likely first discovered and named by Celts, so one can see from a passage of Bede that the island was visited (probably from the British Isles) long before 795 A.D., when Dicuilus says that Irish monks went there. The usual interpretation of Landnàma and Islendingabok, that only a few monks were in Iceland when the Norwegians arrived, is unreliable. Many things point to the Irish colony being spread over a large part of Iceland. The Celtic settlement in Iceland partly took place independently of the Norwegian discovery; and it is worth mentioning that the first settler of Iceland in historical times is a Celt, who arrived in the north of Iceland about ten years before Ingolfr Arnarson, commonly called the first settler. As a great part of the population is undoubtedly of Celtic descent, and as the geographical position of Iceland places it in a close connection, commercial and political, with Great Britain, so the earliest traces of any knowledge of Houlee, the Isle of the Sun, have come down to us indirectly from the old Celtic inhabitants of the British Isles.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. J. M. Mitchell said that he had heard the lecture with very great interest, especially the latter part of it. He had always thought that too much stress was laid on the colonisation of Iceland from Denmark and Norway. From many indications he considered that for the origin of the Icelander we must look to the East, as we must in the case of the Celts also. It had long been recognised that in islands old forms of life and customs that had died out on the mainland survive, as is seen to be the case to-day in Orkney, Shetland, and Iceland. He had been struck in Shetland with the Spanish pattern of the woolwork, even before he learned that it could be traced to the time of the Armada. Now, among the Icelanders there were many facts in their customs, legends, and arts to show that the race came, in part at least, from the East. He had a very curious ring, which he bought in Iceland, not perhaps itself more than 400 years old, but of a pattern much more ancient. It was formed of a serpent, not the Midgard Worm,

of the Eddaic mythology, holding his tail in his mouth, but the Eastern serpent that figured as the emblem of the ancient sun worship. At its tail there was a very curious ornament; and he had been told by experts that both that and the serpent ring were almost identical with specimens found in the ruins of Persepolis. He also produced an Icelandic bed-quilt of modern make, but reproducing an antique pattern, which closely resembled patterns of Persian carpets. Again, old fairy tales and folk-lore akin to those of the Celts were also found in Iceland; and in many other points a resemblance to the East could be traced in the habits and customs of Iceland. In conclusion, he would like to ask whether any old serpent-mounds had been found in Iceland, such as those on the west coast of Scotland and in the Hebrides. They were heaped up in the form of a snake, with flat stones to represent the head, and were no doubt a relic of sun worship.

Mr. A. F. Major (the Umboths-man) said that he had been extremely interested by Mr. Benediktsson's suggestive lecture, and thought he had made out a strong case in support of his theory as to the origin of the name "Thule" and its poetical meaning. His argument in favour of a Celtic derivation was so strong that he seemed rather to have weakened than strengthened his case by suggesting a possible derivation from the Greek. But there were points in the latter part of the paper on which he did not quite hold with the lecturer, and he thought the Celtic origin of the Icelanders was by no means so pronounced as was suggested. In the first place there was no historical evidence in favour of the Celtic inhabitants of the British Isles being a seafaring people. The Romans appear to have met with no seafaring people on the northern shores of Europe, except the Veneti whom Caesar encountered in Brittany; and surely if the Britons had been seamen also they would have tried to repel Caesar's invasion by sea, or, at any rate, some naval attack on the Romans during the long time the conquest of Britain lasted would have been recorded. But though Greek and Phoenician sailors had been coasting round their shores for centuries, navigation in the North seems to have had no existence; and a hundred years or more after Caesar's time Tacitus says of

the Suiones, apparently a Scandinavian people inhabiting the south of Sweden, that their vessels had no sails but only oars. Of course some means of traversing the sea they must have had—dug-out canoes, perhaps, or skin-covered boats; and in these they may well have been driven by storms even as far as Iceland—but there was no evidence to show that they were a maritime people, as described by the lecturer. Again, he had found nothing in the facts brought forward by Mr. Benediktsson to shake the conclusions drawn from the statements in the early Icelandic records, that the Celtic settlements before their time consisted only of a few anchorites and recluses. There was no colonisation in the proper sense of the term. For one thing, these Irish monks generally chose the desolate places of the earth to dwell in; and the story told of an Irish bishop directing one of the later settlers where to go points only to a monkish knowledge of the island. Again, had there been an Irish colonisation, Celtic place-names would be found in Iceland; but he was under the impression that the names were almost entirely Scandinavian in their origin. Surely, too, the proportion of the Celtic stock among the settlers of Iceland was nothing like so great as the lecturer affirmed. An admixture there undoubtedly was, yet the language, laws, and customs of the Icelanders remained Norse, which pointed to the settlers, too, having been Norse in the main. Most of those who went thither from Great Britain were of Scandinavian stock, no less than direct immigrants from Norway, coming from England, Orkney, Shetland, and the Norse settlements in Scotland; while even in the case of Ireland the settlers came from the Norse kingdoms which fringed a great part of the coast, and, if of mixed race, the Scandinavian element seems to have been the preponderating one.

Dr. Jon Stefansson wished to thank the lecturer for his paper. He thought Mr. Benediktsson had brought forward good arguments to account for the name Thule, and that his explanation of the poetical name given to Iceland in ancient times—the Sun Isle—was the best yet offered. He was grateful to him for it. He did not think there were any serpent-mounds in Iceland, though he understood that Dr.

Phené, lecturing before the Club last year, believed he had discovered them there. He himself had unfortunately not been present at that lecture; but he could confidently affirm that he had never seen or heard of any such thing in Iceland, and never met anyone else who had done so. Although in the main he agreed with the lecturer, he could not assent to his opinion that more than half the population of Iceland were of Celtic stock. Take Landnámabok, which records the names of thousands of the original settlers. It is true that there are a great many Celtic names there, but the proportion is nothing like so great as Mr. Benediktsson asserted. As regards place-names, very few in Iceland are Celtic: he should doubt if a dozen could be found in the island. But it is quite true that a large proportion, at least two thirds of the original settlers, came from the British Isles. But many of these were Norwegians who touched there on the way, or came from the Orkneys, Shetlands, and other Norse regions.

Mr. Benediktsson, in reply, said that with regard to the early inhabitants of the British Isles not being a seafaring nation, he did not think the silence of Caesar proved this. We did not know where Caesar landed, but obviously he would do his best to evade any seafaring tribes, or would avoid the coast they inhabited. Besides, though they engaged in commerce and peaceful intercourse by sea, it did not follow that they would likewise take to the sea in warfare. Moreover, there might have been a population living in the British Isles at the time of the Roman invasion quite different from those inhabitants of the islands who are supposed to have discovered Iceland for the first time. With regard to the Celtic names, the chief's name was generally given in the records, and even though he were a Norseman, his followers might be largely of Celtic stock. There was no doubt that the governing race in Iceland was of Norse origin; but the Icelanders trace their descent back to the followers rather than to the chiefs, because the last-named were few, the first many. Even considering Landnámabok, his opinion was that the pure Celtic names of historical settlers indicated a Celtic origin of the greater part of the population. But this, after all, was a subsidiary point; and with regard to it he was here

content to rely on the opinion of Gudbrandr Vigfüsson, as expressed in the article on "Iceland," in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica."

The Jarl said he wished to express his personal indebtedness to Mr. Benediktsson for his learned and luminous paper. His only regret had been that it did not last longer. He had come there, as a Shetlander, prepared to resent any attempt to locate "Thule" elsewhere than in Shetland, but he was bound to say the lecturer had converted him. With regard to the point raised as to the existence of seafaring in early Britain, he thought great weight ought to be attached to the absence of evidence on the point from Caesar, who was such a close and careful observer that, had the Britons come under his notice as a seagoing race, he would certainly have recorded it.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 28TH, 1896.

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

The Umboths-man, Mr. Albany F. Major, read a paper on "Sea-faring in Saga-Time," which will be re-produced in full on a future occasion. It was followed by a discussion in which Messrs. W. F. Kirby, E. H. Baverstock, F. T. Norris, Dr. Jon Stefansson, and the Chairman took part.

AL-THING, MARCH 20TH, 1896.

The REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. P. M. C. Kermode read a paper entitled "Illustrations of the Sagas from Early Monuments in the Island of Man," which is reproduced in full in another portion of the *Saga-Book.*

In the discussion which followed, Mr. J. Romilly Allen congratulated the society on its good fortune in having induced Mr. Kermode to travel from the Isle of Man to handle the subject of Manks crosses, of which he had such an intimate

knowledge, and to show the splendid drawings and photographs he had collected. Since Cumming issued his "Runic Remains," many additional stones had been discovered, and also the meaning of ancient symbolism and the origin of the decorative patterns were now much better understood than they were half a century ago. Among other points a new feature had come to light in what Dr. Colley March had styled "the Pagan-Christian overlap." He himself had originally studied ancient symbolism entirely from the Christian point of view, and had doubted if any pagan influence intruded itself; but owing to the study of the Manks crosses he had changed his views on that point. It was the fragment from Kirk Andreas that had first attracted his attention. He had been shown representations of the Sigurd story for the first time on carved wooden doorways of churches in Norway by the present Bishop of Stepney. Upon again studying the Kirk Andreas stone after seeing these a new light broke in upon him, and he recognised subjects from the Volsunga Saga which also appeared in the Norwegian carvings. The Isle of Man was a specially interesting field for study on account of the mixture of styles to be found there, the Celtic-Norse art of the island showing strong resemblances in some respects to that of Scotland, and in others to that of Wales. He hoped one result of this lecture would be to hasten the production of Mr. Kermode's promised work on the Manks crosses.

Mr. A. F. Major (the Umboths-man) asked the lecturer whether it was not possible that some of the crosses in question might date from heathen times. The cross was not a purely Christian symbol, but was widely known in all Aryan lands, and the sign of Thor's hammer, a form of cross, was in use among the Norsemen. Finding the emblem used by the Celtic dwellers in Man as a memorial of the dead, might not the invaders have adopted it? With regard to the interpretation of the emblems, he thought that members present, who had only looked for a few moments at the drawings or lantern slides, could not give much assistance to Mr. Kermode, who had given the designs hours of patient study. But with regard to the figure of a man attacked by an eagle, he would

remind him that there was a story in the Prose Edda, in which the giant Thiassi, in the form of an eagle, carries off Loki, which might possibly be here represented. Also the scene, which Mr. Kermode thought was merely a hunting scene, had struck him forcibly as representing possibly the incident in the last fight at Ragnarök, described in the Prose Edda, where Vidar rends in twain the wolf Fenrir. Certainly the so-called hunter seemed to have one leg in the beast's mouth, while he grasped his upper jaw in his hands. Vidar is described as setting one foot on Fenrir's lower jaw, while, grasping his other jaw, he tore and rent him till he died.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson wished to know whether all the crosses shown by Mr. Kermode were by Gaut. The interlacing or vertebral pattern, as the lecturer styled it, appeared also on the magnificent cross at Gosforth in Cumberland, and it had been suggested that it was derived from the interlocking rings of chain-mail.

The Saga-master (Mr. F. T. Norris) was inclined to dissent from the lecturer's view, that the crosses with purely heathen forms on them, derived from the old mythology, were the work of Christianised Norsemen. The use of such heathen forms appeared to him proof positive that those who had them carved were still believers in the old lore and uninfluenced by the new faith, whatever might be the particular means they might adopt to set forth their belief.

The Jarl agreed with the other speakers, that the cross was not exclusively a Christian symbol, for it was found in all parts of the world, and in pre-Christian times. It was therefore conceivable that pagans might have employed it. With regard to the lecturer's suggestion that the introduction on a monument of scenes from the Volsung legends indicated that the person to whom it was set up claimed to be a descendant of Sigurd, he doubted whether such a deduction could invariably be drawn. Might not a fashion have sprung up of carving such scenes on monuments to the dead in general, even if the descendants of Sigurd set the example? With regard to the introduction of scenes from the heathen mythology on Christian monuments, it must be remembered that the mythology in later times was run, so to speak, into

Christian moulds. The Norsemen, when they first met with Christianity, were quick to recognise its strength; and its influence leavened their beliefs in the form in which they have come down to us.

Dr. J. G. Garson thought there was little doubt that the monuments were not pagan only. The anthropological history of religion shows it to be an invariable rule that, when a new religious cult is adopted by a nation or people, it is grafted on to the older or pre-existing one, of which some portions are retained; and so it doubtless was in the Isle of Man also. Besides this, the crosses shown were all of the later and more complex forms which the symbol took, and on that ground alone they must be assigned to a date later than the re-introduction of Christianity into the island, in the ninth or tenth century. If the lecturer did not already know it, he should like to direct his attention to a monograph on crosses by General Pitt-Rivers, in which the various forms taken by the symbol are traced out.

The lecturer in reply thanked the members for their remarks and criticisms on his paper, but said that, nevertheless, as the result of his study, he was most strongly convinced that these monuments were Christian. The purely pagan monuments in the Scandinavian peninsula were of a very different character, and he did not think the heathen Norsemen would have adopted this form, the history and evolution of which were known. The probable date of the crosses was also against the pagan theory, as the Norsemen in general began to accept Christianity from the ninth century onwards, and in Man, surrounded by Christian lands, the conversion doubtless took place earlier than elsewhere. He did not imagine all the crosses, whose photographs he had shown, were by one hand; but in respect to many of them, and to those three especially which formed the main theme of his paper, and of which he had shown full-sized drawings, there were details in the treatment of the decoration which showed that they were by one artist, and he had little hesitation in saying that that artist was Gaut. As to the period, the Kirk Andreas cross, which showed peculiarly Scandinavian treatment, was, he thought, the earliest. Generally it might be

judged that a purely geometrical pattern was Celtic, a purely dragonesque treatment Scandinavian. The latter was met with on the two cruciform pieces at Braddan, probably the latest of the series; but in this case the limbs of the cross were occupied by a geometrical pattern, which, he thought, was due to the fact that the artist had followed in this portion of his work the Celtic model, confining his original work to the shaft. The date of the Andreas piece, he thought, was about 1080, and the date of all these crosses between that and 1150. He thought Mr. Major's suggestion for the identification of two of the scenes, which he had not traced, very probable; and, before he had done with the subject, he would again carefully consider all the sculptured figures, and might find yet more having reference to the old Norse legends and myths.

GREAT AL-THING, APRIL 17TH, 1896.

The REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

The Great Al-thing was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 17th, 1896, at 8 p.m. The Law-Thing Saga, or Annual Report of the Council, and the Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1895, were laid before the meeting and unanimously adopted, and Umboths-Vikings, or Officers of the Club, for the ensuing year were elected.

Mr. A. W. Johnston presented a pair of "rivlins," or shoes made of undressed hide, formerly in general use in Orkney and Shetland, and still manufactured in Sanday, Orkney, and read some notes on the derivation of the word *rivlin.*

The Jarl commented on differences between the "rivlins" under discussion and those which he remembered in use in Shetland in his youth.

The Saga-master (Mr. F. T. Norris) then read a paper on "The Worship of Freya and other Teutonic Goddesses and Gods in Roman Britain." The erroneous belief was current that the first connection of Teutonic peoples with

Britain took place at the period of the Saxon Conquest, for numerous Coloniae and Municipia were created by successive imperial rescripts, consisting largely of time-expired German soldiers. The *Notitia Imperii* of Theodosius, the six bronze rescripts discovered in England, and other records, prove that about two-thirds of the garrison, especially in the later years of the occupation, were of one or other of the Teutonic races, in which designation must be included the Belgae, whose former frontiers on the Continent extended to the Seine, the Rhine, and the Straits of Dover. Passing in review the various Municipia, Coloniae, and Stations colonised or occupied by German troops, allusion was made to the extent of the influence on the social and, in particular, on the religious life of the population of Britain, which so large a constituent of Teutonic people must exert. The Deae Matres and Deae Matronae were recognised by the Romans as distinctively German divinities, and inquiry would show they represented Freya and her maidens. The very numerous temples, altars, and other dedications to them found in Britain and on the Continent, showed the high favour in which they were held not only by civilians, but by soldiers, and the latter fact attested the essentially domestic tendency of even the Teutonic warriors. In one point the Romans were ensamples to the moderns in their toleration of alien religions, which led them to regard alien gods with similar attributes to their own as identical with them. Caesar's statement that the Gauls worshipped Mercury, under the name of Teutates, was cited in confirmation. To invert the position therefore, and contend that the half Romanised Germans, when worshipping Mars or Neptune, or other Roman gods, really worshipped, by a kind of transferred worship, their native gods, was not unreasonable. The case of the altar found in the north of England dedicated to "Neptuno Sarrabo sino" was cited in support, the limiting adjective Sarrabo standing for the river Sarr, in Belgium, and showing that the dedicator intended not the Roman Neptune, but Nike, the god of rivers of old German mythology. "The Tyrian Hercules" was a parallel, being the Roman paraphrase for Melkok, the local god of the people of Tyre. Examining in detail the

"gods of the auxiliaries" of antiquaries, they were declared to be inventions which had no existence save in the imaginations of antiquaries. Mogont, Vetires, Cocidio, Mapono, Belatucadro, and many other so-called gods and goddesses, were traced to topographical expressions, and shown to be not personal titles at all. In the case of the dedications to single goddesses, evidence was adduced that Freya was most probably meant. In the slides thrown on the screen the rudiments of a distinctive Teutonic art and architecture were pointed out; in particular, attention was called to two Batavian terra-cotta altars of peculiar basket-shape construction, which were then for the first time published.

At the conclusion of the lecture, in answer to a question of Mr. R. A. Macalister, the lecturer stated that the name Garmangabis had never been identified. The identifications the lecturer had put forward were the result of his own independent research, in several of which instances he was pleased to notice since that Mr. Roach Smith had agreed with him. As for Garmangabis, it might stand for a topographical appellation like Germangau, "region of the Germans."

The Umboths-Man (Mr. A. F. Major) congratulated the lecturer on his paper, which had shed light on a subject little known and imperfectly understood. But while it had been demonstrated that there was a very large Teutonic element in the garrison of Britain in Roman times, he had been disappointed to find that the identification of the deities they worshipped with the gods of the Northern mythology rested on very vague and slender grounds, and was by no means conclusive. Even Mr. Norris's identification of the Deae Matres or Matronae with Freya and her maidens, rested apparently on the occurrence, in one instance only, of the emblem of a boar on an altar to these deities, the boar being sacred to Freya. But, so far as he remembered, the conjunction of Freya with attendant maidens, or other goddesses, in Northern mythology was not usual. Frigga, whose handmaids were often mentioned, was at least as likely to be the deity intended, while some elements seemed

to point to the three Norns. At the same time, Mr. Norris had given strong grounds for his contention that these deities were Teutonic. He had also conclusively shown that the names of fancied deities were, in reality, place-names, used to indicate the gods whose names the worshipper withheld, or only mentioned under a Roman name. He hoped he would pursue the subject, and possibly obtain clearer evidence of identity.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson thought that the numerous dedications to the Deae Matres might point to a Latin, not to a Teutonic, idea. The sculpture shown on some of the altars was of a very primitive type. He had seen the so-called Roman Wall near Glasgow that ran from the Forth to the Clyde, but this was not really a wall, but an earthwork piled up, in which the separate layers of sods could still be traced. The ditch before and road behind were still distinctly visible. He should like to ask the lecturer if the name of Dover was not Celtic. It was so named from the little river Dour which still flowed through the valley, Dour meaning in Celtic "black." The thanks of the meeting were due to Mr. Norris for the pains he had taken in working up his subject. Were there not to be found on the course of the Roman Wall, as in other parts of Britain, bricks bearing the names of the legions?

The Jarl said that he wished to express the great interest with which he personally had listened to the lecture. It was a subject that he had studied very little, but what he had heard from Mr. Norris had opened up a new and surprising field for thought. If the paper had a fault, it was that there was too much detail. He remembered a story of a little boy who, allowed to help himself to some plums out of a jar, grasped such a handful that he found he could not withdraw his hand without letting go a great part of his spoil. He himself felt somewhat in the same plight mentally; but at the same time detail was unavoidable in such a paper as this, and the lecturer must have found it hard to know what to omit. Mr. Major's criticisms had indicated the impression in his own mind also; and he was bound to say that he thought the identification of Freya weak, and

that at present Mr. Norris had not even made out a case of strong presumption. Starting from Caesar's statement that the Gauls worshipped Roman deities under Gallic names, Mr. Norris assumed that this was the case elsewhere. But would the Germans be likely to bring themselves to worship their home deities under a foreign name? or, rather, when their thoughts turned to the gods of their fathers, would it not be under the names that had been familiar to them in their childhood's days?

The Saga-master, in reply, said that he would first point out, in answer to Mr. Atkinson's questions, that no inscribed bricks were found near the Wall, because in those northern counties bricks were little used, stone being abundant; but other records of the regiments quartered in the country were almost innumerable. With regard to the Wall, there were actually three Roman Walls, so-called: the one he had been describing; that of Hadrian, built of stone, having a second wall or earthen vallum running parallel as an advanced work, while the Antonine Wall, mentioned by Mr. Atkinson, was situated further north. With regard to Mr. Major's criticisms, he admitted that he had not yet fully developed his theory of Freya's identification, owing to lack of time, though in his own mind he was quite clear on the point. As to the general question whether Germanic races would worship their ancestral gods under Roman names, it must be borne in mind that the Germans in question were those who had accepted Roman pay and conformed to Roman customs, on which account they were ostracised and hated by the free Germans. But he had shown how, under the name of Neptune, it was clear that the god worshipped was Nike, the god of the River Sarr; and he thought in other cases we might fairly deduce from this a similar practice as prevailing. Besides, we know that the Romans did not worship the Deae Matres. The fact of the gods being constantly identified only by a locality must be traced to the German custom of never mentioning the names of their gods, which Tacitus gives as an instance of their reverence. The lecturer held Freya and Frigga to be one personality.

AL-THING, MAY 15TH, 1896.

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

The Rev. E. McClure read a paper on "Scandinavian Topographical and Personal Nomenclature in the British Islands." He began by giving a short account from the *Saxon Chronicle* and the *Irish Annals* of the first appearance of Scandinavian sea rovers on the coast of these islands between 787 and 795 A.D. The motives which led to these expeditions were discussed, and it was pointed out that the Shetland Islands were probably the first landfall made by the Norwegians in these voyages. These islands were then occupied by Picts, among whom a band of Irish missionaries had been at work from the early part of the sixth century. The invaders, as we see from the Sagas, called the islands Hjalta-land. Efforts had been made to find a Norse etymon for Hjalta, but a Pictish origin seems more probable. The Celticised form—which survives in the modified "Shetland" —was probably Shialta-land, a supposition which is supported by the term "Sheltie" for a Shetland pony. Initial Celtic *s* tends, as we know, to glide in Cymric into *h*, and the Picts of the eighth century spoke a language akin to Cymric. This was an adopted speech, according to Prof. Rhys; and "Shialta"—or Hjalta—may be an element of their original vocabulary, as probably was also the "Orc," in Orcades. Pomona in the Orkneys, if it is not a fanciful name of comparatively late composition, suggests a similar origin. With the exception of these, and a few names of other islands in these groups, the whole topographical nomenclature of the Orkneys and Shetlands is Norse—*e.g.*, Voe (*vágr* = a creek), Skaw (*skagi* = a low headland, in contradistinction to *höfða*, a high headland), Ness, Wick (*vík*), Firth (*fjörðr*), Holm, applied to uninhabited islands, Sound (*sund*), Örfiri in Orphir = ebbing, and in Urfasey (*örferis-ey* = an island connected with the mainland at low-water), Ayre (*eyrr* = a gravelly bank or spit), Ster and Sta (from *stadr*, "stead," or *sæter*, a mountain pasture), Quoy, Quay (from *kve*, plural *kviar*, a fold or pen), Skali (a shieling), Shaw (*skogr* = shady place), Noup and Nip from *gnupr* = a peak, *cf.* Gaitnip = Goat Peak, *hóp* in St.

Margaret's Hope, a sheltered haven. The place-names in the *Landnámabok* and in the *Sturlunga Saga* are very helpful in enabling us to separate pure Scandinavian names in these islands from those which owe their origin to other Low Germanic tongues. Iceland was discovered by the Norwegians about 850, and here, as well as in Orkney and Shetland and the Hebrides, Irish priests and monks had founded settlements from the sixth century. The Norwegians used the word Pappa to designate these missionaries, and numerous islands in these regions still preserve the name—Pappay, Pabbey, etc. This word was evidently borrowed, like Kirkya, from people familiar with Greek ecclesiastical nomenclature. Whence did this pagan folk receive them? The lecturer contended that they had got them—as the pagan Angles and Saxons did the word "church"—from the Christianised Goths of the Roman Empire. The German Pfaffe was obtained from the same source. The churches, with their shrines and richly covered books, were the chief objective in their piratical expeditions. They dared the storms and the dangerous navigation of the rock-fringed islands and promontories of the western coast to pillage the shrines of Iona, Alt-Clyde, Bangor in co. Down, Menevia (St. David's) in Wales, and other celebrated ecclesiastical centres. They ran through the North Sea to ravage Lindisfarne, Croyland, and other known shrines upon our eastern coast. *The Wars of the Gaedhill and the Gaill*, *The Annals of Ulster*, the *Chronicon Manniae*, the *Chronicon Scottorum*, the *Annales Cambriae*, *The Saxon Chronicle*, are filled with accounts of their depredations from 795 A.D. until well on in the twelfth century. They were ubiquitous in their descents; but the western coasts of our islands preserve perhaps the most marked records of their navigation. There is not a headland, not a half-sunken rock, not the smallest scrap of an island in our western waters, which had not been charted in some way by these navigators, and which have not afterwards found their way into our maps. It would be tedious even to enumerate the points of importance to navigation among the Hebrides which had found a record in Norse speech before the names came into our sailing charts. The Skeirs and Skerries, Nesses and Fiords, Sounds and

Wicks, beyond number, besides the many Eys (islands) scattered along the west coast, indicate something of the careful mode of their navigation, as well as the retentiveness of their memories in storing up the results of their seafaring experience. Perhaps they had some means, unknown to us, of making charts, and of thus steering their way through the network of Sunds and Skerries and islands which that western sea presents. The names they gave to each of these spots all doubtless carry with them some connotation which helps the navigator; there is the ordinary Skeir, and the Hà-Skeir, and the Dea-Skeir, whatever that may mean. There is the Skellay with its shelly beach, and the Sanda with its sand, the Pabbay with its lone monastery of world-renouncing Irish monks, the Vallay that promises *vellir* or fields of rich grass behind its rocky shore. If we knew the significance of all these compound-names of the Western Isles, we should recognise an appropriateness in every designation which does not contain a personal name—Boreray, Berneray, Raray, Euskay, Votersay, Saundray, etc. The debt we owe to the Norsemen for these first lessons in navigation it would be difficult to overestimate. We owe the names of Ireland and of three of its four provinces, besides the islands and important inlets on its eastern coast, to the Scandinavians. Ulster, with its island of Rachray (Rathlin), and its Carlingford and Strangford; Leinster, with its coast of the Fingalls, its Boldoyle, its Irelands-Eye (distinguished from Angles-ea on the opposite Welsh coast); its Howth Hill, its Wicklow, its Wexford, its Lambay, its Leixlip, etc.; Munster, with its Waterford (Weðerfjörðr), have all passed from the Norse navigators' lips to our charts of to-day. The lecturer cited many names of places and persons still to be found in these islands as indicating the extent of Norse influence. Worsaae, in his "Minder," dealt with this subject some fifty years ago, and Dr. Isaac Taylor supplemented his results by a more thorough examination of Scandinavian names in England. But the subject is not an easy one. The Lowlanders in Scotland and the Angles of our northern counties represent a people speaking a language closely related to that of the Danes and Norsemen. We cannot, therefore, always separate the Norse from the Anglian

names in Scotland and Northern England. Some names, like "force" and "fell," are thoroughly distinctive, while others are common to almost the whole Low Germanic family. Dr. Vigfusson cites from a Byzantine writer the use of the former of these words for "waterfall" in the times of the Varingar. The personal names are more distinctive. Worsaae maintained that the termination *-son* in surnames is a proof of Scandinavian influence, it being found only in regions where the Northman and the Dane have held sway—*e.g.*, North Holland, the Lowlands of Scotland, and the east coast of England. Celticised Scandinavian personal names are to be found in the Hebrides, the West Highlands, Galloway, Sodor and Man, and all over Ireland. The Macleods of the Lewis and Harris call themselves the Siol (that is, seed) Torcuil (Thorketel, Thorkill) and Siol Tormond (Thormaðr), respectively. The MacQuarries belong to the Siol Guaire (Guðriðr). In the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, the genealogies of most of the Highland clans are given, and in the majority of them familiar Norse forms appear. MacAwley (Ólafr), Haldane, and McCaldin, and McAldin (Halfdane), McDugal, MacDowell, McCoull, all forms of "Son of the Black Foreigners," McQuistin (Eystein), McLochlan, son of the Lochlannoch, or Man from the lochs or fiords, McCorkle and McCorkell (=MacThorkill), McCorquodale (=MacThorketel), McAralt (Harald), McLagman, *alias* McCalmont, all from Lagmaðr or Law Man. The Clan Somarle is so called from Somer-led = the summer soldier, McCrinnell and Mc Crannell = son of Ragnald, McRory (Rodrick), McIvar (Ivar), McKetterick (=MacSigtryg). In Ireland we have the same or similar names; but McAuley becomes McAuliffe; and MacMannus (Magnus-son) is more common than any of the others. In the Isle of Man the surname Casement is the modern form of MacAsmundr; Castell, MacCaskell (1511) = MacAskill, for MacAsketel; Cotter for MacOttarr (Ot-hari), Corkell for MacThorkel, Corlett for MacThor-ljotr, Crennell and Crenilt for MacRagnvald, Cowley for MacOlaf, Goree and Garry for MacGoðfreyðr, *cf.* the Irish McGuffry and McCaffrey.

In the discussion which followed, the Saga-master (Mr. F.

T. Norris) said that the lecturer's paper was so full of information that any adequate criticism must be reserved till it appeared in print. He did not think it likely that ecclesiastical terms were introduced into the North through the Christianised Goths, as the change of faith of the Northern people took place at a much later period. With regard to racial characteristics, the lecturer's statement, that in Denmark brachycephalic skulls were found very similar in type to skulls admitted to be Celtic, was noteworthy. He had also noticed in Denmark and Norway river names that appeared to be Celtic, such as *Afwen*, recalling the Avon; either the English Avon was not Celtic or the Norse *Afwen* was not Norse. He had, however, doubts as to a Celtic population appearing in Denmark; and he questioned whether some of the brachycephalic skulls were not Huguenotic, as the Huguenot immigration into both Denmark and Norway was considerable, so much so that the importance of the town of Bergen was largely due to their settlement there. The identity of Herethaland, from which the first "Danes" who invaded England came, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, was much in dispute; and though many thought, with the lecturer, that Heredeland in Jutland was meant, the theory that it was Hordeland in Norway was no less tenable. The lecturer had compared the forms Shetland and Hjaltaland, and ascribed the name to a Celtic original; and he thought this was borne out by the other Celtic forms mentioned, such as Sabrina and Hafren for the river Severn. The history of ancient place-names would be greatly elucidated by anyone who would compile a key of the consonant interchanges incident to the Latin, Teutonic, and Celtic tongues. In stating that the early inhabitants of Britain were the Gaedhill and Gaill, was not the important contribution of the Belgae overlooked? These formed a portion of a Teutonic element in Britain in the period supposed to be purely Celtic. Too much stress should not be laid on the identification of "Orkney," etc., as Celtic words, for the Roman form Orcades might just as easily be a Teutonic donation by some one of the earliest Teutonic settlers here prior to, or contemporaneous with, the Roman

period. The lecturer had traced religious terms in the North to the Greek Church through the Goths, and the parallels of *church* and *kirk* with *κυριακή* were instanced in point; but if such terms were so derived, they might just as well have come through the Christianised Greeks of Marseilles. With respect to the earliest inhabitants of the Orkneys, however, the name of Egilsay, if so called from the church on the island, and not from the personal name Egil, pointed to a Latin origin rather than a Greek, as the word *ecclesia* must have been got from Latin-speaking monks. With regard to there being no analogy in Teutonic speech for the word Pomona, this was hardly so; for there was a Belgian tribe of Paemanni who might just as conceivably have penetrated to Orkney as their kinsfolk conquered and settled the south of Britain. He thought the evidence that *Hamar* meant solely "rock" was not conclusive, as on the Thames we have the names Hammersmith, where Hammers stands for *holms*, or islands, just as does Ham, in East and West Ham below London. The paper opened up a variety of matters for discussion, but its appearance in print must be awaited before full justice could be done to it.

The Umboths-man, Mr. A. F. Major, said that he thought the last speaker, in several of his criticisms, had missed the lecturer's point. With regard, for instance, to the introduction of ecclesiastical terms from a form of Greek Christianity, the speaker did not understand Mr. McClure to argue that those terms were introduced as a result of any conversion, but merely that Scandinavian and Teutonic tribes, while still heathen, learned those terms from kindred tribes who had been converted. From the fact that the terms were found in Germany, as well as in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, and in the islands off the Scotch coast, the language must have acquired them long before Christianity was introduced among them: and the lecturer's suggestion seemed very plausible. As to Egilsay in the Orkneys, if named from *ecclesia*, it in no way conflicted with this theory, as in that case the name of the island must be another Celtic survival, due to the early Irish Christians who preceded the Norsemen in the islands. Again, the lecturer had probably not over-

looked the possibility of Teutonic settlement in or influence on Britain in pre-Roman times; but in the absence of any proof of such influence extending as far as Orkney or Shetland, it was fair to assume that the Roman names of the island were of Celtic origin. The paper had one point of very special interest to members of the Viking Club, which, perhaps, was as new to most present as to the speaker: namely, the revelation of a Scandinavian origin concealed under what seemed at first sight typical Scotch and Irish names. One wondered what limit there was to Scandinavian influence when the clan of the "Macs" stood revealed as Norsemen masquerading in a Celtic dress. It was another warning not to give an opinion on the origin of a word till it had been traced back to the earliest form ascertainable through the various changes it had undergone. Another very important point, to which the lecturer had given prominence, was the testimony borne by the place-names on our islands and coasts to the seamanship of the Norsemen. It might well form the subject of a separate paper, and in the hands of a scholar, such as the lecturer, would probably give valuable results. So far as the speaker had read, there was nothing in the Sagas to show that the Norsemen made any endeavour to chart their sailing-courses or discoveries; but there were many proofs that keen observation and vivid description enabled them so to describe a place that after-voyagers could recognise it. Thus Bjorne intending to sail to Greenland, where he had never been, and being storm-driven to the coast of North America, knew from the description he had not reached his goal; but when he came to Greenland, after making land at many points, he recognised it at once. The best thanks he could give to Mr. McClure for his valuable paper was to hope that he would favour the Club on some future occasion.

Dr. Jon Stefansson said it was difficult to attempt criticism, as it was clear that the lecturer had plenty of forces in reserve to reply to any point. Dr. Vigfusson had supported the theory of overpopulation being a main cause of the wave of migration and foreign conquest, which we generalise under the term "Viking age"; but latterly many students have

come to the conclusion that the love of the Norsemen for the sea and for adventure, as well as the colonising tendencies of the race, were the mainsprings of it. Overpopulation may have been the cause in a few districts, but not everywhere. The conditions of life are very different in the south of Norway, and in the narrow, gloomy valleys of the north and west; and the causes are likely to differ in the different localities. Although at first the Norsemen only coasted along the shores, later they struck boldly out to sea, even across the Atlantic. Their seamanship, as shown in the Sagas, needs to be studied far more deeply than it has been; but it wants one who is a seaman as well as a scholar to do it. They seemed, as the lecturer said, to map out the countries they came to, but he knew of no record of anything in the shape of a map or chart among them. In Western Norway they had a country of islands, rocks, and fiords, very similar to that which they found on the western coast of Scotland. He was very glad to have had the Celtic side of the subject so well treated in this paper, as it needs one who is both a Celtic and Scandinavian scholar, and who knows the different Celtic dialects, to deal with that phase of it effectively.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that with regard to the finding of round skulls in round barrows, as there is considerable variety found in their indices, it can hardly be said to prove that all the round skulls are those of Scandinavians. There is no doubt the Norwegians are a round-headed race—in fact, the roundest known; and, singularly, we find the Esquimaux, opposite to them, the longest-headed race on the earth. A pure Scandinavian skull was very difficult to get: the exact type has not yet been settled, but Prof. A. Macalister, at Cambridge, is collecting specimens that will soon enable him to decide the question. Mr. Atkinson had not known of the Huguenot element at Bergen and elsewhere mentioned by Mr. Norris; but such an immigration, while it might affect the modern population, did not touch the general question of racial type, which was founded on remains of undoubted antiquity. He would be glad to know whether the word "Ogam" was a Celtic one. The Ogam stone from Bressay has a Norse inscription in the Ogam character, whatever may

be the meaning of the often found inscribed word Mucoi, following Maggi, generally interpreted as "son". On the Bressay Stone we have "daughter". Some of the first noted Ogam inscribed stones were found near the little harbour of Smerwick, in the south of Ireland. Its name implies a Scandinavian settlement. Indeed, it seemed doubtful if Ogam inscriptions were found where there was no possibility of Scandinavian influence, not excepting the Silchester example; and the record of the introduction of this character found in Trinity College Library, Dublin, by the late E. O'Curry seems to confirm it. ("Hither was brought in the sword-sheath of Lochlan's King the Ogam across the sea. It was his own hand that cut it.") An interesting question connected with the paper was the origin of the Irish art found in the *Durham Book*, the *Book of Kells*, on the Tara brooch, etc., and its bearing on Scandinavian art. We have little knowledge of its growth. The evidence given in writings is not convincing —nothing comes from nothing. Very interesting, also, is the survival of the early Greek, often mentioned in the *Irish Annals*; but we have very little of their art, unless we get it through the interlaced strap work common in Roman pavements. The art found on the Borneo shields is very like the Celtic. Perhaps it represents a phase of culture. We are all much indebted to the lecturer for his very instructive paper.

The Lecturer, in reply, said that with regard to the evidence of the skulls, he relied on Prof. Rolleston, Canon Greenwell, and others, who were great authorities on the subject. The theory as to round-headed men being found among the Scandinavian peoples is that the Aryan intruders found a round-headed race dwelling in the Scandinavian peninsula when they entered it, and that, though these were conquered by the invaders, they remained among them, and the pre-Aryan type had survived to the present day. The same question as to Britain had been fought out by Profs. Huxley and Freeman. The latter contended that the Saxons drove out or exterminated the earlier inhabitants; but Prof. Huxley had proved that this was only partially true, and that the earlier inhabitants had survived and transmitted their typical characteristics to the present day. In particular, the skull of

the Midland navvy, it was contended, was of an earlier type than that of the Saxon invader, probably even pre-Celtic. The Goths he referred to were the Christianised Goths of the empire. They started from the shores of the Baltic, and pushed southward and eastward until they reached the Danube, where they encountered Christianity; then, with a backward sweep, they crossed the whole of Southern Europe, and had got as far as Spain before the Norsemen began to move. In their migration they must have met their pagan kinsfolk—Franks, Saxons, and others—and through them probably such terms as "papa" and "church" found their way into Teutonic speech before the conversion of Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon. The Norsemen were, with the exception of the Prussians, the last people in Europe to accept Christianity. The name Sabrina was probably Latinised from a Goidelic and not from a Cymric form. In reply to Mr. Atkinson he must point out that in the valley of the Severn Ogam stones occurred and were all associated with purely Goidelic names. They were found also in south-western England, and one had been discovered at Silchester, probably in the territory of the Belgae, whom he regarded, in common, he thought, with most antiquaries now, as a Celtic tribe. He was rather surprised to find Mr. Norris still holding the theory of their Teutonic origin. Ogam stones occur which are clearly Christian, and belong to the sixth or seventh century, as their inscriptions prove. The word has been derived from Ogmius, the name of a Celtic god, but the whole question is very obscure.

AL-THING, OCTOBER 30TH, 1896.

The REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Dr. Hildebrand, State Antiquary of Sweden, read a paper on "The Monuments of the Island of Oeland," a summary of which is given on another page.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1896.

The REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

The Rev. J. Sephton read a paper entitled "Extracts from the Sagas relating to the Norse Colony in Greenland," which will be reproduced in the next *Saga-Book.*

The "Extracts from the Sagas," translated by the reader of the paper, offered a series of pictures of life in the most western European settlement in the middle ages. Eric the Red, a Norse chief who had found Norway and Iceland unwilling to endure his presence, led a colony of his friends and retainers, at the close of the tenth century, to Greenland. As Eric's Saga is well known to English readers in translation and paraphrase, the lecturer's extracts were chosen from other Sagas, less known and perhaps less picturesque, relating to Greenland—the Floamanna, the Fostbrœdra, and the Grœnlendinga. The Floamanna describes the sufferings of a shipload of colonists led by an Icelandic hero, Thorgils, who had been invited to settle in Greenland by Eric the Red. The ship was wrecked amid the floes of the east coast of Greenland, and after three years a miserable remnant of the crew reached Brattahlid, the home of Eric. Mr. Baring Gould has paraphrased the story of the voyage in his book on Iceland. Thorgils made but a short stay among the Greenland people, but his visit was beneficial, for he rid the colony of a band of outlaws, that had made one of the outlying islands their home and preyed upon the other colonists. The Fostbrœdra relates the adventures of the Poet Thormod in Greenland. He had sailed there to avenge the death of his foster-brother, slain in Iceland by a Greenlander. Thormod had several "hair-breadth 'scapes" in accomplishing his purpose, one of which incidentally throws a wonderful light on the position held by woman in the North, and the power which the wise women wielded by their witchcraft. The Grœnlendinga tells the pathetic story of one Einar, a Greenland yeoman who visited Norway to obtain a bishop for the Greenland churches, and having taken him home, was slain in an attempt to support and enforce clerical rights and

privileges. These Sagas are all possibly of the fourteenth century in their present form, but undoubtedly contain genuine tradition. The "Speculum Regale," a work of earlier date, contains among much interesting matter a description of Greenland, to which, in point of truth, modern travellers can add little. Such accuracy in the early accounts strengthens the belief in a sound historical basis for the Northmen's discovery of America. Notices of the Greenland colony appear in the Icelandic annals down to the beginning of the fifteenth century, when it was swamped or absorbed by the Eskimo, probably after it was weakened by epidemics. As far as can be judged from the Sagas, the Eskimo do not appear to have had permanent settlements in Greenland until this time. The earliest Icelandic historian, Ari, born 1066, states positively that the first colonists found traces of the Skrælings, or Eskimo. The later colonists also found traces of their sojournings in the far north, beyond Disco Island; but of their visible presence, there is not a word from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1400. The last notice of the colony is followed by eighty years of oblivion, and the next mention of it is found in the Papal archives—an interest excited probably by Columbus's projected voyage across the Atlantic. After John Davis's re-discovery of Greenland about 1585, many expeditions were sent forth in search of the old colony, the east coast being chiefly selected for exploration, because the Sagas described the main settlement as the Osterbygd. It was not until the present century that search on the east coast of Greenland was recognised as fruitless, and that the main settlement had lain in the south-west, in the district of Julianshaab. Here the Danes have been making a thorough exploration for some time past.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson (Lawright man) said that the paper just read contained so much interesting matter and related to so many extraordinary things that it was hardly possible then to get through them all, but he would like to mention a few points. The description of the ceremony of initiation into brotherhood was very curious, and he should like to know more about it, as it seemed impossible to raise and creep under a sod of earth without the sod breaking. He

did not understand the ecclesiastical position of the colony in Greenland, which was said to be dependent on Norway, for in St. Olaf's time, Lund in Sweden was the only archbishopric in the North. With regard to fasting, it was recorded by old ecclesiastical writers that the flesh of seals was not allowed to be eaten on fast-days, though whales were not prohibited. It would be interesting if we could obtain any anthropological evidence of the truth of the Sagas. The Eskimo were the longest headed of the races we knew, the Norwegians among the roundest. If any interments of undoubted antiquity could be discovered, an examination of the skulls and remains should be very interesting.

The Umboths-man, Mr. Albany F. Major, said that Mr. Sephton had given a most interesting paper on the fascinating subject of the Norse colony established in Greenland in early times, and its strange and mysterious disappearance. Outside the Scandinavian records some few gleams of light were thrown upon the causes which led to this. With regard to the uncertainty of communication, we have the instructions issued to Bishop Henry in 1388–9, in which he was told to keep the king's revenues in a safe place in years when no vessels came to the country. The attacks of the Skrælings or Eskimo are witnessed to by a brief of Pope Nicholas the Fifth, in 1448, to the Bishops of Skalholt and Holum in Iceland. This states that the inhabitants of Greenland had asked for the services of priests and a bishop, as thirty years before they had been attacked and dispersed by the heathen of the neighbouring coast, but had now gathered together again. What action was taken in consequence is not known, but we may infer that no success attended any effort to reach the colony from another brief of 1492. In this the colony of Greenland is described, and it is stated that for some eighty years all communication with it had been cut off. Consequently the greater part of the inhabitants, without priests or bishops, had lost the Christian faith, and the Benedictine monk Mathias had offered to go out as a missionary. This effort also must have failed, and after this date the colony is shrouded in darkness. The union of the crowns of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark in 1387, under Queen Mar-

garet, was one great factor that led to the interruption of communications, as under the Danish rule trade with Greenland, Iceland, the Faröes, Halogaland, and Finmark was made a government monopoly. This, following upon the Black Death in 1349, may well have so greatly weakened the colony that, when the Eskimo attacked it, it could not maintain itself without external aid. The interruption of communications seems also to have been due to some extent to a change of climate, which caused great accumulations of ice off the coast, and would probably make the country less habitable. That the climate was less severe in the days when the colony flourished is borne out by the discovery in 1824 of a stone with a Runic inscription, on the island of Kingigtorsook in Baffin's Bay, in latitude 72° 55′ N. The runes record that Erling Sighvatsson and Biorne Thordrsson and Eindrid Oddsson, on Saturday before Ascension week, raised in 1135 these marks and cleared ground. It follows that they must either have wintered on the island, or that the waters in those high latitudes were then navigable far earlier in the year than at present. In either case they must have contemplated settling there. In addition to the documentary evidence of the existence of the colony, the accuracy of which has been disputed, its actual ruins have been discovered in the present century in Greenland. The speaker had been fortunate enough, on returning from Iceland in August last, to meet on board the *Botnia* a Danish officer, Lieutenant Daniel Bruun, who conducted researches among the ruins in 1894, and who kindly supplied much interesting and valuable information on the subject. His visit to Iceland had been for the purpose of studying the modern buildings and ruins of ancient dwellings there, in order to compare them with the ruins in Greenland. His explorations in the latter country, with those of earlier investigators, have resulted in the discovery of something like one hundred and fifty out of the one hundred and ninety farms or townships once existing in Eystribygd, the Eastern Settlement. Besides this, five of the twelve churches belonging to the settlement have been discovered, one, cross-shape in form, being probably the cathedral. The buildings discovered have been generally in groups, each consisting

apparently of a dwelling-house, with stalls and stables for cattle, sheep, and horses, storehouses and granaries, besides various enclosures which may, in some cases, have been hay-fields walled to keep the cattle out, in others cattle-pens or sheep-folds. The houses have been built of stone cemented with clay, or of layers of stone and turf. Wood occurs rarely, as any wood used could only be driftwood or imported from abroad. The objects found are mostly made of steatite, metal being rarely met with. Runic inscriptions and various forms of ornament have been found, the workmanship of the latter being for the most part of a low order. Cooking was done in steatite vessels. Human skeletons are not mentioned; probably the investigators explored for the most part the dwellings near which no interments had been made; but the bones of cattle and horses, both of a small species, and of sheep, goats, and dogs, occur. Bones of the blue fox, the polar bear, several kinds of seal, etc., have been found, but bird and fish remains are surprisingly few, only two species of the former being represented, the great guillemot and the puffin, *fratercula arctica*, and one of the latter, the plaice, *pleuronectica*. The presence of cattle is interesting, as it is found difficult, if not impossible, to keep them in Greenland at the present day: and some writers, for instance Mr. Samuel Laing in his translation of "Heimskringla," have questioned the authenticity of the Saga accounts, because of their statement that Karlsefne took cattle with him on his voyage from Greenland to Vinland, arguing that such details must be fictitious and that at best the Saga-writer is filling out his traditional knowledge of Greenland with details drawn from countries he knew. Possibly in the presence of cattle, thus indisputably proved, we have again evidence of a change of climate. The tradition among the Eskimo is that they drove out or slew white men whom they found in the country when they came there, and among legends relating to this, Lieutenant Bruun mentioned one which describes how they surprised one settlement by covering their kayacks with white, and so crossing the fjord unnoticed on a night in spring when it was covered with blocks of floating ice.

Mr. F. T. Norris (Saga-master) asked if the Runic stone

which the lecturer had referred to was the one mentioned by Mr. Major.

The Jarl said that he had found the lecture charming, and for his part not one whit too long, for there had not been a dull line in it from *a* to *z*. The human interest in it was very great, and he thought the Sagas pointed a moral too. On this he would not enlarge at that late hour, but would merely ask the lecturer to accept the very hearty vote of thanks of the meeting for his paper, and for his kindness in coming so far to give it to them.

The Lecturer, in reply, said in answer to Mr. Atkinson, that many instances of sworn brotherhood occur in the Sagas, and the actual ceremony of creeping under a sod without detaching the ends from the earth is quite possible, if the sod be cut long enough and supported so as to bring its elasticity into play. At the time of St. Olaf the Scandinavian Bishops were probably Court or Missionary Bishops, having no territorial rule or designation. Arnold went to Lund to be consecrated Bishop, as the Archbishopric of Nidaros, the metropolitan see of Norway, Iceland, Greenland, Sodor and Man, was not founded till thirty years later, the middle of the twelfth century. What Mr. Atkinson said about the finding of skulls was very true, and we must hope that skeletons would be found in Greenland by the Danish excavators. According to Dr. Nansen, there is possibly a hybrid race among the Eskimos, but this may have come into existence since the time of the Danish colonization of last century. In reply to Mr. Norris, he said that the Runic Stone he mentioned was the one Mr. Major had referred to. It is described in "Antiquitates Americanæ." He had been much interested in Mr. Major's account of Lieutenant Bruun's discoveries. New knowledge confirms the old, and the discovery of the actual bones of cattle and the ruins of cattle-stalls in Greenland had upheld the veracity of the Saga-writers. To himself, one chief interest of the Sagas was psychological. The struggle depicted between the old faith and the new was very dramatic. The way in which the Norsemen in danger turned to the old faith was very true to human nature. The character of Thorgils in the Floamanna, and his

steadfast holding to the faith, was drawn admirably. Again, the episode of the two old ladies in the Fostbrœdra, each trying to outwit the other in witchcraft, was very fine. It is usual to say that the high position held by women in modern Europe is due to the ideas of chivalry. But the Sagas show woman's position in the North in ancient times to have been equally high; women held their own among men there by their intellect, cleverness, and good sense. The Norsemen of the Sagas, in spite of their rudeness and constant strife, show great nobility of character, and have all the germs of a high civilisation, and he hoped the Viking Club would do its part towards making that grand old Northern literature as widely known as it deserved to be.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 11TH, 1896.

The REV. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

The Umboths-man, Mr. Albany F. Major, read a paper entitled "Sea-fighting in Saga-time," which will be reproduced on a future occasion. It was followed by a discussion, in which Messrs. G. M. Atkinson, F. T. Norris, Dr. Jon Stefansson, and the Jarl took part.

VIKING NOTES.

THE title page, contents, and index of the three parts forming Vol. I. of the *Saga-Book* will be issued with Part IV.

THE *Icelandic Antiquarian Society*, which was founded in 1881, has already accomplished some useful work. Since its foundation several excavations of mounds and investigation of ruins have been undertaken. The Society's plan is to send out each summer a qualified man to explore a particular tract relating to one or other of the Sagas. A brother of the late Dr. Vigfusson, ex-professor of Icelandic at Oxford, has been indefatigable in connection with these researches, which have resulted, in many cases, in materially elucidating and explaining the Sagas. The annual Proceedings (Árbók hins íslenzka Fornleifafélags) contain much that is valuable. The President for 1897 is Dr. Björn Ólsen, Reykjavík, and the Secretary, Eirikur Briem, Reykjavík.

AN interesting collection of "Manx Ballads and Music" has been made by Mr. A. W. Moore, M.A., and published by Mr. Johnston, of Douglas, I.M. The music is traditional, and has been written without alteration as heard from those acquainted with the airs. The words of the Ballads are accompanied by English translations.

THE latest view of American kinlorists as to the earliest races on the North American Continent places the Red Indian in the foremost position, and dates his first entry into the country at a hundred years or so before Columbus's voyage. This harmonises with the Saga records as to the dwellers in Vinland in Leif's time, no mention being there made of the Red Indian, but only of the Skrælings or Eskimos.

A SERIES of articles on "Notable Manx Bishops," written by the Rev. John Quine, M.A., Vicar of Kirk Lonan, has appeared in the *Ramsey Church Magazine* (Mr. Heyes, Ramsey, I.M.). The four first of the series, Jan.—Apr., 1896, contain notices of Michael the Cistercian, d. 1203, Reginald, 1226, Symon, 1245, and Mark, 1300, who held the see of The Isles, or Sodor, during the dynasty of Godred Crovan, and who were suffragans to the Metropolitan of Nidaros.

DURING the past year Lieutenant Daniel Bruun of the Danish navy has been making investigations on the supposed sites of the early colonies of the Norsemen in Iceland, the Faroes, and Greenland. A daily journal thus speaks of the outcome of his labours: "The most important results obtained were at the old heathen temple of Torkel Gode, on Ljofavate, on the Oefjord. Torkel Gode was the introducer of Christianity, and he himself set fire to his temple and threw the old idols into the Goda Fall when he had induced the Althing to accept Christianity. Lieutenant Bruun found ashes, cinders, and the remains of a sacrificial vase with bones of animals in the northern part of the

ruins. He also succeeded, led by a peasant, in ascertaining the position of a 'Hill of Law.' Old sheep cotes and stalls showed that the breeding of sheep in ancient times was carried on much the same as now, while the number of cows was far greater in the legendary time than now. Ruins of cattle stalls were found large enough to hold thirty cows, whereas now the small farms can only keep a couple of animals. The ruins in Tjorsaadaal were specially interesting, as there they were all buried under volcanic ash, so that the place might be called a northern Pompeii. Judging from what has been found, the Northmen of the Saga period lived in Norway, on the Faroe Islands, and in Greenland under the same conditions, and their manners and customs partly prevail up to the present day, so that the study of the present inhabitants throws light on the legendary times. Lieutenant Bruun made a collection of antiquities which will be placed in the museum at Reykjavik later on."

One cannot but hail with a certain measure of satisfaction the fact that the early doings of the Vikings are increasingly influencing popular writing, albeit in the majority of cases the grip of historical facts is often grotesquely weak. It may be regarded as a sign of the re-birth of a national, as distinguished from a cosmopolitan, spirit, which only needs perhaps direction and encouragement to produce the best results. Too much insularity is certainly a blemish, but that cosmopolitanism which sunders a man from the past of his kin and history is an undoubted evil. The precept of the Jewish writer, who, in a period of national decadence, advised the "seeking out of the old paths," is undoubtedly applicable to our modern Englishry. The work which has induced these remarks is "The Last of the Vikings," which is an attempt to treat in a popular manner the life of Harald Hardrada up to the time of his death on Stamford Bridge. The author's excellent aims are unfortunately marred by such solecisms as combats of his hero with lions and Moors. When the early history of his race is taught the English schoolboy from its uprisings on the Germanic continent, instead of from the Norman Conquest, as hitherto, improvement in this regard may doubtless be looked for.

DEATH-ROLL.

Sir John Pender, G.C.M.G., M.P., Jarla-man of the Club, died on the 7th July. He was born in the Vale of Leven, Dumbartonshire, in the year 1816; and in the course of a very successful business career, in which his firm became the great distributing medium of the products of the weaving industries of Glasgow and Manchester to India, China, North America, and the British Colonies, he became associated with the company for laying the Atlantic and other cables, with which

his name is imperishably associated. These manifold demands on his time did not prevent him from taking great interest in all antiquarian matters relating to Scotland and Great Britain. He was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of Scotland, and other learned and scientific Societies, and occupied the office of Vice-president of the Viking Club in 1895, in whose labours he took considerable interest. He was a J.P. of four counties, a Deputy Lieutenant of Lancashire, and received Royal recognition of his services to submarine telegraphy by being made a G.C.M.G. in 1888.

W. A. CLOUSTON, Göfgir-man (hon. member) of the Viking Club, died suddenly on the 23rd October last at a comparatively early age. He was a native of Orkney, and was born at Stromness. He was a writer on varied subjects, but was specially interested in folklore, and being well versed in old and out-of-the way literature was able to throw much light upon the history and migrations of stories. A full abstract of his paper on "Norse Tales and their Eastern Analogues," read before the Viking Club in November, 1892, appears in Vol. I., Part I. of the *Saga-Book*, and the paper in full was printed in the *Orkney Herald* in December, 1892, and January, 1893. He also contributed to the Club "Notes on the Folklore of the Raven and the Owl," which is printed with Mrs. Saxby's "Inaugural Address on Birds of Omen in Shetland." Besides many works on Eastern folklore, he published in 1889 "Popular Tales and Fictions, their Migrations and Transformations."

WILLIAM MORRIS, who was elected a Jarla-man of the Club in 1893, and Viking Skald and a Fræthi-man in 1895, died on October 3rd. He was born on March 24th, 1834. Originally designed for the Church, he took up with architecture, and eventually, as a member of the firm of Morris & Co., laboured in the cause of the artistic revival of the arts and crafts. He early made his mark as a poet, being drawn to the romantic Hellenic and mediæval past. About 1870, to quote the words of a well-known writer, he fell under the influence of the "Norse revival in its purest form—that of the Icelandic," the result of which was the production of some of the finest creations of his poetic nature. Chief among these are "The Lovers of Gudrun," founded on the Laxdæla Saga, included in "The Earthly Paradise," and "Sigurd the Volsung," which appeared in 1876, and was regarded by himself as his best work. Besides his noble version of the Volsunga Saga, a prose rendering of it is included in the series of Sagas done into English which we owe jointly to him and Dr. Eirikr Magnússon, another Jarla-man and Fræthi-man of the Club. This appeared in 1870, under the title of "The Story of the Volsungs and the Niblungs;" and "Grettir the Strong" in 1869, and "Three Northern Love Stories" in 1875, were the companion volumes. The translators have recently added to the series, in "The Saga Library" published by Bernard Quaritch 1891–5, versions of the Eyrbyggja Saga, Heimskringla, etc., etc. The simplicity

of the primitive life which he found to exist in Iceland on his visits there in 1871 and 1873, made an impression that coloured all his subsequent writings, and strengthened, it is said, the tendencies which he subsequently evinced towards Socialism. In 1889 appeared "The House of the Wolfings," a tale in prose and verse, and in 1889 he published "The Roots of the Mountains," considered by critics as the finest story of Northern life ever written, as also the best effort of his prose genius. Several other works followed, among them a verse translation of Beowulf in 1895. He took an active part in the work of the Viking Club, and last acted as the Chairman for the evening on Jan. 11th, 1895, on the occasion of the delivery of Mr. Major's lecture on "Survivals of the Asa Faith in Northern Folklore."

J. R. HAIG, F.S.A., and Hugh Miller, are two other members whose deaths the Club has to deplore since its formation.

A MAN outside our ranks who made his mark as a Norse student, and whose death cannot be passed unnoticed, is SIR GEORGE DASENT, D.C.L. He died May 11th last year, in his eightieth year, at Ascot. He was educated at Westminster and Oxford. His translation of "The Prose or Younger Edda" appeared in 1842, the work being dedicated to Thomas Carlyle. In 1843 he published a grammar of the Icelandic or old Norse tongue from the Swedish of Erasmus Rask. From 1843–58 he worked assiduously at the translation of the Norse Tales, one of which, "The Master-Thief," was first published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, the first of many editions of "Popular Tales from the Norse" appearing in 1859. He was Professor of English Literature and Modern History at King's College from 1853–65. In 1861 he published "The Story of Burnt Njal, or Life in Iceland at the End of the Tenth Century," and in 1866 this was followed by the "Story of Gisli, the Outlaw;" "Tales from the Fjeld," a second series of popular tales, in 1874; and "The Vikings of the Baltic," a tale of the North in the tenth century, in 1875. As lately as 1894 his translations of the Orkney and Hacon Sagas, on which he had been engaged for many years, were published by the Master of the Rolls. Sir George Dasent was knighted in 1876.

THE NORSEMEN IN SHETLAND.

By GILBERT GOUDIE, F.S.A.Scot.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the historical sequence of events in the Norse occupation of the Shetland Isles. My idea rather is to lay hold of the salient features of that occupation so as, if possible, to arrive at a satisfactory answer to the query which is sometimes addressed to us, namely, whether the terms "our Scandinavian forefathers," or "our Norse ancestors," so common in our everyday talk, are historically defensible, or are merely part of our local conventionalisms, founded upon hazy traditional ideas? I hope to be able to show that the terms are not only justifiable, and essentially accurate in point of fact, but that they may at the same time be held as implying much of the racial qualities which are characteristic of the islesmen of the North Sea.

It is not necessary that I should describe to the Viking Club who and what manner of men were the hardy Norsemen who swept the seas, our own name-fathers in this Society. The conquest of Orkney and Shetland, for some time previously attempted by irregular incursions, was in the ninth century finally accomplished by these sturdy warriors. This conquest was not merely a temporary subjugation, but shaped itself into a regular colonization (as was the case about the same time in Iceland and Faroe), with all the resulting accompaniments and consequences of permanent settlement by a conquering race in a new country. First of all was the overthrow of the civilization and religion which they found existing on their arrival, and which we have warrant, both from historical testimony and from archæological induction, in assuming to have been Celtic and Christian. The illustrations which follow are interesting memorials of this Celtic Christianity.

Fig. 1 represents the St. Ninian's Stone, which I found in the island of that name in the parish of Dunrossness in 1876.[1] It was the second discovery in the islands of a monument inscribed in Ogam characters, such monuments being peculiar to Ireland and other strictly Celtic districts. The Burra Stone (Fig. 2), which I found in the island of Burra in 1877, is an excellent example of Celtic Christian art, in the design of the cross, the ecclesiastical and other figures, and the interlaced ornamentation. This last is the essential and most characteristic feature of Celtic monumental art.

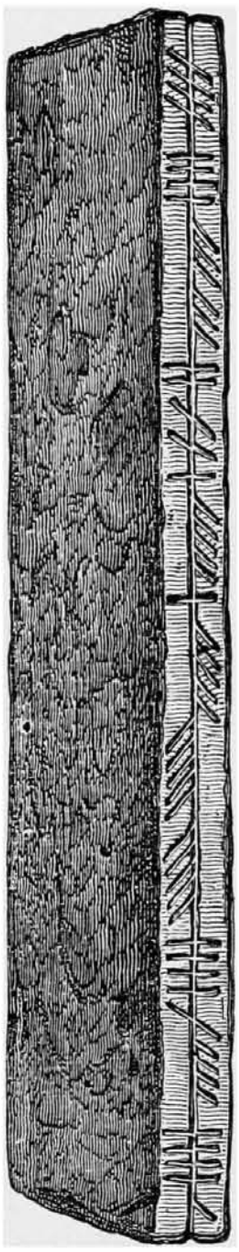


FIG. 1.—ST. NINIAN'S STONE.

Though, as I believe, the Celts (usually recognised in this connection as "Picts") were absorbed, and not annihilated, by the new comers, yet true it is that their civilization and religion, as has been stated, had to give way before the torrent of Odinism which was the necessary accompaniment of the new comers. At the same time we may be assured that the Celtic traditions did not wholly die out; and, with the restoration of Christianity at the instance of King Olaf Trygvesson at the end of the tenth century, the former traditions were revivified. Churches in characteristically Celtic form were erected; and it is even possible that Celtic art, so graphically delineated in the decorations and inscriptions of the sculptured stones, might have been to some extent revived, though I prefer to regard the known monuments as of the genuinely Celtic period which preceded. Upon the whole, the distinctive characteristics of the two races, in their civilization and religion, were welded together into the system of local life, in its most prominent and essential features Scandinavian, which we find portrayed in the pages of the

[1] This cut is reproduced by permission of the Council of the Scottish History Society.

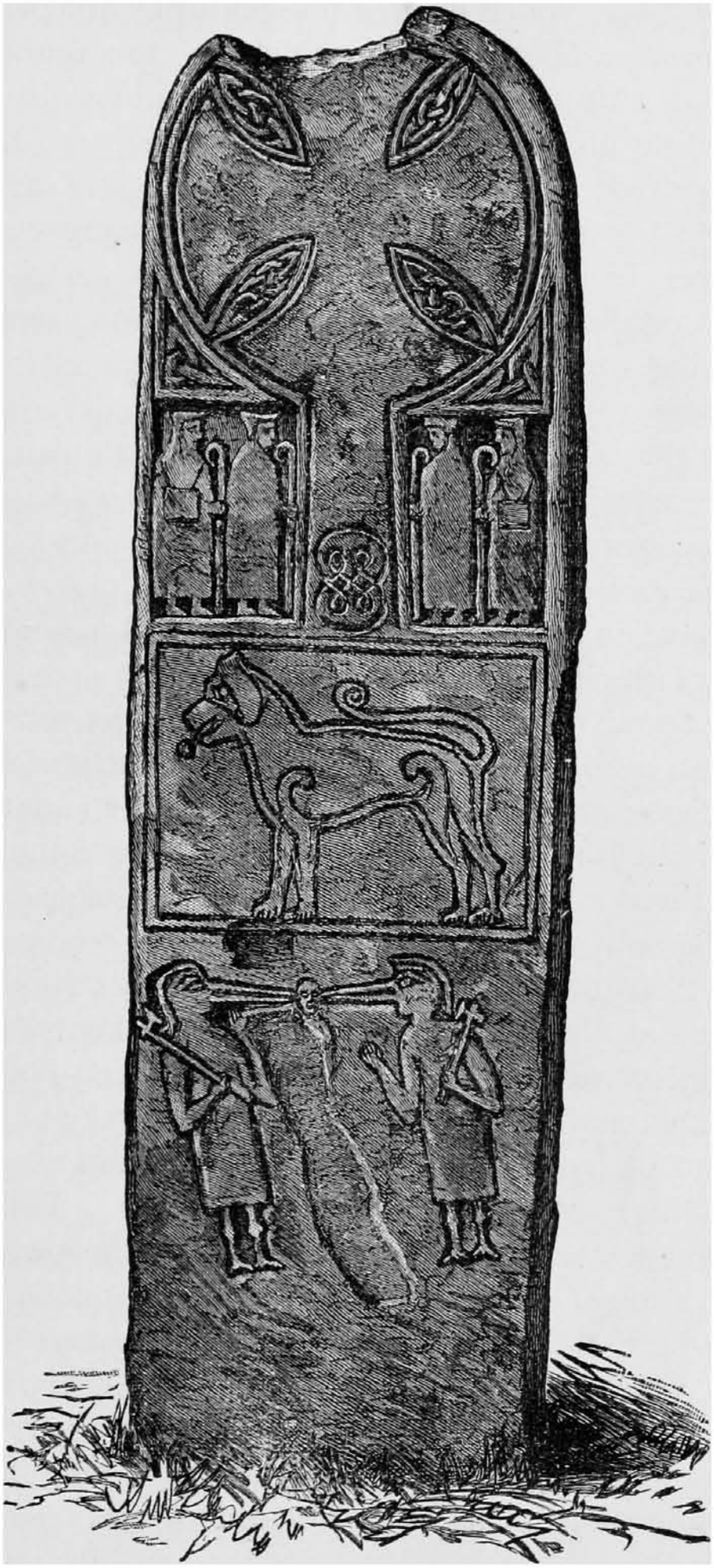


FIG. 2.—BURRA STONE.[1]

[1] For this cut, and also Figs. 3 and 4, I am indebted to the kindness of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Orkneyinga Saga, which existed for centuries afterwards with little material alteration, and which is the foundation of the life and culture—in some respects unique, apart from that prevailing elsewhere in Scotland—which we have ourselves inherited, and which, in a modern and increasingly diluted form, exists in the islands even to the present day.

The traces, in religion and culture otherwise, of the Celts in times preceding the Scandinavian conquest, would form an interesting study. But it is the phenomena of the Scandinavian element, the predominant, and now indeed, as has been said, the almost exclusive element, in the islands, with which we are at present concerned. And this we have to view in its broad general outlines, by briefly considering some of the main factors, some of the elemental principles which have been effective in forming the character, and fashioning the destinies, of the islesmen from age to age.

The first and most distinctive feature of the conquest was the seizure by the new comers of the lands of the vanquished Picts; and, holding these by right of conquest, they recognised no human superior, and transmitted their possessions to their descendants without forms of vassalage or acknowledgment of feudal "service," or seignorial dues. Thus was transplanted into the islands the *Odal* (or, as termed in Orkney and Shetland, "Udal") system of land tenure as it existed in Norway, whence the conquerors had come: in its independence and its absolute freedom the very antithesis of the system of landholding under feudal conditions elsewhere prevailing in Europe at the time, and since. This right of independency was not confined merely to the ownership of land, but it also followed the Udaller into the domain of civil politics, where, though he might be but of small degree, his voice and vote were, in theory, as good and effective as were those of the most influential Thingmen in their periodical assemblies. This equality and fraternity, long the blood-stained aspiration of many nationalities, agonized after for ages, were the birthright of our progenitors, acquired not by tumult or revolution, but by the natural development of the genius of the race. Every man could not, of course, be a landowner, and a residue of the "unfree" was a necessity in

the nature of things; but practically the country was held by the people, not in thraldom as tenants at will, but by right of ownership, independent of the trammels and penalties attached to feudal vassalage, of which they knew nothing. The holdings for the most part were of necessity of small individual extent, and in virtue of constant sub-division on the co-equal succession of heirs (for the law of primogeniture was practically unknown), the Udal system had in itself the germs of dissolution. It is wonderful how, in spite of this, and of the general tendency to the breaking up of property holdings, large or small, so much of the land in Shetland has come down in small Udal possessions even to our own day.

In addition to the native landholders, the Church in Norway must also be regarded as having been owner, to a considerable extent, of landed estate in Shetland which continued to be held long after the islands became subject to Scotland. The *Brevebog* (or Chartulary) of Munkaliv's Cloister (the Monastery of St. Michael) at Bergen, contains particulars of the possessions of that monastery in the islands. Other insular possessions of the Church are known, such as that termed "The Provostry of the Dom Kirk [*i.e.* the Cathedral] of Bergen," which included four merks of land at Sumburgh, and ten and a half merks at Helliness in the parish of Cunningsburgh. The former of these holdings, now part of the estate of Sumburgh, was disposed of by the Danish owners (coming in place of the Norwegian Church and Crown) so late as in 1661; and a Confirmation of the Sale, in order to prevent challenge of the title from any quarter, was granted by King Frederick the Third in the following year. Since that time the lands of the "Lordis of Norroway," as they were called, have ceased to be owned in Norway, and, becoming incorporated in Shetland estates, have wholly passed out of view, and out of knowledge.

The sales, or loss by forfeiture, of the small holdings of the Udallers, and the absorption of these holdings into the larger estates, are significant illustrations of the process of disintegration, and of the transition, under Scottish influences, to modern conditions of life. Many of the deeds of conveyance from the old Udallers to the new owners are preserved. A

number of these deeds are in the Norse language, some of them written in Norway, and some in Shetland. The testimony so strikingly afforded by these legal relics to the persistence of the Norse sentiment, and to the continued intimacy of the relationship between the islands and the Norwegian fatherland, will be more distinctly referred to under a subsequent head.

During the long period from the settlement of the isles by the Norsemen in the ninth century to the close of the Norwegian era, after which our estimate of the conditions of local life rests upon a more definite historic basis, it may be safely affirmed that while the Shetlanders lived a no doubt simple and hearty life, with few of the gratifications of modern tastes, yet the enjoyment of their entire freedom under their native laws and institutions, with comparative immunity from local tyranny and from desolating assaults by external enemies, ensured for them a degree of comfort and contentment that was not surpassed anywhere at the time, and has perhaps not been reached at any subsequent period of their history until the present age. In the earlier epoch, the Shetlanders were apparently addicted in a less degree than the Orkneymen to the hereditary diversion of Viking raids, and they were not long in settling down to ordinary civil life, pursuing the means of sustenance mainly by the scanty agriculture which the soil permitted, by sheep rearing, and by fishing, in very much the same way as their representatives do at the present day, and as their kinsmen still do in Faroe, Iceland, and on the coasts of Norway. In all these northern regions the *bondi*, or peasant, was first a farmer, and thereafter, as occasion or necessity required, a fisher, the combination of these industries, by land and sea, rendering the islesmen who practised them thoroughly equipped successors to the daring Vikings, their ancestors, who equally excelled in both callings. One of the earliest, and certainly one of the most interesting, glimpses of everyday life in the islands, is in the story of Earl Rognvald's adventure in the twelfth century, as an amateur fisherman, in disguise, among the Dunrossness men of that time. The circumstantials, and the local environments as related, might almost be taken as an incident of common

life, during a busy fishing season at the present day.[1] Another curious native sketch appears in the story of the shipwreck of the same Earl at Gulberwick, in Shetland (*Orkneyinga Saga*, 1873, chapter lxxix).

In the times we are speaking of, the independence and comfort of the Shetlander consisted mainly in this, that he was not only in the majority of cases the owner of the land he cultivated, but that he was also able, from his own industries, in fishing, tilling, sheep and cattle rearing, to furnish the whole food and raiment of himself and his family. *Landmails* (or rents), where these were exigible, and dues of every kind, were also paid mostly in *wadmell* (home-made cloth) and in oil and butter or other produce. Money was thus as little required as it was seldom seen. These remarks apply in a general way almost to so late as the beginning of the present century.

In any view of the process of historical development in Shetland and Orkney, the Church, both Roman and Protesting, must, as elsewhere, be looked upon as an important factor. True it is that, with the exception of the Life of St. Magnus, and the outburst of pious, not to say superstitious, enthusiasm which his death evoked, there is exceedingly little to be found to enable us to form an opinion of the religious life of the people during many centuries. But unquestionably the spread of Christianity, in the course of time, humanised and elevated in life and feeling, and we may be assured that our ancestors in those days were, as we trust their descendants now are, honest, God-fearing people according to their light.

The episcopal see of Orkney was founded early in the twelfth century. Its seat, for a short time at Birsay, was permanently transferred to Kirkwall, where the temple of St. Magnus the Martyr was reared as its special shrine. Shetland was administered by the Archdeacon, whose Church at Tingwall was also dedicated to St. Magnus. The Archbishops of York and of St. Andrews both claimed, and on more than

[1] The writer has given a translation of the story, from the Icelandic of a lately recovered portion of the *Orkneyinga Saga*, in the Appendix to *Mill's Diary* (Scot. Hist. Society), Edin. 1889.

one occasion exercised, the right of consecration; but, as a matter of right, the metropolitan of Orkney and Shetland was the Archbishop of Nidaros (or Drontheim) in Norway. In due course, the parcelling out of the country into parishes, with parish churches, very much as these now exist, was accomplished; and the small chapels or district oratories, which previously had served the wants of the people, fell into decay. At the Reformation more than one of the parochial charges came to be discontinued from want of funds, and many of the churches became ruinous. The remains of these pre-Reformation churches, and of the small chapels in out-of-the-way districts, are now objects of curious search to the antiquary. The dedications of most of these churches and chapels are unknown, but I have been able to identify the following, viz. :—

Dunrossness—Crosskirk.
" —St. Ninian.
" —St. Columba.
Sandwick—St. Magnus [?].
Cunningsburgh—St. Colm [?] St. Paul.
Bressay—St. Olla.
" —St. Mary.
" —St. John.
Burra—St. Laurence.
Tingwall—St. Magnus.
Whiteness—St. Ola.
Weisdale—Our Lady.
Sandsting—St. Mary.
Walls—St. Paul.
Delting—St. Paul.
" —St. Olla.
" —St. Magnus.
Northmaven—St. Ola.
" —St. Magnus.
" —St. Gregorius.
Yell—St. John.
" —St. Olla.
" —St. Magnus.
Unst.—Our Lady.
" —St. John.

It cannot now be ascertained with certainty what form of liturgical service was in use in the churches of Shetland. In earlier times it may be supposed that the form prescribed for the see of Drontheim would be observed, but as time went on and Scottish influences began more and more to prevail, the practice would in all probability be increasingly conformed to Scottish usages.

While Shetland was a Norwegian possession (for a short time it was disjoined from Orkney and administered, along with Faroe, from Norway) its government was, practically, in

the hands of the all-powerful Jarl: though, as the earldom residence was in Orkney, its immediate control was for most part in the hands of subordinate officials responsible to him. The Jarl, in turn, was nominally responsible to the King of Norway, from whom he was bound to receive investiture, and at all times to acknowledge fealty; but for all practical purposes he administered his little state on his own account, and was only occasionally brought to book by his suzerain.

While the Earl was thus the head and front of political authority, the problem of local self-government under him was solved in the islands at an early date.[1] In the case of Orkney the facts are somewhat obscure, but in Shetland the main features do not admit of doubt. Contemporary details, it is true, are few; but when, after the middle of the sixteenth century, we come to get a clearer glimpse at the social conditions then prevailing, we are able, by study of the transitional forms by which these conditions were regulated, to reconstruct the old system of local polity with, I believe, a fair approximation to accuracy.

Apart from the multitude of facts disclosed by legal documents, dry and formal as these are usually regarded, and the side light which these incidental notices throw upon prevailing local conditions, we have a few records of a more comprehensive kind, dealing with local life. The first and most interesting of these is the Minutes of the trial of Laurence Bruce, of Cultemalindie, in February, 1577, for his misdemeanours as Great Foud of Shetland, when acting as the deputy of Lord Robert Stewart, first of the Scottish earls of that name. All the "Commons and Inhabitants" of Shetland having been summoned to attend this judicial enquiry, which was held at Tingwall, the sworn evidence then tendered by residents in every parish may be regarded as a trustworthy exposition of the past and present circum-

[1] I endeavoured to explain this in some detail in an article on "The Ancient Local Government of the Shetland Islands," printed in *Blandinger* (Miscellaneous Papers) of *Universitets Jubilaets Danske Samfund*. Copenhagen, 1886.

stances of the islands as then understood by the people themselves.[1]

At that time the civil constitution, as existing in the purely Norse period, had no doubt been considerably impaired by the encroachment of Scottish influence: but the islanders were still in doubt as to the permanence of their connection with Scotland, and they therefore adhered as rigidly as they could both to the spirit and to the outward forms of their native polity. Upon these records therefore, upon old heritable writs and judicial documents, and upon the later recorded proceedings of "Lawting" and "Bailie" Courts, our estimate of the system of local government of the country must mainly be based.

Shetland was a *Foudrie* (Norse, *Fogderi*), in the same way as Norway is subdivided into Foudries at the present day. The supreme executive officer was the "Foud," usually termed the "Great Foud" (Norse, *Foged*), who was appointed by the Government, and was charged with the public administration, judicial and fiscal, the latter embracing the collection of *skatts*, *mails* (rents), *umboth*, *wattle*, and all other duties, which went on gradually augmenting, especially after the islands passed under the domination of Scotland. The great court was the *Althing* (the general or universal *Assembly* of the country), possessed of civil and criminal jurisdiction, which met usually once a year, but oftener when required, at the Loch of Tingwall, under the presidency of the Great Foud, with the guidance of the "Lawman" (Norse, *Lögmadr*), who expounded the law and regulated the proceedings. On all occasions there appears to have been a selected assize of *Raadmen* (or Councillors), who acted as advisers or jurors; but in certain cases of criminal investigation doom seems to have been pronounced in accordance with the determining voice of the whole assembly. The functions of this *Althing* Court were legislative as well as judicial, and as

[1] The whole papers connected with this important trial were printed by the late D. Balfour, of Balfour, in his book "Oppressions of the Sixteenth Century in the Islands of Orkney and Shetland" (Maitland Club, 1859).

its membership was composed of all landholders, or "freemen," of the country, it was thus a primary and not a representative body, and its powers seem to have been without limitation, so far as purely local interests were concerned, extending to the full over life and property.

A remarkable feature of this native system was that, subordinate to the Althing, there was a similar method of local government and judicature established in every parish, and this ages before the idea of Parish Councils was seriously discussed in Britain.

The chief officer in the parish court was the *Under Foud*, appointed, like the Great Foud, by the ruling authorities, while the interests of the *bondi* (or Commons) were jealously guarded by the "Lawright-men" (Norse, *Lögrettamenn*), whose duty it was to see that justice was done, and that the country people were not harassed by undue exactions in the settlement of their *mails* and duties. In every case of trial, as between man and man, the Foud, in the same way as the Great Foud in the Althing Court, had the benefit of an assize of *Raadmen*, or assisting jurymen.

Succession to heritable or moveable estate was arranged at meetings of the parish court, or of a number of reputable neighbours, whose decision, embodied in a *Shuynd* Bill, or brieve of succession, or of division, was accepted as authoritative, and therefore permanently binding. Several examples of the Shuynd Bill have been preserved.

A curious method of criminal prosecution was by the compurgatorial system. According to this, persons indicted for an offence were permitted, or were doomed, to seek acquittance from the charge by the oath, in their vindication, of a sufficient number of honest neighbours. Hence the "saxter aith," the "twelter aith" (the oaths respectively of six and of twelve neighbours, who swore to their belief of the innocency of the person charged) which we frequently come upon in Shetland records. This form of purgation, common in northern countries, was not confined to Scandinavian nations, but was also recognised by the Saxon law in Britain, and a ceremonial survival of it was not abolished in England until in the eighteenth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The

"Lawright" oath was also a form of acquittance sometimes referred to in court proceedings in the olden time in Shetland.

Another curious system, that of *Opgestry*, as it was called, existed not only during the purely Norse period, but also, like the compurgatorial, into the Scottish times which succeeded. According to this custom persons in age, infirmity, or pecuniary difficulty made over their whole lands or means, of whatever kind, to other persons, who undertook, in exchange for a formal transfer of their property, to harbour and maintain them for the whole remaining period of their natural life. Of agreements of this kind some specimens remain.

The official system, the regulations of law and local government, thus cursorily hinted at, are thoroughly Scandinavian, very much the counterpart of what prevailed, and still to some extent prevails, in Norway, and which was transplanted in a somewhat similar way by the emigrants to Iceland. As I have on different occasions endeavoured to illustrate the nature of the Norse occupation of the islands, and the laws and institutions which were their special pride, I shall not dwell upon the subject further now. The saddest part of the retrospect is the decline and subversion of these laws and institutions after Shetland and Orkney came under the domination of the Scottish Crown. For with them passed away not only our ancient native freedom, but much also of our genuine Norse spirit. And yet this process of assimilation to Scottish and modern forms presents an interesting and instructive study of the social and administrative transition of which it was the outward expression.

The mortgaging of the islands to Scotland in 1468 did not, as some may suppose, transform the Norse islesmen into Scotsmen. For more than a hundred years later their conditions were not materially altered, though the germs of transformation were beginning quietly to work. It was only after the advent of the rapacious Stewart Earls, in the reign of Queen Mary, and under the persistent oppressions exercised by their successors, that the subversion of native laws and institutions, to which reference has been made, was accomplished after a long struggle, some of the outward semblances

continuing almost to our own day, though the spirit was gone. Crown donatories, tacksmen, lawyers, and subordinate officials, harassed the people, and, gradually acquiring the larger portion of the land, became an alien dominant caste. Another element of change was the steady intrusion of Scottish clergy, even from before the Reformation. These and their descendants had little sympathy with the natives or their traditions, and gradually swelled the dominant class; so that by degrees the proud and independent Udallers, very many of them losing their lands and sinking into indigence, were compelled to pass into the background. Scottish families, and imported fashions, thus came into vogue, along with changed laws and regulations; and the old native family names, the native language, and native customs, ceased to be considered to be in proper form.

In the course of this radical upheaval, the *Foged*, or Foud, of Norse times, was transferred into the "Steward" or "Sheriff." The *Logmadr* (or "Lawman") entirely disappeared, along with the Book of the Law; the *Lögrettamenn*, nominally permitted to exist, retained their title as "Lawrightmen;" the *Althing* became the "Lawting" Court, the "Sheriff" Court, and "Justice" Court; while the *Vard-things*, or district courts, became the parochial courts, presided over by the parish "Bailie," formerly the *Under-foud.* Ere long the Lawrightmen, the *Ràadmenn* or Councillors, and the Bailie Courts disappeared, the latter, however, dragging on existence till towards the middle of last century.[1] The *Ranselmen*, who had powers of inquisition for theft and petty offences, alone survived to our own day, and are perhaps not yet entirely extinct.[2]

It is to the records of these Lawting and Bailie Courts[3]

[1] I have in my possession a copy of the Minutes of the Bailie Court of the parish of Dunrossness, Alexander Sinclair, of Brew, Bailie, so late as for the years 1731–1735.

[2] The last authoritative appointment of Ranselmen, so far as I am aware, was for the parish of Lunnasting, by the Sheriff Substitute of Zetland, on 16th December, 1836. (Paper on the Fouds, Lawrightmen and Ranselmen of Shetland, *Proceedings S. A. Scot., G.G.*, March 14th, 1892.)

[3] Ancient Court Books of Shetland are preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh, and also in the Sheriff Court at Lerwick.

that we must look for the last picturesque memorials of the old native life of the Norse islanders: and a unique and interesting study that life is, from its commencement, as perceived through the first glimmer of history in Norway, through its heroic stage of Vikingdom, its transference to the melancholy isles of the North Sea, its growth there and its decay. But when we look upon our gallant Shetland seamen, first in command in all climes, our honest toilers by sea and land at home, and our islesmen pioneers in the Colonies, we shall, I think, be justified in the belief that the ancestral spirit by which that life was animated in other days is not yet wholly extinct, that the blood of the Norsemen of old is not disgraced as it now courses through the veins of their modern representatives.

Such in brief general outline is a glance at the political, ecclesiastical, and social condition of Shetland during the Norse period, and in its modified form as it was shaded away in the later Scoto-Scandinavian or Scottish period. It only remains, within the limits at my disposal, to attempt to see what indubitable traces, what actual relics of the Norsemen still remain in the islands. In this endeavour I shall glance at (1) the remnants of the Old Language, (2) the Place-Names, and (3) the Archæological Relics, so far as these can be relied upon as trustworthy evidence in support of my contention.

I. The Norse Language in Shetland.

There is a fascination in studying the survivals of an old language, and the expressive relics from the old Norse which enter so largely into the composition of the Shetland vernacular to the present day are of peculiar interest in this way, especially to native born students who can comprehend the sometimes almost hidden meaning of the terms. Let us see, then, what evidence remains of the genuine Norse (locally the "Norn") having been the common language of the islands.

Readers of the *Orkneyinga Saga* are aware of the obvious fact that the question of language presented no difficulty in

Orkney or Shetland or elsewhere in the northern countries. The *Norræna tunga*, or old Norse, was in the age of the Sagas everywhere intelligible; but in the present enquiry we naturally look not so much to evidence of a general kind as to the earliest adminicules of proof locally existing.

First of these are rune-inscribed stones, on which, wherever they were settled, the Scandinavians carved, in their own characteristic style, brief memorials of their departed friends. These palæographic records were usually expressed in a very simple formula, such as :—

"(*A*) raised this stone" (or "Carved these runes") "in memory of (*B*) son of (*C*)."

The great chamber of Maeshowe in Orkney presents a large and varied display of rune-carving, unfortunately of but little historic value; but, though Shetland is for most part richer than Orkney in traces of archaic life, only four rune-inscribed fragments have been found in the northern group. These are: one found at Cross Kirk, Northmavine, figured by Hibbert in his *Description of the Shetland Islands* (1822), and three fragments found in the parish of Cunningsburgh and described by the present writer.[1] These all, with unequivocal clearness, tell their brief but pointed tale of the old Norse fatherland, whose language, traditions, and customs, were so warmly cherished by the emigrants and their descendants. The best preserved rune stone, though only a fragment, is one of those found in Cunningsburgh, and it reads as follows:—



. . . (RIS)THI STIN IFTIR FOTHUR SIN THURBAIR(N).

. . . (rais)ed (this) stone after father his Thurbair(n).

Next in order in the chain of evidence after the Runes is the testimony of legal documents in the Norse language which have been found in the islands, and which have already

[1] "On Rune-inscribed relics of the Norsemen in Shetland," *Proceedings, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxii (1879).

been referred to. Besides six such deeds previously known, no fewer than twelve documents in the old tongue have been discovered by myself, either among the public record papers of the county of Zetland, preserved in the Sheriff Clerk's office in Lerwick, or in the charter chests of local families. The existence of these documents was not known, and not surmised, and their recovery should be an incentive to patient research in the future.

Some of the deeds have been written in Shetland, and some in Norway, in cases where the owners of the lands resided there; but in either case, the language and the legal phraseology used are practically identical. The oldest of these Shetland deeds is preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh, and is as follows:

> Ollum mennom theim sem thetta breff sae ædhr heyra sendhir Andres Wellimson quedhio gudhz ok sina kunnikt giorandhe meth thesso mino upno brefue at jak hafwir selth biskedhelik man Symon Hognason eina mark brenda i jordh som lighr i Walol undhan mek ok minom aerfwinghiom ondhir fornemdhan Symon ok hans aervinghia til aewerdelig aeighnar. Framdhelis kennist jak at ek hafwir upborit hin fyrsta peningh ok hin sedhistha ok alla thær imillom saa at mek wel at nojhist thet er at seghia vj gylline i lerefthe for thesse mark. Ok for the Skuld at ek hafde enkert Insigle siaelfu thar hafr jak bedhit beskedelighe men som saa hetha Magnus Olausson ok Olaf Arnason hinghia thera Insigle for min bona stadh skuld for thetta breff er giort var i onst Anno Domini MCDLXV.

That is to say:—

> Unto all men who this letter see or hear Andrew Williamson sends God's greeting and his own, making known by this my letter patent that I have sold to that worshipful man, Simon Hognason, one mark burnt [silver] in land which lies in Walol from me and my heirs unto the aforesaid Simon and his heirs for everlasting possession. Moreover, I acknowledge that I have received the first penny and the last and all there between so that I am well satisfied, six florins [worth] in linen for this mark. And whereas I have no seal myself I have requested the worshipful men who are thus called Magnus Olauson and Olaf Arnason to append their seals at my own desire unto this letter which was done in Unst, Anno Domini 1465.

The dates covered by these Shetland documents in Norse, of which a list is given in the Appendix, extend from the above

date to so late as 1607 (besides two more strictly Danish deeds of later date). From that time written remains of the old language pass out of sight and are heard of no more, though the language itself remains, in gradually diminishing quantity, in common speech.

In the period succeeding the era of the Norse deeds, when externally everything bore the imprint of Scottish forms, we come upon the literary evidence of the persistence of the language in the testimony of old writers who visited the islands. Brand (1700); Sir Robert Sibbald, whose "Descriptions" was published in 1711, and the Rev. Mr. Low, who noted his observations in 1770, are explicit in their affirmation of this, especially as regards outlying districts. Low gives not only a native version of the Lord's Prayer closely akin to customary old forms in Norway and Sweden, but has also put on record no fewer than thirty-five stanzas of a Norse ballad rehearsed to him by an old native in the island of Foula. Low, who knew absolutely nothing of the language, took down the words phonetically, as well as he could, from a narrator who himself was utterly ignorant of spelling or literary forms. The wonder therefore is that, notwithstanding these almost insurmountable obstacles to an intelligible rendering, the meaning can be made out; and a fairly successful transcript in modern Norse by a Norwegian scholar, the late Professor P. A. Munch, was published in an article by him (*Geographiske og historiske Notitser om Orknoerne og Hetland* contained in *Samlinger til det Norske Folks Sprog og Historie.* Christiania, 1838). More recently, the Rev. Biot Edmondston, in *The Home of a Naturalist* (London, 1888), has preserved some relics of ancient native rhymes, the interpretation of which will be a puzzle for the ingenious student. But apart from these literary attestations, every one possessed of distinct local knowledge is aware that to this day in Shetland the everyday language of the people bristles with Norse words and idioms. My friend Herr Jakob Jakobsen, of Thorshavn in the neighbouring group of Faroe, student of the University of Copenhagen, an expert linguist, has lately spent more than a year in Shetland, gathering up, in every district of the country, the fragments which are still preserved

of the old language; and he claims, as the result of much patient research, to have recovered many thousands of such words still in use, many of them no doubt confined to remote districts, and some known to few speakers only.[1] In my own youthful days I looked back with wonder and regret to the days when the language of old Norway was the speech of our forefathers, ignorant of the fact that my own ordinary vocabulary was largely made up of survivals from that tongue. It was an awakening when, later in life, it fell to my lot to describe native Runic monuments subsequently discovered, and from time to time to bring to light and expound a variety of documents in the old language which had been found in the islands. Unfortunately, in recent years the increasing intimacy of connection with Scotland and England, the accession of new settlers from the south, and other causes, have had the effect, to a large extent, of brushing aside many of the most interesting localisms in thought and language. It is well therefore that attention should be directed at the present time to the essential characteristics of the hereditary vernacular, ere they become so blurred as to be scarcely discernible. The extent, however, to which the Norse prevails, or till recently prevailed, in the islands, in a corrupted form, is evidenced by the large collection of native words, in more or less common use, contained in the "Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect," by the late Thomas Edmondston of Buness (Edinburgh, 1866), which indeed could have been largely augmented.

II. The Local Names.

This, too, is a department of our enquiry which would require a treatise by itself. As, however, the present is a mere sketch, it is not necessary to enlarge in details. In point of fact, to illustrate by example the prevalence of Norse in the local nomenclature would be simply to transfer to these pages almost the whole place-names of the islands. For if it be the fact that the native Celts (or "Picts") were not annihil-

[1] Dr. Jakobsen's publications, *Det Norrone Sprog på Shetland* and *Shetland og Shetlænderne*, have just reached me (April, 1897).

ated by their Norse conquerors, it certainly cannot be denied that their language and place-names in the islands have, with very few exceptions, perished. Sacred sites, and the dedications which these bore, have in several cases survived; but the long dominance of the Norse element in the population has well-nigh obliterated the ordinary traces of their Celtic predecessors. Take as examples the following names of parochial divisions of the country, viz.:—

Lerwick and Gulberwick	Norse,	Lervik.
	„	Guldberuvik.
Dunrossness	„	Dynröstnes.
Sandwick	„	Sandvik.
Cunningsburgh	„	Konungsborg.
Tingwall	„	Thingvölr.
Whiteness	„	Hvid-ness.
Weisdale	„	Veis-dalr.
Sandsting	„	Sandsthing.
Aithsting	„	Eidsthing.
Unst	„	Örnyst.
Fetlar	„	Faetilör.
Yell	„	Yala.
Delting	„	Dalathing.
Northmaven	„	Nord-maveigen.
Nesting	„	Nes-thing.
Lunnasting	„	Lundeidsthing.
Whalsay	„	Hvalsey.
Bressay	„	Brusey.
Fair Isle	„	Fridarey.

It is unnecessary to multiply these larger names. It is in the minor nomenclature that the Norse is most strongly prominent. A few of these from the parish of Cunningsburgh are significant, *e.g.*:—

Englamurvatn	Ildegard	Tordale
Laxadale	Culbinsgarth	Hammerfeld
Clivigard	Starkigarth	Musnafeld
Vatsgard	Valdigard	Aith
Scarpigard	Swarthoul	Fugla Stack

In short, the place-names throughout the islands are intensely Scandinavian, the old names clinging to field and hill, to loch and rock, to shore and *geo* and bay, and refusing to be dislodged, so long as the native-born inhabitants remain. But the process, in the present century, of abolishing run-rig holdings, and of consolidating small farms into large grazing tacks, has caused to some extent a displacement of the population, the tendency of which is fatal to the preservation of the minor place-names, as well as to the old traditions of the country. Enough, however, still remains to show that no more telling evidence of the presence of the Norsemen exists than the quaint descriptive Norse names which cover the islands as with a garment.

In speaking of local names it is not necessary to confine the reference to *place*-names merely. Personal and family names, either genuine old Norse or of purely native growth, which is very much the same thing, everywhere abounded until, in later times, disguised or transmuted in deference to a mistaken notion or prejudice (begotten of the continued invasion of Southerners, ignorant of the history, language and traditions of the islands), that the old names were common-place, vulgar, and therefore better to be discarded or recast. Thus "Hackie" (Haco) became Hercules; "Sigmund" became Simon; "Engster," an occupant of meadow land, found himself dubbed for all time *Ink*ster; "Bjornson," or "Berntsen," became Bairnson, the "son of a child" (save the mark!); "Osla" (Aslaug) was dressed out as Ursula; and the fine old female name Sunniva came (as "Sinnie") to be regarded as only a fit name for old wives. And so with many more. In a few instances "Turkell" (Thorkell or Torquil), "Rasmie" (Erasmus), "Tirval" (Thorvald), "Inga" (Ingagarth or Ingaborg) survive. But the almost universally prevailing patronymic forms, Manson (Magnusson), Gilbertson, Anderson, Williamson, Rasmusson, Hoseason, Johnson or Yunson (Johansen), and many others speak eloquently to us, down through the course of ages, of the parental Norsemen from whom these varying "sons" descended. The reversal of the family name to that of the immediate parent, thus changing from generation to generation, was not uncommon in Shetland even within the present century.

Increased knowledge of the past, and a better understanding of the fitness of things, have already led to a revived sentiment of veneration for old customs, old names and traditions; and this may no doubt result in exploding prejudices and in restoring the Scandinavian idea to a due and healthy place in the affections of the people.

It may be added that a number of years ago I made an attempt to collect the minor place-names in different localities, and succeeded in bringing together several pretty full lists. The labours of the Ordnance Survey Department have fortunately put on record since then very many of the smaller names, especially along the coasts; but a vast deal more yet remains to be done to preserve these still audible voices of the Norsemen's past, recorded upon the surface of the ground they so long occupied, but every day becoming more and more faint, with the risk of their being obliterated for ever. In the meantime the standard authority on the place-names of Orkney and Shetland is, and will probably ever remain, the learned article by the late Professor Munch of Christiania, which appeared in the *Memoirs* of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries (Copenhagen, 1850–1860). In his investigations, however, the major names were chiefly dealt with.

III. Archæological Relics of the Norsemen.

These, in Shetland, are but scanty. In Orkney we have the great temple of the Norsemen, a monument of their skill and also of their devotion—if not perhaps of their piety in any very strictly modern sense. For in the twelfth century, when this cathedral of St. Magnus, was in its earliest portions, reared, the islesmen were yet, to a large extent, roving soldiers of fortune, for whom the sea and distant forays had not yet lost their fascination. Most of the other churches of this early period, both in Shetland and in Orkney, have disappeared, though precious fragments may yet be traced by the patient antiquary. The towered church on the island of Egilsey still looks on the scene of St. Magnus's slaughter, but the three churches with round towers in Shetland—at Tingwall, in Burra isle, and at Eyrrland ("Ireland") in Dunrossness—have left scarcely a wrack behind. A portion

of the crypt (or "vault") of the church of St. Magnus at Tingwall may yet be seen, as also portions of the churches at Sandsting, Cullinsbrough in Bressay, Ness in Yell, Uyea, Lind in Unst, and one or two more, some of these being perhaps the remnants of foundations of even earlier date than the advent of the Norsemen. What appears to have been a really fine old church, Cross Kirk of Dunrossness, was swept into ruin, and its stones removed for other buildings, so late as in the beginning of the present century. It seems to have been the parish church from early in the Norse period, and an important edifice in 1506 when, by his will, dated at Tingwall on the 9th of July of that year, Sir David Sinclair, of Sumburgh, Great Foud of Shetland and Governor of the Castle of Bergen in Norway, bequeathed to it one-third of his black velvet coat (the other two-thirds going to the church of St. Magnus, at Tingwall); his gold chain, which he got from the King of Denmark, being left at the same time to St. George's altar, in the Cathedral of Roskilde, in that country.

Other ecclesiastical remains in the islands owing their origin to the Norsemen are all too scanty to be further referred to; and if it be so that these, the most enduring monuments of that age, have so woefully perished, what can be expected of the relics of civil and domestic life? Dwellings of the people, even in an advanced social state, are always of a more or less temporary character, apt to fall into decay, and constantly subject to alteration and renewal; and very few of such domestic structures of any considerable antiquity are consequently to be found in any country. It is only the more massive stone- or brick-built castles of the lords of the soil—very many of these in ruins—that can with any success resist the persistent assaults of time, and war, and weather. We have reason to believe that in Shetland, at all events in the earlier Norse period, the dwelling-places even of the more substantial of the *bondi* were constructed of wood and other more or less perishable material, as in the Norwegian motherland and in the colonies of Iceland and Faroe, the surrounding strengthening material of stone and earth being equally subject with the wooden fabric to decay and reconstruction. The only architectural remains of remote antiquity which we

find are the massive round towers—*borgs* (or "boroughs") as designated by the Norsemen—which they found on their arrival in the islands. I have no hesitation in assigning these fortalices, mysterious as in some respects they are, to the Celtic race (the "Picts") who were in possession of the country before the Norsemen's arrival.

If, therefore, we must admit the absence of specific structural remains of the Norsemen, I yet claim that the social organization in country districts, in its material shape and form, is essentially Norse to the present day. The ancient run-rig system is scarcely yet abolished. Many of the old hill dykes, enclosing townships from the hill and moorland, some of these of stone, some of turf ("feals"), are very many centuries

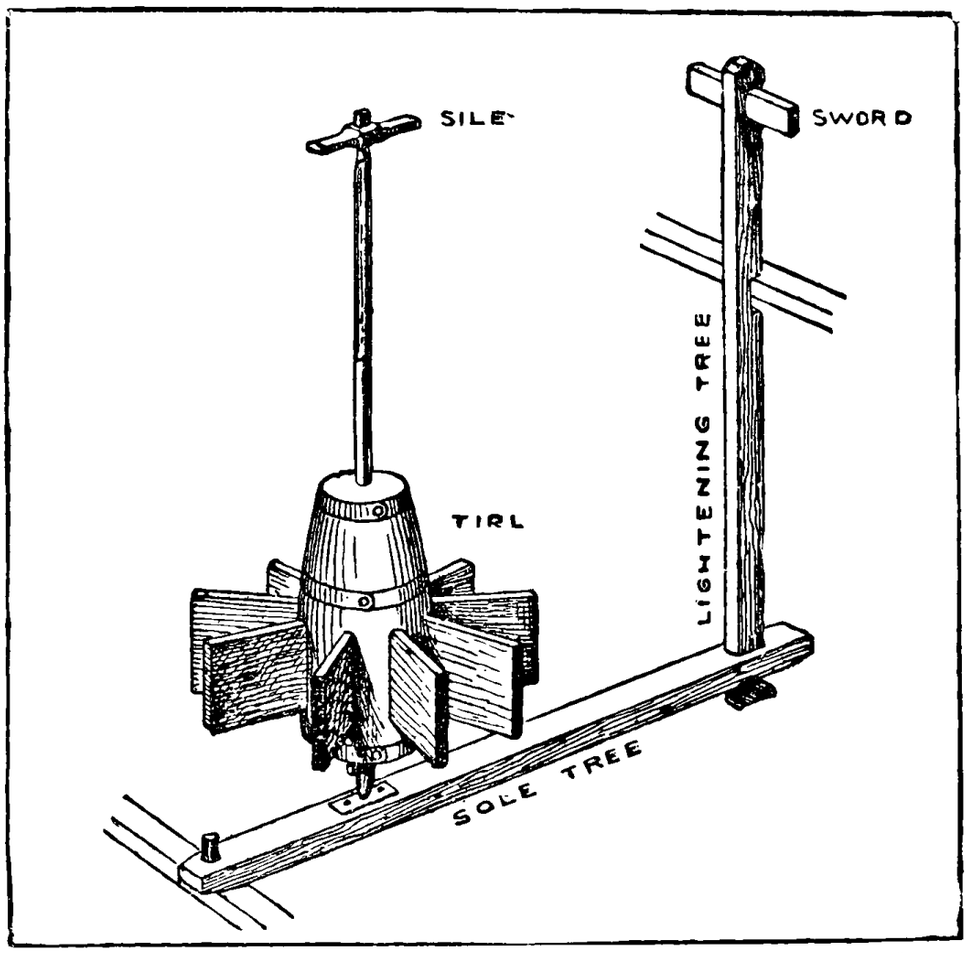


FIG. 3.—OLD SHETLAND MILL AT SOUND, LERWICK.

old, some it may be approaching a thousand years, patched and repaired from age to age as circumstances demanded. Up to fifty, or even twenty, years ago the distribution and arrangement of townships and of dwelling houses and offices in the older villages, we have reason to think, may have been but little changed from the days when the Norsemen, after displacing the Picts, settled down and completed their system of rural economics. A striking, if not perhaps very salubrious, illustration of this is the village of Sound (or "Sund"), near Lerwick, a place of great antiquity, as is expressed in the couplet :—

Sund was Sund when Lerwick was nane,
Sund will be Sund when Lerwick is gane

It is to be apprehended that the broom of the Sanitary Inspector of the County Council may ere long incur the anathema of antiquaries by the destruction of some of the most pregnant and significant characteristics of this and other old-world looking communities. Again, the mill-burns, and the quaintly diminutive native mills, working horizontally, to



(Drawn by Mr. J. Romilly Allen.)

FIG. 4.—TIRL (OR WATER WHEEL) OF MILL AND ADJUNCTS.

be found in every quarter of the country, and only now falling into decay, are other most telling survivals from a remote age, and thoroughly Norwegian in their design and practical working, as I have had occasion to point out elsewhere at considerable length,[1] and I shall not therefore allude to these further.

[1] "On the Horizontal Water Mills of Shetland," *Proceedings S. A. Scot.*, vol. xx., 1886.

Except deeds and documents, and always of course excepting what may be of local composition in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, we have in Shetland little or nothing of local literature from the early or even the late Norse period. The same may be said of personal ornaments or property, though it is true that a good many years ago a fine specimen of the large oval-shaped Viking brooch, which must have decorated the breast of a Northern warrior, was found in the island of Unst. It is now to be seen in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

The "Visecks," or songs, and ballads, which were formerly recited and sung, and the "Sword Dance" of Papa Stour, may be last flickers of survivals from the Norse period; while many burial mounds, stone circles, and standing stones, in different parts of the islands, may commemorate departed Norsemen; but it is difficult, without examination by excavation, to discriminate what is Norse from what is Celtic in such remains. The learned Worsaae, Minister of Public Instruction in Denmark, now deceased, in his book which has been done into English as "An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland" (1852) has included Orkney and Shetland in the scope of his researches, and has given some valuable observations on the traces of the Norsemen in these islands, as these traces present themselves to the eye of a learned and sympathetic foreigner.

There are only two other characteristic objects of native use to which I may allude, viz., the Shetland Boat and the Bysmar, both essentially Scandinavian survivals in their form and equipments.

The larger trading and fishing boats, with high prow and stern post and square sails, to be seen on the Norwegian coast, are strikingly suggestive of the Viking ships of other days: and the smaller boats, though the points of difference are very apparent to the eye of an expert, wonderfully resemble in their general look the small craft common in Shetland. And when, in Bergen, we call a boat with the summons "Ho, flöt!" (or flöd), the mental apparition for a moment of the Lerwick "flit-boat" is irresistible, though the

flit-boat has acquired a more specific meaning in Shetland than its congener has in Norway, the significance in the latter case being much more general. It is no wonder that this strong resemblance should exist between the boats of Shetland and Norway, seeing that the boards for the clinker-built Shetland boats were, until comparatively recently, imported ready-made from Norway.

The bysmar, for long the ordinary weighing instrument in Shetland, as in Orkney, is now wholly discontinued, though I have myself seen it in use. Bysmars were formerly tested periodically, and stamped if correct, and a standard bysmar was kept for reference. The weights and measures, which corresponded with those formerly in use in Norway, were as follow, viz. :—

8 Ures (or ounces, Norse, *öre*)	=	1 Mark.
24 Marks	=	1 Lispund, Span, or Setteen.
6 Lispunds	=	1 Meil.
24 Meils	=	1 Last.
48 Cans of Oil or 15 Lispunds Butter	=	1 Barrel.
12 Barrels, 180 Lispunds, or 576 Cans	=	1 Last.

In the measurement of land 8 ures made 1 mark, and 18 marks 1 last: this land measurement being not a matter of *extent*, but of estimated value. Thus a mark of land of good quality might be small in extent, while a mark of inferior quality would be very much larger. The graduation of quality was fixed at an early date as so many pennies the mark—4, 6, 8, or 12, as the case might be (probably the amount of skat or other duty originally levied upon it). These distinctions in the description of land continued in legal instruments from age to age, and are probably still in use, though for long unintelligible even to the conveyancer, and practically of no value.

Wadmell (cloth), used in payment of rents and duties, was measured by the *cuttell*, or ell; and this native cloth was used for clothing until recently, if indeed it is not still in use.

These weights and measures, and the partition of the land descriptively into marks and ures, have been in use probably

from the early days of the Norse settlement; but the British standard of Imperial weights and measures has written the doom of all these, and the bysmar itself is now only a relic preserved by the curious. It has fallen out of use in Norway and Sweden in the same way; and I have seen it in one museum at least in those countries, preserved as an object of antiquity, precisely as it is in the National Museum in Edinburgh. But from very early times it was, with the *Pundlar*, the universal steel-yard, or weighing machine, of Scandinavia. It is figured somewhat roughly, but fairly accurately, in the *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, by Olaus Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala, in Sweden, printed at Rome in the year 1555.

It is perhaps unnecessary to allude to the native Kollie, or oil lamp, now also fallen into disuse, though it was in almost every dwelling-house in Shetland, and in many houses in Orkney, until after the middle of the present century, because its use was not confined to these islands, an almost exactly similar form of oil lamp having been common in former times throughout Scotland and elsewhere. It is only its name, which is simply the Icelandic or old Norse *kola*, that gives to it its significance in connection with the present enquiry as a direct derivative in name and in use from the primitive lamp of the early Scandinavian settlers.

I have not, in this fragmentary sketch, referred to physiological tests, whether of stature, form, cranium, or complexion, nor to characteristic predilections, such as the love of the seaman's life, the stern courage that confronts danger and death on the ocean wave, though these all testify emphatically to the Shetlanders' claim of affinity to the Sea-Kings and the Vik-ings of ancient story. But I have endeavoured to glance at some of the outstanding features of the settlement of the isles by the Norsemen, at the form of land tenure and social condition in the course of time developed, at the Church and her possessions in the islands, and at the native laws and system of local administration during the Norse period, gradually subverted and assimilated to Scottish forms after the pledging of the isles to Scotland in 1468; while the still surviving traces of the Norsemen in the language, the place-

names, the historical remains, and the forms and usages of common life, have also passed briefly under notice. The fact of this kinship with the Norsemen for which I have contended has been recognised by competent authorities in Norway and Denmark. Reference has been made to the works of Worsaae and Munch, and to the philological researches of Mr. Jakob Jakobsen; and quite recently I have received from Dr. Daae, of Christiania, an extremely interesting pamphlet (in Norse) on the points of connection between Orkney and Shetland and the motherland of Norway since the date of the mortgage to Scotland in 1468.

There is also in my possession a Danish book entirely relating to Shetland, "*Eda. Et Sagn fra Shetlandsöerne*," *i.e.* "Eda. A Tradition of the Shetland Isles," published at Copenhagen, 1862. It contains sixteen poetical sketches, among others the following, viz. :—

Shetlandsöerne,	*i.e.*	The Shetland Isles.
Patrick,	,,	Earl Patrick Stewart.
Fiskerlejet,	,,	The Fisherman's Station.
Hytten i Melby,	,,	The Cottage at Melby.
Markedet i Lerwick	,,	The Market in Lerwick.
Grunista,	,,	Grunista.
Natten paa Scalloway,	,,	Night at Scalloway.
Natten paa Grunista,	,,	Night at Grunista.

As is well known, *The Pirate* was translated into Danish, (*"Söroveren"*) as into most European languages; but this was due no doubt rather to the fame of the author than to its specialty of interest. But upon the whole, in view of these contributions from Norwegian and Danish sources to the literature of the isles, it is a gratifying reflection that if we continue to cherish a longing esteem for our friends of Scandinavia, they too are not forgetful of us.

I trust that in working together the material which has passed under review I have in some measure succeeded in my contention that the Shetland Islands have been, and are, truly and essentially a settlement and home of Norsemen.

DEEDS IN THE NORSE LANGUAGE RELATING TO SHETLAND.

I.

No fewer than twenty-five deeds, in the old language, relating to Shetland, some in the Arna-Magnæan Collection, Copenhagen, and mostly printed in the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, have been reproduced in the *Diplomatarium Hialtlandense*, published (anonymously) by the late Mr. Arthur Lawrenson, Lerwick, 1886–1888.

II.

The following are printed in "Deeds relating to Orkney and Shetland, 1433–1581"—a small collection of ancient northern documents printed anonymously at Edinburgh in 1840 :—

1. Deed of Sale, land in Walol, from Andrew Williamson to Simon Hognason. Signed in Unst, 1465.

2. Deed of Conveyance, by Olave Persson, Fedie, Norway, to David Sanderson, Reafirth, Yell; land in Whalsay. Bergen, 24th April, 1567.

3. Deed of Conveyance, by Niels Monson, native of Shetland, to David Sanderson; land in Yell. Bergen, 27th April, 1567.

4. Deed of Conveyance, Marion Sigursdaughter, of Bergen, to her dear relative, David Sanderson Skott; land in Fetlar. Bergen, 16th August, 1575.

5. Deed of Conveyance, Anna Sandersdaughter, widow of Hans Fonbois, Bergen, to her dear brother, David Sanderson Scott; land in Reafirth. Bergen, 18th August, 1575.

III.

The following documents have been discovered in recent years (1873–1894) by the writer of the preceding paper, either among the public records of the county, or in the charter chests of Shetland families. All of them have been translated and described in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, from time to time :—

1. Confirmation, dated at Ayth, in Aythsting, 26th April, 1545, of a Succession settlement (or *Shuynd* Bill), of date 1516.

2. Confirmation, dated at Bergen, 1544, of a Sale by Niels Angusson to Jon, son of Magnus the Bonde, of land in Shetland. Done at Bergen, 1536.

3. Confirmation, by King Frederick the Third, of Denmark and Norway, of sale of land at Sumburgh, parish of Dunrossness. Dated at Copenhagen, 20th October, 1661.

4. Attestation of Sale of land in Unst, by Ingemund Endresson (Henderson) to William Skogsson. Dated at Sodereyd, 2nd August, 1551.

5. Agreement by Christian Jonnson Forsell (Fraser), burgher of Bergen, a native of Shetland, in reference to certain lands in Yell belonging to him. Dated at Bergen, 1594.

6. Mandate by the said Christian Jonnsson in favor of William Donnellssonn Forssell, in Shetland, to act for him in drawing the rents of his property in Shetland. (Endorsed on preceding document.)

7. Receipt by Marete Suensdaughter (Margaret Shewan?) to James Spens. 1602.

8. Acknowledgment by William Monson (Manson) of his indebtedness for nine and a half dollars to Söerren Spens. Dated 18th December, 1607.

9. Deed of Sale by Herluff Lauritzon (Laurenson), burgess in Bergen, acting for behoof of Urim in Hardanger, of lands in Hillswick Bay, Shetland, to Andrew Smith. Dated at Bergen, 27th July, 1601.

10. Deed of Sale by Anna Oluffsdaughter to Magnus Thomessone (Thomson) in Scatsta, of a farm in Hamnavoe in Lunnasting. Dated at Bergen, 1537.

11. Acknowledgment by Anders Maath, of Houckeland (Andrew Mouat, of Hugoland), and his dear wife Else Trondsdaughter, of Erisfiordt, in Norway, of their indebtedness to the extent of 300 Rix dollars to Effuart Sincklar (Edward Sinclair) in Shetland. Signed at Gierisvig (Gierswick), in Norway. 20th June, 1597.

12. Commission by King Frederick the Fourth of Denmark to Magnus Sinclair, Captain of the ship *Leoparden* (The Leopard). Issued at Copenhagen, 21st April, 1627.

It is singular that, while so many original documents in Norse have been brought to light in Shetland, only one such document is known to have been found in Orkney, viz., Deed of Sale by Henrik Soost to Guttorme Georgeson and William Georgeson, of the land of Holland in Papa Westray. Dated 1452. One other Norse deed is in the possession of the representatives of my deceased friend, Mr. Arthur Laurenson, Lerwick. I despair of ever having the opportunity of introducing any more of these interesting old waifs and strays to public notice.

A BOAT JOURNEY TO INARI.

By ALFRED HENEAGE COCKS, M.A.

It will hardly be offering an insult to the geographical knowledge of the members of even so learned a Society as the Viking Club, if I venture to assume that very few among my audience had ever heard the name Inari before they read it in the announcement of this evening's meeting.

And yet Inari, in Finland (or Enare, as the Norwegians call it; Swedish—Enara; or in Lappish—Anar Javre), is one of the principal lakes of Europe, only exceeded in size by, I think, four others in Russia, and one in Sweden.

The Swiss and North Italian lakes, which probably a large majority of well educated persons take to be the principal lakes of Europe, are very considerably smaller. The largest of these—the lake of Geneva—is only some fifty miles long, by ten at its greatest breadth, while Inari covers something like seventy miles from north to south, by fifty from east to west; or, while Geneva is not much more than one-third the size of the county (Buckinghamshire) in which I live, Inari is far more than double the area of that county; that is to say, Lake Inari is just seven times the area of the Lake of Geneva.

Its surface is said to be studded with 1,700 islands, on which Scotch firs grow, without taking the smaller holms into account.

The boat journey I propose to describe was along the frontier of Norway and Russia, and into Finland, up the river Pasvig (as it is called in Norwegian, but more correctly by the Lappish name Patsjok), and across the magnificent Lake Inari, of which this river is the principal outlet. The river is not the mere "silver thread" that one usually

associates with the word, but is rather a succession of beautiful lakes, connected by short reaches of river tumbling over numerous waterfalls and rushing over frequent rapids; in some places two rivers, and even two series of lakes, run parallel for several miles, before they again join their forces in another lake. The whole of this tract of country, and many hundreds of miles further than I penetrated, is covered with virgin forest, except in those places where low mountain ranges raise their grim heads; and no accurate map of it exists. As I could not learn, while in the country, that any good map was to be had, I subsequently made enquiries in the Map-room of the Royal Geographical Society, where the courteous librarian showed me all that there are, but without adding much to my knowledge.

In venturing to give the following sketch of my journey, I may say that I have less hesitation in doing so, because, so far as I have been able to discover, in no language has this route been described, though three scientific Norwegian gentlemen of my acquaintance have published an account of a journey they made over a portion of it, and a French friend of mine, and whilom fellow-traveller, has likewise published in *Le Tour du Monde* an account of his journey over about the same portion. I also have been told of an Englishman who traversed about a like distance. Even in my own case, a friend started with me, but he was tied to a fixed date for his return to England, and had to turn back on the way.

Therefore, however badly I may tell my little tale, it will at any rate be one that you cannot find, better told, elsewhere.

Neither Murray, nor Bædeker, nor any other guide-book has a word to say about this part of the world. There is no road through it, but the swirling river provides the only means of transit through the virgin forest; and on the approach of night one is thankful if one finds oneself within reach of the tiny hut of a Laplander, or of a Finnish colonist, instead of having to pass a cold, very possibly frosty, night in the open air.

Along the river banks, as just suggested, is found a very sparse and partly migratory population, consisting of a few

28° 30' 29° 30' 30°

NORWAY

FINLAND

RUSSIA

INARI

Kjö

Kjøsint G

Skogerö

Kjelfjord

Nordfjord

Korsfjord

Neidenelv

Klosterfjord

Kirkenes

Elvenres

Boris Glub

Langfjord

Skolte Fos

Hjoumaa loabbal or Klester Vand

Hare Fos

Hvaljarre or Nedre Klostervand

Holm Fos

Ejörrsund

Svanvik

Svanvand

Mest Njarga Coalmajarre or Øvre Klester Vand

Murkeelv

Mennikojârvi

Bosjarre

Jarvas Njarg'a

Vagetin

Botsjarre

Langfos

Avdem Jok

Njakts Jok

SCALE OF MILES

0 5 10 miles

69°

50'

30' 29° 30' 30°

Russian Laplanders; and Finns, or, as the latter are more properly called, to save confusion, Kvæns; the name Fin being, throughout Scandinavia, generally used to signify a Laplander. Towards the coast are a few Norwegian Laps, and further inland are a few Finnish Laps.

Of course the Kvæns or Fins are a civilised nation, and I need only mention the name of one individual—Baron Nordenskiöld—in proof; but those families who, forsaking civilisation, push their way to these out-of-the-way parts as colonists, are, in many instances, the scum of the nation, and include some very rough customers, far more brutish than the wildest Lap; though it would be ungrateful not to record that even among these Kvæn colonists some are most worthy and kindly members of society.

With the exception of the Samoyeds, living in the north-east of Russia—exclusively to the east of the White Sea—the Laplanders are far and away the most primitive people in Europe. They have diminished in numbers and prosperity very considerably since the harsh law was passed by the Russians, in 1811, which stops all Laplanders who are not Russian subjects from grazing their herds of reindeer on Russian territory. As the greater portion of Lapland proper is now included in the vast domains of the Czar, while comparatively few Laps cared to become his subjects, and those few have hardly any reindeer, it will be in some degree understood how cruel an edict this was to this diminutive people. I say diminutive advisedly, because few Lap men exceed five feet four inches in height, while the women are very frequently under five feet—four feet eleven inches being perhaps their average height.

The Laplanders are now divided among four nations, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. Each have their own idiosyncrasies; but while excellent accounts have been published of the two former branches, very little is known in literature about the two latter divisions. The Laplanders have always had an attraction for me since I first, as a very small boy, saw a highly coloured fancy picture of a Laplander travelling in his *kjerris* or reindeer sledge, with the aurora borealis blazing away behind him. But in later days I find

the reality hardly less interesting—for instance, their extreme primitiveness, and the fact that they do not belong to the great Aryan family of mankind. That is to say, before the nations now looked upon as the natural inhabitants of very nearly the whole of Europe, first made their appearance on this continent, the Laplanders were already in Europe; and, though their early history is a mere blank, there is no doubt that they were distributed much further south, and were an infinitely more important nation than now.[1]

Professor Friis, of Christiania, in his "Lappisk Mythologi" (published 1871) estimates their numbers to be:—In Norway, 17,178, besides 1,900 half-breeds; in Sweden, 7,248; in Finland about 1,200; and in Russian Lapland about 2,000. That is, under 30,000 in all.

A fortnight after leaving England, if we go direct, one arrives, bag and baggage, at the nastly little town of Vardö, at the north-east extremity of Norway. On this most dreary little island I have spent, in different years, many weeks, as it is about the best place to see whales and whaling.

Whales getting scarce as the season of 1888 came to an end, my friend Captain Ingvald Bryde, of the whaler *Thekla*, gave my companion Mr. Balfour, and myself, a passage across in her to Syd Varanger, where he was going for the double purpose of visiting his wife's relations and putting his ship on a convenient ground for scraping the barnacles, etc., off the bottom before running home.

On our passage we passed three whales being towed in by whalers to the whale establishments in Bussesund; and in due course entered Bögfjord, and, steaming some forty miles up it, and up the inner Klosterfjord, we dropped anchor just at the mouth of the river Patsjok, and right in front of the windows of Elvenæs, the hospitable house of another old friend of mine—Herr Klerk[2]—whose ancestor—by name Clark—had emigrated from Scotland some two centuries or more ago.

After a sojourn at that desolate spot, Vardö, the only variety

[1] Even if we do not accept the theory that these people are the modern representatives of Palæolithic man.

[2] Since then, I regret to say, deceased.

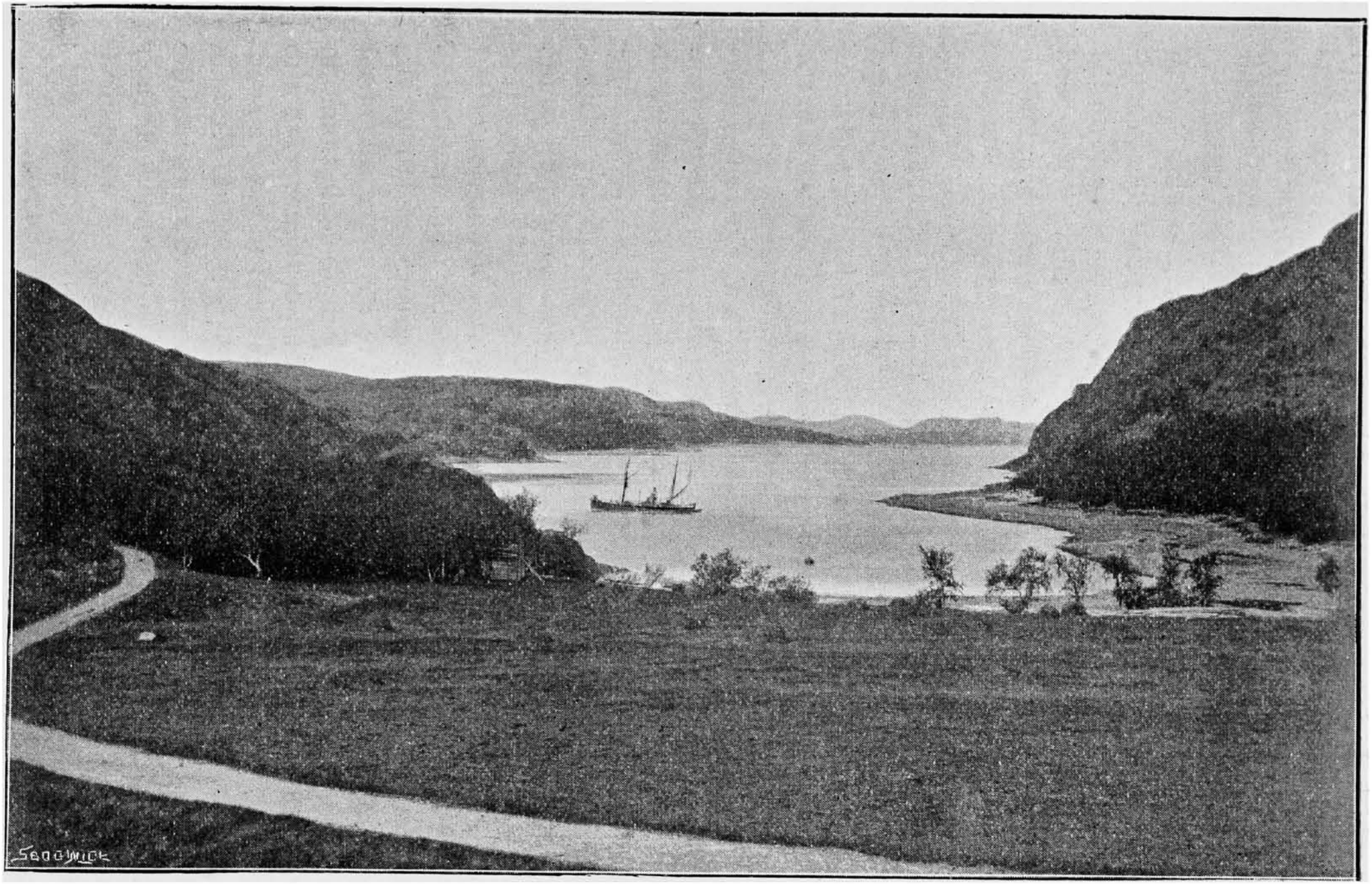


FIG. 1.—KLOSTERFJORD FROM ELVENÆS, LOOKING N. (MOUNTAINS 40 MILES DISTANT, THE WHALER POINTS TO MOUTH OF PATSJOK, OR PASVIG).

to which during some weeks had been the frowning cliffs and barren rocks of all the rest of the Finmarken coast, the contrast afforded by the comparatively low hills, and valleys thickly covered by birch and other trees, that we find all around us on entering Klosterfjord[1] is extremely pleasant.

The view of Klosterfjord from Elvenæs, looking north [Fig. 1], I took just in front of the house, so that this is actually the view seen from Elvenæs. The mountains far down the fjord are about forty miles distant. At anchor, at the head of the fjord, lies the little whaler *Thekla*, which brought us to this beautiful spot. Just behind the low bushes, almost at the spot to which the vessel's head points in the view, the river debouches into the fjord. The road which is seen running across the foreground is something to be made much of, for it is not less than fourteen miles in length, and runs from Kirkenæs on the west, to Jarfjord on the east, and is the only specimen of a road within hundreds of miles.

The second illustration [Fig. 2] gives a view taken a few hundred yards from the previous one, but looking in the opposite direction—south or *up* the river. The nearest piece of water shown is the actual head of the fjord, and is sea-water. Immediately above is the house "Elvenæs," which means "River-promontory," and there the promontory is, dividing, up to the very last possible moment, the salt water from the fresh. It is a lovely country, possessing almost every combination of hill and mountain, wood and water, that is wanted to insure charming scenery. A short scramble up the hills to the left of the picture, the view is even more beautiful; I counted seventeen lakes in sight at once, without reckoning small mountain tarns. A short distance up the west bank of the river, that to our right hand in the picture, Russia begins; and at the bend, about two miles distance from Elvenæs, is the little Russian Lap village of Boris Gleb. It is past there, and away into the dim distance, that our journey lies. Those two miles of water which look so smooth are really far worse to get up, even at the best of times, than the Thames is in the biggest flood; and at ebb-tide it is simply an impossibility to do so.

[1] Monastery fiord.

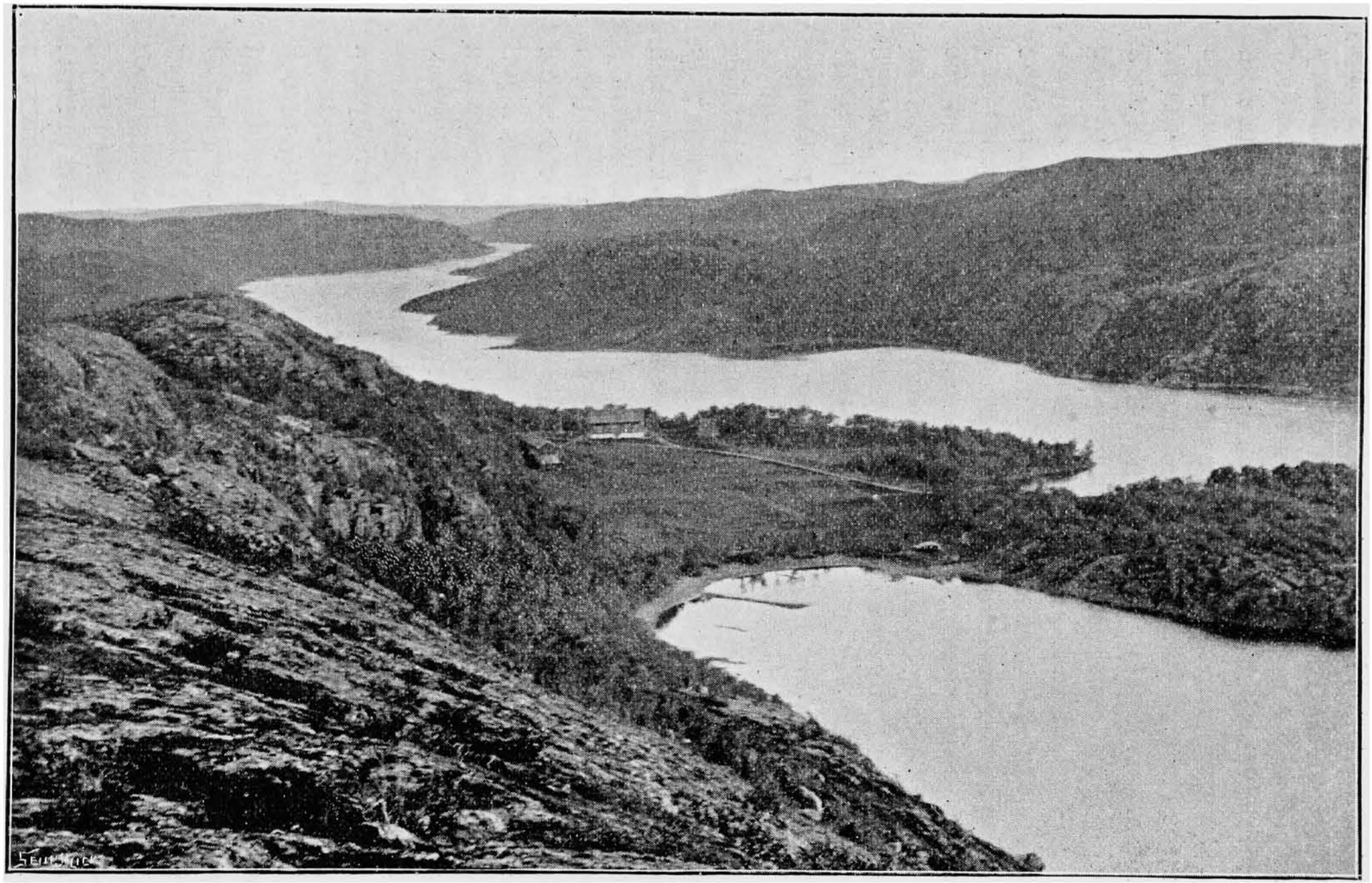


FIG. 2.—ELVENÆS, LOOKING SOUTH (RUSSIA IN BACKGROUND, HEAD OF FJORD IN FOREGROUND).

Herr Klerk kindly sent a messenger to the Russian Lap village to say we wanted men, and made the preliminary arrangements for us, specially arranging that a man named Philip Ivanivitch should be one of the number, because he could speak Norwegian fairly well—which, as my knowledge of the Russian language is limited to about a dozen words, and of the Lap language to an even smaller number, was a point worth considering.

Philip had once sailed a voyage in a Norwegian sailing-smack to the White Sea, as cook; and had accompanied the smack all the way back round the coast as far as Throndhjem, and in consequence, considered himself quite a man of the world. Amongst other accomplishments, he had learned to smoke, being the only *Skolte* (as the Russian Laps are called), at least among those that I have met, who does so. It is perhaps rather incongruous that I, who am a non-smoker, should be putting forth the use of tobacco as a sign of civilisation, but if you will just think how universal a habit smoking is, you will realise that its non-practice, which may be overlooked in an individual, becomes very marked when characteristic of an entire nation, or of a branch of a nation.

A characteristic of the Russian Laps, differentiating them from the other three divisions of their nation, is their extreme light-heartedness and cheerfulness; and Philip having a full share of this individuality, he was, at least in this respect, a very good travelling companion. He was a great character, and many of his sayings and doings were extremely comic.

It was a matter of some interest, in meeting so simple a child of nature, who had once in his life been to a town (Throndhjem), to glean from him what had specially struck him in this artificial state of society. I found that what had principally impressed him was the immense aggregate of lights in the windows of the houses after dark. In their primitive way of living the Russian Laps have neither candles nor lamps, and their only way of distinguishing objects in their huts at night-time is to stir the wood fire into a blaze. What they do during the long winter darkness I do not know. We may, therefore, to some extent appreciate the astonishment of this man, suddenly landed in a town, at

finding a bright light shining from one or more windows of every house wherever he wandered in the long streets.

When we had come to terms to our mutual satisfaction at a personal interview, we suggested a start within the next day or so; but the idea of hurry was quite beyond the Laps' comprehension. They said they could not be ready under some three days, and explained, in answer to my enquiries, that they would have to wash their clothes. If you could see these dirty little scarecrows, the idea of washing their clothes would be irresistibly comic, and also the further idea which suggested itself, as to what they were to do while their wives were busy at the wash-tub; for, by their own showing, the clothes they stood in were their only suit. They must, it followed, go about meanwhile *in puris naturalibus*, for lying in bed would not solve the difficulty, because they possess no bedclothes!

However, on August 29th we at last made a start. The boats have to be as small and light as possible, on account of the *portages*, and also because a tiny boat can dodge in and out in innumerable instances between rocks in a rapid, where a large boat would stick hopelessly fast. My friend and I each therefore occupied a separate "Bask," as these little Lap boats are called, accompanied by two natives apiece; Philip being headman of my boat, and the spokesman and general "gaffer" of the party.

When we reached the Lap village [Fig. 3], our men begged leave to go home and dine. These Russian Laps are, as I have already said, with the exception of the Samoyeds, the most primitive people in Europe; and except that they nowadays buy most of their clothes instead of making them for themselves, and have added to their food-supply such luxuries as coffee and sugar, are living now almost exactly the same manner of life as their ancestors did thousands of years ago, ages before Julius Cæsar first set foot in Britain. They have huts built in various localities, some singly, others in groups forming quite a little village, as this one; and they migrate from one to another according to the fishing season.

This tribe or community, consisting of twelve households, has its headquarters at a spot about three days' journey

higher up the river. At Christmas they come down to a place about one day's journey above Boris Gleb, and they only reside here (at Boris Gleb) for a few weeks about Easter; and even then the men are away a great part of the time at the sea-fishing. Individuals, however, move about as suits their own convenience, and there are generally, as was the case at this time, some few residing there, from among whom we had engaged our boats' crews.

Boris and Gleb were two Russian Saints, and their names are given to a tiny Russian church, built of logs, which has been standing here for some three hundred years. The history of it is as follows:—Some time in the sixteenth century a monk from Novgorod, named Trifan, set out for the north to convert the savage inhabitants to Christianity. After, as we may well suppose, long wanderings, about which I regret that I know nothing, he reached this beautiful spot fully eight hundred miles from Novgorod as the crow flies, but we should be safe in estimating his journey at more like double this. At first, and before he had established himself in that neighbourhood, he used to live in a cave in the face of the cliff, near the head of the fjord, which is only accessible at high water. (He may, of course, for all I know, have got over the inconvenience of being dependent on the tide, by a ladder, but tradition does not mention this detail.) To this day "Trifan's Hole" is considered an object of great veneration among the Russian Laps; in fact, except in name, it is regarded precisely in the same way as were the old heathen *Seidas*, or idols, consisting of some particular rock or boulder, of which I much doubt whether the worship has entirely died out even now. Whenever Russian Laps pass down the river on their way to the sea-fishing, they stop at Trifan's Hole, and try to ensure good luck by a propitiatory offering to the Saint of a small coin, or a little bit of bread that has been blessed by the priest.

There are, also, up the river, a few Norwegian Laps who are Lutherans, and when *they* pass down to the sea-fishing *they* also visit Trifan's Hole, not to propitiate the Saint with further offerings, but to appropriate to their own use those which they may find there. When the Russian Laps return



FIG. 3.—RUSSIAN LAP HAMLET OF BORIS GLEB (SNOW SHOES ON SIDE OF HOUSE, REINDEER SLEDGES BENEATH).

from the sea they again visit the cave, and, far from being upset at the disappearance of the votive gifts, are delighted to think that the holy Trifan has deigned to accept their little offerings! On a visit I paid to the cave I found it decorated with a dilapidated old Russian sacred picture, picked up from a wreck, and several little scraps of mouldy bread, too far gone then to be worth any Norwegian Lap's while to appropriate.

Most of the Russian Lap villages or settlements are only used for a certain number of years—I think a little over two generations, or, say seventy years, would be about an average; then when the fuel within easy reach is all burnt, and the bulk of the fish caught, they desert that exhausted spot and build fresh huts elsewhere. Boris Gleb however, being handy for the sea-fishing, and also no doubt partly on account of the sacredness of the spot associated with the holy Trifan, is a permanent settlement.

The huts are very tiny: they consist of a single room eight or nine feet square, some having the addition of a small entrance-lobby or passage. In the room is an open fire-place (no grate, of course, as the fuel is wood, not coal). A plank bench running along one or two sides, forms the family's beds; there are no bedclothes of any description, everyone sleeping in his or her clothes. If the family are more in number than they can squeeze, small as they are, on to the benches, they lie about on the floor.

Sometimes there is a small bracket table, and occasionally a low stool or two; but these are not universal luxuries. A small *eikon* (Russian sacred picture) of the commonest kind, a woman's workbag, a flint and steel and tinder bag, an iron pot, a small kettle, and perhaps a knapsack or box, and one or two wooden spoons (Russian pattern), complete the furniture. As not one of them can read or write, one never finds a book of any description among the Russian Laps. This is in marked contrast to the Norwegian and Swedish Laps, who (so far, at least, as my experience goes) can very nearly all read and write, thanks to the excellent provision of itinerant school-masters provided by Government.

The cupolas of the church visible in the picture are not those

of Trifan's little old church, which lies to one side, but they belong to a more imposing modern edifice, which was built by command of the Czarivitch (the last Czar), after a visit he paid to the place in 1874. No doubt the Czarivitch was a very good man, who, struck with the senile decay of the little old church, in a very commendable spirit of paternal care for the spiritual welfare of this handful of despised Laps, thought they ought to have a newer and larger church: but, at the same time, one cannot help the uncharitable thought that this spot is a sort of *promontory* of the Russian Empire, a wedge running far into other people's territories, which might at some not distant date prove of great value, and so old-established a church would be a very good title-deed.

The only Russians here are the priest and his family, and the clerk and *his* family. The priest, or *pope* as he is styled in Russian, is an old friend having made his acquaintance in 1881. His name is Constantin Schecoldin. I photographed him standing at the doors of the new church: the old church would almost pass through them. He cannot talk much Norwegian, and as he has a habit of bursting into a laugh every time a word fails him, his conversation in that language is not easy to follow. His wife, however, speaks Norwegian well. They are a most kindly couple, and while the Russian priests generally bear, if one is to credit even half the stories one hears about them, very indifferent characters, this pope is, I fully believe, a most worthy man. I have travelled occasionally in company with him and his wife; and have several times been in his house, and on one occasion had supper there, and I hope it is not a breach of hospitality to say a little about this supper. Before supper-time, we refreshed ourselves with a glass or two of *vodki*, the universal Russian spirit, besides a cup of tea from the never failing *samovar*, or urn. When supper was ready, the principal dish consisted of a *bolshai pirok*, or big pie, and big it certainly was, for it consisted of a whole salmon, skin, bones, and all, rolled up in pie-crust. To drink we had unlimited libations of tea. Russians always drink tea out of a tumbler, and add a slice of lemon instead of milk; but my hosts, being aware of the eccentric habits of foreigners,

provided me with a cup and saucer. When I had drunk some half-dozen cups, I pulled up, and declined any more; but found I was so completely out of it that, for company's sake, I was obliged at last to ask them to let me change my mind, and began again. Finally, I suppose I disposed of about a dozen good-sized cups, but I do not think I am exaggerating in saying that the Russians drank about thirty tumblerfuls a piece.

To resume the journey: When the Laps returned from dinner, we made our first portage to the top of the neighbouring waterfall, called *Russian Lap*, or *Paste, Waterfall*: but did not have to drag the boats, as the Laps had others already on the upper water. An hour's row thence, with one short turn overland, brought us to the second waterfall, which is a double one; tbe upper fall is perfectly smooth, with about fifteen feet drop; the lower one is about thirty yards further down the stream, and is entirely broken water, and perhaps twenty feet drop. The salmon get up the first waterfall by the Lap village, but this one stops them. It is called *Hare Waterfall*, because, according to the Laps, when its sides are frozen in winter the hares cross the river at it, jumping from one piece of ice to another.

Thus we proceed—sometimes a row for a while against a moderately strong stream, sometimes fighting our way inch by inch up a swirling rapid, while the water flows into the boat, all over our baggage—*anyhow!* If things get very bad, one of the Laps will suddenly jump overboard, breast high, or even nearly to his armpits, and hold the boat in position while the other tries to gain ground by poling or punting. Then if even that won't do, we go ashore, and the work of portaging is gone through.

The Laps, especially Philip, are very communicative, and point out all the objects of interest as we pass. We reach a lake, at the near end of which Philip has a "house"—that is, a tiny hut—for these migratory people, living entirely by fishing, have various abodes, according to the season. This lake is called by the Laps, though it is not its official name, "Whale Lake," from a rounded boulder which shows above the water much resembling a moderate-sized whale—in fact



FIG 4.—DINNER TIME AFTER PORTAGE ROUND MAIDO-GUÖSK.

"very like a whale." Further on, a little holm is called "The Lap's Hat," from its supposed resemblance to the knitted caps worn by the Russian Laps. Further on again, I am shown "The Seal Rock," looking very like one of those animals swimming high in the water. A portage past a waterfall at the top of this lake brings us to another lake, and we proceed up this, while it gradually gets dark, but presently a waning moon comes out brightly, and we keep on until past eleven o'clock, when we reach the house of a Kvæn named Per Pedari. We found, as usual with these people, the whole family sleeping in one room, to which group our Laps were soon added, but they made a shake-down of hay for the two English guests in an outhouse.

I must not stop to tell you how incorrect the maps proved hereabouts, or of other geographical details; but pass on, just mentioning that as we went on our way next morning it was a pretty sight to see an osprey swoop down on to the water and carry off a trout of nearly half-a-pound weight for his breakfast.

Fig. 4 shows dinner-time at the end of a portage. The boats have been dragged round Maido-güosk, which means "the Milk-white Fall," and before relaunching them a halt is called for refreshment. The figure on the left is Philip, wearing his greasy old sealer's cap; next to him is Ivan Ivanivitch. The elderly man who looks like a lascar is Ilya (Elias); he is an illustration of the reason why these people are commonly known as *Skolter Lapper*—"Skull Laps"—for the nasty complaint, ringworm, from which they nearly all suffer, has entirely denuded his head of hair. The fourth man is named Féodor Jephimvitch.

Late in the afternoon we reached the biggest waterfall on the river, being, according to my estimate, not far short of 300 yards in width. The portage round the falls took us over two hours, and entailed some pretty hard work. It was quite late in the evening when I took the photograph of this fall [Fig. 5] which is named in Lappish *Rämä Güosk*; and though, owing to the bad light, it is not a good photograph, yet I have thought it worth producing here.

Our progress all day was very slow, owing to a strong

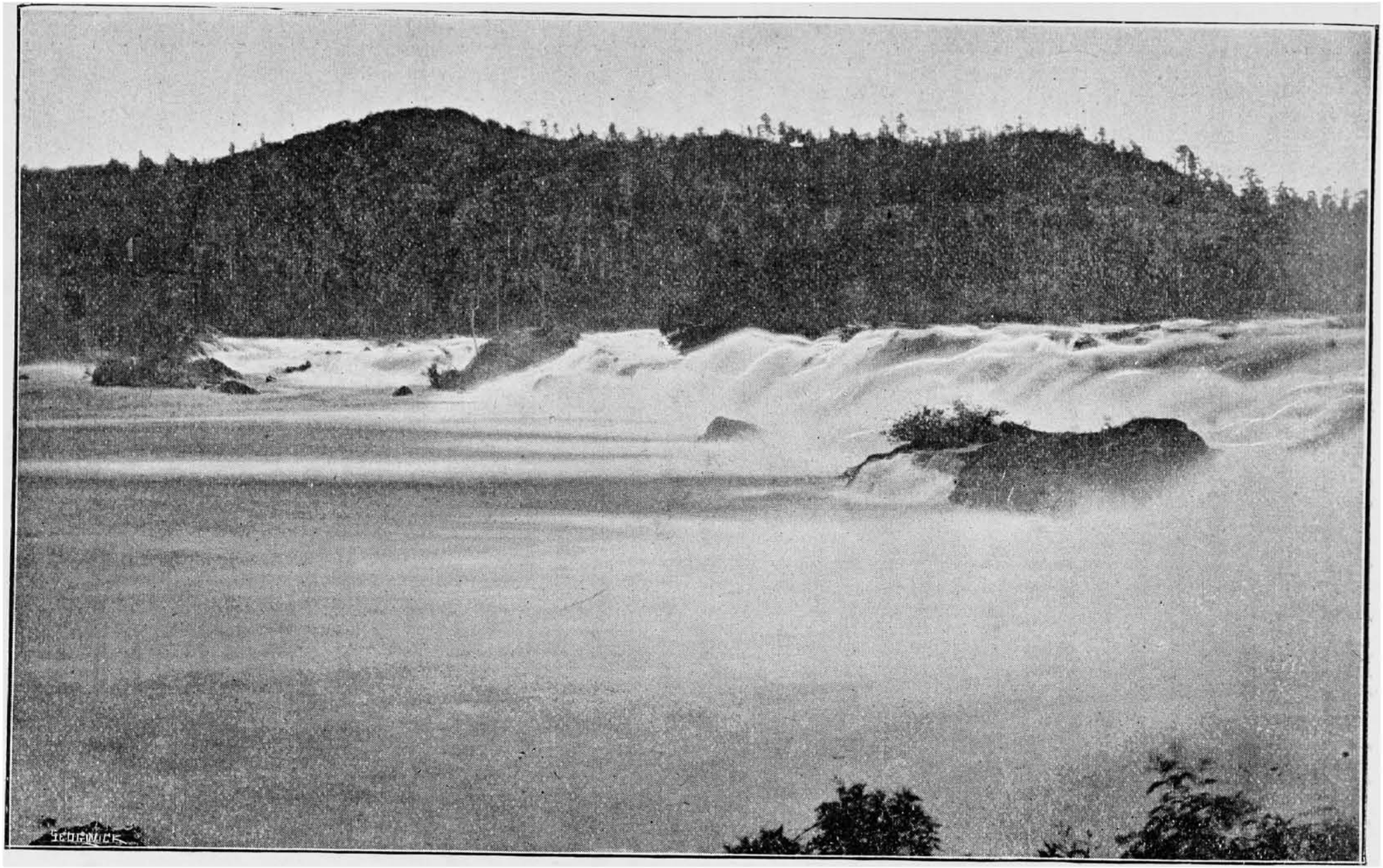


FIG. 5.—RÄMÄ-GUÖSK, THE BIGGEST FALL ON THE RIVER.

head wind, which developed latterly into a furious gale, and we had to abandon all hopes of reaching a hut to pass the night in; so we hauled the boats ashore and slept under one of them turned up.

A summer trip down the Thames has of late years become so universal an experience, but remains with so many their only experience of a boat journey, that I may perhaps remark how different an affair that is to an autumn journey on a river above N. lat. 69°. The one is playing at roughing it, the other is the real article. Not only is there the difference in temperature to put up with—we frequently had to lie out in the open at night, with no covering but a little boat turned over, in several degrees of frost—but whereas at home, if we discover we have forgotten something, or lost something, or get sick of bad weather, we never have more than a couple of miles or so to go before we come to a public-house, where we can obtain all necessary accommodation, and if by some accident our boat suffer shipwreck, or we ourselves get sick or sorry, we are at no point any great distance from a railway station, and in the course of a very few hours we are at home; and even if we do not feed entirely in the publics scattered plentifully along the riverside, we can always get a loaf of bread, fresh meat, and any other luxury, several times a day. Here, should anything have been forgotten, it has to be done without; anything lost overboard, or left behind at a portage, cannot be replaced. The boats are very tiny, and a large supply of food cannot be taken: you must trust chiefly to your fishing-rod and your skill in using it, and in a lesser degree to your gun. All the food at each meal has to be cooked by yourself, except where, in one or two places, a Kvæn's hut is reached, when the goodwife will do this much for you. No food, except, just at that time of year, a few small potatoes, can be bought on the way, and no fresh bread procured until you arrive at the terminus of your journey, where you are kindly given some as a present. Instead of friendly locks to take the place of rapids, each waterfall or rapid in turn has to be overcome in the best way one can, and though I never suffered complete shipwreck, all my belongings got soused, more or less completely, several times.

My French friend, already mentioned, who traversed a portion of this route a few years ago, came to complete grief at one of the rapids, the boat being capsized, and its occupants left to fight their way out of the turmoil of waters as best they could, while of course all the less buoyant articles of his baggage took advantage of their opportunity and were no more seen—a very serious disaster.

At all the waterfalls and worst rapids we have to make a portage, dragging the boat overland, and then carrying all the goods and chattels in loads on our backs, to the further side of the broken water; and sometimes this is a long distance; I think our longest portage on this river was about two miles. In places where the rise of the land is sudden, it is as much as all hands can do to get a boat up; but where the portage was an easy one, and all plain sailing, I used to leave this to the Laps, and hurry on to the other end, and make the most of my time fishing for the day's commissariat, so as not to waste time from the journey.

At one such place, I was wading over the smooth, rounded boulders forming the bed of the river, in my smooth-soled sea-boots, which of course have no nails in them, when I slipped, and fell flat into the water. You know how at home under these circumstances one would run home and change, or at least, if up the Thames, put in to the next public and do so, but there, I merely spliced the top of my rod, which was broken in my fall, and went on fishing; and on the arrival of the boat, got in and proceeded, for up there you don't take your clothes off night or day, whatever happens.

The next day, after landing five times at as many big rapids (besides small ones, up which the boat is forced without the business of landing)—in lovely scenery—we reach a beautiful lake called Vagetim, and, four hours later, we arrive at an island on it named Sevvi Suolo, on which is a little village of some ten huts, one of the abodes of the same tribe or community of Russian Laps that we first meet with at Boris Gleb near the mouth of the river, and from which our crews are drawn.

The huts here are of much the same style of architecture as they were at Boris Gleb, but among them there is one

consisting, like the rest, of a single room, but a good size larger than any of the Laps' huts, which belongs to Herr Klerk, and which he had built for the rare occasions on which he comes up here, and, meanwhile, it is made free use of by the Laps, and as a matter of course was allotted to our use as a guest-house. The Laps kept walking in and out, however, all the evening, without ceremony.

In every fresh hut we entered I found Philip's loquaciousness of great use in a way he little dreamt of. In wandering among primitive people I have got almost to *dread* the arrival among a fresh household, from the constantly recurring catechism one is put through—"Where are you from? Are you an Englishman? Where are you going to? Are you very rich? What is your name? How old are you? Are you married? Is your father still living?" and so on *ad nauseam*. To Philip, however, it was always a very proud moment to be in a position to give information as to the Englishman, and he never tired of it; and as the simple Laps always look at you while they are talking about you, I knew from the length of his conversations that he must have known (or at least professed to know) a very great deal about me; though, as the conversations were always carried on in Lappish, I had no means of gauging the accuracy of his statements. However, if I was saved the catechism,—that was all that mattered to me.

The bed-place in this hut consisted, Lap-fashion, of a wide shelf, on which were the well-worn remains of birch-branches, and a few scraps of filthy rags. I got our men to remove all these, and to bring instead some fresh birch boughs, than which one can wish for nothing cleaner: but, to my horror, all our numerous Lap visitors used the bed as a seat, and manners, of course, forbade my mentioning that I should feel obliged by their not depositing their filthy little carcases on my fresh bed!

The next picture [Fig. 6] will give you some idea of our company as taken next morning. The very tall figure on the right is a Norwegian Fish, or Sea, Lap, named Anders Frederiksön; he has no doubt got some Norwegian blood in him from his size, as has the man behind him. The man on

Philip Ivanivitch. | Maria, Philip's wife. | Ivan Ivanivitch. | Ilya. | Anders' wife & child. | Jon Anderson Sare. | Anders Frederiksön. Féodor Jephimvitch.



FIG. 6.—GROUP OF LAPLANDERS AT SEVVI SUOLO, ON VAGETIM JAVRE.

whose shoulder Anders's hand rests is another Norwegian Lap, and a very intelligent, nice fellow, by name Jon Andersön Sare. He wrote down for me several of the local names, which are, of course, difficult to catch correctly orally, and drew a little map of a portion of the lake I was asking him about. At his feet sit Anders's wife and little child. The man in the corner is Féodor, holding a puppy, which struggled just at the wrong moment. Next to Jon Sare comes bald-headed Ilya, and Ivan next to him. In the extreme further corner of the photograph appears just half of Philip, and the old woman between him and Ivan is Maria, Philip's wife.

Jon Sare afterwards stood for his portrait in full winter costume, and wearing a very handsome silver-gilt belt, which was the property of Anders Frederiksön's wife until I bought it.

Having shown what the gentlemen in that part of the country are like, I next exhibit a picture devoted exclusively to ladies [Fig. 7]. I need not descant upon their charms, because you can see them for yourselves.

We saw here the remains of a Black-throated Diver (*Colymbus arcticus*), which had flown so hard against a fir-tree that its pointed beak set fast in it, and so remained on our arrival.

Féodor left us here, to go and see after his reindeer, his father Jephim taking his place; the facetious Philip promptly dubbed him "Gamel Papa" (Old Papa).[1] It was nearly eleven o'clock before we were off, because Ilya's breakfast wasn't cooked. Uncivilised people have no idea of time, and I have constantly in other journeys with Laps had to rout them out.

We put up that night at a Kvæn's house. There are two families at that spot, each having a tiny, one-roomed house "semi-detached," with a door communicating between the two. We occupied the house of a family whose name I don't know; all the members of it (an unknown quantity) apparently contrived to squeeze somehow into the other house,

[1] Perhaps intended by Philip to signify "Grandpapa," but it is not the Norwegian for that relationship.

whose owner's name was Isak Kivilompola, but I don't know how they managed to do so, for, though the Laps slept outside, it would leave at least four adults and several children to curl up in a mansion barely eight feet square, from which area has to be deducted not only the usual fire-place, which cuts off a large corner, but there was also a loom, which



FIG. 7.—RUSSIAN LAP WOMEN AT SEVVI SUOLO.

occupied considerably over one-third of the remaining space.

For beds the women brought us in reeking wet grass, and though they put over this a thin stratum of hay, our beds were more than decidedly *damp*.

The next night, not reaching any hut by 9.15, we again lay in the open, with a boat turned over us; and it may be noticed here that one of these boats is so small as scarcely to cover

two men lying lengthways. It was so dark as to be difficult to carry out the various details of unpacking, cooking, etc., but whenever a light was specially needed "Gamel Papa" came to the rescue with what Philip called a tallow candle, in the shape of a fir torch.

The forest, on the edge of which we camped, stretches away for hundreds of miles, and has never been cut, and except that Laps have, doubtless, at different times been through portions of it, is practically unexplored.

While ashore at one of the portages this day, I first met with what, in my opinion, is the best fruit I have ever tasted, the Arctic raspberry (*Rubus arcticus*); it is very sweet, with a delightful flavour of honey; there are no pips in this rare fruit, and the stems are without thorns. The common raspberry, I may remark, is very common everywhere in the north of Europe, from England upwards. There is a third species, *Rubus saxatilis*, found in northern Lapland, not so rare as *arcticus*, but the fruit is like a bad raspberry; it has very large pips, and the stems have slight thorns. The two northern species have very similar leaves.

In the evening we saw a fire on the bank, so made for it, and found two Finnish Laps from the direction of Inari. We camped with them, and turned a boat up again for bedroom.

In the morning the two Finnish Laps also travelled in the same direction as ourselves, going homewards.

We met a party of two more Finnish Lap men and one woman, who had caught (in nets) a large quantity of fine trout. Some distance on again, we saw smoke on the river bank, so made for it, and found the picturesque little encampment of Finnish Laps [Fig. 8], together with a lad who does not appear in the picture. Besides this *Gamme* (=hut) of bark, there was a small tent; and by the side of the old gentleman may be noticed a rifle, quite recently made by a Lappish smith, with a flint-lock of the pattern known as snaphaunce, which was in use in England about the time of Elizabeth or James I.

The two Laps we met last night also pulled up here, and I now engaged one of them, named Petter Nellim, as pilot

across the Lake Inari, and to provide a larger boat, as the little cockle-shell used on the river would not have lived long in a very moderate sea on the huge lake we were now approaching. My friend being due at home by a fixed date kept on as he was, as his time was nearly up; and soon afterwards turned round and made the best of his way back.

Three hours' row above this little encampment brought us



FIG. 8.—ENCAMPMENT OF FINNISH LAPS AT GAVOS (BIRCHBARK HOVEL AND SNAPHAUNCE RIFLE).

to Petter's house (Nellim), beautifully situated in a creek close to the outlet of Lake Inari into the river, where he has made quite a clearing in the forest.

Petter hospitably invited the Russian Laps to dinner, so, though it was only 6 o'clock, we decided to stay the night there. This is a most flourishing place, Petter being the most energetic Lap I ever remember meeting.

The Laps being, as already mentioned, now divided among four nationalities, many, perhaps most of them, speak not only their native Lappish, but the language of the country to which they belong as well; thus Petter being a Finnish Lap, spoke Kvænsk as well as Lappish; also a very little Swedish, and, for all I know to the contrary, may have spoken a little Russian also; anyway his dual nationality gave him a complete *alias*, for while in one language he was known as Petter Nellim, in the other he was called Pehr Pehrsön Sajets. He is a somewhat truculent-looking individual, and perhaps somewhat morose, a man who could hardly see a joke, and, even if he did, would look rather surprised than amused at it, forming a great contrast to the merry little Skolter Laps, who, enjoyed a joke to the utmost, and never tired of it, but would keep on repeating it day after day. For instance, in the course of conversation one day, but *à propos* of what I forget, I remarked that we had a saying in England that it was no use to lock the stable door after the horse was stolen. They quite saw the force of the remark, and were delighted, and kept on repeating the proverb several times a day all the rest of the time I was with them, with roars of laughter.

At Petter's house I picked up an implement of considerable interest, ethnologically: namely a tool made of wood and reindeer horn, for breaking up the large sheets in which the inner bark is stripped off the Scotch fir-trees. This inner bark is boiled down and made soup of. I have never met with another example of this tool; though formerly in times of scarcity, even in the south of Norway, the inner bark of the Scotch-fir was used to eke out the supply of flour in bread-making.

In Finland everyone who gets into trouble has his conviction recorded against him in the register of his parish, and so I found, later on, that Petter was convicted in 1880 of receiving stolen goods. For all that, I liked Petter, and should be very glad to renew my acquaintance with him.

We had a fine sailing breeze, fresh to strong, from about N.E. by E., and we made progress in a way which was quite astonishing after our continual struggle up the strong stream of the river. Petter proved himself a capable boatman and a

competent pilot, knowing his way among the hundreds of islands. The only drawback was a steady downpour of rain, and at three we landed, at a hut provided by Government on one of the islands, so wet and wretched that it required a strong effort to shake off our lethargy sufficiently to go and collect fuel. However, a good fire and some dinner put a different complexion on matters; and the breeze holding out, we arrived at the new parsonage house at Inari, on the west coast of the lake, late in the evening. It is said to be 50 English miles from Nellim: it took us (actual sailing time) 10½ hours.

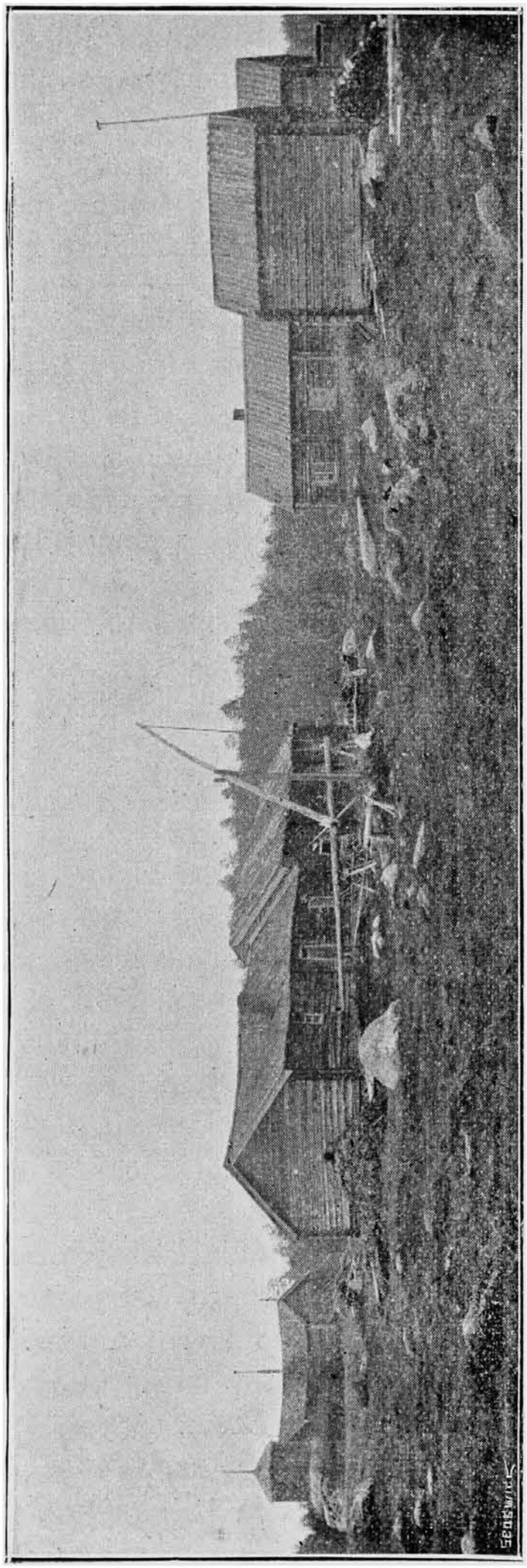


FIG. 9.—OLD HAMLET OF INARI, WEST SIDE OF LAKE (NOW DESERTED).

I was very kindly received and hospitably entertained here by the Finnish priest Kyrkoherden (= the Rev.) Matti Hinkula, and his wife Fru Adéle Hinkula. You must not suppose that as there is a priest

here there is a town, or even a village: nothing of the sort. It is merely a sort of centre of the enormous parish—I don't know its boundary in any direction, so cannot tell its acreage, but it must be over, rather than under, 100 square miles.

The parsonage house was quite new at the time of my visit, and Kyrkoherden Hinkula had only been there a month; and the house had still very little furniture in it, from the extreme difficulty of carriage. He hoped, however, to get a joiner there before long, to make furniture on the spot! The church was close by, and a more hideous specimen it would be hard to imagine; it was begun five years previously, but even here in the wilds the jerry-builder turns up; the State, however, intervened, and caused it to be redone. It was only just finished; and, on the very morning of the day on which I arrived, the workmen had set off to walk home (to Kittila in Finland), a distance of over 200 miles—and all the way through forest, not along a road with inhabitants.

Besides the church and parsonage, Inari boasts of three or four Kvæn houses; one Lap hut and a hut built by the various Laps of the district, to lodge in when they come to church—all equally new.

The old settlement of Inari—church, parsonage, and two or three other small houses [Fig. 9], which are as picturesque as the new ones are ugly—lies several miles away in the bush; but it was highly inconvenient for the congregation, after rowing or sailing some fifty miles or so, to have to push their way on foot through the bush, without even a road, for about a couple of hours further, before they at last reached the church; so the change of locality is easily accounted for.

In *Kuopio Stifts Matrikel* (1863) the date of the old church [Fig. 10] is said to be 1760, but there is a quarry of painted glass in the south porch, representing a man in a *kjerris* drawn by a rein-deer (horns shed); in the background a landscape, with two castles on eminences. Below is [1]—

[1] "The angel Raphael, who guided Tobit, will guide my undertakings, both early and late."

Raphael engel som tobiam
ledsage wilde handwerc min ledsager
baade aarle oc silde
LAUVIDTZ
FAAG
1680

There is also a copy of the printed form of the service to be

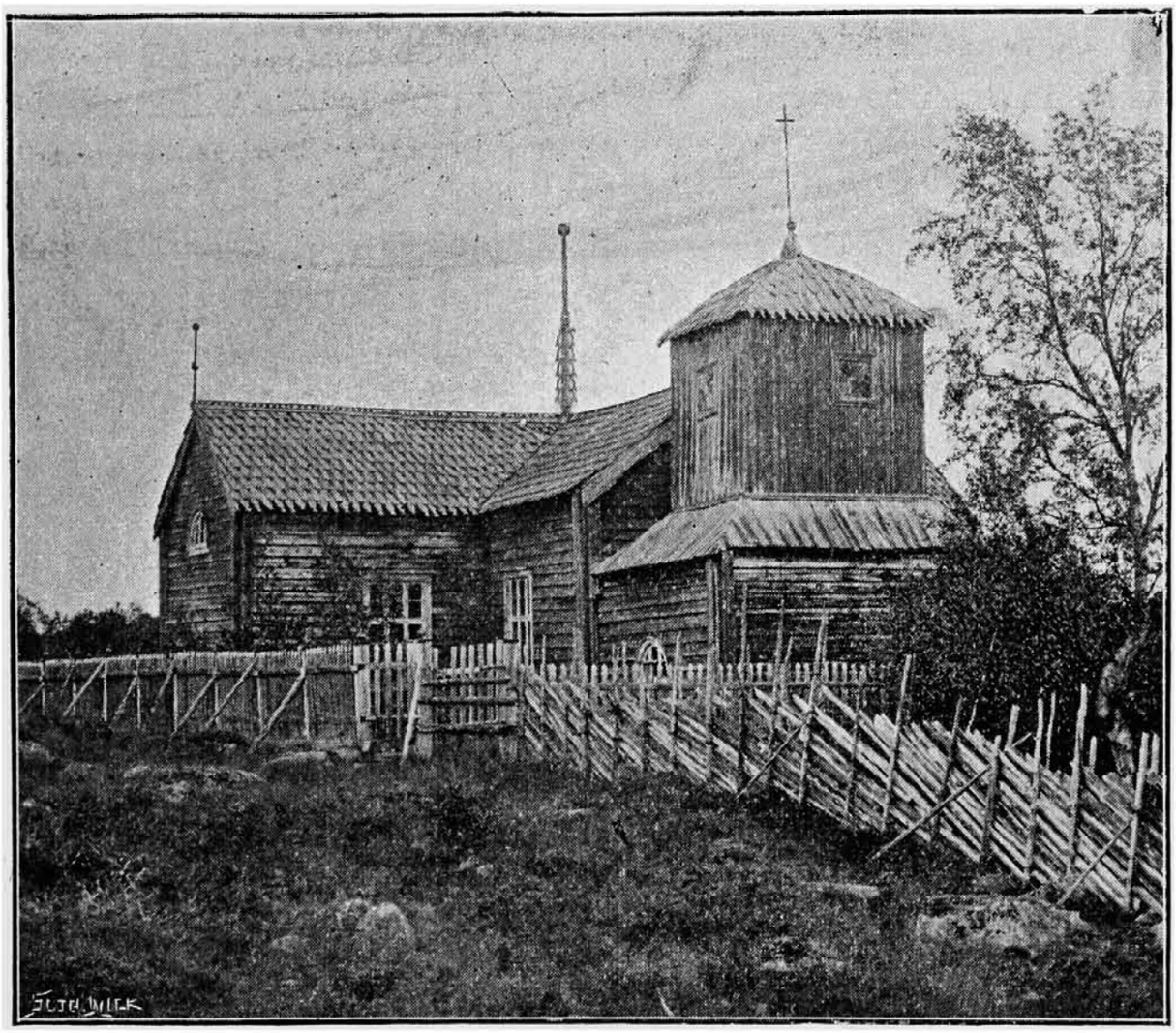


FIG 10.—OLD CHURCH OF INARI (NOW DISUSED).

used at the funeral of Tzar Carl XI., who died 1697. It would almost seem as if the church were at least as old as the glass.

Not very far out in the lake from Inari new settlement is a peculiarly high, almost conical-shaped holm, forming a very conspicuous landmark from a long distance over the lake; this the Skolter liken to a *boil.* It is an old sacrificial place from heathen times, and is called *Uko,* which means "the old man,"

or "the ancestor." Uko was the second God in importance in the Finnish mythology, and was equivalent to *Horagales* among the Laps. The principal God was called *Ibmel* by the Laps, and *Jumala* by the Kvæns. Uko, however, must have been of considerable importance considering his sway extended over the sky and the air, the weather, wind and water. The mythology contained plenty of other deities, but these two were the chief in rank.

I was told that on this island there still exist the remains of some of the Laps' sacrifices, which naturally made me very anxious to pay it a visit; but when the start was made some days later, for the return journey, we were again favoured with such a splendid sailing breeze, that I was loath to lose such an exceptional opportunity of crossing the big lake; and, moreover, to reach this holm would have entailed crossing a long stretch of exposed water, which it was by no means certain the boat would live through in that breeze, and I was not prepared to risk unnecessarily three men's lives, besides my own, to say nothing of the baggage, the loss of which there would have caused considerable suffering, if nothing worse,—so regretfully gave it up.

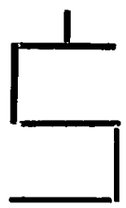
The next river in importance to the Pasvig or Patsjok, which flows out of the lake, is called in the Finnish language *Ivala*. According to Philip this word means "I don't know," and he told me a little bit of folklore about it, to the effect that once upon a time a traveller asked the name of the river; the answer was "I don't know" ("Ivala"). "How long will it take to get to so and so?" Answer, "I don't know," and so on to all his other questions; from which it came to pass that the river was called "I don't know," or Ivala River.

I feel that I shall already have trespassed too long on your patience, so will not attempt any account of the return journey, beyond just mentioning that, there being, as already stated, not unfrequently duplicate series of lakes and stretches of river running parallel, we in many places passed through entirely new country, and eventually returned safely to Elvenæs, which looked as pretty as ever as we approached it, and it was with real regret that I finally bade good-bye to my dirty little savages.

It will give you some idea of the grim reality of their filth, if I mention that in cleaning my gun one evening, I barked a knuckle—simply knocked off a fragment of skin. That finger immediately festered, and the whole hand became very soon affected. Before long the poison spread from that hand to the other hand, on which I had not a scratch; and from then until after I had returned to England, and been at home for a month, I only had two or three fingers which I could use at all. The doctors, both Norwegian and English, all told me that this poisoning was to be attributed simply to the filth that I had been living in the midst of.

I left Elvenæs for Vadsö in a large Lap sea-boat, *sewn* instead of *nailed* together, with a party of Russian Laps, and my friends the Russian priest and his wife. Instead of arriving in a few hours, as we had fondly calculated, the wind shifted dead ahead, and the boat was far too heavy for the little Laps to row under these circumstances; so we were forced to put ashore on an island and wait until the wind changed again—which it did next day, fortunately, for our food supply was not calculated for a long detention, and there was not much chance there of replenishing it by rod or gun.

In conclusion, I am very sensible of how imperfect an account I have given of these interesting little people; but will only add the remarkable fact that they have a habit of expressing their thoughts aloud in extemporised song, or *sing song*; and it is also interesting to note that, though they cannot read or write, each individual has his mark or mono-



MARK OF IVAN IVANIVITCH.

gram, which is as well recognised as initials, or even the full name, would be among other people.

SAGA ILLUSTRATIONS OF EARLY MANKS MONUMENTS.

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

The Isle of Man is well known to be rich in Scandinavian remains, the Runic inscriptions in particular having been published, reviewed, and discussed by well-known Norse scholars such as Munch, Vigfusson, and others; but there is one aspect of these Scandinavian Christian monuments, curious and of great interest, which has not hitherto attracted attention. It appears of sufficient importance to be brought under the notice of this learned Association. I refer to the illustrations which are afforded by them of the old Norse Sagas, and, in particular, of that most interesting and beautiful of tales, the Völsunga Saga, or the lay of Sigurd Fafnir's-bane.

Long and close contact with the Christian Celt had not caused the Viking to forget his old Norse legends and his Pagan lore; they became blended with the new culture, and thus in this distant settlement, in the midst of the British Isles, it comes to pass that we find sepulchral Christian monuments with scenes depicting the slaying of Fafnir by Sigurd. We have three such in all. The first I discovered ten years ago, at Kirk Andreas, in the north of the island. Having at the time no sort of clue, and not understanding the sculpturing, I had the stone photographed, and copies were sent, among others, to Mr. Romilly Allen and the Rev. G. F. Browne of Cambridge—now Bishop of Stepney, the latter having just returned from studying this very subject in wood carvings in Norway. Between them they worked out the interpretation. This stone was subsequently figured and described by Mr. Allen in a paper on the Early Christian Monuments of the Isle of Man, read before the British Archæological

Association in January, 1887 (*Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.* vol. xl., p. 158), and by Mr. G. F. Black, in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, June, 1887, pp. 325–328.

In the summer of 1890, Mr. Browne visited the Island expressly to study its early crosses with a view to his series of Disney Lectures on Archæology, and he then recognised the figure of Sigurd roasting the Dragon's heart sculptured on a slab at Malew, in the south of the island.

Having now had my eyes opened, I eagerly looked out for other examples, and later in the same year was fortunate in finding one more at Jurby, on the north-west coast.

Besides these there are a few other fragments which bear figures having reference to the Old Norse Mythology. Before describing the monuments in detail it may be serviceable to call to mind those portions of the Sagas which appear to be illustrated by them.

Völsunga Sagas.[1]

I begin with the death of Sigmund. Odin himself interposed in the battle, and broke the sword Gram which he had formerly given him. At night came Hjordis, his wife, whom he directed to take the fragments of his sword and keep them for the son she would bear him, who should become the greatest of his race. At the day-dawning he died, and Hjordis was carried off by Alf, son of Hjalprek, king of Denmark, who was sailing with his power along the land. After the birth of her son Sigurd, Hjordis was married to Alf, and Sigurd was brought up in King Hjalprek's house, fostered by Regin, the clever dwarf-smith who taught him all manner of arts, the chess play, the lore of runes, and the talking of many tongues, even as the wont was with kings' sons in those days. At his instigation Sigurd asked a horse of the king, who allowed him to choose one, and, under the advice of Odin, he chose Grani ("the grey steed") of the kin of Sleipnir, the eight-footed steed of Odin.

[1] I follow the translation by E. Magnússon and W. Morris. Pub. by Walter Scott, 1888.

But Regin kept egging him on to go in quest of Fafnir's gold, and thereto told him this tale:—"Hreidmar had three sons, Fafnir, Otter, and Regin himself. Otter was a great fisher, and in the likeness of an otter dwelt ever in the river; but Fafnir was by far the greatest and grimmest. Otter was wont to fish in Andwari's force, and, on a day, Odin, Loki, and Hænir, passing by, spied him, slumbering on the river bank. Loki cast a stone and killed him, and the gods, well pleased, took the skin to Hreidmar's house. He laid hands on them, and doomed them for weregild to fill and cover the Otter's skin with gold. So they sent Loki, and he came to Ran, goddess of the sea, and got her net and went to the force and caught Andwari in the form of a pike. He forced him to give up his gold, and when he had but one ring left that also Loki took from him; then the dwarf banned the ring and all the gold, which should ever prove the bane of its possessors. When the gods had filled and covered the Otter's skin with gold, Hreidmar espied one of the muzzle hairs and bade them cover that; then Odin drew the ring and covered up the hair, Loki warning them of the curse. Thereafter Fafnir slew his father, seized the gold, and became the worst of all worms."

Then Sigurd got from his mother the fragments of his father's sword, and Regin made of them a sword which would cleave an anvil and cut through floating wool.

Having avenged his father's death and gained great wealth and honour, Sigurd went with Regin to slay the dragon. Odin met and advised him to dig "many pits and let the blood run therein; but sit thee down in one thereof, and so thrust the worm's heart through." And, as Fafnir crept over the pits Sigurd thrust his sword into him and slew him. After a few words with his slayer, Fafnir handed on the curse and died. Then came Regin, who had been hiding under a heather bush, and, when Sigurd cut out the dragon's heart, asked as a boon that he should roast it over the fire and give him to eat. So Sigurd roasted it on a rod, and trying if it were fully done he burnt his fingers and put them into his mouth; and when the heart-blood of the dragon touched his tongue he straightway knew and understood the voice

of all fowls. And one said he should eat the heart himself and so become the wisest of all men; and another said Regin was minded to beguile him; another advised that he should



FIG. I.—KIRK ANDREAS. SIGURD SLAYING THE DRAGON AND ROASTING HIS HEART.

smite off his head; and another that he should now take the treasure and ride over Hindfell where sleeps Brynhild, for there he would get great wisdom. So Sigurd took his

sword Gram and struck off Regin's head, and ate some of Fafnir's heart and carried off the treasure.

Later on, we are told how Sigurd was done to death by Gunnar and others, his own foster-brothers: and how the curse still followed the gold, for Gunnar was beguiled by Atli, who cast him into a serpents' den, his hands bound behind him. But Gudrun threw in a harp, whereon he smote with his toes, and so well he played that the serpents all fell asleep, save one which bit him to the heart, and he died.

Description of the Stones.[1]

The first (Fig. 1), from Andreas, is a fragment about two feet long, showing on each face a Cross and Circle, the head, however, broken off. One face has the shaft occupied by figures of three dragons with tails and topknots interlaced. The space to the left has had interlacing, apparently of one or more dragon forms; while that to the right shows—at the bottom, the figure of Sigurd (broken off at the middle), helmeted and armed with his sword, in the act of piercing the Dragon, which is represented by conventional knotwork; above, we have Sigurd in profile stooping over the fire, of which the flames are represented by three triangular figures, in his left hand a wand on which three rings represent the heart of Fafnir cut into slices; his right is raised to cool his burnt fingers in his mouth; at his back we see the head of one of the Talking Birds, and above is the steed Grani. The other face of this stone (Fig. 2) has had a similar Cross, the spaces right and left of the shaft ornamented with knotwork now too broken to decipher. The shaft itself bears characteristic Scandinavian interlacing, the bands terminating in the heads of serpents. In the midst is the figure of a man in peaked cap with wrists and ankles fettered, one of the serpents' heads touching his shoulder; behind him is a smaller serpent knotted on itself. Dr. March in a paper "The Pagan Christian Overlap in the North" (*Trans. of the Lancashire and*

[1] Figs. 1 and 2, are by kind permission from Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland, from photographs by Mr. G. Patterson; the rest are reduced from the Author's full size drawings of the stones.

Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vol. ix.) takes this to represent that later scene in the story where Gunnar, who had treacher-



FIG. 2.—KIRK ANDREAS. LOKI BOUND.

ously compassed Sigurd's death, was himself cast into the serpents' pit. But an essential detail in the case of Gunnar

was that he had his feet free, and that he so played on the harp with his toes as to charm all the serpents but one. In this case not only do we find no trace of the harp, but the ankles are distinctly fettered, which is not so in other known examples of Gunnar, but is distinctly seen in the bound Loki of the Gosforth Cross. The reference here may be to the end of Loki, whose mischief in slaying the Otter was the beginning of the bane on the gold hoard.

The end of Loki is told as follows:—"After Loki had enraged the Gods by his many treacheries, he was chased by them, and took refuge in the waterfall in Frarangr where he was caught by the Gods in a net under the form of a salmon. After his capture he changed to his human form, and, as a punishment, the Gods caused him to be bound to a rock with the entrails of his own son Nari. After he was bound Skadi (a goddess, daughter of Thiassi and wife of Njörd) took a venomous serpent and fastened it up over Loki's head. The venom dropped down from it on to Loki's face. Sigyn, Loki's wife, sat beside him and held a basin under the serpent's head to catch the venom, and when the basin was full she took it away to empty it. Meanwhile the venom dropped on Loki, who shrank from it so violently that the whole earth trembled."

Our next piece has for many years been sadly misused as a gatepost to a field at the entrance to Jurby churchyard, the carving being completely hidden. It was with the utmost difficulty I gained permission to take it down in order to have it cast, and thus for the first time brought to light the most interesting sculpturing upon it. The stone (Fig. 3) is now seven feet long; each face has borne a cross with circle in high relief. The shaft of one face has a design of four bands—plaited with diamond-shaped rings, pelleted—the execution being irregular. The space to the right is unfortunately broken off; that to the left bears, at the bottom, remains of some geometrical pattern, above which is figured one of the Talking Birds by the side of a very conventional tree; above, is the steed Grani; above this, Sigurd sucking his thumb; above again, a beautifully drawn figure of the Dragon with Sigurd in the act of piercing



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

JURBY AND MALEW CROSSES, SHOWING SIGURD SLAYING THE DRAGON AND ROASTING ITS HEART.

him with his sword. A unique detail is that Sigurd is here represented crouching in the pit, through the open mouth of which he pierces Fafnir to the heart. The Dragon, "snorting venom," is lashing out in the agonies of death, his head turned to discover and to curse his destroyer. The other face is almost worn away, but shows, above the circle, the figure of a Cock which we find on several of our Scandinavian monuments; while used probably as a Christian symbol of the Resurrection, it may also have had reference to the Norse mythology; a black cock, "Sooty-red," sings in the Scandinavian Nifelheim, or "Land of gloom," and the sign of the dawn of Ragnarök is to be the crowing of a gold-coloured cock, "Gold-comb."

Finally, at Malew we have remains of another slab (Fig. 4), now five feet by one foot six inches. One face shows the shaft of a cross, and we can just detect the spring of the surrounding circle. The shaft has a beautiful device of a looped twist breaking into a plait; to the right we see the steed Grani, below which have been panels, now broken off. To the left we have, above, Sigurd armed with his sword, and holding a wand on which the Dragon's heart is being roasted over the fire. A broad band separates this from the next figure, which, by the light of the Jurby piece just described, I am now able to recognise as that of Fafnir pierced by Sigurd from the pit in which he lies concealed. The other face (Fig. 5) has knotwork and a characteristic looped twist at the sides; and, on the shaft, a twisted and interlaced figure which I suggest may be intended to represent the Otter.

Besides these three monuments, with their very distinct Saga illustrations, we have a curious and interesting carving on a stone at Jurby (Fig. 6). It represents a bird-headed man with a pole over his shoulder, hanging from a rope at the end of which is a smaller monkey-like figure. This may be intended for the landing of the Dwarf Andvari when Loki forced him to redeem his life by delivering up his gold-hoard, or, perhaps, more likely it may be meant for Loki himself, who is expressly stated to have changed after his capture to his human form. It would thus serve also

as a Christian symbol—the overcoming of the power of evil!

This Jurby fragment shows also the figure of a Stag. Is this the sacred Hart?—

> "Eikthyrnir the hart is called
> that stands o'er Odin's Hall,
> and bites from Larad's branches;
> from his horns fall
> drops into Hvirgelmir,
> whence all waters rise."—*Grimnis-mal.*

On a cross-slab at Michael, which I exhibit, we find among figures of men (bird-headed) and animals, one of a fish. Can this be the Pike, in whose form the dwarf Andvari was caught? or, is it the Salmon in the likeness of which Loki was captured? or, must we consider it as the well-known Christian symbol, or merely an ornament without any special significance? I must say there is nothing else in the carving on this piece to remind one of the Sagas, and the inscription is an ordinary one,—"Grim erected this cross to the memory of Hromund his . . . "

At Andreas is a fragment of a small cross, showing a well-drawn figure of a fish, here undoubtedly used as the Christian symbol, and placed alongside the figures of a man with a book (*plenarium*) in one hand and a cross in the other. Above and below are serpents. The other face bears the figure of a man armed with a spear, and attacked by a wild beast in whose mouth is placed his foot; on his shoulder is an eagle.[1] The eagle, or it may be meant for a raven, no doubt, is intended to signify that it is indeed Odin who, at the last great battle, is swallowed by the wolf, as in the lay of Vafthrûdnir:—

> "The wolf will
> the father of men devour;
> him Vidar will avenge:
> He his cold jaws
> will cleave
> in conflict with the wolf."

[1] On reading this paper, it was suggested by Mr. A. F. Major that this represented Widar rending the jaw of the wolf Fenrir, or Odin meeting his bane. See Figs. 4, 5, in the writer's "Catalogue of Manks Crosses," from *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, 1888-9.

The figure of a cock I have already referred to. It occurs eight times in all and always on Scandinavian pieces.

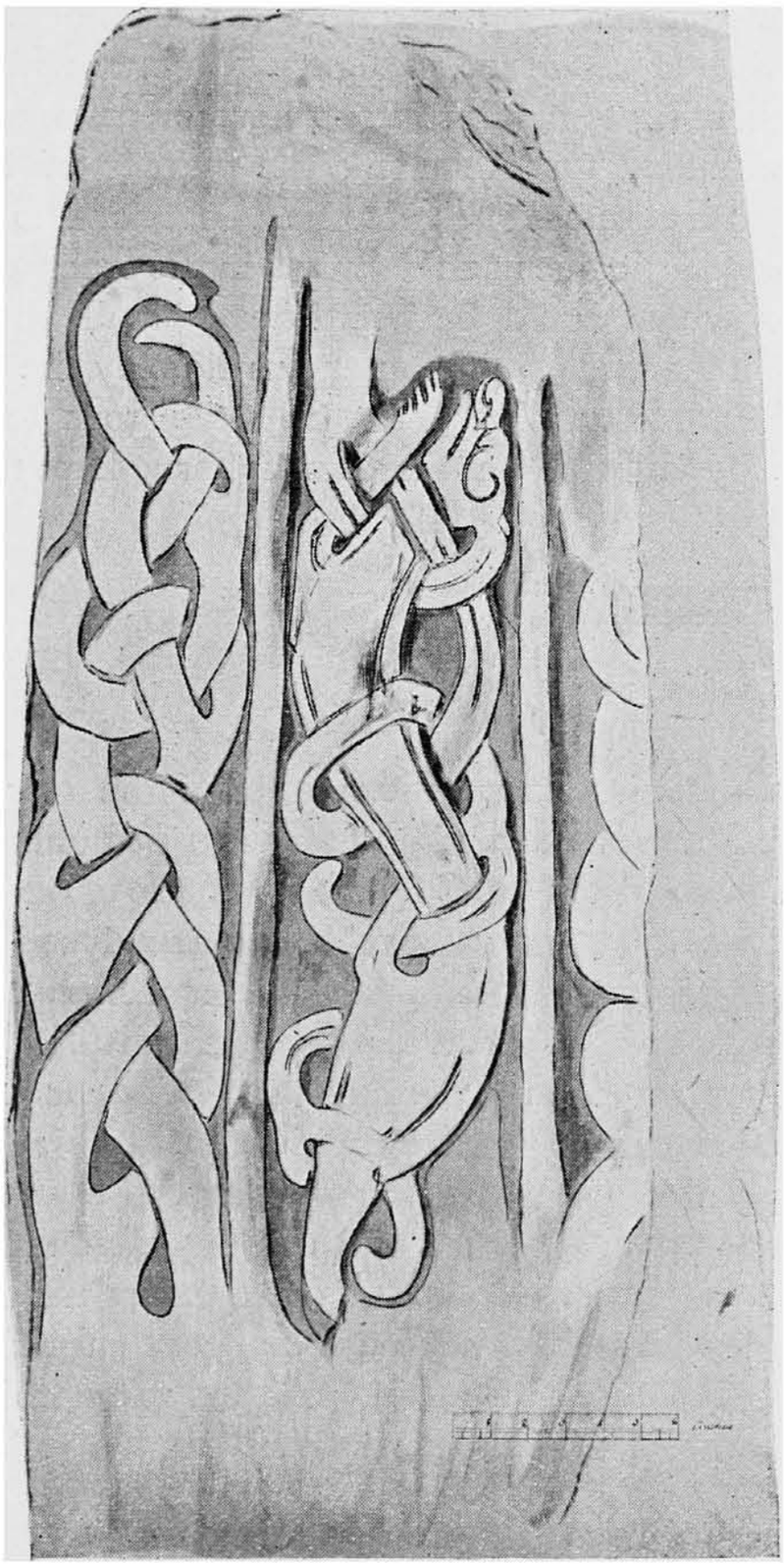


FIG. 5.—MALEW STONE. CONVENTIONAL FIGURE OF OTTER.

A very interesting fragment at Michael (Fig. 7) shows on the space at the left of the head of the cross the giant Thiassi

in the form of an eagle, carrying off Loki, as told in "The Rape of Idwyn." It is unfortunate that only fragments of many of these monuments have been preserved.

One more instance I submit from the head of a cross at Jurby (Fig. 8). Here we see the figure of a man with a sword at his side, holding to his lips a long horn or trumpet. I take this to be intended for Heimdall, the warder of the gods, who guards the rainbow bridge to heaven, and who is represented as carrying in one hand a sword, in the other a trumpet, the sound of which could be heard through all the worlds. His path from Asgard to the outer world is by the rainbow, Bifröst, and the Milky Way.[1] He calls the gods to the last great battle by a blast on the Gialla horn, kept under the sacred tree—

"Loud blows Heimdall,
His horn is raised."

Other Instances.

There are some well-known examples of the story of Fafnir's-bane sculptured on wood and stone in Scandinavia; and a few have been found in England. Of those on stone the most noted are the rock-tracings at Ramsund and Goek on the southern shores of Lake Mälar,[2] Södermanland, Sweden, discovered by Prof. Carl Säve, who remarks of the former that the Sigurd or Holmger of the inscription believed they were descended from Sigurd Fafnir's-bane. This shows the Otter's skin, smith's tools, Sigurd roasting the Dragon's heart on a wand over flames of fire and cooling his thumb in his mouth, the steed Grani tethered to the Tree on which are the Talking Birds, and the Dwarf with his head cut off. Below, we see Sigurd piercing the Dragon's body, on which is cut the inscription. The tracing on the Goek stone is smaller

[1] Can this have any bearing on the Manks tradition that King Orry when he landed in the island was asked whence he came, and he pointed to the Milky Way and answered, "That is the road to my country."

[2] Curiously, the Andreas stone in the Isle of Man is not far from an ancient lake, now drained, of the same name—Lough Mollow, or Mälar, possibly so called by the Scandinavian settlers after that in Sweden.



FIG. 6.—JURBY FRAGMENT, SHOWING CAPTURE OF LOKI.

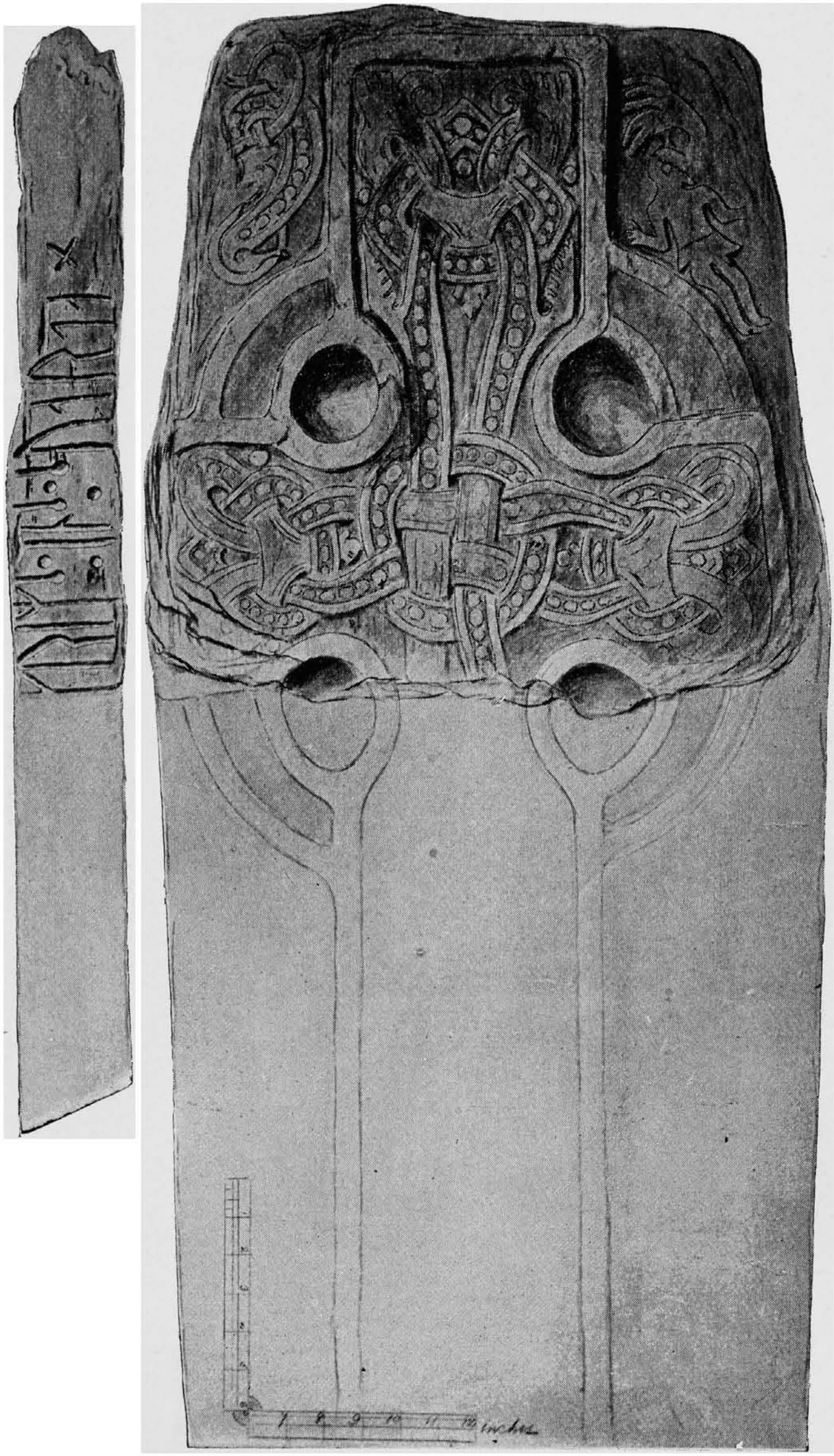


FIG. 7.– MICHAEL. THIASSI IN SHAPE OF AN EAGLE CARRYING OFF LOKI.

and looks almost like a rude copy of the former.[1] Prof. Stephens ("Northern Mythology," p. 373) considers both of these to be "early Christian from the beginning of the eleventh age, and were so carved because the deceased claimed descent from Sigurd." At page 372 of the same work he refers to a "Swedish funeral stone from Dräfte in Upland, on which is sculptured Sigurd slaying Fafni the dragon. But for the first time in Europe it shows us also Andware the dwarf reaching forth his only remaining golden jewel, the fatal Ring with which the Ases covered the last hair of the death-struck Otter." This piece, adds the Professor, is from the first Christian age, is incised with the later Runes, and must date about 1000–1050.

The Rev. G. F. Browne described in the *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.* (vol. xli., pp. 138, 139) a cross-shaft at Leeds showing in one panel smith's tools and figures apparently of a man and woman; on another panel the figure of a man and sword. Mr. Romilly Allen in the same Journal (vol. xlii., p. 331), describes a cross-shaft at Halton, Lancashire. Dr. H. C. March, in his paper on "The Pagan-Christian Overlap in the North" (*Trans. Lanc. and Cheshire Ant. Soc.*, vol. ix.), describes and figures two sides of this stone. On one we see the forging of the sword, Regin with his head cut off, Sigurd roasting the Dragon's heart, and the Talking Birds with the sacred Tree; on the other, the steed Grani, and what Dr. March takes to be the Wormpit. Mr. Black, in his notice of the Andreas stone referred to above, mentions all these instances, as well as several of the following woodcarvings, but with an expression of doubt as regards the last two.[2]

Several examples on wood have been found in Norway.

[1] "Sigurds-ristningarna å Ramsundsberget och Göks-stenen."

[2] In a letter received since this was written, Mr. Black informs me that as regards the Halton stone he now believes that "on two panels at least subjects relating to the Sigurd Saga can be made out." He calls my attention also to another example on a font from Narum, Bohuslän, Sweden (now in the Museum, Stockholm), a representation of Gunnar in the worm-pit, his hands tied in front, his harp under his feet (figured in Satin, *Studien i Ornamentik*, p. 98). Stephens' *O. N. R. Mon.*, ii.

At Gaulstad, Jarlsberg, is a church door-pillar showing in five circular panels Sigurd with a shield; the otter skin covered with gold, and the ring; Regin at his forge; the Dragon, and Sigurd in the act of slaying it ("Norske Fortidmindesmerkers Bevaring," 1855, pt. vii.).

Another door from the Hyllestad, Setersdal, now in Christiania Museum, supposed to date from 1150, shows in panels—the forging of the sword, the testing of it by Sigurd, Sigurd with sword and shield piercing the body of the Dragon. The second pillar shows at the bottom Sigurd roasting Fafnir's heart—represented, as on the Andreas stone, by three rings—on a wand over flames of fire; the Tree and the Talking Birds; the steed Grani; Sigurd slaying Regin; and Gunnar playing on his harp in the serpents' pit ("Aarböger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," 1870, pt. xiv.).

A church door at Viegusdal, Robygdelag, on which are scenes from this Saga, shows Sigurd roasting Fafnir's heart, the Tree and Talking Birds, the testing and forging of the sword, the steed Grani, and the slaying of Regin. On the other side of the portal Grani appears again, and Dr. March recognises in the elaborate interlacing Fafni slain and dismembered. This, Nicholayson places at the beginning of the thirteenth century ("Norske Forlevninga," p. 252).

At Osstad Church, Setersdal, are figures of Gunnar bound in the snake pit, a man showing him the heart of his brother the brave Högni, and the trembling heart of the thrall Hialli; and of the cutting out of Högni's heart (Du Chaillu, "The Viking Age," vol. ii., p. 244).

At Opsdal Church, Numedal, in the centre of one of the door-jambs we see Gunnar in the serpents' den, his hands bound behind his back, at his feet his harp (Du Chaillu, ii., 266; "Norske Bygningen fra Fortiden," pt. iii.).

Du Chaillu also figures (ii., 256, 257) two carved chairs from Hitterdal Church, Thelemarken; on the one is figured Gudrun confiding to the messengers of Atli a ring warning Gunnar and Högni of their danger; on the other is Gunnar in the pit, his wrists bound, his harp at his feet.

A church door at Versos, Vestergötland, Sweden, shows Sigurd slaying the dragon; below, the Talking Birds (ii., 248).



FIG. 8.—JURBY. HEIMDALL BLOWING HIS HORN AT BIFROST BRIDGE.

Besides this favourite subject, other scenes from the Sagas are occasionally figured, especially the last great battle of Doom. Thus, Dr. March explains the Hogback stone at Heysham to represent this subject. He figures also a fragment at St. Andrew's showing Odin, his Raven at his side, defending himself with his sword against the attack of Fenri's wolf.

Another piece at Drainie may represent Vidar, Odin's son, rending the jaws of the Wolf. On this subject Dr. March read a paper before the same society (vol. xi.) in which he mentions and figures several instances, particularly at Limè Church, Jutland, and at the Cathedral of Lund in Sweden. Referring again to the St. Andrew's stones, he considered also a group on the Cross at Kells (*i.e.* the Street Cross) and one at Kilcullen as "a direct descent from a Scandinavian myth." But these have been taken as representing David overcoming the Lion, and we find a similar treatment on the following Irish Crosses—the side of the churchyard Cross, Kells; the lower part of the shaft, east side, of the West Cross at Monasterboice; and a panel on the south side of the Cross at Arboe, Tyrone.

The finest and fullest example of all these sculptured crosses is the wonderful one at Gosforth, admirably described by the Rev. W. S. Calverley (who also identified the World Ash, Yggdrasil on a Cross at Dearham, and the Midgardsworm on a Cross socket at Brigham) in a paper read before the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society, 1885. Upon it we find the following figures—Loki bound hand and foot, the Serpent dropping venom, and Sigrin with the cup, Fenrir's dire progeny, Heimdall with his trumpet, Odin on Sleipnir riding to his doom, the Hart Eikthyrnir, the Wolf bound and gagged, death of Baldr, Odin on the Tree, Vidar the silent rending the cold jaws of the Wolf.[1]

Historical References.

The most interesting question in regard to these scenes on Manks Monuments is to account for their presence so far from

[1] See also "The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland," by C. A Parker, published since above was read.

their native home, in a Celtic and a Christian community. When were they erected? By whom and in whose memory set up?

We have seen that the celebrated stone carvings in Sweden probably date from the beginning to the middle of the eleventh century, while the wood-carving in Norway is assigned to the middle of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. It is reasonable to suppose that our examples fall within this period.

Most unfortunately in each case the edge of the stone, which very likely bore an inscription, has been chipped off; our only means, therefore, of dating them is to compare them with known examples elsewhere, and, as regards their other decorative features, with other Scandinavian monuments in the Isle of Man. One thing certain is that they are Christian. Not only do they bear the Cross as a symbol and special feature, but it is the typical form of the Irish Cross found on so many of our monuments, the evolution of which has been satisfactorily worked out by Mr. Romilly Allen in his work on Christian Symbolism.

Without dwelling at length on the history of the Scandinavian occupation of the Isle of Man, it will be interesting to refer briefly to the most notable personages living in the period in question. When the Scandinavians arrived about the end of the ninth century—Harald Harfagr's visit in 889, mentioned in the Sagas, being, I think, the earliest record of that event—they were undoubtedly heathen. Christianity was probably accepted by them generally about the beginning of the eleventh century when Norway was Christianised, for we find it recorded in the "Chronicon Manniæ" that about 1050 "Roolwer" (Hrolfr), a Scandinavian, held the highest ecclesiastical office as bishop, and that he was buried at Maughold—"apud ecclesiam Sancti Machuti." Below (Figs. 9, 10) is a view of the handsome cross which I believe was set up to his memory and which, therefore, I date about 1050–60.

A landmark in Manks history is the change of dynasty in 1075 or 1080. After the battle of Stamford Bridge, in 1066, Godred Crovan, son of Harald the Black of Islay (probably grandson to an earlier king Godred, slain 989), who, as vassal



FIG. 9.—MAUGHOLD. ROWLER CROSS, DATE circ. 1050.

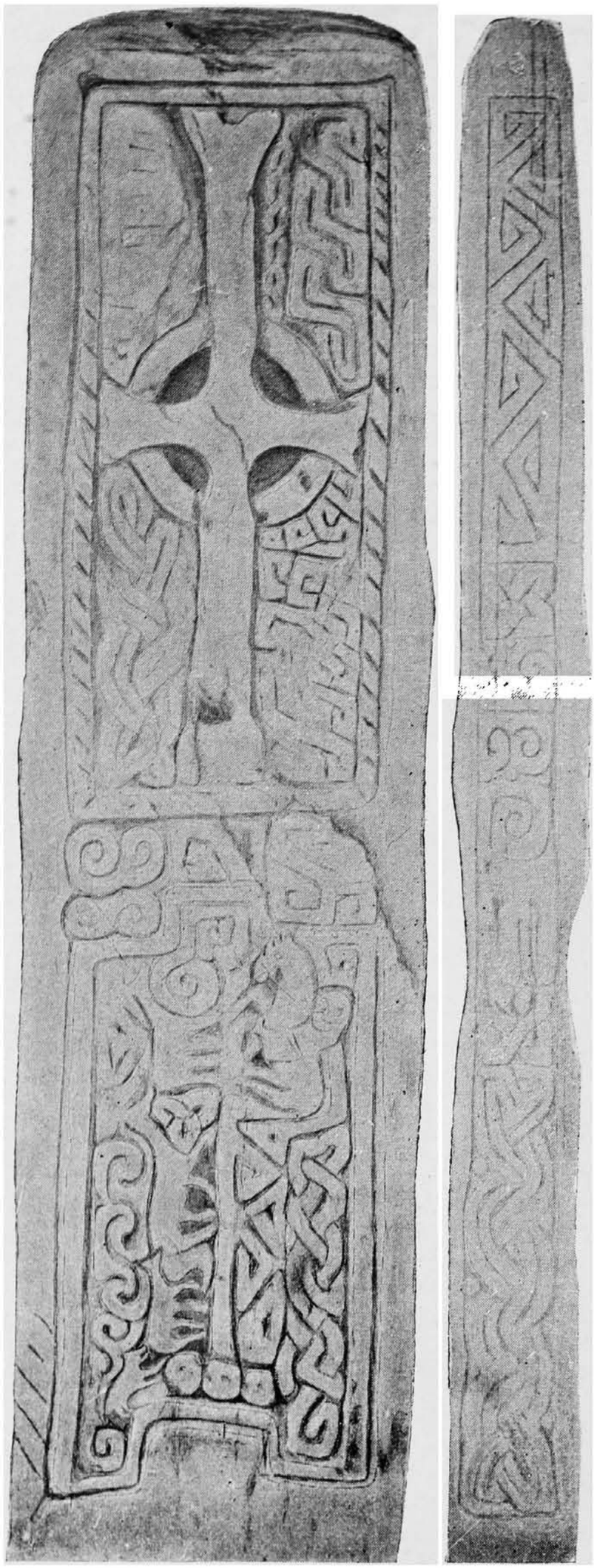


FIG. 10.—MAUGHOLD. ROWLER CROSS.

either of the King of Norway or of the Earl of Orkney, had fought with Harald and Tostig, escaped to his kinsman Godred Sygtrigson, King of Man, by whom he was hospitably received. The Manks king died, and was succeeded by his son Fingall, and, in 1075 or 1080 Godred Crovan, who had left the Island, returned with a hostile fleet, defeated Fingall, and established his rule in Man and subsequently in Dublin. Fingall appears to have been slain in an unsuccessful expedition against Man in 1087, as after that we hear of him no more.

In 1095 Godred died at Islay.

In 1098 a great battle was fought at Santwat, between the Manks of the north and south of the islands, the former doubtless, as suggested by Munch, descendants of the oldest settlers from Dublin and the Isles, the latter possibly supporters (old and new comers) of Godred Crovan. The two leaders, Earls Other and Macmarran, were slain.

Immediately afterwards Magnus, King of Norway, arrived, established fortresses, and encouraged new settlers and colonists. In 1103 Magnus met his death when raiding in Ireland, and was buried at St. Patrick's, Dublin.

He was succeeded by Olave, a son of Godred Crovan, who reigned till 1153. Olave was succeeded by his son Godred, who, in 1187, died in the Island of St. Patrick in Man.

In the reign of Godred, Olave's son, there was trouble with Somerled of Argyle, who had married his half sister and wanted to make their son Dugald king over the Isles.

Godred sought assistance from Norway, and returned in 1164 to find that Somerled was slain at Renfrew, but that his own brother, Reginald, had been declared King of Man.

I cannot find in our Chronicle any name later than this which can reasonably be connected with these monuments. Of those mentioned, Godred Sytricson, who died 1075, and Fingall, slain probably in 1087, and the Godred who died at St. Patrick in 1187, are the only individuals likely to have had such monuments erected to their memory, but it is a mere guess that either of them was so commemorated. Only we must assume that there was some special reason for the story of Sigurd to be carved on these monuments, and that reason probably was that, as in the Swedish instances, they

were erected to supposed descendants of the great-hearted Sigurd. Now Fingall and his father Godred were the last of a line of kings intimately connected with the reigning family of Dublin, whose first Scandinavian king, Olaf the White, a near connection of Harald Harfagr, king of Norway, claimed descent from Aslaug, daughter of Sigurd, and the brave Brynhild. But the Godred who died in 1187 was grandson of Godred Crovan, a relation of Tostig, who also claimed descent from Sigurd.

Some assistance in assigning a period to these three pieces may be obtained by comparison of their decorative art with that of our other Scandinavian crosses. Two of them, Jurby and Malew, appear to be undoubtedly by the same hand, and the Andreas piece shows some characteristic treatment of the interlacing which connects it also with that at Malew.

But the Jurby one shows affinity with a cross at Nappin, in the same parish, and with the Onon piece, also at Jurby; the treatment of the head inclines me to think it was carved by Gaut Björnson, whose name appears as the sculptor of the Ufeig Cross, Andreas. There is much in the treatment of the Ballaugh piece to connect it with the same sculptor. Its inscription Vigfusson considered one of our earliest. The Rumun Cross, and another with the words "crus thna aft," and the Malbrikti Cross, all at Michael—on the latter of which Gaut claims to have carved it and all in Man, "ala i Maun"—may each be by the same hand; the bind-rune Cross at Andreas shows his favourite loop form of twist, as does also the Truian Cross at Bride.[1] The character of the Runes, and peculiarities of the grammar and language, show these pieces to belong to the first half of the eleventh century.

To sum up, therefore, I think these three pieces illustrating the story of Sigurd may all have been carved by the same artist, and that was the famous Gaut Björnson, of Cooly, who claims on the Malbrikti Cross to have carved all in Man, and to whom we may with some certainty assign about twelve of those now remaining. I think they may date from

[1] For description of these, see Author's "Catalogue of Manks Crosses," 2nd ed. London: Williams and Norgate.

as early as 1050 to as late as 1150, and that they must have been erected to members or connections of the reigning family who claimed descent from Sigurd. But, the inscriptions having been broken off, it is scarcely possible to guess the individuals to whom they may have been erected. If, however, a guess may be hazarded, I suggest that Godred Sigtrygson, 1075, and his son Fingall, 1087—the last Scandinavian kings of the first dynasty—are as likely as any whose names appear in the *Manks Chronicle* to have been thus commemorated.

This, however, does not account for the presence of these monuments at Malew, Andreas, and Jurby—and we have no reason to suppose that they are removed to any distance from their original site; it must be admitted, therefore, that in the present state of our knowledge we have no real ground even to suggest the names of the *individuals* to whose memory they were erected.

THE MONUMENTS OF THE ISLAND OF OELAND.

By Dr. HANS HILDEBRANDT.

Oeland is an island sixteen miles long by ten miles broad, situated near the south-east corner of Sweden. It is largely composed of Siluric limestone, only thinly covered in parts with soil, which where it exists, is of a fertile character. The island has been made the object of excavations during several years by myself, and has been found to be particularly rich in antiquities of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages. Near Bornholm I found a perfect collection of all the monuments common in England, cairns of stone, stone rings, upright stones, gravehills, etc. The cairns are seldom covered with earth, and the upright stones are not only arranged in circles but as triangles and squares. The burial mounds are of various form, including the ship shape. The number of these monuments is surprising, especially on three such isolated islands as Bornholm, Oeland, and particularly Gothland. When my attention was first directed to these numerous monuments, the enquiry presented itself to me as to where so numerous a population had lived, and led me to the discovery that, in the neighbourhood of all these monuments, the remains of the dwellings of the ancient inhabitants might be found; the latter on the lower fertile lands, the position of the former being usually on the hilltops. On Carnsoe I found a cavern completely filled with the remains of human occupants. It had been the summer dwelling of the earliest whalehunters. Evidence was forthcoming of communication with the European continent in the shape of Roman coins, principally silver, in large numbers, also gold coins of the Roman and Byzantine Emperors, which had been brought from the Baltic, the mainland of Sweden, and there-

after to these islands. The series end with the reign of the Emperor Leo I. The coins of the Emperor Anastasius which have been found were probably brought by the Heruli tribes when emigrating to Gothland, as mentioned by Tacitus. It is not sufficient, I would point out, to observe these monuments alone, but it is necessary to see them in connection with their sites and dependencies, when they yield rich archæological evidence.

The ancient laws of Sweden give indications of the places proper to build cairns. According to Swedish custom, each village has its *gard*, or place where the houses are built—(actually the fence surrounding it)—being the equivalent to the English garden, garth, and yard, and the German *garten*. A farm was also called a *tun*, which may also be a gard (tun = English town). *Stad* (English farmstead) is also present. Each village has its graveyard, or *stad*, or *gard*. The fields around were the common property of the villages, each villager having the right to send his cattle into the common field or wood *pro ratâ parti*. These divisions have overlived to the present time. The old inhabitants had great predilection for placing their tombs in high places, for admiration and preservation.

Wherever tombs are found, a town should be looked for. On close scrutiny I always found, near by, traces of foundations of houses. Subsequently, stone fences of small and large fields were found. And this was afterwards the constant sequence of objects discovered. On the last day of my investigations a group of thirty-four cairns was discovered. Now the land is solely used for pastoral purposes, but formerly it was most thickly populated by a population which was content with a very poor subsistence. The tombs generally consist of a cairn and stone circle; sometimes a tomb is concealed in the earth or under the earth. Upright stones occur as memorials of distinguished persons or events. Sometimes they bear a Runic inscription stating they are raised by such an one to the memory of his father, or brother, or mother. Some circles were used for other than burial purposes, by certain observers held to be judicial, but I incline to the belief that they were for religious purposes.

Confirmation of this supposition is afforded by a series of circles found at places with the suffix *Ve* in their names, meaning holy place. This was confirmed in other cases by the occurrence of the names of Norse gods, some of them unknown to Norse mythology. Several of these approximated to the terminal gods of Rome, being found on borders of districts.

It was curious to observe that the oldest cities were placed in Sweden, not in the centre of districts, but on the confines of two districts, probably as posts where goods were exchanged.

With respect to the contents of the various classes of tombs, a ship grave, 37 metres long, composed of flat lime-stone blocks, contained nothing but burnt bones. In my view, ship graves do not necessarily import a Viking burial, for they are found inland. They probably suggest the last voyage of the spirit.

Oeland in olden time was very wealthy; at least 3,000 gold, silver, and copper coins have been found; and 5,000 Arabic, Anglo-Saxon, and German coins carried over from Gothland in great numbers have also been found; indeed, no fewer than 11,000 Anglo-Saxon coins of different reigns have been found, while England only possesses 1,000. The collection of Anglo-Saxon coins in Stockholm is greater than in the British Museum. In my view, the coins were brought to Sweden by commerce, and not by war, and I base this view on the fact that more of these coins are found in Sweden than in the whole of Denmark and Norway—whence the conclusion that they must have come by commerce, as Sweden made no war on England.

Near Stockholm has been found eleven ship tombs with wooden ships, within which was the body, together with very costly arms. Besides richly chased weapons the tombs likewise contained caldrons, trivets, and other household tools, remains of animals—two horses, two oxen, two swine, two falcons, etc. This kind of burial must have taken place about the time when the Anglo-Saxons became Christians, and the religious meaning of the ship burial was the suggestion of sailing to another land. Eponymous heroes also always came in boats.

I would also point out that the fortifications in Sweden are always placed behind the cultivated land in the interior of the country, as if for places of refuge in cases of invasion. Churches were used for this purpose in the Christian times.

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