Saga-Book

OF THE

Viking Club:

OR ORKNEY, SHETLAND, AND NORTHERN SOCIETY.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY FROM JANUARY, 1897, TO DECEMBER, 1900, REPRINTS OF PAPERS, REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES, Etc.



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Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

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ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY & MUSEUM.

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

GIVEN BY

DR. KARL LENTZNER.

"Oldnordisk Formlære i Grundrids: a Short Scandinavian Grammar." By Dr. Karl Lentzner. (Two copies.)

MAJOR A. F. MOCKLER-FERRYMAN, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.

"In the Northman's Land. Travel, Sport and Folklore in the Hardanger Fjord and Fjeld." By Major A. F. Mockler-Ferryman.

C. A. PARKER, F.S.A. Scotland.

"The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland." By C. A. Parker.

THOMAS WILSON, Curator, Department of Prehistoric Anthropology, United States Museum.

"The Swastika, the Earliest Known Symbol, and its Migrations." By Thomas Wilson. Reprinted from the Report of the Smithsonian Institute.

PROFESSOR SOPHUS BUGGE.

Morgenbladet, of 1st January, 1897, containing an article on Professor Unger. By Prof. S. Bugge.

J. F. D. BLÖTE.

"Der Historische Schwanritter." By J. F. D. Blöte.

"Das Aufkommen des Clevischen Schwanritters." By J. F. D. Blöte. Reprinted from the *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum und Deutsche Literatur.*

ALEXANDER BUGGE.

"Nidaros's Handel og Skibsfart i Middelalderen. By Alexander Bugge.

PROFESSORS SOPHUS BUGGE AND MOLTKE MOE.

"Torsvisen i sin Norske Form." By Profs. Bugge and Moe.

MISS CORNELIA HORSFORD.

"Privatboligen på Island i Sagatiden." By Valtyr Gudmundsson.
"Meddelelser øm Grønland." 16th Part.
"Fortidsminder og Nutidskjem paa Island." By Daniel Bruun.
Plaster model of the Ruin of Áslákstunga hins innri, Þórsárdalr, Iceland, by Þorsteinn Erlingsson. Size $\frac{1}{125}$ of the original ruin, which was buried by an eruption of Mount Hekla about 1390, and dug out by Mr. Erlingsson in 1895.

SPECIAL DONATIONS TO FUNDS.

	£	s.	d.
Miss C. Horsford	13	0	0
Dr. Karl Blind	8	10	0
Gilbert Goudie	1	6	6
Major A. F. Mockler-Ferryman	1	0	0
Miss M. A. Owen	0	10	0
A. H. Cocks	4	19	3
P. M. C. Kermode	2	14	9
A. F. Major	5	0	0
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F. Sessions	0	10	0
Mrs. J. J. Stevenson	0	10	0
J. Walker	0	10	0
B. Winstone, M.D.	0	10	0

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

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

"Torsvisen i sin Norske Form, udgivet med en Afhandling om dens Oprindelse Forhold til de andre Nordiske Former." By Professor Sophus Bugge (in conjunction with Professor Moltke Moe.) (Christiania.)

"Nidaros's Handel og Skibsfart i Middelalderen." By Alexander Bugge. (Trondhjem.)

"King Olaf's Kinsman: a Story of the Last Days of Eadmund Ironside." By the Rev. Charles W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., L.S.A. (London: Blackie)

"The Book of Coniston," containing a chapter on the Norse Settlement of the Lake District, by W. G. Collingwood; with a chapter on Torver, by the Rev. T. Ellwood, M.A. (Kendal: T. Wilson.)

FORTHCOMING WORKS.

"King Alfred's Viking." A Story of the First English Fleet and of the Campaign from Athelney. By the Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., L.S.A. (London: Nelson.)

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

FIFTH SESSION, 1897.

AL-THING, JANUARY 8TH, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

A short paper by Dr. Karl Lentzner, entitled "A Word on Ibsen's 'Brand'" was read, in which the writer undertook the defence of the morality of that work and of Ibsen's teaching in general. A paper followed by Mr. J. J. Haldane Burgess, M.A., on "A Glance into the Konungs Skuggsja."

The Jarl, in calling on the Secretary to read the paper, expressed his regret at the absence of the author. As, however, he lived in Shetland, it was perhaps hardly to be expected that he should appear in person. He was sure members would appreciate even more Mr. Burgess's efforts on their behalf and his success as a writer, if they considered the drawback he had to overcome, for he was blind. The speaker had recently read one of his books, "The Viking Path," and had been much struck by its vivid descriptions and spirited pictures of sea-fights. He should like to hear Mr. Major's views on the latter, as he had so recently given them the benefit of his studies of sea-fighting in saga-time. He thought Mr. Burgess's descriptions were the more picturesque, but Mr. Major's, drawn from the Sagas, seemed the more probable.

The "Konungs Skuggsja" is a work that stands alone in Old Norse literature. Though its literary merit is not in any way to be compared with that of the Sagas, it has the unique merit of being the solitary original work con-

cerned entirely with the philosophy of life to be found in the Norse literature of the Middle Ages. It dates to about 1230, and is a digest of life rules and learning in the shape of a dialogue between father and son. Only two of the four divisions of the work have come down to us, being those relating respectively to the life of merchants and chapmen and the life at a king's court. The former is particularly interesting in the glimpse which it gives of old-world geographical knowledge, in particular regarding the far North, Greenland and Iceland, and as the truth of its descriptions have since been confirmed by Nansen, it shows the thoroughness of our forefathers' knowledge seven centuries ago of the mysterious Arctic Ice World. Not only a physiographical, but a floral and faunal description is entered upon, while the definite recognition of the roundness of the earth is testimony to its astronomical perspicuity. The information regarding the Greenland settlements is specific and valuable, and that the topographical and climatic information has been confirmed by the travels of Nordenskjöld and others detracts nothing from its merits.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. G. M. Atkinson said he would like to know more about the eating of whales and seals on fast-days being interdicted, as he had not met with such a prohibition before. He did not understand how so many reindeer, horned cattle, and other live stock could be supported in Greenland, as he believed there was no grass there. He should be glad if any member could give the date of Isidore of Seville,[1] who certainly seemed to be far in advance of his time, judging from what Mr. Burgess had said of him and the opinions he expressed.

Mr. R. L. Cassie said that the work they had been considering was specially interesting, as it was one of the most ancient specimens of the Old Norwegian language, as opposed to the Icelandic, now in existence. He had

[1] Isidore of Seville lived in the seventh century (died 637).—Ed.

read it in the original, and recognised the truth and beauty of the translation. The knowledge of Greenland in those early times was extensive; indeed, comparatively little had been added to it up to this day. Although trade had been extensive, the part played in it by Norway and the Norwegians was not great. The opportunities of observing the animal life of Greenland were apparently few among the early writers, though the description of the various species of seals was very minute. It was now generally admitted that both the eastern and western settlements of the Norsemen had been situated west of Cape Farewell, and that the east coast had never been habitable.

Mr. A. F. Major said that by the kindness of a Norwegian visitor, Mr. Meidel, he was allowed to read an original letter written by Dr. Frithjof Nansen in 1888, just before he left his ship to land on the east coast of Greenland. This gave an interesting picture of the aspect of the country at that date, and the condition of the ice-covered sea. With regard to Mr. Burgess's paper, he thought the Society would agree in tendering him a hearty vote of thanks for the glimpse he had given them of the old-world knowledge and imaginings. It was certainly news to him that even at that date there were scientific men who held that the world was a globe. Modern research had proved the truth of the statements in the "Konungs Skuggsja" as to the rearing of sheep and cattle in Greenland in olden time, for Lieutenant Daniel Bruun, of the Danish Navy, had found their bones in plenty among the ruins of the old Norse settlements,[1] and he also stated that in the present day there was abundant vegetation in places sheltered from the keen winds of the North. He had found the ruins of both the ancient settlements upon the coast west of Cape Farewell, and the theory that the Eystribygd was situated on the eastern coast of Greenland might be dismissed once and for all.

The President said that in Shetland the people living on

[1] See *Saga-Book*, Vol. I., Part iii , pp. 281-82.

opposite sides of a bay were known as the east-side and west-side folk, and the Greenland colonies might have got their names in the same way. It was clear from the paper that in ancient days Greenland had had husbandry and good pasture, with cattle and sheep in plenty. Possibly there had been a change of climate, due to the shifting of the Gulf Stream. The Rev. Mr. Prior thought the whole world was growing colder, and that the poles of the earth were shifting, which, if correct, would account for a change of climate! With reference to lawful food on fast-days—in Shetland, seals used to be eaten as food. The flesh of the barnacle goose was permitted to the faithful during Lent. Whether this latter fact were due to the fishy nature of the bird, or had reference to the old belief that barnacles grew on trees, and that young geese were produced from them, he could not say. In the reasons that took men to Greenland, he thought we saw the old Norse spirit. The first point was, What sport was to be had there? the next, What was there there to live on? the third and last, Were the people there Christians, or did they need our teaching?

AL-THING, JANUARY 29TH, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. F. T. Norris (Saga-Master) read a paper on "The Thingwalls of America and England," which will be reproduced in full as a separate publication of the Club.

The lecturer gave a verbal description, with lantern-slide illustrations, of the earthen amphitheatre discovered on the Charles River, Massachusetts, and of more or less similar structures, stone circles, and other antiquities he had seen in the course of an expedition to the Orkneys and Shetlands and the North of England, at the request of Miss C. Horsford, and traced the probable course of the voyages of the early Norse and subsequent discoverers and re-discoverers of America.

In moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Norris for his paper, the Jarl said that he was inclined to share the opinion of Dr. Hildebrand with regard to stone circles, namely, that they were originally erected for religious purposes, their legislative use being later and secondary.

Dr. Jon Stefansson said he thought the story of Columbus's visit to Iceland rested on somewhat hazy evidence. Yet it was recorded in his life written by his son. He understood that the Icelanders who visited America at Miss Horsford's invitation to examine the supposed remains, had come to the conclusion that they could not be said to be distinctly Norse; they were rather inclined to the view that they were not Norse. The latest Scandinavian theory, that of Dr. Gustav Storm of Christiania, was that Leif landed in Nova Scotia. He had pointed out that vines grew there, and the statement as to the length of the day would also fit in with this surmise.

Mr. A. F. Major said that, besides thanking the lecturer for an interesting paper, they had to thank Miss Cornelia Horsford very warmly for sending Mr. Norris on his mission and for the interest she displayed in these researches. He feared the results were not so conclusive as Miss Horsford might wish, and threw little light on the origin of the American "round" or "amphitheatre." As far as he understood, the origin of the remains in Massachusetts was still wrapped in mystery, and the possibility of their being Norse was not disproved. Of course, it would be of the highest interest to find undoubted evidence on American soil of the Norsemen's voyages thither, but, whether such evidence came to light or not, there could not be the least doubt that the Norsemen discovered America some centuries before Columbus, and left detailed accounts of the discovery. He hoped the report of Mr. Norris's investigations would be published, as such a careful comparison of various ancient works could not fail to be interesting and valuable, though the value would have been greater had Mr. Norris been able to use the spade in his researches.

The lecturer, in reply, stated that he shared Dr. Hilde-

brand's view of the original and subsequent uses of stone rings. As to the results of his investigations, they had up to the present proved more in the nature of clearings of the ground than of actual solutions of the problem submitted.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 19TH, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. R. L. Cassie read a paper on "Realism in Norwegian Literature, the Work of Alexander Kielland," in which he gave a full sketch of his author's life and writing, and of the important position he held in the literary life of Norway in the present century. The paper was illustrated by the reading of many passages translated from Kielland's works.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Theodor Gleditsch said that, as a Norwegian, he would ask to be allowed to say a few words, though the views of the lecturer were, in his opinion, so correct that he had little to say in the way of criticism. There was a rumour that Kielland was about to publish another book, breaking a long silence. It was, however, possible that he had said all he had to say, for he wrote first in the heat of indignation, his spirit stirred at a time of great general excitement. It was the same with Ibsen and others who, though they still wrote, now write in a psychological vein very different from that of earlier years. It was the more likely that the message of Alexander Kielland had been given, because his later books, which the lecturer had not mentioned, were distinctly poorer. It was a great triumph for him that the Storthing had carried a resolution doing away with the teaching of Latin and Greek as part of the school education. The victory indeed was not entirely his, but perhaps no other author who had denounced the system of classical education had had so much weight. Each of

his books had been like a sword, cutting to the root of the evil at which it was aimed. In his last book, "St. John's Festival," he had even gone from attacking a principle to attacking a person, and had written about a great living preacher, not indeed under his own name, yet so that the allusion was unmistakable, and had accused him of great crimes. He had been much blamed for this scandalous proceeding, as it was considered; yet events had proved that he was right, and that the man attacked was really guilty of the conduct imputed to him. Whether such action was right or wrong, it testified to the author's boldness.

Dr. Jon Stefansson, in moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said he hoped that something more of his useful and excellent work in rendering Norwegian literature into English would be seen in England, and he thought those present who had read Mr. Cassie's translation of some of Kielland's tales would agree with him that the lecturer should continue the work he had begun. He thought that there was no novelist in England who wrote in the same sense as Alexander Kielland.

Mr. F. T. Norris said that he had been most interested in learning that Kielland had been leader in a movement which had resulted in ousting the study of Greek and Latin from schools in Norway. He had always felt strongly that our system of education devoted far too much time to those dead languages.

Mr. A. F. Major said that the question raised of classical *versus* vernacular studies was one of great interest and some difficulty. Personally he had often deplored the loss we in England suffered by not being reared upon the Sagas and Eddas, and taught to regard them as what they really were, the classics of our race. At the same time he felt that he himself owed much to the classical studies of his school-days, and the influence of Greek and Roman literature was so all-pervading that anyone ignorant of them was at a very great disadvantage. Where the balance of gain or loss lay, or how the question should be settled, he could not pretend to say. Mr.

Cassie's paper had given a valuable insight into the work of a great Norwegian writer, and perhaps had taught some that modern Norwegian literature was not summed up in the word "Ibsen."

The Jarl said he should like to hear Mr. Gleditsch's opinion about the translation of passages from Kielland introduced by Mr. Cassie. The language was so felicitous that they did not read like translations; but if they were so, and not merely paraphrases, he must congratulate Mr. Cassie on a feat which so few could achieve. He should also like to ask if the conditions of life in Norway were such as to warrant the pictures drawn by Ibsen, Kielland, and Björnson; for, in their pages, middle-class life in Norway appeared more rotten than in England. Were we to accept such pictures as true to fact? In putting the vote of thanks, he must again express the charm he had derived from the felicity of diction that appeared throughout the paper. He hoped to see Alexander Kielland in an English dress, and he thought all would agree that Mr. Cassie was eminently fitted so to array him.

Mr. Cassie, in reply, said that he was only an amateur in the field of Norwegian literature, but he had found the study very fascinating. He did not himself go so far as Alexander Kielland in condemning the study of the classics, but he thought too much time was devoted to them. As to the scope of his author, he had nothing to add to what Mr. Gleditsch had said. With regard to the translation, he had tried to be as literal as possible, and to reproduce as far as he could the Norse mode of thought, and the essence of the author's style.

AL-THING, MARCH 12TH, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mrs. Clare Jerrold read a paper on "English Poets and Northern Myths," which will be reproduced on a future occasion.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that he much admired Mrs. Jerrold's treatment of the subject, though he found it somewhat difficult to follow her throughout. As he understood the myth, Balder is the Sun-god, and he was not aware that there was so much involved in the subject as was evident from the paper just read. He thought Tegner was a Swede, and his acquaintance with the subject was therefore closer than some others, although Longfellow had also felicitously written on Balder. He was glad that Mrs. Jerrold had not spared Matthew Arnold, whose work was perhaps overrated, and that she had given Carlyle the praise that was his due.

Mr. E. M. Warburg said he wished to move a vote of thanks to Mrs. Jerrold for her paper. The subject-matter was very familiar to him, though he had to go back a long way for his recollections of it—to his school-days, in fact, when he had had to learn by heart Tegner's poem on Balder. There was one thing which he should like to mention to members of the Viking Club: he thought they ought to learn the correct Northern pronunciation of the various Norse names and words they had constantly to use. As in Latin and Greek, so here, a uniform practice was very desirable. No doubt this was a somewhat difficult aim to realise, but he should be very glad to help, as far as he could, in giving the proper pronunciation.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood seconded the vote of thanks, and expressed his pleasure in having been able to attend. He took more interest in the second part of the paper, where the question of translating was dealt with, than in the first part. It was a very difficult thing to express in another tongue the "things unspeakable," which it is the function of poetical style to convey. The question that first arose was: In what way are we to translate? Many writers wish to make their translation as like as possible to the original. But what is the real object of translation? Are we to alter the words before us as little as possible, or to turn them into idiomatic English? After all, whatever

might be said of him by students, it was Gray who first roused the interest of people in this country in Northern literature, and he turned the Eddaic poems into idiomatic English. Others, such as Herbert and Cottle, who aimed at more literal translation, were not read. Speaking for himself, as a maker of books, who had to go to a publisher, he must ask if we are to satisfy the student only, or the general readers also. Some want the language to be nearer the original Anglo-Saxon before the foreign invasion began, some want English "as she is spoke," not as she might be spoken. He entirely agreed with the lecturer as to the desirability of avoiding the use of classic phraseology in translating a romantic writer and *vice versâ*. Still, Pausanias shows us how very romantic what we call the classics can be. There was a wonderful parallel between the ancient Greek of the Homeric age and the Viking of the Saga-time. Except for climate, the Mycenæan Greek might be likened exactly to the Anglian of Beowulf. In fact it was not the Greek writers, but the renaissance of the seventeenth or eighteenth century that we must blame for the distinction generally drawn between classical and romantic. He was entirely at one with the writer in her opinion of Matthew Arnold's "Balder," as a specimen of the dry and narrow classical spirit in its highly-polished shape. Again the question must be asked: In what style are we to translate the verse of the Eddas and Sagas? Ought we to neglect rhyme in favour of alliteration? Yet they have rhyme in modern Icelandic, and to some extent in the ancient also. Is it possible, again, to get a natural folk-speech that might fairly represent the language of the Sagas? Such a style he thought might be found in the speech of the northern Borders, in the Lowland Scotch or the Northumbrian English. Such, at least, was his theory, though he confessed he found it difficult to carry it out in practice. Mr. William Morris, to whom members of the Viking Club owed a very great debt, in seeking for such a speech had invented a style of his own, which was picturesque and archaic, though not

free from Wardour Street English and other affectations. It was the business of the Viking Club to try and popularise the Northern literature, but we must bear in mind that the English public will only read what is placed before it in such a way as to interest it. Much indeed has already been done in this direction, and perhaps we might not unfairly ask the lecturer to do something herself, or, at least, to tell us clearly how it ought to be done.

Mr. A. F. Major said that he was very glad to see Mr. Collingwood at one of their meetings. He was so rarely able to attend, but in his speech that night he had given them much to think over. He was glad to hear him speak in defence of Gray, whose versions of Eddaic poems, though they might not be accurate translations, were spirited poems that conveyed a vivid impression of the original. Mrs. Jerrold had gone so deeply into her subject that her paper could hardly be discussed on the spur of the moment without reference to the originals and authorities dealt with in it, though it afforded an ample field for debate if one could equip oneself worthily. Perhaps when it appeared in the Proceedings it would be possible to take up some of the interesting points raised. With regard to Mr. Warburg's plea for a uniform pronunciation of Northern names, the first thing must be to agree on a standard, which might not be easy, as one would have to decide between the pronunciation of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, modern Iceland, and the ancient Icelandic pronunciation as scholars read it. These gave you four, if not more, ways of pronouncing the word "Viking."

The Jarl suggested that a commission of experts should be appointed to settle the difficult question of pronunciation. He was very grateful to Mr. Collingwood for his remarkable speech, which had clearly brought out the stumbling-blocks in the way of translators. He would ask writers who decry the use of any but the Saxon elements in the English tongue, whether we ought not,

according to their theory, to go still further, and confine ourselves to its Gothic elements in translations from the Northern tongues, to the French elements in translations from French, and so forth? Surely language is only a symbol, and the chief point to be aimed at in translation is to render the thought as faithfully as we can in the other tongue, using any element in that tongue that best expresses the ideas of the original.

The lecturer, in reply, said that Tegner was not a Swede, and Longfellow's poem on Balder is a poem upon Tegner's death, and not a translation. In reply to Mr. Collingwood's challenge, she did not think it was demanded of critics to be themselves able to do that which they might have to criticise in others. In her remarks upon Matthew Arnold, it was only his style to which she referred. It was not possible to draw any hard and fast line as to the language that should be used in translations, but it was possible to avoid glaring differences between the style of the original and that of the translation: and she could see no reason for choosing words that least represent the original, as some translators seem to do. With regard to the ride of Hermod to Hel in the Prose Edda and Odin's in "Vegtamskviða," she did not think they could be fairly compared. Mr. Collingwood had been more merciful to her than she deserved for her temerity in so boldly criticising certain well-known authorities. She agreed fully in much that he had said as to the difficulties in the way of translators.

AL-THING, APRIL 2ND, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. A. Knox read a short paper entitled "A Location of a Residence in Mann of the Kings of the Isles," which will be reproduced in full on a future occasion.

What we knew, said Mr. Knox, of the kings of Mann was derived almost entirely from the "Chronica Regum

Manniæ et Insularum," which extended from 1000 to 1374, beginning, for Manx affairs, in 1066, with Godred, son of Sytric, king of Mann. All good things in the history of Mann had been done by these kings. King Orry was first mentioned in 1422. "King Orryes Days" are in that year referred to by the "Deemsters and the 24" as the earliest time in the affairs of Mann of which they have knowledge. There is no other knowledge of Orry. He had done what he could to prevent the destruction of monuments and mounds in Mann, which destruction, unhappily, still went on. Many mounds which formerly existed on the hill of Peel had, in recent years, been obliterated. He felt very strongly that the opening of these mounds, in the supposed interest of science, was as much a loss to the important sciences as their wanton or careless destruction. None had a right to disturb the repose of the dead, despoil them of the treasured objects laid to rest with them, or drag forth their bones to be scattered among our museums, or left to moulder away uncared for where they had been flung; nor could any have right to wipe out of the landscape things which linked it to the affections of men.

A brief discussion followed, in which Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that the round tower in Mr. Knox's drawing seemed to be of the same character as the round towers of Ireland, examples of which were found elsewhere—as at Brechin and Abernethy—though antiquaries differed as to whether they were Norse, Keltic, or relics of the survival of an old Pagan faith that got tacked on to Christianity. It was deplorable to hear of the destruction of the barrows, many of which apparently had not been opened, while the contents of others had never been examined by qualified enquirers, or preserved. The ruins of Mann and relics of her former times, such as the runic crosses, had suffered very severely. The wall in Mr. Knox's drawing, to which he drew attention as possibly of Norse origin, looked very like a mediæval wall.

The Jarl thought that the kings of Mann had been

sometimes independent, sometimes feudatories of Norway, or other nearer countries. He was much touched by the way in which Mr. Knox had spoken about the dead, and almost agreed with him that the things of the dead belong to the dead, and that we have no right to meddle with them. Certainly, whatever might be said in defence of the work of legitimate science, it was much to be desired that some check should be placed on the destruction worked by indiscriminate curiosity. It was so in Sweden, where ancient monuments could only be opened with the permission of the Royal Antiquary. In this country, relics of the past were constantly being destroyed. In Unst, in Shetland, all the cairns had been opened, and their contents for the most part scattered and lost to knowledge.

A paper by Major A. F. Mockler-Ferryman on "Chronicles of Hardanger: a Sketch of Old-World Norway," was then read, which is reproduced in full in this number.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that, though he had been in Norway, he was sorry to say he did not know Hardanger itself. The paper was highly interesting, and many points in it called for comment. For instance, the use of flint and steel as a protection against trolls or evil spirits was very singular and curious, and one would like to know the reason for it. There were several bridal crowns preserved in museums in Norway and Copenhagen, and one is in the South Kensington Museum. The costumes, again, seemed often to be a relic of Roman Catholicism. Many curiously carved marriage-chairs were still preserved, the carvings seeming to be symbolical, while it was curious to note that the runes were cut underneath the seat of the chair, where they were unseen. He had never before heard of embalming in Norway, or of wakes being held there. No doubt these were pagan survivals, like the bonfires on Midsummer Eve, which were a curious relic of sun-worship, and still called Baal-fires in some parts of the world where the custom still lingered.

Mr. A. F. Major regretted the absence of the author of the paper, who would, no doubt, have been able to answer some of the points raised. The use of flint and steel as a protection against trolls was, no doubt, very old. Thorpe ("Northern Mythology," Vol. II., p. 76) mentioned the custom as existing among Swedish fisher-folk as a charm against mermaids, etc. In his account it is apparently the fire that gives the protection, and trolls are said to dread it, as it reminds them of Thor and his thunderbolts. It is possible, however, that part of the charm may lie in the steel, as trolls, etc., in other folk-tales, appear to have a dread of metal. On the theory that trolls, dwarfs, elves, etc., were originally the people of the stone-age, driven farther and farther into the wastes and wilds by the onslaughts of a folk using metal, we can imagine the former's dislike to metals, as suggestive of the weapons which had been used in hostility against them.

The President said that there was a similar use of iron in Scotland to drive away evil spirits as that mentioned in the paper. He felt considerable doubt as to whether the tradition as to embalming the dead had any real foundation. He had been in Hardanger, and had observed the marriage and funeral customs mentioned in the paper, which, together with the birth customs, had analogies to what recently might have been observed in Shetland. For instance, the sign of the cross was used against the "trows" to save new-born children from them. The popular belief was that among the trows no girls were ever born, hence they were always eager to steal girl-children or young mothers. He had heard of a cross of pins made in the curtains to keep them away. There had been a divergence in the belief as to changelings. The weak and sickly child was looked upon as a changeling, and it was held that as you used the changeling, so would your child be used in the other world; and this superstition had no doubt been very useful in preserving weak and sickly children from ill-usage. Many parallels to the wedding customs might also be found in Orkney

and Shetland. No doubt the clergy had often been very superstitious in old times, but he doubted if they had knowingly encouraged superstitious belief for their own benefit. They had rather fought against it disinterestedly, when their profit and influence would have been increased by their fostering it; and we had, if anything, to lament their zeal in rooting out as superstitious, harmless and picturesque relics of past belief. The clergy in Cornwall had also had a great reputation in old days for their power over the devil and evil spirits, but they had worked hard to destroy the superstitions of the people. It was said of a clergyman in Shetland, that he declared he had been fighting the devil all his life in the shape of the superstitions among his flock.

GREAT AL-THING, APRIL 30TH, 1897.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarl) in the Chair.

The Great Al-thing was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 30th, 1897, 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 1896, with an explanatory statement by the Treasurer, were laid before the meeting and unanimously adopted, and Umboths-Vikings, or Officers of the Club, for the ensuing year were elected.

Mr. A. G. Moffat then read a paper on "Norse Place-names in Gower (Glamorganshire)," which is reproduced in full in the present *Saga-Book*.

Mr. Charles Glascodine, a visitor from Swansea, opened the discussion on the paper by thanking the Society for encouraging Mr. Moffat in his researches. They related to a very interesting part of the country where Welsh was still spoken, and the English and Welsh-speaking portions were separated by very fine lingual dividing lines. The north part of Gower was Welsh, with very few foreign names to be found. There were very interesting mounds

with moats round them to be seen on Burry which might be ascribed to the supposed Norse invaders, though Colonel Morgan, of Swansea, thinks their date is later than the Viking-time. The speaker himself was of opinion that the names ascribed to a Viking invasion came in with the Normans, and were given by Northmen who accompanied them. He had every reason to believe that this view was correct, though he was open to conviction if evidence to the contrary were brought, and he must admit that many of the names in question were undoubtedly strongly Norse or Icelandic in character.

Mr. A. F. Major said that Mr. Moffat had broken ground in a way very pleasing to members of the Viking Club, who must rejoice to find evidence of the Norsemen's presence in these islands in places before unsuspected. Lady Paget, another member, had printed a pamphlet on "The Northmen in Wales," in which she found a few names in North Wales which she ascribed to Norse influence; though Canon Taylor, in his "Words and Places," imagined that they made no settlement there, and only named certain features on the coast as they sailed by. But had this been so those names would not have clung to the places and been handed down to us. Such places with undoubted Norse names as Orme's Head and Priestholme, the old name of Puffin Island, were eminently fitted to be the strongholds of sea-rovers, while Lady Paget says there are fortifications on the former, which might or might not be ascribed to the Norsemen. Besides these she mentions Dalir and Wig, near Bangor, as apparently Norse, and possibly there is a Norse element in Capel Ulo, near Conway, and Pwlheli. There were two other chapels in Anglesea in Pennant's time named after Ulo, but no Welsh saint or other person of the name is known, while the name Ælu or Ælo, which Dr. Stephens finds in Runic inscriptions, may be the same. Again, the name Heli occurs in the castle of Llys Helig, submerged in the sea near Penmaenmawr. The name is said not to be Welsh, and is possibly identical

with the Norse Helgi. Dr. Stephens also considered the carving on the cross of Penmon Priory in Anglesea identical with work found on Swedish monuments. Going further south, the Norse termination of Bardsey suggests that the island rather derived its name from the name Bard, common in the Icelandic Sagas, than from the British bards. Round Milford and Haverford, again, the traces of a Norse settlement are numerous, while it is very probable that Welsh names ending in "garth," such as Talgarth, Tregarth, and Gogarth Abbey on Orme's Head, are of Norse origin. Fishguard is probably in the same category. The speaker hoped that Mr. Moffat's paper would be published in full, with a map showing the places referred to to elucidate it. With regard to the suggestion that the names may have been brought by the Normans, he should like to point out that before the Norman Conquest of England the Normans had lost the speech of their fathers, and the tongue they brought to this country was not Norse, but a bastard French, so that the theory that they bestowed Norse names on places where they settled in Wales, although ingenious, is most improbable, if not impossible.

The President suggested that the fact mentioned by Mr. Glascodine, that the names in the north of Gower were Welsh, was in conflict with his own theory, for as the Normans approached Gower by land we should expect to find names of Norman origin on the landward side. The Norse names were all found apparently on the seaward side, as we should expect them to be if of Scandinavian origin. He should have liked to see a comparative statement of the numbers of Welsh and Norse names. Mr. W. G. Collingwood in his paper on the Norsemen in the Lake country, after dealing with the Norse names descriptive of places, turned next to the houses, the art, the ironwork of the district, etc., etc., and showed how traces of Scandinavian influence were to be found in each of these. He should like Mr. Moffat to turn his attention to similar points, as that line of work had added

immensely to the force of Mr. Collingwood's arguments.

Mr. F. T. Norris said that the ground of Mr. Moffat's paper was not unfamiliar to him, and he had enjoyed it very much. Against the view of a previous speaker, that the Norse names in Wales are due to the Normans, we may set the historic evidence of the presence of the Norsemen at an earlier time, which we find in the Saxon Chronicle and in the Sagas. In the Welsh Chronicles there is a hiatus for a long period, at the end of which Roderick the Great, a king with a Norse name, appears on the Welsh throne, and its occurrence, following the period of admitted chaos in Welsh history, was suggestive of the usurpation of an alien dynasty. He agreed with Mr. Major as to the unlikelihood of the non-Welsh names being due to the Normans, on account of the latter, though Norse in blood, speaking a bastard French tongue. Indeed, he thought Mr. Moffat had been too diffident in his claims, and that the Norse element and their conquests in Wales were very extensive, though afterwards overlaid by a recrudescence of Welsh nationality. From his observation it appeared that the place-names could be paralleled in other parts of England, and notably in the Thames Valley. For instance, Pembroke, in North Wales, was paralleled by Pimlico in the Thames Valley, lic, in the latter, being simply lech or leck, a stream. The same root is found in Lechmere, immediately opposite, in Battersea. Gunnersbury bears the name of a Scandinavian Gunnar, or of Gunhilda, Sweyn's queen. Another of the Welsh leaders in Pembrokeshire, Kar, may be traced, on the Thames, in Carshalton and Caswell. Mortlake on the Thames and Morthoe in Devon afforded a further parallel of names in places far asunder. He suggested that Bard, in Bardsea, was connected with the Norse leader Barith, or Barid, who played a part in Irish annals and in the history of the Isle of Man. Returning to the Thames Valley, other Welsh parallels were Hammersmith, Pallingswick, Bollingbrook, etc. Tooting meant beacon-hill, and the same root is found in Tothill Fields, but

its use was too wide for comparison purposes. With regard to the name Swansea, or Sweyn's island, he would suggest that the *ea* might stand for hithe, as in Bermondsey, Chelsea, etc. He agreed that Burry must be traced to borh, a fort. The word "Welsh" meant simply, in the Saxon, a stranger, and not necessarily a Cymric man or a Gael, and we meet with it under the form Wallasey, or Welshman's Island, both in the mouth of the Mersey and in that of the Thames, where the Welsh in each case implies Danes or Northmen.

Dr. Jon Stefansson asked whether the name Burry might not be from *bára*, wave. He thought also that the name "Cleaver Tops" might be the Icelandic *kleifar*. He had expected to find Danish place-names in Devonshire, as the Norse rovers seemed to have harried the western country very freely, but so far he had been able to trace very few there. There was a mountain in St. Kilda bearing the Icelandic name of Oiseval, Austr-fell or Eastern Mountain.

The lecturer, in reply, said that he had begun in the middle of Gower because he had made the Welsh Moor his objective, as he considered that beyond that dwelt the Welshmen, the foreigners. He thought that the reason that Welsh and Norse names were to be found side by side was because the two nationalities settled down in friendship together in the intervals of fighting. His quotations from Egils Saga, the Jomsvikings Saga and Njals Saga showed that they were on friendly terms long before the Norman Conquest. Further, in a recently discovered fragment of the Orkneyinga Saga, giving a story of Jarl Rognvald, there is found the word "cufl," a cowl, or hooded cloak. This is a Welsh word, and the Saga writer must have learned it from Welshmen. We also find other Welsh words used in the Sagas, such as *koddi* =pillow, *klutr*=clout, *kápa*=cape. The confirmation by King Gruffydd of the lands of the Church of Llandaff to Bishop Herwald, which he had quoted, was the strongest confirmation of the presence of Norsemen in Gower

before the Norman Conquest; there was also little doubt that there were Danes there, as also Norsemen who came from Orkney. In answer to Mr. Sandison's suggestion as to evidence in local customs, etc., he must say that so far he had not found any very distinct traces of domestic Norse uses in the district, save in the following local words:—*lathe* (to invite) = *laða*; *wicks* (grow) = *vöxtr*; *haye* (a fenced garden) = *hagi*; *vitte* (clever) = *vitr*; *fraeth* (impudent) = *fraedi* (knowing); *haggard* (rick-yard) = *hey-gard*; and *snead* (scythe handle) = *sneida* (to cut). Finally, with regard to the theory of the Norman origin of the non-Welsh element in Gower, he thought, with previous speakers, that the evidence in favour of a direct Scandinavian settlement was much the stronger.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the past Jarl, the Rev. A. Sandison, for his services to the Club during his tenure of the office. Mr. Sandison, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, congratulated the Club on having secured Dr. Karl Blind as their president for the ensuing two years.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 26TH, 1897.

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

A vote of condolence with the relatives of the late Viking-Jarl, Samuel Laing, was unanimously carried, the great loss the Club had sustained being universally deplored. Miss A. Goodrich-Freer, Jarla-Kona, read a paper on "Traces of the Norsemen in the Outer Hebrides," which is reproduced in full in the present *Saga-Book*.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. A. F. Major said that such contributions to the history of the Norsemen in these islands as Miss Goodrich-Freer had given that night were especially valuable to the Viking Club, whose duty it was to investigate that chapter in the history of our race. He had only one adverse criticism to make, so

would begin by dismissing that. The lecturer had referred to the defeat of King Hakon at the battle of Largs. But according to the detailed account of the Saga writer, whose authority he preferred to that of any Scottish historian, especially as the accounts of the latter indirectly corroborated the Saga, Hakon was not defeated. Some of his ships were driven ashore by the storm and their crews were attacked by the Scots, who were driven off when the weather slackened and the king sent reinforcements ashore. Next, the Norsemen were on shore seeing to the wrecks, and were attacked by the whole Scottish host. The Norsemen had occupied a hillock which they had not force enough to hold, and in retreating from it were thrown into great disorder and some fled to the ships. But the rest rallied round the ships that had driven ashore, and after a hard fight drove the Scots back to the hillock, finally storming it and scattering the opposing force. They held possession of the field next day, as even the Scottish historians admit, and bore off their dead unmolested. He hoped, on another occasion, the lecturer would fulfil her suggestion of tracing the evidences of the Norsemen's presence in Cornwall. With regard to the absence in the Hebrides of any buildings which might be ascribed to the Norsemen, he would suggest that probably their walls consisted of alternate layers of turf and stones, as in Iceland, and the ruins of such buildings are not easily to be discerned. They may also have used wood very largely, for the Norsemen certainly made great use of it in Norway, and, even if the Hebrides were not better wooded a thousand years ago than now, which could not be taken for granted, yet we know from the Sagas that a large timber trade was carried on in Saga times, and a cargo of wood for building could have been carried to the Hebrides from Norway as easily as to Iceland. He did not think the mounds of shell-fish proved a Norse occupation, for though these abounded in the Danish kitchen-middens, there was little doubt that the latter were pre-Norse. The Hebridean

folklore would amply repay investigation, and it would be interesting to have it compared with the Irish by a scholar competent to judge whether any differences that might exist were due to Norse influence. Miss Goodrich-Freer's suggestion of possible Hebridean remains to be found in Norway was a point that might bear fruit in the hands of a competent scholar. The lecturer had not told them how it was that these islands, unlike Orkney and Shetland, lost their Norse tongue and became Gaelic speaking. The fact was to be deplored, and the proposal that a Scandinavian scholar should visit the islands to collect Norse names and local words still in use deserved to be adopted. Miss Goodrich-Freer had remarked on the descriptive character of the place-names. The Rev. E. McClure, in a paper read before the Club,[1] suggested that these names were purposely bestowed by the early seamen on the rocks, islands, and headlands past which they sailed, so that the names might in some measure serve as a guide to those who sailed in their wake and followed their directions, and there are passages in the Sagas that give some colour to the suggestion. The question of land-tenure in the Hebrides was one on which an Orkneyman or Shetlander could probably throw light, and they could also say whether, in their islands, the callings of farmer and fisherman were united. The combination of the two was certainly habitual among the Norsemen, as the Icelandic Sagas testified over and over again.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that he should like to suggest to Miss Goodrich-Freer to supplement her paper with photographs of the Hebridean fishermen. He had never heard of fishermen like Jews, or come across such a cast of countenance among that class. It would be interesting to have types of faces, measurements of the bodies, skulls, and so forth. Speaking generally, he should say that fishermen were a sandy or red-haired race. He had spent some time when in

[1] *Saga-Book*, Vol. I., Part iii., p. 268.

Edinburgh with Dr. Anderson and Mr. Goudie, considering the brochs, but he thought that they were not very clear about their origin. There were very fine specimens of similar structures existing in Ireland, notably Staigue Fort, but without chambers in its walls. Some thought the brochs had formerly been roofed over. It would be interesting to know what name the Hebridean children gave to Ireland in the stories collected by the lecturer: these will become an interesting source for future investigation. It would be very curious if we could trace to their origin the tortoise-shaped brooches found in Norse graves, which have, undoubtedly, Byzantine characteristics, the heads, tracery, and other details on them, closely resembling Byzantine work. Eastern coins were also found buried with them, but the tortoise only figures in Japanese art. It was shameful to hear of ancient graves being destroyed on the property of the Duke of Argyll, and he wondered, too, that the noble proprietor should take no notice when the facts were brought before him. The upright stones mentioned by Miss Goodrich-Freer ought to be carefully examined for inscriptions. Ogam inscriptions had been found on many of the standing stones of Ireland, and a similar discovery might await us in islands like Lewis, which was famous for the number of such monuments found there.

Mr. F. T. Norris said that the Society might well congratulate itself on the paper before it, which was a very valuable contribution towards solving the question of the Norsemen in the Hebrides. He hoped Miss Goodrich-Freer would continue her work on the same lines. When the paper was in print in the Society's transactions it would be possible to consider the vast field it covered, which could only be glanced at now. As to the disappearance of Norse buildings, he thought that Mr. Major's explanation was probably the correct one; excavations in Iceland, Greenland, and elsewhere, showing that the early Norse mode of building was with walls of turf and stones and a turf-covered timber roof. The latter had few elements of

permanence in it, and would speedily disappear, leaving what was usually found, only the stone and turf walls. He was decidedly of the opinion that the so-called Picts' houses and the brochs were not Norse. For one thing, Mousa, which he had visited, showed by the size of its chambers that it could only have been occupied by a very diminutive race, such as the primitive Celts. The lecturer's suggestion of Hebridean names to be found in Norway ought to be followed up, and he had no doubt that there was much useful work to be done in that direction, which would throw light not only upon Hebridean but upon English history. Miss Goodrich-Freer's statement that a Runic inscription had been found in the Hebrides, thus adding to the limited number said to exist in the north of the British Isles, was eminently satisfactory, and the speaker expressed the hope that others would be found. The lecturer's work on topography and place-names was most valuable, and he begged her to give it the fullest extension before her paper was published Valuable evidence had been afforded from the study of these subjects on the extent of Norse influence in other Celtic lands. As regards ethnology, he was of the opinion that the primitive population had not been quite exterminated in Orkney and Shetland, as his own observation led him to the conclusion that there were three great divisions in the population: one an unmixed Norse, the other an unmixed Celtic or small dark type, and a third division the result of the mixture of these two. Personally he did not believe in the existence of a fair Celt, and thought the belief had led to many errors. The history of England, of the British Isles, nay, even of the British Empire, showed us again and again how a Scandinavian population had migrated into a Celtic land, and after a longer or shorter stay had emigrated again, driven on by the adventurous spirit of the race to action on a new field, while the less enterprising Celtic population which it had found in the land was again left behind. This he thought might have occurred in Orkney and Shetland,

and probably in the Hebrides too, and this would explain the recrudescence of Celtic names and language in districts originally Norse. Of course, the explanation might also be that a Celtic population had re-emigrated to these Norse lands in comparatively modern times, and he felt inclined to agree with the lecturer that this was the true state of the case.

The President said that he was entirely at one with the speakers who had congratulated the Society on their good fortune in securing this paper. Miss Goodrich-Freer came to us, not only with an intimate knowledge of her subject, but also with the living sympathy that gave life to dry details, and the scientific painstaking that guarded her against the errors enthusiasts are prone to make. The paper was very interesting to him, as, in many points, it might have been a paper on the Norsemen in Shetland. There too, as in the Hebrides, the same peculiarities existed as regards physiognomy. Across a narrow sound you find a different type, the people of one island differing from those of another not in features only, but in stature, dialect, even in their habits. There, too, are seen the two types: the very dark, and the very fair, almost red type. Moreover, they are not racial types, for both may be found in the same family. With regard to the architecture, he thought Mr. Major's remarks carried us as far as we could get. The great halls we read of in the Sagas were no doubt, in most cases, built with walls of mud and stones, though they may have been roofed with wood and had wooden door-posts, etc. It was said that, on the east coast of Scotland, fishing rights used to have much to do with inter-marriage, as the property in certain mussel-beds, etc., belonged to individual communities, and it was an object to keep this within narrow limits. This had not been so in Shetland, where inter-marriage might be ascribed mainly to the effects of isolation and propinquity in small islands. He was interested to hear of burials in the Hebrides taking place in Pictish brochs, for, so far as his knowledge went, such a burial had never

been heard of in Shetland, and the Shetlander would look on such a spot as the reverse of hallowed ground. He doubted Dr. Anderson's theory that the brochs had been roofed over. There was no evidence of it in any broch he had seen. He thought Mr. Norris's hypothesis that the brochs had been inhabited by a diminutive race not new and not tenable. It would not bear the test of actual knowledge of the size of the passages and chambers in the brochs. He himself had crawled through these passages, and did not believe any race of men could ever have inhabited them. In fact, his nightmares often took the form of sticking fast in one of these galleries, unable to advance or retreat. The farther hypothesis, that the central space was a refuge for cattle, seemed equally untenable. As for the mounds of limpets and other shell-fish, he had seen such mounds where the limpet-shells were in their millions, and had no doubt that they were the product of a very early race, though in times of distress the Shetlanders had been reduced to feeding on shell-fish. But this latter fact would not be sufficient to account for such mounds as these. He was much interested in the place-names given by the lecturer, and hoped she would work out that branch more fully, as she promised. The fact certainly seemed to him to stand out clearly that, if the Celt had been done away with in the Hebrides by the Norseman, then the Norseman also had suffered the same fate, and the Celt had returned. He gathered that true Gaelic was now spoken in the Hebrides, and that the inability of Miss Goodrich-Freer's interpreter to understand it was due to his Perthshire Gaelic, not to the fault of the Hebridean speech. He should expect, however, to find Norse terms used for the sea and in matters relating to fishing. It was still contended that in Shetland there was a Celtic survival through the Norse period, the earlier inhabitants not having been exterminated. Indeed, Shetlanders, outside Unst, said that it was only the Unst folk who disavowed this survival, because, being

themselves of Celtic descent, they wished to hide the fact and thought that to deny the existence of Celtic blood in Shetland was the most effectual way. In tendering the thanks of the Society to Miss Goodrich-Freer, he must again say how amazing it was to find such clear traces in a Gaelic-speaking country of the Norsemen who had held dominion there in bygone years.

Miss Goodrich-Freer, in reply, said that she accepted Mr. Major's correction as to the battle of Largs, and was glad to think the Norsemen were not defeated ; but if they remained masters of the field, all the more must she blame King Hakon for selling the islands to Scotland, and thus bringing them under the dominion of men who, like the Duke of Argyll in the instance she quoted, were content to allow the destruction of priceless relics of antiquity on the islands they owned. The statement that the Norsemen were not carpenters was not her own, but a quotation from Dr. Anderson. With regard to the present inhabitants and language of the Hebrides, she supposed that since the Norse dominion ended, there had been a reflux of a Gaelic people into the islands. In fact, at the present day immigration from the mainland was going on, and the population had probably constantly been thus recruited. This theory was borne out by the fact that the earlier Gaelic, which might be considered to date back to times before the Norsemen came, was Erse in its character, and the people speaking it must have come from Ireland, or had close affinity with the Irish, while the Gaelic of the later and present days did not materially differ from the Gaelic of Scotland. She should be very pleased to deal fully with the place-names later on, if her paper was to be printed. As she had said, what was wanted was to compare the Norse with the Gaelic names, as a scholar would probably be able to recognise many Scandinavian words under a Gaelic form.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 17TH, 1897.

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

A vote of condolence with the Jarl, Dr. Karl Blind, on the loss of his wife, was moved by the Rev. A. Sandison, and seconded by Mr. E. M. Warburg, who from his personal knowledge paid an elegant tribute to the memory of Mrs. Blind, as one who, no less than her husband, had done and suffered much in the cause of freedom. The motion was carried in silence, all members present standing in support of it.

The Rev. A. Sandison, Jarla-man, read a paper on "Shetland," illustrated by lantern slides, which was followed by a brief discussion.

REPORTS OF HERATHS-UMBOTHS-MEN.

(District Secretaries.)

The District Secretary for Furness and Westmoreland (W. G. Collingwood) writes :—

"I have no remarkable discoveries to record, such as those at Gosforth, in the neighbouring district of Cumberland ; but it may be worth while to note the excavation of an ancient iron-furnace, or bloomery, closely resembling those of Iceland. The site, known as the Springs, a mile south of Coniston Hall, on the shore of the lake, has been described by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., in a paper read to the Archæological Institute last December, and by the same writer and myself in the 'Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society' for this year. Mr. Cowper inclines, in the absence of coins or pottery which might give a definite date, to consider the site as post-Elizabethan. I was much struck, however, with the resemblance of the slag, which is heavy and black (unlike that of the greater bloomeries of the Stuart period), to the slag at Ljárskógar, the 'smithy' of Thorstein Kuggson, for whom Grettir worked in 1018 ('Grettis Saga,' chap. liii.), and also to the correspondence of the nails, bolt-heads, and some purple pumice-like dross, hitherto unexplained, with similar finds on Peel Island in Coniston Water, associated with early mediæval pottery. It has been suggested by the Rev. T. Ellwood, whose translation of the 'Landnámabók' is promised shortly, that these most ancient bloomeries were the work of the Norse settlers. We did not find anything to prove or disprove the view ; though, as the Furness monks had many iron-works in the thirteenth century, I venture to think that the indications, elsewhere given in detail, tend to show that this was one

of their 'hearths,' worked by descendants of the Viking immigrants, and after precisely similar methods to those which their kinsmen employed in Iceland."

"Since the above was written, the discovery has been announced of a grave-hoard (sword, etc.), said to be of the Viking age, at Ormside, Westmoreland, where the celebrated Ormside cup, now in York Museum, was found."

He also encloses the following cutting from the *Westmoreland Gazette* of August 27th, 1897 :—

"MORE ANTIQUARIAN DISCOVERIES AT GOSFORTH CHURCH.

"The ancient Parish Church of St. Mary, Gosforth, Cumberland, now undergoing restoration, has proved rich in antiquarian remains. It is not many years since the mythological character of the cross in the churchyard was elucidated. The remains of three other crosses, apparently of about the same age, have also been found at different times in the churchyard. A correspondent states that during the recent alterations two hog-back or coped tombstones, supposed to be one thousand years old, have been found. One was under the foundation of the north wall, built probably in 1125. Another was found at a corner of the nave, forming the foundation of the pillar supporting the chancel arch. The one found in the north wall is in two pieces, and is 5-ft. 6½-in. long. On one side are carved interlaced ornaments of four patterns, on the other there is a battle scene, representing two hostile armies. At the head of one group stands a chief, armed with a spear, a circular shield in his right hand; behind him are thirteen warriors, all bearded, and with spears over their shoulders. Opposite stands the chief of the opposing army, holding upright a pole or lance, at the top of which is a triangular flag, and behind him also there are thirteen men. The second hog-back is in three pieces, and is 5-ft. 1-in. long. It has quite a different character. At the apex there is a rope or twist much worn away, and between the rope is the plaited body of a serpent with the

head of a wolf, open-jawed, and like those on Gosforth Cross. It gapes upon and seems to do battle with smaller serpents. In a panel 4-ft. long there is a design in bold relief of two wolf-headed serpents in fierce conflict with a human figure, which subjugates or rides upon a smaller serpent, and holds one of its jaws in each hand. Hog-backs, whole or in fragments, exist at Bongate (Appleby), Aspatria, Cross-Canonby, and Millom. They are undoubtedly Scandinavian."

On the same subject the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., Local Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, delivered a paper before that Society on February 24th, 1898, entitled, "On a Second Coped Tombstone found at Gosforth, Cumberland."

The District Secretary for Glamorganshire and Pembrokeshire (Alexander G. Moffat) writes:—

"GLAMORGANSHIRE.—There is nothing special to advise in this district excepting that in consequence of various newspaper controversies on the subject of the Norsemen in South Wales, this subject has attracted considerable attention of late, and promises to bring about a greater study of the Viking raids and settlements in South Wales. We have to deplore the death, at Talygarn, near Llantrissant, on the 31st January, of Mr. G. T. Clark, a man who has rightly been termed the 'first archæologist' of Glamorganshire. His great work, 'Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan,' will be the mine from which will be extracted much concerning the Norsemen and their settlements in that county. Sundry patriotic Welshmen having tried to derive the really Danish Swansea from the Welsh *Senghenydd* have been taken to task by Professor W. Skeat on the subject. See *Notes and Queries* for January 29th, 1897.

"PEMBROKESHIRE.—There has been a similar interest excited in this county as in its sister, and we are glad to learn that one of our members, Mr. J. Rogers Rees, author of 'The Pleasures of a Bookworm' and other works, who

has a very able series of articles on 'Slebech and its Commandery' now running in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, has been so struck by the Norse names which he has found in old deeds and charters appertaining to Slebech, that he is shortly going fully into the question of the Northmen's occupation of Pembrokeshire. He thinks that these place-names have a very definite tale to tell—one that may throw an altogether new light on ancient Welsh myths and romances. I have been privileged to have a look at some of Mr. Rees' manuscripts, and it is certain that his theories will attract a good deal of attention when they are made public."

The District Secretary for the Orkneys (J. G. Moodie-Heddle) writes :—

"I enclose a scrap of folklore anent spiders, and also a Yule song taken from oral report.

"SPIDER FOLKLORE.

"Spiders have in several parts of the world occupied popular attention in regard to omens and other religious or semi-religious ideas, to almost as great an extent as snakes. Into references in classical authors there is no need to enter here, but in more modern times William Blake has on several occasions used spiders in his prophetic books, and in particular there is a rather fine passage in the 'Marriage of Heaven and Hell,' where he and the angel descend into the Mystic Hell. Extensive tracts in Western Africa have spider beliefs entering into their religious ideas, but usually in such a way as to show them to be the remnants of older religious beliefs than those now current there. Unfortunately, little attention seems to have been paid to these. At all events, whatever might be done near a public library, reference at this moment can only be made to the ananzi or spider stories in the appendix to the second edition of Dasent's 'Tales from the Norse.' There would seem to have been some spider

superstitions in South and Central America also, but much of this must have been lost with the dying out or degradation of the Indian tribes, so forcibly described by Humboldt. It is, however, known that one large poisonous spider from South America has been used for purposes of murder there, and it is even alleged to have been imported into Europe with that intention. In Orkney—so far as known to the writer—the only peculiar superstition is connected with a long-legged hill-spider—there called 'Kirsty Kringlik.' Boys were—and probably are still—in the habit of catching one of these in their hands and holding it in the loosely-clenched palm for a few seconds, while asking if they are to have supper or not. If the spider leaves a small drop of water, the answer is supposed to be a favourable one. Between forty and fifty years ago, however, a longer process was used in the parish of Walls, Orkney, where the rhyme given below was repeated, the hand being opened as each kind of food was named. At the same time the boys using it did so merely from habit, evidently not understanding much of what they said :—

'Kirsty, Kirsty Kringlik,
Gae me nieve a tinglik,
What shall ye [pronounced "yeh"]
For supper hae?
Deer, sheer, bret an' smeer,
Minch-meat sma' or nane ava',
Kirsty Kringlik rin awa'!'

Here the spider was let off. Of course, the spelling above given is largely phonetic."

Orkney Yule Song.

On the subject of the Yule song, Mr. J. G. Moodie-Heddle writes :—

"I enclose a version of the New Year's Song, which seems a good deal different from any I have seen. The rhymes are, as is often the case, very rude—as 'neck' and 'neat': but it is clear that neck was pronounced like *nake*, and

neat like *nate*, as it is still in Ireland. Scottish ballads always neglect to make difference between 'k' and 't' in such cases, or almost always.

"I don't know what the 'lace that laces many a one' can be, nor understand the third line of Stanza IV., which may, however, *possibly* be—

'Ane fair May for her fere-foster.'

I think the third line of Stanza XXIII. means, probably, that they have *free mariners* to sail their ships, *i.e.*, the 'mariners so free,' etc. I heard of a few other verses, or fragments, but either evidently modern additions, or else with little or no meaning.

"However old the original New Year's song may be, this version bears evidence, I think, of having been composed at the period when the first discord came between Mary, Queen of Scots, and Darnley, and possibly the end has some hint of the marriage with Bothwell. Anyhow, the King Henry can only be Darnley, I suppose. Of course, there is evidently a play on the idea of Queen Mary and the *Virgin Mary*, as the phrase 'before our Lady' shows.

YULE SONG.

Taken down at Longhope, in 1893, from William Corrigall, of Stonequay, North Walls.

I.

This is our gude New Year's even's night, ['gude' is sometimes omitted]
We're a' Queen Mary's men
And we come here to crave our right
And that's before our lady;
And that's for every blithe bird's sake
That ever was born of Mary!

"The first verse is given in full. In later verses, the second, fourth, fifth, and sixth lines being repeated in *each stanza*, only the fresh lines (first and third) are given.

II.

We're a' been at King Henry's house,
He's neither home nor yet his spouse.

III.

King Henry's to [*or*, He has to] the green wood gone [*or* gane]
I'm sure he has not gone him lone [*or*, has no gane him lane].

IV.

At home he has a fair daughter
And fair may fa' her fair foster [*or*, fosterer, *or*, fere-foster].

V.

She wears upon her bonnie head
The towers of gold and ribbons red.

VI.

She wears about her bonnie neck [*spoken*, nake]
The lammer beads they are so neat [*spoken*, nate].

VII.

She wears upon her bonnie breast-bone
The lacer [lace] that laces many a one.

VIII.

She wears about her bonnie middle [*or*, jimp middle]
The bonnie silken 'girtlet' girdle.

IX.

She wears upon her legs so *luck* [see intensitive form 'slack,' in old senses]
The silken stockings they are so black.

X.

She wears upon her bonnie feet
The high-heeled shoon [*or*, Morocco slippers *or* leather shoen] they are so sneet [*or*, neat].

* * * * *

" Evidently something missing here.

XI.

Gudeman rise up and be na sweer
And handsel [*or*, to handsel] us on this New Year.

XII.

Gudeman gang tae yer ale-barrél
And hand us here o' that a scale [*or*, skail].

XIII.

And if yer scales they be but sma'
Never hain but gie us twa.

XIV.

Gudeman gang tae your leaking vat
And hand us here a chunk o' that [*or*, pink o' that].

"There is some acting while singing this and next seven or eight stanzas.

XV.

Gudewife rise up and be na sweer,
And [To] handsel us on this New Year.

XVI.

Gudewife gang tae yer kebbuck creel,
[And] wale yer kebbucks and wale them weel.
[*or*, And see ye wale your kebbucks weel.]

XVII.

And if your kebbucks be but sma',
Never [ye] hain but gie us twa.

XVIII.

[Oh!] cut them roun' and cut them soun',
Tak care ye dinna cut yer thoom.
[*or*, See that ye dinna cut your thomb.]

"I suspect this a recent addition. This is only sung if slices of cheese are offered instead of a whole one.

XIX.

See here we've gotten a carriage horse,
The Muckle Deil light on his corse.

"The 'carriage horse' is here pushed round and shown off.

XX.

For he wad eaten far more meat
Than *me an'* my men can gather and get.
[*or*, For he would eat more bread and meat
Than I and my men can gather and get.]

XXI.

And he wad drucken far more drink
Than me and my men can carry and swink.
[*or*, And he would drink and stow more drink
Than I and my men can carry and swink.]

XXII.

We have a wedding for to mak'
And we have neither meal nor maut.

XXIII.

We've twa gude stacks abune the biel' [*or*, hill *or* stye]
The one for maut and t'other for meal.
[*or*, One for malt and the other for meal.]

XXIV.

We have ships sailing on the sea,
And mariners to set them free.
[*or*, 'to sail them—free': *i.e.*, 'sailors free.']

XXV.

We have owsen of our ain kye
Plenty to sell and nane to buy.

XXVI.

We've twa gude gaults into the stye,
And many a gude ane rinning thereby.
[*or*, And many a gude gryce runs thereby,
or, And mony a gude hen runs thereby.]

XXVII.

The lassie wi' the yellow hair
If we get her we'll seek nae mair.

"A rather free stanza sometimes comes in here, and there are a few other foolish or senseless variations.

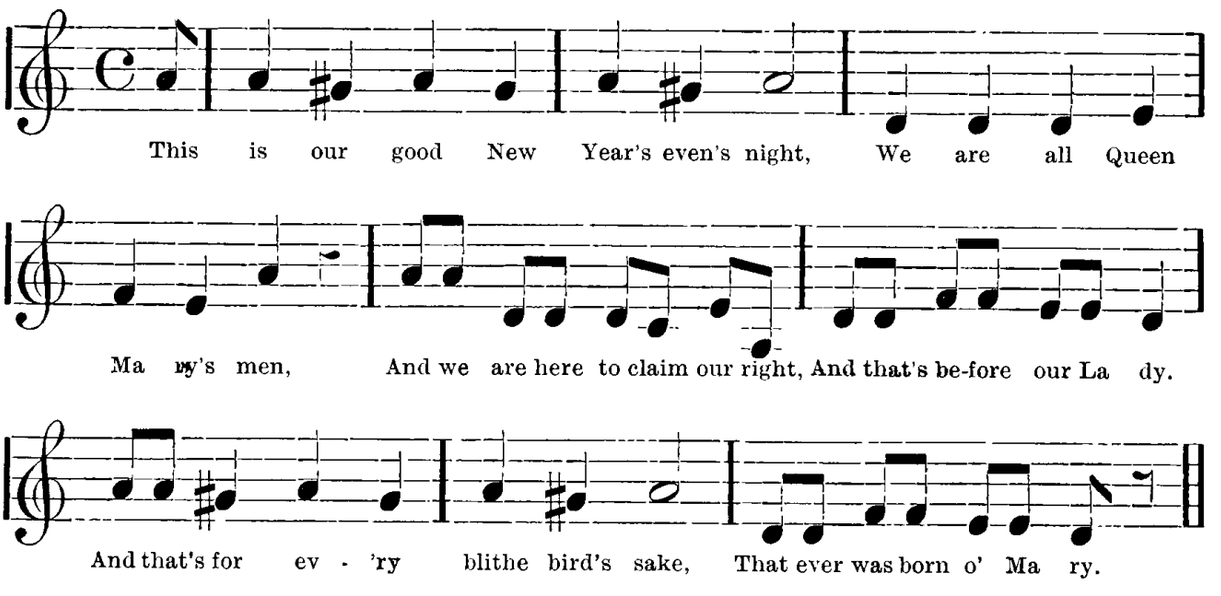
XXVIII.

The lassie she has apples three,
[*or*, Our Lady she has apples three]
Ane to smell and ane to pree,
The third ane garred her dicht her e'e,
And that's before our Lady.

"A few words have been struck out which were evidently redundant, and one or two have been transposed for sake of the rhyme, evidently having fallen out of place accidentally. There is clearly a blank after Stanza X., and probably again after XXVI., nor does the end seem well finished. The reciter disclaimed knowing any more, and I did not press him at the time, as I understood some

verses occasionally sung were said to be somewhat azure hued. 'Scale,' in Stanza XII., etc., means *measure*. I do not pick up the meaning of the 'blythe bird,' and there is evidently something corrupt at 'fair foster,' etc.

"The music, so far as it can be got on the piano, is as follows: there are some curious notes in third and fourth bars which cannot be played on the piano—



The District Secretary for Somerset (the Rev. Charles W. Whistler) writes on

"Odinic Traces in Somerset.

"To find traces of the early beliefs of our forefathers one usually looks to the names of places—of field and farm and stream. And in the more lately heathen Danelagh such traces are fairly numerous. For some reason, however, the worship of the Asir has not left its mark so plainly on Saxon England, either because the old names were swept away with the conversion of the country, or because, whether from aversion to naming the god in any way not directly connected with worship, or because the name of clan, or family, or owner, was preferred as more definite, the Saxon custom of nomenclature differed from that of the North. It is hard, therefore, to identify the place where in Saxon days a sanctuary of the Asir stood. The name has gone, and the timber-built temple has left no trace. But there is yet one source from which we may

find help in at least a tentative identification, and that is in the beliefs and traditional tales of the country-side. Where a set of stories of an unusual sort cluster around some particular spot we may be sure that there has been some definite reason for the form they take, though it may not always be evident what that reason is.

"It may be said at once that the thing that is never forgotten in a district is a *terror*. Whether it has been of war, or of a tyrant, or of some deeper spiritual type, the terror stamps itself on the legends of the people and colours them all. Often the latest terror will absorb into its own story the legends of the older days, as the civil wars of the seventeenth century have credited to them the remembrance of many earlier battles, and as the great Protector is said to have been the builder of many a Roman camp. But in the case of a legend that involves a superstition, there is not much difficulty, as a rule, in assigning it to the right source. The details of war are easily transferred from age to age, but the beliefs of the different races who have made our nation have each their own features, differing as widely as their votaries, though their influence is drawn together at last in the final victory of Christianity. Yet one can trace the remains of the past beliefs in many ways as colouring the thoughts of our people, and in nothing more than in the matter of the one terror of our faith—the fear of the spiritual enemy, the Power of Evil. The fear of the old gods has been, not replaced by, but transmuted into the fear of Satan.

"If, therefore, there are 'diabolic' legends lingering around some district or spot, it becomes of the utmost interest to investigate their special forms, for it may be taken as certain that in or near that place there has been a sanctuary of the old gods, and that these legends refer to them for their origin. And this is natural, for to the early converts from heathenism the sway of the pagan deities represented the power of evil from which they had escaped, and to their minds Satan was to a certain extent

typified in the likeness and with the ways of them, as they had been wont to fear them.

"Here we meet, however, with a curious influence in the formation of the type of likeness given to the power feared, and this influence has been so strong that it has swept away, or absorbed, every type that might have given some clue to the earliest worships of all, and has narrowed the field of enquiry considerably.

"When the first Christian missionaries reached us from the Continent, they came with an already-formed 'idealised' representation of Satan, foreign to our forefathers indeed, but arrived at in other pagan lands in a way which made its own acceptance easy. The cognate worships of Greece and Rome had furnished a likeness well known to the first humble converts of the Eastern empire—Pan and his attendant fauns and satyrs, whose worship was the main cult of the country-side. And that was the likeness brought over here to our British forerunners, and it was hardly new to them, for the ways of Rome were paramount, and it was the Roman plan to identify the gods of the conquered country with those of their own beliefs that seemed most akin to them.

"One may take the well-known case of the British 'Sulis' of Bath, identified, of course, with Apollo, the 'Divus Solis,' as an example; but it would seem likely that very early in the history of the conquest this policy of the Romans made their worship familiar, and, therefore, that to the British the typification in the 'Pan' form was natural enough.

"In later days this form was perpetuated in the only graphic art the people knew, that of the monastic limners; and so the conventional representation of Satan has gained its full hold upon our legends, from the lingering and half-whispered stories of the country-side to the 'legends' made to-day in imitation of them.

"Into the midst of Christian Britain came with the Saxons the cult of the awful tenants of Asgard, and again the work of conversion taught the people to look

on the darkness of the old faith as the work of the Power of Evil. But now the idealisation of that power was so firmly fixed that it passed with the new teaching into the minds of the Northern hearers; and, therefore, for us to find a definite departure in legend from the received type is most unusual. The 'cloven hoof' is universally the token by which the feared visitant is recognised.

"When we do find, therefore, a marked type of 'diabolic' legend in which the details of the 'appearance' vary from this general form, there must be a strong local reason for the variant. And if the legends centre round some spot which still has an evil reputation for uncanny sights and sounds after daylight has gone, the inference that we have localised a seat of some ancient stronghold of the pagan worships becomes very strong.

"That such a reputation should linger round Stonehenge or Abury, round the last resting-place of a hero, or about a nameless cromlech, is only what one would expect; but, as I have said, the Odinic *Vé* has left no visible trace of its existence: even the Northern 'bauta-stein' being probably older in use than Odinism. Certainly we could not identify such an altar here as having even possibly belonged to the pagan Saxon worship. But 'monumentum ære perennius' is the fear of the Asir, for if Satan is powerful, and the Asir owe their might to him, then the Asir, as Satan, are yet powerful, and round their deserted shrine they may be expected to rage with anger to be feared. And thus Redwald of East Anglia will have an altar to the Asir, even in the new church that he has built, for fear of the old power and its wrath; giving, no doubt, expression to the thought of many a man of those days.

"Perhaps an apology is needed for so much already familiar argument, but to attempt to locate an Odinic *Vé* in Alfred's Somerset is rather a bold venture, the old Northern faiths having had here no such revival as came with the Danes to the north and east of England, and one must give the reasons which have led to the conclusion plainly.

"We have here, in the district between the river Parrett and the Quantock Hills, such a spot, round which hang such fears and such legends as I have described. These legends are, as it seems to me, distinctly Odinic, and as they occur in the centre of a district which is largely Celtic, both in nomenclature and population, this is the more remarkable. Without some strong reason to have impressed the opposite, we should have expected a Celtic type of legend, or at least the recognised conventional form of idealisation of the terror that comes of spiritual evil.

"About three miles from Bridgwater, and seawards, is an isolated hill, now known as Cannington 'Park,' some 200 feet in height above the level of the river, from which it is about half a mile distant. The formation is an outcrop of the mountain limestone in the midst of the Quantock red sandstones, and in itself is a geological problem, the limestone belonging to the Mendip range across the river. Strangely enough, the legends of the place deal with this problem, to begin with, and solve it in their own way.

"Due east, across the level marshes, one sees the deep gash in the Mendips which is Cheddar gorge. This the Devil cut one night, and proceeded to carry the excavated material westward, over the Parrett, in a basket on his shoulders. He stumbled at the landing of his leap across the water, and his burden was shot from his back to where it lies now. There are marks in the weathered limestone rocks at the hill foot which are fully believed to be the imprints of that alighting—one resembling the mark of a gigantic hoof, and the other that of a correspondingly large foot. These marks are very deep, and (is this a trace of the star-studded darkness that shrouds Odin ?) if the dark depths of the prints are stirred with a stick, they are said to shine all over with little blue specks like stars in the sky. Here, at least, is a legend that seems to indicate that from the first the hill has been looked upon as having been set apart by special supernatural agency, and the very strangeness of the white

'roof-sided' and rounded eminence, rising from among the deep red breadths of ploughed land at its foot, is enough to strike anyone. But beyond this there are other points which may be worth noting in claiming the hill as a possible site of the bygone worships—the view from the top is remarkable, extending from the Mendips to the Quantocks, and from the Hamdon hills to the mountains of Wales across the Channel. And it is a view which would seem to include points which have been apparently postulated by those who ordered the site of some earliest shrines.

"Eastward are three bold hill peaks pre-eminent—Crook's Peak on the Mendips, Brent Knoll, and Brean Down. Westward are the three peaks of the Quantocks—Will's Neck, Dowsborough, and Longstone Hill, each over 1,000 feet in height. Eastward, again, are three rivers whose course is visible, and in the older days must have been always as plainly seen as now when the winter floods have released them from their barriers—the Parrett, the Brue, and the Axe. Round the hill, too, are three running waters, the Parrett and two tributary streams, once more imposing than now. And again, east and west of the great hill itself are lesser peaked outcrops of the limestone, making the place itself threefold and mystic in its very outlines.

"One would say that here in all the country-side was the one place for a shrine of any faith that has been here in the dim past, and if once a place has been held sacred, then always. If to the dark gods of forgotten days, then also to the Asir who took their place the hill will belong, and its terrors will never be forgotten. Only two years ago, a villager needed a 'wych elm,' of which to make a 'shrew tree,' whose twigs would surely cure his child of paralysis. The tree grows anywhere in the hedgerows, but one on the old hill was chosen.

"What these older beliefs may have been one will never know. What one does learn is, that Odin and Thor and Frey are not altogether forgotten in the shadow of their

ancient sanctuary. There is no trace of Niörd, for in the ways of the beneficent god there was naught to fear, and in his cult there was no such salient point to be remembered as in that of Frey.

"Over the great hill the 'wild hunt' still goes, passing westward along the line of the still marked British trackway to the Quantocks, and there are men yet alive who are believed to have seen the riders and heard the cry of 'the devil's hounds.' This, of course, is not unusual in any hill-country, but here we have the description of the fearsome rider, and here the rider is *one*, there has been no addition of the souls of the wicked to his terrible company.

"I have not yet met with a man who has seen the hunt; but 'not so long ago' one dared to cross the hill-side footpath towards midnight, and heard the hounds running fast towards the gateway through which he was about to go. Why 'the Squire' should be out at that time puzzled him, but he would open the gate to save a check in the run. And the hounds were not the familiar pied pack of the Squire, but terrible great black dogs, with fiery red tongues lolling out. Nor was the rider the Squire, but a tall man on a great horse, and that horse had no head!

"Once again, but this was long ago, a man met the hunt, or rather it passed in the air over him. The rider stayed to speak to him, to his terror, for he saw that the huntsman was the devil, and that he rode a great sow.

"'Good fellow, now tell me, how ambles my sow?'

"'Eh, by the Lord! her ambles well now!' the man answered.

"But the pious emphatic was not to be stood by the fiend, and he vanished in a flash of fire.

"'Not long ago,' again, and here names were given me, a terrible old woman, with a witch's reputation, lay dying near the hill, and the fiend was seen riding towards the cottage, doubtless to fetch her. He was a tall man on a black horse, but he had no head.

"Surely these three legends point to remembrance of the old Odinic days. Here is the horse, headless from his sacrifice to Thor at the *Vé*. That old horse-sacrifice was the cause of many a trouble here in the old days, as it was to Olaf Tryggvasson in the far North, and the terrors of the war-god have lasted.

"Frey's boar, Gullinbursti of the North (or is it Sahrimnir of the feasts in Asgard), has been changed into the 'sow,' for the sake of the rhyme of the old metrical story as it was told me, but is unmistakable.

"And the dread triad is completed by the horseman of the last-given legend, for the hooded Odin himself seems to ride headless, while for how long is hardly to be said the witchcraft of Saxon England preserved in its formulæ the invocations of the Asir as their basis, and the witch was held as a votary of Odin, who, as Satan, would claim her in the end.

"We may add, perhaps, a remembrance of Wieland to these more definite presentments, in the tale of the local smith who worked at the four cross-roads on the line of the ancient track, and shod the black horse of the devil, who called him up at midnight. The place of a forge is almost as permanent as that of a mill, and the smithy is there at Keenthorn yet, while the crossing itself has an ill reputation as a habitation of witchcraft in general. It is not more than a mile from the hill, and the trackway was certainly connected with it.

"Of course, Cannington Park has been fortified, for its position at the place where the track crossed the Parrett from west to east, and at the first available landing-place in the tidal river, makes it an important post. Partly by means of unusually massive earthworks, and partly by dry stone walls of a date that may be coeval with those of Worlebury, which are plainly visible from them, the hill has been made practically impregnable. It answers in description exactly to the 'Kynwich Castle' of the great defeat of the Danes under Hubba in Alfred's time, and is probably the spot itself.

"But this is beside the present question, though there is a sort of Nemesis involved in the death of the slayer of the martyr, Eadmund of East Anglia, under the shadow of the desecrated *Vé* of the Asir.

"Is it fanciful to identify the summit of the Rodway hill, that stands over against the old place of the devil's haunt, as the spot where in full sight of the *Vé* the first Rood was reared, as the sign of might and victory over the passing darkness? Hardly, for the people must have needed the plain reminder of protection as they hurried along the road past the hill foot, and when the shadows deepened round the haunted place.

"It is strange, again, that only on Cannington Park do the trees of Thor, the ashes, grow in any number in this district. The hill is full of them, while elsewhere they must be sought for. It may be only a matter of geologic formation, but where an ash tree has once been we may expect to find its progeny ever after, and these of to-day may trace their pedigree back to the grove that was round the timber-built *Vé* itself, before the axe of some forgotten Coifi of the west let the light into the sacred place that was to be shunned hereafter as accursed."

THE NORSEMEN IN THE HEBRIDES.

By MISS A. GOODRICH-FREER.

About 787 we first hear of Norse rovers on the English coasts. They seem to have had a special liking for the monasteries so often established on islands, probably not only as most likely to possess wealth, but also as easily accessible to men whose natural element seems to have been the water. Thus in 793 they attacked Lindisfarne, in 795 Lambey Isle (the nucleus of their later kingdom of Dublin, 852 to 1014), and in 802 Iona.

The first record of their settlement in the Hebrides dates it as about 870, but it was possibly, as a matter of fact, earlier. Its history is familiar to us all. It was "in the days," says the Saga,[1] "when King Harald Hair-fair came to the rule of Norway. Because of that unpeace, many noblemen fled from their lands out of Norway, some east over the Keel, some West-over-the-sea. Some there were withal who in winter kept themselves in the South Isles or the Orkneys, but in summer harried in Norway and wrought much scath in the kingdom of Harald the king. . . . Then the king took such rede that he caused to be dight an army for West-over-the-sea, and said that Ketil Flatneb should be captain of that host." In the "Heimskringla"[2] we are told that "Harald Hair-fair sailed south to the Orkneys and cleared them utterly of Vikings . . . thereafter he fared right away to the South Isles and harried there, and slew many Vikings

[1] "The Story of the Ere Dwellers," chap. i.

[2] "Heimskringla," chap. xxii.

who were captains of bands there." The chronology of the Saga stories is, according to some, ante-dated, but the story itself is believed to be substantially trustworthy, and we may take it that about 888 the Isles were added to the Crown of Norway.

Ketil's daughter married Olave of Dublin, which seems to have formed a link between the kingdom of Dublin and the South Isles. After Ketil's time "his son Biörn came West-over-the-sea, but would not abide there, for he saw they had another troth, and nowise manly it seemed to him that they had cast off the faith that their kin had held, and he had no heart to dwell therein, and would not take up his abode there." However, he remained two winters in the South Isles before "he dight him to fare to Iceland." There was a good deal of gentlemanly feeling among these Norsemen; something, one fancies, of the qualities which linger still in the Highlands and Islands. One would even now wonder if any there should do what was "nowise manly."

According to the Sagas, the race of Ketil became extinct about 900. There are intervals during which the story of the Isles is obscure, but there seems no doubt that they remained under Scandinavian influence for 470 years at least. Now and then we get a glimpse at their history. First we find them incorporated with the kingdom of Dublin, next as part of that kingdom of Sodor and Man the title of which still survives as that of an English bishopric. Towards the end of the tenth century they came under the rule of the Earls of Orkney and Caithness —Sigurd and his son, the powerful Thorfinn, said in the Sagas to be possessed of nine earldoms in Scotland, whose history is sometimes confused with that of his contemporary, Macbeth. Again they were ruled over by the kings of Man, but were reconquered by Norway in the person of Magnus Barefoot, still a hero of Hebridean romance, the Manus of the Fingalian stories. His conquests are enumerated by the Skald, Biörn Krephende:—

"In Lewis Isle, with fearful blaze,
The house-destroying fire plays;
To hills and rocks the people fly,
Fearing all shelter but the sky.
In Uist the king deep crimson made
The lightning of his glancing blade;
The peasant lost his land and life
Who dared to bide the Norseman's strife.
The hungry battle-birds were filled
In Skye with blood of foeman killed,
And wolves on Tyree's lonely shore
Dyed red their hairy jaws in gore.
The men of Mull were tired of flight,
The Scottish foeman would not fight,
And many an island girl's wail
Was heard as through the isles we sail."

In 1093 he placed his son Sigurd on the Island throne, but there was not peace for long. Another revolution brought the Islands again under a branch of the Manx dynasty, and they fell upon evil days. One Olave the Red, who contrived to keep his rule over them for forty years, was the grandfather of the princess who married Somerled of Argyll, through whom, in 1156, the Islands passed to the lords of the mainland.

The Norse period of Scottish history ended finally about a century later. King Hakon made a brave effort to recover possession, but was routed in the battle of Largs in 1261, partly in storm, partly in fight. His son Magnus formally surrendered the Hebrides to Scotland at the treaty of Perth for 4,000 marks and 100 marks yearly as feu duty. A tradition survives[1] that when King Magnus came home from his Viking cruise to the Western countries, he and many of his people brought with them a great deal of the habits and fashion of clothing of those western parts. They went about on the streets with bare legs and had short kirtles and overcloaks, and therefore his men called him Magnus Barefoot or Bareleg—a story which would date back the use of the fillibeg and plaid at least to 1099.

What remains to us of these 470 years of influence in

[1] "Magnus Barefoot's Saga," chap. xviii.

islands where life moves very slowly, where people cling to the traditions of their fathers, where so little is there of complexity, mental or physical, that one may yet study, as perhaps in few other places in Europe, something of the childhood of the world, where so far are they removed from *fin de siècle* progress that to cast off the faith that their kin have held is yet accounted "in nowise manly"?

In topographical nomenclature the evidence of Norse occupation is abundant, and, thanks to recent philological enquiry, obvious and conclusive. In certain remains of grave-goods the archæological testimony is also clear and especially interesting; but one looks almost in vain in two special directions in which, in most countries, is found indisputably written the history of the race. The Norse period has left us nothing in the way of architecture, and nothing certain of physiognomy.

In wandering, as I have done, through many pleasant summers from island to island, I have pleased myself by fancying that I could distinguish certain definite racial types—the intelligent countenance of the Tiree men, most active-brained, clear-headed of Islanders; the dark-skinned, lighter-limbed fishermen of Barra; the bigger, slower, duller-witted, perhaps because worse fed, native of South Uist; the almost Jewish-looking, well-featured men of Harris, with dark eyes and coarse hair; the big, fair Skye man, most suspicious of the stranger, because he best knows their possibilities, living as he does in the show island of the west coast. Dark Pict, fair Scandinavian, canny, freckled, light-eyed Dalriad Scot—but such divisions are probably wholly arbitrary, and one is right only by accident or chance coincidence. It seems likely that but a small proportion of those who came to the Hebrides settled there permanently. The Islands were a refuge, a starting-point, a place to winter in,[1] and

[1] Tiree and Coll are delightful places to winter in; there is little frost, and the snow does not remain. The Long Island, however, is a less attractive winter resort. Like Tiree, treeless, it is, as further from the mainland, even more shelterless, and consists of low barren rocks intersected with lakes, and is the sport of howling winds and a treacherous sea.

it seems likely that a large proportion of the present population are the descendants of fugitives or adventurers from the mainland, and only remotely of Scandinavian descent. That they are of different material from the race we now call Scots seems obvious, however, if one may take mental characteristics as any criterion.[1]

Architectural Remains.

The fact of the entire absence of any architectural remains of a powerful race which occupied a small district for nearly 500 years seems at first sight surprising, the more so, perhaps, that the buildings of a still earlier race are well preserved and abundant. The brochs, dunes, barps, Picts' houses, tullochs, etc., remaining, were, in fact, so admirably contrived for purposes of defence, and so easily adaptable for domestic use, that for so unsettled a population as the Norse invaders they were probably sufficient for most purposes. Captain Thomas conjectures[2] that "while the common people adopted the dwellings of the expelled Scots, their chiefs—those who could command the labour of others—raised houses, like their ships, of wood. The ancient Norsemen were cer-

[1] A writer on Cornish folklore seems to consider that the race distinction is fully sustained in Cornwall:—

"The red-haired Danes [*i.e.*, Scandinavians] have continued a source of terror and a name of reproach to the present day. On the 1st of this month a Long Rock quarrel was the subject of a magisterial enquiry at the Penzance Town Hall, when it was proved that the defendant, Jeffery, had called one of the complainants, Lawrence, who has rubrick hair, 'a red-haired Dane.' In Sennen Cove, St. Just, and the western parishes generally, there has existed, time out of mind, a great antipathy to certain red-haired families, who were said to be descendants of the Danes, and whose ancestors were supposed, centuries before, to have landed in Whitsand Bay, and set fire to and pillaged the villages. Indeed, this dislike to the Rufus-headed people was carried so far that few families would allow any member to marry them, so that the unfortunate race had the less chance of seeing their children lose the objectionable tinge of hair."—Bottrell, "Traditions of West Cornwall," 1870, p. 148.

[2] *Proceedings, Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, "On Primitive Dwellings," vol. xi.

tainly neither masons nor bricklayers, though they may have been good carpenters."

The conjecture would be more tenable if Captain Thomas would tell us where the wood came from. There is a wild legend that there were once some trees on Tiree, but even tradition refuses so improbable an assertion as to Uist. South Uist, by the way, has possessed a tree within the memory of man, now reduced to the likeness of a telegraph pole. The distinguished theologian known as "the Ideal Ward" was nearer the mark when, in some early effort at a prize poem, he wrote:—

> "There are some islands in the northern seas—
> At least I'm told so—called the Hebrides.
> The islanders have very little wood;
> Therefore they can't build ships; they wish they could."

By whomsoever or for what purpose they were used, there is, according to the best authorities, no doubt as to the adaptation to some later use of these primitive dwellings. It would be superfluous to insist upon the evidence for their antiquity. The fact is acknowledged among archæologists, and the dwellings themselves must be very familiar objects to many here. Captain Thomas counts about 2,000 of them in Orkney—he includes, I imagine, the older "Picts' houses," or chambered mounds, as well as the brochs, or round towers, with their treasure of querns and combs and the like, proclaiming their later date.

One never hears the term "Picts' houses" in the Hebrides. Indeed, in the Hebrides tradition is silent about the Picts, but numerous specimens of the buildings are to be found, a specially fine example remaining near Husinish in South Uist, though in his enumeration, Dr. Anderson, I observe, in his Rhind Lecture, omits Uist and Barra altogether. He assigns 69 to the Hebrides, 28 being found in Lewis, 10 in Harris, 30 in Skye, and one in Raasay. I feel sure the list might be largely increased. He appears to group together all the primitive dwellings known as duns, tullochs, Picts' houses, brochs, without regard to any differences locally associated with this term

or that, and would therefore probably include the numerous stone duns, if duns they be, so common upon the islets in the inland lakes of Uist. At Kilpheder is one covering nearly half an acre. As the word "brŏg" is of Norse origin, one may conclude that the brochs were familiar objects at the time of the Norse occupation, as the term forms a part of many place-names, as Dalibrog in South Uist, Borgh in Barra, Castral Bhuirgh in Benbecula.

The history of the broch divides itself naturally into three chapters. That of their original use as places of shelter and defence for man and beast in times of Viking and other ravages; their secondary use, when they were turned to domestic purposes by certain additions and alterations, possibly by the Vikings themselves; and their third period, as places of sepulture, which may be almost within the memory of man. They are not found in remote glens or in mountain fastnesses, but, as a rule, on arable land, which confirms the view that they were not military forts, but shelter for the tillers of the soil. That they are absolutely Celtic in their origin, though in their secondary use adapted by the Norsemen, no one seriously doubts. "They belong," says Anderson, "to a school of architecture truly unique and of absolute individuality. Even the relics they contain constitute a group of objects differing widely from those which characterise the Scandinavian occupancy of the north-west of Scotland. No group of objects, in its general facies comparable to the group which is characteristic of the brochs, exists on the continent of Europe or anywhere out of Scotland." And yet, so all-pervading is the Norse influence, that even relics so unique as these have a Norse name and Norse associations.

All wanderers in the North know them well, both in their undisturbed condition as round grassy knolls, locally venerated as "burying-places," or as having been opened and explored, when they are collectively described as "forts." Their use as burying-places is undoubted, but comparatively modern, and possibly was an adaptation, springing from an unformulated sense of reverence for the

sacredness of the past and the unknown. I have never found anyone who had a first-hand tradition of the memory of this use, which probably ceased after the existence of consecrated churchyards, but antiquarians seem to be agreed that the human remains found have been placed there after the buildings had become mere grassy mounds.

These grassy mounds, or tullochs, are usually from 10 to 15 feet high, and about 120 yards in circumference. When opened, they disclose a circular wall of immense thickness, often from 10 to 20 feet, having but one opening, a tunnelled doorway, narrowing towards the inside, the inner court being further protected by a guard-chamber. The enclosed space is a well-like court, from 20 to 30 feet in diameter, and having often two or three chambers tunnelled in the wall. There are no fire-places or chimneys. There are galleries, more or less elaborate in structure, at the height of about 12 feet from the ground, also in the thickness of the wall. The total height, in the very good example at Dun Carloway in Lewis, is said to have been at one time 40 feet; but, as all here present are probably aware, the finest example extant is said to be at Mousa in Shetland, to which Dr. Anderson gives a height of 45 feet.[1] It would be difficult to imagine buildings better adapted for defence against such attacks as the science of that age made possible. It seems certain that in their original state they were never used for permanent residence, though the remains show that the arts of peace were cultivated there as we l as the arts of war, and include apparatus for hand-loom weaving, similar to that still in use. However, their original purpose seems to have been to provide refuge against the incursions of enemies, probably on some principle of co-operation, for in 1703, Martin, describing the remains in Skye, writes, "All these forts stand upon eminences, and are so disposed that there is not one of them which is not in view of some other."

[1] I am informed by the Editor, however, that there is no appearance of this fort having ever been covered by earth.

Literary Remains.

To ask whether there are any remains of a Scandinavian element in Gaelic literature is not quite so absurd as it sounds to those who believe Gaelic literature to be non-existent. As a matter of fact, possibly one of the earliest recorded stanzas in Icelandic literature comes from the Hebrides. In the appendix to Olaf Tryggvasson's Saga (eight chapters of doubtful origin, but certainly not later than between 1387 and 1395) we find the statement (chap. i.) :—

"There was a Christian man belonging to the Hebrides, along with Heriulf, who composed the lay called the Hafgerding Song, in which is this stave :—

'May He whose hand protects so well
The simple monk in lonely cell,
And o'er the world upholds the sky,
His own blue hall, still stand me by.'"

While speaking of literature, one's mind naturally turns to the question of folklore. It would be an interesting point to analyse the folklore of the Hebrides, much of which has been most ably collected by the Rev. Allan Macdonald, so as to ascertain how much it has in common with that of Ireland and Scandinavia respectively—that is to say, to what degree it may be considered Celtic, and to what degree Norse. Probably the truth would be found to lie largely between the two. The stories of the Fingalians are, doubtless, to a great extent, of Norse origin.[1]

Grave-Goods.

A specially interesting group of Norse remains in the Hebrides are certain grave-goods found in many of the

[1] Compare the stories of Thorfinn often confused with Macbeth—the story of his going to Rome at Easter to make confession, and of his leaving his sword upon the altar. The giants and heroes in the Sgailich are Erin or Lochlan men, never Englishmen. Compare, too, the Argonautic expedition of Manus, or the Saga story of the Three Harpers of the Red Hall in Lochlan.

Islands, and undoubtedly Scandinavian in origin, their distribution being conterminous with the range of territory conquered by the Norse. Among the most interesting and frequent are those known as "tortoise brooches," always associated with burial by cremation or otherwise, and generally found in pairs. Dr. Anderson has fully described those to be seen in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, but I have, I believe, seen others, the property of private persons. Two were found in Islay in 1788, one pair in Tiree in 1872. These, presented to the Museum by Dr. Norman Macleod, were found in a grave along with a peculiarly-shaped and massive bronze pin. There are probably other Norse graves in Tiree, but the supremely valuable archæological remains on that island have, since the death of the late parish minister, the Rev. Campbell, been grossly neglected. Moreover, I found that in Tiree, as elsewhere, the private owners of valuable antiquities were not anxious to air their treasures, on account of a tradition that anything once submitted to the inspection of authorities was somewhat difficult to recover. I regret that this tradition should have any basis, as much valuable matter goes unrecorded. Another brooch was found in Barra, another in the island of Sanday, north of Uist. The fellow to it is in the British Museum. These six from the Hebrides are included in the fourteen pairs which Dr. Anderson describes as found in all Scotland, a good proportion of the whole. Three belong to the Orkneys, one to Shetland, two to Caithness, and two to Sutherland. Brooches of the same type are said to be frequently found in Norway, and still more often in Sweden. Dr. Anderson[1] calculates that there are about a thousand extant in Scandinavia. The type seems to be exceptionally characteristic of the period to which it belongs.

The story of the Tiree brooch has an interesting detail worth quoting. Dr. Anderson, in examining this and

[1] "Scotland in Pagan Times."

comparing it with one of similar appearance from Haukadal in Sweden, found that in both a minute morsel of fabric had caught between the pin and the hook. He writes :—" So far as I can judge of its appearance under the microscope, it seems to be linen cloth, with a partial admixture of another fibre, which I take to be hemp, and I can detect no material difference between the cloth in the specimen from Norway and that from the island of Tiree on our own western coast. These, then, are actual specimens of the linen manufacture of the Viking age."

Similar brooches are found in other districts visited by the Norsemen, and never elsewhere. Livonia, Normandy, Iceland (associated with Cufic coins of the tenth century), in Ireland, associated with the characteristic swords of the Viking time, and in England, in Yorkshire and Lancashire. They are found in the graves of bodies burnt and unburnt, of men and women—with shield-bosses, swords and armour on the one hand ; with combs, needles and spindle-whorls on the other.

The swords and other fragments of armour found among the grave-goods of men are also characteristic, and of extreme evidential value. The Norseman, convinced that to be slain in battle or wounded by arms would be a passport to the halls of Odin, was careful to take with him his sword and spear, his axe and shield, and his smithy tools to sharpen them. Such remains are found in Islay, Mull, Barra, Sanday, and even in far St. Kilda. Dr. Anderson records the Viking graves in Eigg,[1] but, so far as I know, has ignored, or is not cognisant of, what are locally believed to be Norse graves, numerous in the island of Fuday in the sound of Barra, but I believe that no one, except to a certain extent Captain Thomas and Mr. Alexander Carmichael, has taken any trouble whatever to explore this by no means the least interesting district of the Hebrides. These graves are quite unlike any of purely Celtic origin. They

[1] Anderson, *Proceedings, Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, vol. x. ; *ib.*, " Scotland in Pagan Times," p. 34.

are let into the sand, are about six feet long, and the sides are built up with stones like the kilns used for the burning of kelp. They are covered with large flat stones. The Islanders call them "graves of the Lochlannaich," or Lochlin men, which is their name for the Norsemen, or sometimes the "fiantaichean," which, however, is now a generic name for a big, muscular fellow.

Martin relates,[1] "There was lately discovered a grave in the west end of the island of Ensay, in the Sound of Harris, in which were found a pair of scales made of brass, and a little hammer." This was possibly a Thor's hammer, which are used as amulets in Iceland.

The name "Thor's hammer," or "Norseman's hammer," by the way, is given by the Islanders to relics of very different proportions. The "standing stones," or upright pillars, to be found on most of the Islands (there are six in Uist and Barra alone), and which are probably commemorative, unless their origin is earlier and their signification religious, are said by the people to have been used by the giant Fiantaichean for knocking limpets off the rocks. To judge by the remains found near primitive habitations, limpets must at one time have formed an important article of diet, but my learned friend the Rev. Allan Macdonald ingeniously conjectures that these denote Gaelic rather than Norse occupation, as the abler seamen would have been independent of such humble landlubbers' food.

Personal Adornments.

Dr. Anderson speaks of the hoards of silver ornaments, such as have been found in certain of the Islands, as "one of the most characteristic features of the remains of the Viking period, whether in Scandinavia or in Britain."[2] He believes them to be the hidden plunder of

[1] Martin, "Western Isles," ed. 1716, p. 50.

[2] Anderson, "Notes on Relics of the Viking Period," *Proceedings, Scottish Antiquaries*, vol. x.

Viking rovers, silver, of course, being characteristic of the Iron Age to which they belong. Morris, in his preface to "Howard the Halt," [1] tells us that "there was carrying of wares backward and forward, and it was a kind of custom for young men of the great families to follow their fortunes and make a reputation by blended huckstering and sea-roving about the shores of the Baltic and the British seas." Interesting evidence of this is found in the fact that not only have hoards of silver ornaments been found in the Islands, notably a collection of armlets in Skye (1850), but brooches of true Celtic design have been found in considerable number in Scandinavia.

Perhaps the most curious example of this blending of Gaelic with Norse ornamentation is that on a stone found at Eoligarry in Barra, on one side of which is the ordinary elaborate Celtic chain ornamentation, and on the other an inscription in Runic characters. This stone, and, unless I am much mistaken, not a few others, is ignored by Dr. Anderson in his dictum that "only three rune carvings on stones have been found in all Scotland," [2] and these he locates in Dumfriesshire, Morayshire, and Holy Island, Arran. In the Museums of Edinburgh and Glasgow one may see specimens of personal adornments said to have been found in the Islands, but never on the mainland. They are made of hammered metal, wrought together in interlaced patterns, the ends of the metal wire being soldered together.

Topographical Remains.

Doubtless our most valuable source of local evidence as to Norse occupation of these islands is that of topography. Names which have long attached to any given district are like fossils dug out of the earth—evidence of an active life which once existed there. Unfortunately there is no

[1] Morris, Preface to "Howard the Halt," *Saga Library*.

[2] Anderson, "On Rune-inscribed Relics," *Proceedings, Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, vol. xiii.

work of any antiquity which deals with the topography of the Highlands with any sort of authority. We are dependent mainly upon charters which contain names of places, and on *retours* (or what in England would be known as *visitations*) connected with succession to property, and often containing lists of place-names with their spelling as adopted at different periods. In these we find traces not only of Norse and Gaelic, but of some original language unknown, as well as of so-called Anglo-Saxon.

It is a commonplace to say that the topographical distribution of a language is not necessarily conterminous with the spoken language. In Galloway, for example, the spoken language is Scotch and the topography Gaelic, while in the Hebrides the spoken language is Gaelic and the topography Scandinavian. Gregory is of opinion that the Scandinavian element in the Hebrides is Norse, not Danish. The names of those chiefs mentioned in King Hacon's Saga are Norse.

In the Shetlands and the Faroës the Norsemen were probably the first colonists, but in other islands topography, as well as history, gives abundant evidence of earlier inhabitants. The Scandinavian occupation of St. Kilda has been called in question, but if place-names are any criterion, one would guess it to have been frequent, if not continuous.

The Norse element in the topography of the Hebrides is almost exclusive of any other, though this has been only realised comparatively of late years. Probably we owe very much to the academical labours of Professor Mackinnon, and to the valuable researches of Macbain. Mr. Allan Macdonald tells me that only ten years ago he would have been, and often was, ridiculed for asserting a Scandinavian origin for words which no one now questions, and a published correspondence remains between Captain Thomas and so accomplished a scholar as Professor Münch, in which the former deprecates the Professor's assertion as to many Scandinavian derivations apparent

only to the Gaelic scholar. The Gaelic substitution of one consonant for another, the absence of H as an initial and yet the frequency of aspirated words, is certainly perplexing. So, too, are the combinations, till one masters the fact that in place-names the generic word comes last in Norse and first in Gaelic—compare *Dal*more (Gaelic) and Helms*dale* (Norse).

The more entire realisation of the extent of the Norse influence in place-names has, I think, somewhat altered the views of antiquarians as to the extent to which the Celtic population was extirpated. Professor Münch says the population was never wholly absorbed by the Norse settlers as in Orkney and perhaps in Shetland, and Dasent speaks of the original inhabitants as "not expelled, but kept in bondage." The more recent view, however, is, I think, that they were practically swept away, so much so that on the mainland the Islands came to be called "The Isles of the Galls," or strangers, *i.e.*, the Norsemen.

To attempt any general discussion of the influence of the Norse occupation upon the language of the Hebrides would be a task far beyond my powers. We can hardly hope to have the subject exhaustively treated until it shall have been studied, on the spot, by an able philologist, familiar with the Gaelic and the Scandinavian tongues alike. This is the more important that for philological purposes the Ordnance maps are very misleading. Moreover the subject demands a thorough apprehension of the relation of written Gaelic with its pronunciation, of the mysteries of aspirates in the absence of the one letter commonly aspirated. The classics on this subject are still, I imagine, the essays by Captain Thomas in the *Proceedings of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, from which most later ones that have fallen into my hands are largely borrowed. Mr. Alexander Macbain has given us an interesting paper on "The Norse Element in Highland Place-Names,"[1] and the Rev. Neil Mackay has dealt with "The Influence of the Norse Invasion"[2] generally. All

[1] *Transactions, Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xix. [2] *Ibid*, vol. xx.

that I venture to attempt is to indicate the direction of Norse influence on the topography of the Outer Islands in particular.

To a certain extent, he who runs may read; my own note-books are full of memoranda as to the derivation of names of persons and places, and in comparing my own bits of local gossip and local interpretation and my own uninstructed guesses with those of more serious students, I have been interested to find that the inferences are so obvious that I have been generally correct. This fact alone I take as evidence of the extent of Norse influence, for my philological knowledge, such as it is, is more likely to be correct as to Scandinavian than as to Gaelic derivation.

If ever there were a Pictish place-nomenclature it has long ago been superseded by the Norse, for, so far as I can gather from local information, almost all the Gaelic names that do exist are of modern origin, in some cases so recent that within living memory an older name of Scandinavian origin has existed, as in the case of Ben More in Uist, formerly called Keitval, the one name being as obviously Gaelic as the other is obviously foreign.

The Gaelic names are seldom applied to the more important places or geographical features. Nearly every large hill, or sea-loch, or promontory, and the chief bays and islands, have Norse names.

There are a large number of words special to Hebridean Gaelic, not known on the mainland, which it would be well worth while to enquire into, could any competent Scandinavian scholar be found to undertake the task before it is too late and the words forgotten.

The very names of the Islands are alone suggestive. Dean Munro enumerates 209, from which I select a few for examination as to their possible Norse origin.

There are eight Fladdas (Norse, *flad-ey*), *i.e.*, *flat isle;* three Berneras (*Bjorn's isle*, pronounced Beornera); three or more Scalpas (*skalpr*), *ship's isle*, compare *shallop;* four or more Pabays (*þapi, priest*), *priest's isle*, possibly Culdee

settlements. We have also Trodday (compare *Trotternish*), *pasture isle;* Ensay (*engis-ey*), *meadow isle*, said to be very fertile; Scarpay (*scarp's-ey*) *sharp* or *cliff isle;* Eriskay (*Eric's-ey*) *Eric's isle* (this inversion of consonants, Erisk for Eric's, is often found in Cornwall, another Celtic district, where we have "piskey" for "pixie," etc.); Scarba (*skarf-ey*), *cormorant isle;* Jura (*djur-ey*), *deer isle;* Soa (*so-ey*), *sheep isle;* Shellay (*sel-ey*), *seal isle;* Raasay (*raa-ey*), *roe isle*, and many others equally suggestive of their history and character.

Among words probably of Scandinavian, but decidedly not of Gaelic, origin, still found in common use in Eriskay and South Uist, Mr. Macdonald sends me the following list:—

Aoinidh, the precipitous part of a hill; *bàrsaich*, to talk nonsense; *barp*, a cairn of stones; *bodha*, deep sunken rock; *bàgh*, bay; *cuidhe* (cudde, *Dutch*), an enclosure; *cràghiadh*, a sheldrake; *crò*, a pen; *cuisle*, the branch of a stream; (?) *faothail*, a ford; *fàradh*, litter placed under cattle when ferried in a boat; *geòb* (geo, *Norse*), a partial opening as of a door or mouth; *haf* (haf, *sea*), Western Atlantic; *hawn*, haven; *luithear* (louvre, *N.*), a hole for smoke in the roof of a house; *mealbhach*, links where bent grass grows; *mealtrach*, grass roots; *mol*, pebbles; *nàbuidh* (nabo, *N.*), a neighbour; *òb* (op, *N.*), a tidal bay; *oda* (odd, *N.*), a tongue of land; *roc*, tangle-covered rock visible at low water; *rustal*, a rough kind of plough used in land which had long lain fallow (from *ristel*); *saoithean*, saithe; *scàireag*, a young gull; *sgeir*, rock visible at low water; *sgiothal*, a wretched hut; *sgrèab*, a Greenland dove; *smal*, dust; *smád*, to abuse; *sparran*, rafters; *stamh*, tangle (compare stuff); *stann* (stint, to) confine oneself to narrow limits; *staorc*, dead, stark; *stearr*, a pole to knock down wild fowl; *treisgiv*, turf-share, peat-spade; *trill*, a sand-plover; *trosg*, a cod; *ugann*, a gill (fish); *ùiridh*, a monster.[1]

[1] The following words, taken from Cleasby and Vigfusson's Icelandic-English Dictionary, show that some of the non-Gaelic words collected by

There are certain terminations which point to Norse origin in place-names :—

Hills in val, vin (ben), breck, berg, haug.
Islands in ai.
Islets in mul, lam and um.
Sea-lochs in ort, ford and art.
Bays in vagh and vik.

Mr. Macdonald are undoubtedly Norse, and suggest a possible Norse derivation for the majority. The two first depend upon whether Norse *v* and Gaelic *b* are ever interchanged :—

Bàrsaich.—Perhaps connected with *verr*, worse, and *segja*, to say:
Barp.—Perhaps from *verpa*, to cast up (a cairn or the like), or *varp*, a casting, throwing.
Bodha.—Perhaps from *bodi*, a breaker; '*boding*,' hidden rocks.
Bàgh.—Perhaps from *bugr*, bight of a creek, etc.
Cuidhe.—Perhaps from *kví*, a fold, pen, or *kvidr*, the womb.
Cràghiadh.—Perhaps from *kráka*, a crow.
Crò.—*Kró*, a small pen.
Cuisle.—Perhaps connected with *kvistr*, a twig, branch.
Faothail.—*Vadill* and *vödull* (Shetl., *vaadle;* Dan., *veile*), a shallow, or ford over fjords or straits.
Fàradh.—Perhaps connected with *för*, *farar*, journey and *fara*, to go. *Cf.*, far-skip, ferry-boat.
Geòb.—*Gjá*, chasm, rift.
Haf.—*Haf*, sea.
Hawn.—*Höfn* or *hafn*, haven.
Luithear.—*Ljóri*, louvre.
Mealbhach.—*Mel-bakki*, bank where bent-grass grows; *melr*, wild oats, bent grass; *bakki*, bank.
Mealtrach.—*Melr*, as above, and ?
Mol.—*Möl*, *malar*, pebbles, worn stones.
Nàbuidh.—*Ná-búi*, neighbour.
Òb.—*Hóp*, a tidal bay.
Oda.—*Oddi*, a tongue of land.
Roc.—Perhaps connected with *rok*, the splashing, foaming sea.
Rustal.—*Ristill*, a ploughshare.
Saoithean.—Perhaps connected with *seidr*, a kind of fish.
Scàireag.—Perhaps from *skári*, a young sea-mew.
Sgeir.—*Sker*, skerry.
Smal.—Perhaps from *smár*, small, and *mold*, earth, or *moli*, a small particle.
Sparran.—*Sperra*, spar, rafter.
Staorc.—Perhaps connected with *sterkr* or *styrkr*, stark, strong.
Trill.—Perhaps connected with *troll*, evil spirit, and *trylla*, to enchant, from the mournful cry of the plover on lonely wastes.
Ugann.—Perhaps connected with *uggi*, the fin of a fish.—A. F. MAJOR.

Isthmus in ei.

Rock-clefts in geo, klet, or cleit (a rock where the cormorants roost).

Outlets of rivers in oss.

Duns in brok.

Fields in vallar, often wall (Dingwall).

Farms in stul, garry, bost, clet, sary, ary, bol (pool).

Lakes in vat (*N.*, vatn).

Streams in a and ai (*N.*, a) ; strom (sea-stream).

Sea-rocks in skeir (*N.*, skor).

Points in nish and ness and mull.

Valleys in gil (in Yorkshire and Cumberland, where Scandinavian words linger, the same word is found as "ghyl").

In Uist there are several places with "gir" termination, probably the same word as "gil," by an interchange of the "l" and "r."

Many place-names are compounded with adjectives or with qualifying names, such as *breidha*, broad ; *smuk*, narrow ; *hà*, high ; *lai*, low ; *gaas*, a goose ; *so*, a sheep ; *calv*, a calf ; *arne*, eagle ; *hest*, horse ; *ros*, horse.

Among personal names which appear in connection with places are—Asgard, Sigurd, Trigurd, Björn, Grimm, Eric, etc.

The ordinary terms in use for land and its parts are Gaelic, but there is one word which the Rev. A. Macdonald conjectures may be of Norse origin, namely *gearra* (as in Gearravailteas, Gearrahaily). This may be the Gaelic *gearradh*, *i.e.*, a cutting or section, or the Norse *geira*, *i.e.*, a slice of land. Most probably it is the Norse *geira*, as its plural form is *geàrachan*, and not *gearraidhean*, which is the common plural for the Gaelic word *gearradh*.

I am indebted to Mr. Allan Macdonald (as well as for much else) for some notes on the topography of Eriskay, the sea-worn islet he himself inhabits. The place-names here are of special interest, because so remote, so (superficially) unattractive is this island, that there can have been but little in its history to initiate change, or occasion

those admixtures which perplex the historian and the philologist. In illustration of the misleading nature of Ordnance map nomenclature, he points out that in this one little island we have Loch Duval given for Duvat, Loch Crakuvaig for Leosavag, Hainish for Rainish, and Haisinish for Eenshnish.

The chief geographical features are as follows:—HILLS—Ben Sgriothan, hill of the landslip (skrid, to slip); Ben Stack, of obvious meaning; Ben Eenshnish, from "innse," top of the head, a neighbouring peak being called Sgumban, which has the same meaning in Gaelic. Two smaller hills are called Cnoca Breck and Haily Breck. "Cnoca," though looking like Gaelic, does not undergo the grammatical changes of the Gaelic word, and "breck" equally does not appear to be the Gaelic "breac" (speckled), as it does not decline. "Haily" is very common as a prefix in the district. In South Uist there are Haily-Bost and Haily-Stŭl. "Stŭl" is very frequent in Uist. It would be interesting if some scholar would tell us whether the word is an obsolete Scandinavian form, as the dictionaries refer one to the word "soeter," which, as equivalent to mountain pasture, we find in other districts in the termination "setter" and "shader." In South Uist it is found only in the form "stul." Boisdale, for example, is pronounced in Gaelic "Bŭhŭstul," and may possibly mean the mountain pasture of the "boi" or "bend" (compare the Gaelic name for a place on the shore of Boisdale, called "Lub-bhudhus-tail," that is, the bend of Boisdale). The fact of finding this particular form of the word in South Uist may conceivably indicate the district of Scandinavia whence came the settlers who established the topography of the island.

Among the bays of Eriskay we find "Na Haun," that is, the haven; and again, another called "Cràckavick," which may mean "crowbay," from "krage," a crow, and "vik." The name is repeated in South Uist, and it is said that the former name of Kirkwall was "Craco-viaca," apparently the same word.

We have among POINTS, Rosh-nish (horse point, from "ros" and "ness"), and Rhainish (cleft point, *rivn*, riven), which marks out a rent running right over a hill, beginning at this spot. Another Point is Rudha-na-Hùslaig; Uslaig is Gaelic for an old hag, but is probably identical with Usling, which is Danish for a wretch (or Aslakr, a personal name).

There are two long rocks jutting out into the sea, on different sides of the island, both at high water separated from the land. They are called "cleit," possibly from "cloeft," cloven. The word is now common in Gaelic for such rocks, or for cormorants' roosts, which such rocks are. The word as so used must be distinguished from three other "clets," also found in place-names. We have, for example, in Uist, the names "Smerclet," "Ormiclet," "Lianiclet," and in all these cases the derivation is, as the situation of the places makes obvious, "klit," that is, a dun, or low sand-hill. "Smerclet" is "butter down," from "smoer," butter. (We have among Gaelic place-names in the same district, "butter-hole," "cheese-rock," and "beef-skerry.") "Ormiclet" is "Orm's klit." The derivation of "Lianiclet" is less obvious, but we have the same prefix in "Lianicui" (cui, pen or fold) and "Lianimull" (holm, or small islet). It is not to be confused with another word of similar sound, "liana," a wet meadow.

The word "clet" is also applied to a piece of land, possibly from "klat" (a bit of ground). We have in Benbecula a "chleit mhòr," which means the great lot, and we have it as a termination in "Hàclet," as high lot, "Làmaclet," as lamb lot, and "Calliclet," possibly, cold lot.

"Klet" is found in its third meaning as signifying "rock" or "cliff," from "klettr," in the name "Cleiteachan," rugged inland rocks, north of Loch Boisdale.

The prefix "kil" is of very common occurrence, and its meaning and derivation is obvious where the word is associated with ecclesiastical remains, as in "Kilbarra"

and "Kilpheder," *i.e.*, the churches of St. Barra and St. Peter, but it seems probable that in certain connections the prefix may be the Norse word "kil," a creek or inlet, as in "Kilerivagh," which would mean "mud creek bay."

Another argument for the importance of the study of topography on the spot, is the differentiation between Gaelic and Norse words having the same sound, and only to be distinguished by the geographical situation of the places indicated. There is, for example, in Eriskay, a hillock called "Carn-a-chliabhain," literally, the cairn of the little creel, a name which has no obvious meaning, which would, however, be readily found, if we suppose the derivation to be from the Norse, a "cleft" or "cleaving," which would make it "the cairn of the rent or gully."

There are three common Norse prefixes of like spelling but different pronunciation. *Há* (as in "father" or "*ar*"), *ha* (as in "matter" or "*ah*"), *hà* (as in "call" or "*or*"). *Hei* and *hae* are also found, and it is often difficult to differentiate among them. *Lange* for "long" is found in such words as *Langisgeir*, long scar, and *Langanish*, long ness. There is a long sea-rock in the Sound of Eriskay called Am Bruga, and another at Kilbride called Na Brugannan, which is the plural of the other. They have the peculiarity of being cut up by little channels, through which a boat can pass at all times save low water. Can this be derived from a Norse word, meaning broken? At Kilbride in Uist there is a loch called Loch-a-Bhruga, frequently broken into by the sea, and separated from it by only a bank of shingle. Another loch of the same kind is called Loch Briste, which is Gaelic for Broken Loch.

The syllable *mol* (pebbles or shingle) occurs in several place-names, such as Mol-an-dùdain, Mol-a-tuath, Mol-a-deas, and is not to be confused with *mul*, a small islet, which, like *lum* and *um*, is a modification of holm (compare Sodhulum, sheep isle): Teistea-mul or Heiste-a-mul, horse isle; Lam-a-lum; Gierum, perhaps *geir*, auk isle; Airnemul, eagle isle, and a great number of others.

Lamruig, a landing jetty, is common here, a word possibly of Danish origin.

A loch called Drollavat may be "troll" or "goblin" loch, and Sieuravat may be Sigurd's loch or *vatn*. The name Dalibrog is probably the *borg* or *dun* of the meadow. Some of the natives call it Dun-beag, the little castle. At the time that it was a fortified place it must have been surrounded by water. The mound on which it was built remains, and is the site of a house still occupied.

The word for a ford, an extremely familiar geographical detail in these islands, is *faothail* (pronounced *fŭh-ill*), and may be related to the Norse *veile*, a ford. The name of the island of Benbecula, which lies between two fords, is pronounced in Gaelic, Binavula, and the termination again suggests the Norse *veile*, the meaning of the name being, perhaps, "between fords."[1]

In reply to a question as to proper names which may have been legacies of the Norsemen, Mr. Allan Macdonald points out that, oddly enough, the families making use of such names in South Uist are seldom natives of the island, but hail from Skye, Lewis or Harris. We find *Somerled*, *Uistein*, *Ronald*, *Ivaer*, *Tormod*, and as a feminine name, *Raonailt* (that is *Ragenhilda*.) It is said that there was a woman's name *Gill*, which seems to have died out about sixty years ago.[2]

Among surnames we have *Lamont* (law-man), *McAskill*, *i.e.*, *As Ketill son* (the kettle of the gods), *McAulay*, *i.e.*, *Olaf son*. There was a poet of North Uist called *McCodrum*, probably the Norse *Guttormr*. *McLeod* is from *Ljotr*, Earl of Orkney; *McSwain* is the Norse *Sweinn*[3]; *McCorquordale* is *Thorketel*. The name *Dougal*,

[1] Compare (possibly) *Benderloch* (between lochs) and *Eddrachyllis* (between two sounds).

[2] I know of two more recent instances of the use of *Gill* as a woman's name, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in a district in which Scandinavian remains and names of persons and places are still common.

[3] Swain, Swayne, Swein, Sweyn, etc., are names often found in the district of Yorkshire already referred to.

i.e., *dubh gail* (black stranger) was the term applied to the Danes, in contradistinction from *fionn gail* (fair stranger), given to the Norwegians.

These conjectures as to derivation are in no sense dogmatic, but are offered tentatively, in the hope of provoking criticism and discussion, and should they lead to competent treatment of Gaelic and Norse nomenclature by a Scandinavian scholar they will have served the purpose for which they are intended.

CHRONICLES OF HARDANGER.

A Sketch of Old-World Norway.

By MAJOR A. F. MOCKLER-FERRYMAN.

It would be presumption on my part to imagine that I can tell the members of the Viking Club anything that they do not already know concerning old Norse times; all I can hope to do, in this paper, is to relate to them little scraps of information about the one district of Gamle Norge that I really know anything of. For the past ten years it has been my good fortune to spend many pleasant holidays in the "Smiling Hardanger," and to form friendships with the *bönder* and peasants which, judging by the collection of cards and letters expressive of good wishes for *Jul* and *Nytaar* received last Christmas, appear to be thoroughly genuine. I do not propose giving you anything like a history of the district, and the title adopted for my humble effort is, I fear, somewhat misleading; a more appropriate one would have been "Odds and Ends of Hardanger," or something of that kind. Still, we will not quarrel with the name, and I will only ask you to listen, with what patience you can, to my rambling tale.

To say anything of the situation and geography of the Hardanger is needless; Norway nowadays is too well-known and too well-visited to necessitate a description of any particular part, so all I shall mention on the subject is that this favourite haunt of mine contains a wealth of fjord, fjeld, snowfield and glacier such as I believe is found in no other district of the like size in Scandinavia, or, for that matter, in the world. For this Club the Hardanger has an interest of its own, since its two petty kingdoms

Rogaland and Hordaland were the last that held out against Harold Haarfagr. Their chieftains, Sulki and Erik, were killed in the great sea-fight at Hafrsfjord, and the survivors of the defeated side started forthwith, in their *dragons* and *langskibs,* to augment the fleet of the Vikings across the North Sea. But many of the old tales still related by the story-tellers of the more primitive parts are of earlier times even than those of the all-conquering Harold, and, in place of the stereotyped "Once upon a time," commence with "In the days of the Petty Kings." A complete collection of these legends would be of considerable interest, as from them may be gathered a certain amount of knowledge of the quaint superstitious beliefs of the people now gradually becoming forgotten. Doubtless, similar legends and myths exist in other parts of Norway, and in other parts of Europe; I claim for Hardangeren no monopoly of such things, a study of which elsewhere, however, I have had little opportunity of making.

As to its name, Snorri Sturluson tells us that it signifies *hard land;* while other chroniclers assert that *anger* is old Norsk for *fjord,* and that *Hard* is a corruption of *Haurd* or *Hord,* still found in Nord*hord*land and Sönd*hord*land, as well as in the old *Hord*aland (King *Haurd* Gerdsson's country)—the present Hardanger parish of Kvindherred. But whether it acquired its name from the ancient king, or from the solid nature of its rocky surroundings, is of little account, though the origin of place-names is frequently of very great importance, and that of the parish just mentioned — Kvindherred, *i.e.,* "woman's land" — is certainly peculiar. In the days of the petty kings, says the legend, a feud arose between the kings of Rogaland and Hordaland—the cause a woman—and many and fierce were the fights which took place for the Norse Helen. Both kings were eventually slain, and although the lady had also died, the feud continued into another generation, when a great battle, fought at Björkevold, brought matters to an end. Every male of Hordaland

was put to the sword, the women and girls alone being spared and left in possession of the kingdom, to which henceforth was given the name by which it is now known.

While on the subject of legends, it will not be out of place to mention one or two which refer to the physical features of the Hardanger, but perhaps I had better, without entering into details of scenery, say a word about the strange formations to be found here, in case there may be some who are unacquainted with the district. First there is the *skjærgaard*, or belt of islands (thousands of which are to be found scattered along the west coast of Norway), protecting the entrance to our fjord; then comes the fjord itself, running inland for a distance, almost due east, of 150 miles or so, throwing off branches here and there, and having its waterway in places cut up by islands. On either side of the fjord rise up masses of bold rocky mountains, whose beautiful fertile valleys, stretching down to the waterside, shelter the homesteads of the farmers, while, away on their summits, lie summer pastures, with numerous tarns and streams, or vast snowfields with their attendant glaciers. In all other parts beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the fjord, is a weird bleak wilderness, strewn with countless boulders and rocks, while at the extreme end of the long waterway, and four thousand feet above it, is situated the immense uninhabited plateau known as Vidden—the waste. Such is the land, and to wander about it soon gives one an insight into the reason why its people upheld the superstitions of their forefathers up to so recent a time. What more natural than the idea that the huge caves so frequently met with were fashioned by giants, or that giants had the handling of the enormous masses of rock? How else could a people ignorant of such things as the Great Ice Age account for the topsy-turvydom of the fjelds. And what country more suitable for the abode of elves, goblins and dwarfs than the deep pine-forests and birch groves which lie scattered upon the rock-strewn uplands above the fjord.

The part that the giants and giantesses played in the

alterations of the formations of the country was great, and although they appear to have lived, as a rule, on fairly friendly terms with the people, they at times asserted their might, and, when put out, behaved in a most unmerciful manner towards the natural features of the land. For instance, the narrow fjords of Mauranger and Fiksen—arms of the main fjord—were each at one time pestered by a giant, who, because he had wooed and failed to win a daughter of men, became suddenly vicious. Now revenge was always sweet to these monsters, and their plans for paying off old scores were generally original. Thus the giant of Fiksensund allowed his lady-love to get married, but when the bridal party was returning home, he proceeded, from his mountain fastness, to pelt the couple with "giants-bolts," which are to this day found sticking in the ground, having failed to hit the mark. The Gygra of Mauranger was perhaps more vindictive, so he decided to block up the mouth of the branch fjord and thus starve out the village which contained the fair one who had refused his proffered suit. Just opposite the mouth of the Mauranger fjord lies the large island, Varaldsö, and with this the giant proposed to form a dam. To carry out his fell purpose he stood on the side of the mountain above Ænæs, whence, stretching forth his hands, he seized Varaldsö, and commenced to pull. Unfortunately, the soil of the island gave way, the giant fell backwards, making a huge depression in the hillside (even now known as the "Giant's Seat") and then rolled into the fjord, where he was drowned. This was undoubtedly a *gigantic* failure, and its only result was the formation of a new island—Silde—the handful of Varaldsö that the giant dropped in his fall.

Close to the mouth of the Fiksensund there is a huge hole in the side of the mountain, which goes by the name of Gygra-Röve; this is accounted for in various ways, though perhaps the most popular legend is that in which a giantess is said to have sat down on the spot after a long journey from the sea. This giantess apparently left the

coast in search of a home, and for some reason or other thought it advisable to bring some land with her, consequently she dug her hands into the coast and then commenced wading up the fjord. As she pursued her way, portions of her burden slipped from her grasp, accounting for the numerous islands in the fjord, while the *skjærgaard* is said to be merely those scraps of the coast that she left standing when she grabbed the land before starting. So exhausted was she on reaching the Fiksensund that she sank down on the mountain side. But this is not the end of the story, for the good lady was soon herself again, and for many years made violent love to a petty king at Botnen. Rejected, she became revengeful, and, evidently having got her idea from her Mauranger neighbour, she thought of closing up the Fiksensund by pulling the sides together. In this she succeeded so far as to contract the waterway to scarcely half a mile in width, but the task was too much for even a giantess, and she finally gave it up in disgust.

Other legends of the Giant Age there are, of course, in abundance, and the fairy tales of the country contain many variants of "Jack the Giant-killer," "Cinderella" and subjects of a similar kind. All this, however, trenches on the domains of folklore, though when discussing old times in the North it is almost impossible to separate superstitious beliefs from the ancient customs of early Christian days—so intimately connected are the two things; for the *raison d'être* of the strange customs of the people was in many instances solely the desire to propitiate supernatural agencies, the existence of which, even a century ago, was firmly believed in. Take for example the birth and baptism of an infant, the marriage ceremonies, or the funeral rites; the customs attending each were filled with superstition from beginning to end; the dread of offending the giants and various evil spirits pervading everything. Let us glance at some of these old customs—but I should perhaps say that my imagination plays no part in anything that I am relating, for I quote in all cases from authen-

ticated sources and generally from the written records of Hardanger.

The new-born Norse babe of the olden times was a thing of no small amount of consideration and care, since, from the moment that it breathed, until its baptism, it was in danger at the hands of every species of evil spirit, but more particularly those who dwelt underground, and who were continually on the look out to exchange their own offspring for human children. These changelings, as a rule, turned out idiots or were deaf and dumb, though it is quite likely that the fact of the infant having been changed at birth was not discovered until the state of its mind or other deficiency became known. Be that as it may, the strictest precautions were taken to guard against the possibility of evil befalling the infant. Before laying it in its cradle the nurse was careful to fasten the swaddling clothes in the form of a cross over its breast, and to place under the pillow a psalm-book, while a pair of scissors, a flint and steel, or something or other of steel (the metal was the great point) was laid on the chest of the babe, which was a sure preventative of evil spirits. But the safest plan of all was to get the child baptised as soon as possible, and as often as not this was done on the day of its birth, though it was attended with perils of all kinds.

It must be remembered that churches were few in number, and twenty or thirty miles or more was no uncommon distance from the farm to the nearest church, thus horses had to be employed for the journey. Now there was a particular superstition about horses, and if, by any chance, the babe were brought home by a different horse to that by which it was conveyed to the church, it was fatal, the underground spirits effecting a change at once. The same thing resulted if the infant was not carried back from the christening by the same godfather and godmother who took it to the church. There were, however, means for recovering the lost child, and the simplest was to take the changeling outside the house and whip it well, when its elf-mother, unable to bear its cries, generally returned

the stolen infant and took back her own. This had to be done on a Thursday evening, and if it failed, the parents were recommended to try the following more elaborate plan. The whole house assembled and set to work to prepare for a great funeral feast, every now and then dropping hints about the new-born child that was about to be buried. This usually appealed to the elf-mother, who imagined that her infant was going to be murdered, and so quickly effected an exchange again. The christening entertainment was usually on a large scale, relations and neighbours from far and wide being bidden, and there was an object in this, for all the guests came well provided with presents. Some brought money, silver spoons and mugs, whilst others gave more substantial gifts in the shape of houses, farms and lands.

As to the marriage customs, a wedding in the Hardanger is still a most interesting sight to see, with the crowned bride, the fiddler, and the long string of bridesmaids and groomsmen, for in spite of the modern ideas which are fast pervading Norway, the marriage ceremonies *here* remain almost untouched. The reason probably is that there are in this district no towns, and the villages are few and far apart, consequently the people (who are entirely of the farmer and peasant class) have retained much of their native simplicity. Enlightenment has, of course, driven the old superstitions away, and though the old people still cling more or less to their beliefs, the members of the younger generation carry on the old customs possibly only because they are conservative in their ideas, and are loath to abandon the habits of their forefathers. Weddings, in most countries, are occasions for extravagance—for an expenditure far beyond the means of the principals and their relations—yet they occur so seldom in a family that recklessness may perhaps be pardoned. The good people of Hardangeren are no exception to the rule, for, from early Christian times, their marriage ceremonies have been carried out in the most lavish style, open house being kept by the parents of the happy couple for days in succession.

I am speaking now of an age not very remote—not much more than a century ago—but the minds of the country-folk were even then impregnated with the beliefs in the existence of the several species of uncanny spiritual beings—giants, dwarfs, elves and the like.

The first important part of the ceremony was the brewing of the bridal ale, which required great attention, and until it was completed no invitations to the feast were sent out. No limit was placed on the number of the guests—the more the merrier—and as it was considered the correct thing to bring offerings of food as well as wedding presents, the entertainers and the bride and bridegroom got some return for their outlay. Monday was the day usually fixed for the commencement of the festivites, so that there should be a clear week before them, and each guest as he arrived at the farm was received with a salute of fire-arms, after which he was given some light refreshment in an ante-chamber by the hosts and hostesses. This went on all day, until eventually everyone had arrived, when the serious part of the entertainment began, and the various officials who had been selected for the different arduous duties of the ceremony commenced their labours. The principal of these was the master of the ceremonies, or governor of the feast, who from this moment became responsible for everything connected with the wedding. Next to him in importance came the fiddler, whose duties, as we shall see, were by no means light, while the other functionaries filled such offices as cook, cellarman, bridesmaids, waiting women, and groomsmen—each with a part to play. When everyone had arrived, the governor proceeded to allot them places at the *langbord* or table, after which he made a speech welcoming the guests, and sang a psalm. During these preliminaries the bride and bridegroom were upstairs dressing themselves in their wedding garments, the bride being carefully watched over by her waiting maids to see that she did not leave the room alone, for this was a most dangerous time, evil spirits being hidden in every corner, on the look out to carry off

the lady should she be for a moment alone. Soon came the time for supper, when with much pomp the governor proclaimed the names of the hosts and hostesses, bride and bridegroom and all the officials of the entertainment, and the bride and bridegroom entered the room under a salute of musketry and to the soft music of the fiddler. On this occasion the bride sat at one end of the table and the bridegroom at the other, the feast continuing far into the night.

On the wedding morning the guests breakfasted in bed, a light meal and strong drink (tea and coffee were unknown in those days) being brought to them by the waiting-women, under escort of the governor and the ubiquitous fiddler, whose duty throughout the marriage ceremony was to charm away the evil spirits by the low and melodious tunes (termed *huldreslaater*), which were supposed to have been originally learned from the hill fairies. In the course of the morning the guests rose and donned their best, then descended to the feast-room and took their places at the board, after which the bridal procession was formed, and the happy pair, dressed ready for the church, entered the apartment, the fiddler of course leading the way. As soon as the couple were seated, side by side, on the long bench, the governor stepped forward and demanded of the bridegroom what he proposed presenting to his bride as *morgengave* (morning gift). This was the primitive method of making the marriage settlement, and the sum usually settled on the lady was ten dollars, the guests becoming *ex officio* trustees, though there appears to have been no necessity to produce the money. The object, however, was that, in event of the husband's death, the wife should get her dower of ten dollars before the estate was administered—and ten *rigs-dalar*, we must remember, was a small fortune to the daughter of a mediæval Norse farmer.

However; the next move was to the church, and the procession formed up in the yard of the farm, where the bride and bridegroom took an affectionate farewell of their parents—who, by the way, did not accompany the party.

The distance to the church was, as I have said, often very considerable, and the journey therefore might have to be made by boat, by *carriole* and *stolkjære*, or on horseback, though, if not more than ten or twelve miles, it was usually undertaken on foot. First came the master of the ceremonies, then the bridegroom, supported by his groomsmen and male relations; next the fiddler (his bow never idle) and other groomsmen; lastly the bride, with her two bridesmaids, and a bevy of women and girls. After the somewhat lengthy service had been performed, the party adjourned to the dancing-green, generally on a mound close to the church, where high carnival was held until it was time to start for home. The return journey was not conducted with much regularity, the strong drink imbibed at the dancing-green producing a very long and erratic tail to the procession. Arrived at the farm, the newly-wedded couple were met by their parents bearing a huge bowl of ale, which had to be drained before the party entered the house, then everyone settled down to the wedding banquet —imagine the state they were in at nightfall when the ball commenced! At this the master of the ceremonies led off with the bride, after which the bride and bridegroom danced a *pas deux*, the wildest revelry being kept up until the small hours of the morning.

On the Wednesday morning the bride put on her *skaut* —the head-dress of a married woman—and accompanied by her husband, went round and called the guests, giving them light refreshment, to stave off the pangs of hunger until the big breakfast was ready. This was a very important day, and when the party had assembled, a bowl of porridge was broken and scattered about the room, implying that it was the wish of all present that neither of the couple should require bridal porridge again. Then the master of the ceremonies delivered a speech and sang a psalm, after which the bridegroom took a silver beaker of wine and pledged the health and happiness of his bride and the guests. Breakfast over, the table was laid with small glasses of brandy—one for every guest—and the

bride and bridegroom stood ready to receive the wedding presents, consisting—very sensibly—of money. Each guest approached the table, drained the wine-glass and placed his offering (or *skaalpenge*) in it. This was accompanied by neat little speeches, and the musketeer, who was stationed outside the house, fired a salute for each presentation. By the time this part of the ceremony was concluded it was already evening, and no sooner was the table cleared than it was re-laid with supper, whereat there was much drinking, then dancing and bed.

I am afraid this wedding is becoming somewhat tedious, though, having got so far, it seems a pity not to see the matter through. Well, we have come now to the Thursday—a day of considerable entertainment—ushered in, as the previous days had been, by breakfast in bed for the guests. *Fridag*, a kind of liberty-day, was the name by which it was known, for the hard and fast ceremonies were at an end, and bride and bridegroom, hosts, guests and officials of the feast, were now free to thoroughly enjoy themselves, which they accordingly did with heart and soul. The chief form of amusement appears to have been a species of wild carnival, in which the guests, disguised as niggers, gipsies, and mountain sprites, took possession of the house, and "made hay" in the parlour, the bridegroom eventually being required to pay up handsomely in drinks to the farm-hands who cleared up the mess. Towards evening the servant-maids of the guests arrived at the farm with fresh milk, and after having been regaled with supper, took part in a grand servants' ball, in which everyone joined, and which was kept going until long after midnight. The practical joking was not yet over however, for after the house was quiet, one of the servants went quietly round the rooms and gathered up all the boots and shoes of the guests, mixing them all together in a sack. On the following morning, which was the Friday, the loss of the boots and shoes was the cause of much excitement among the guests, and considerable time was spent in sorting them. Then followed a heavy breakfast, after which the guests formed

a procession and, headed by the fiddler, went round to all the neighbouring farms, at each of which they held a dance and were regaled with drink. Returning in the afternoon, they found no meal prepared for them, which was a gentle hint that the time had come for their departure; the cellarman and the cook were forcibly seized, tied up and hoisted to the beams, where they were allowed to hang, until the hosts promised them a final feast before leaving. With this concluded the wedding ceremony, each guest drinking a *skaal* to the newly married couple, and departing under a salute of musketry and the fiddler's best music.

Such was a Hardanger wedding—to our mind a long and wearisome business, yet for the inhabitants of this world-forgotten spot it must have been an event of a life-time, and a thing to be talked over by the winter fire-side for many a long day. Not less interesting perhaps to these simple folk were their funerals, for, like the weddings, they occurred but seldom, death to the North-man being, as a rule, synonymous with old age. In treating of this somewhat gruesome subject, I do not propose going further back in the history of the land than the period of the marriage customs, just narrated, though, of course, the records of Hardangeren make frequent mention of ancient grave-mounds and their contents—remains of Viking ships, weapons, runic inscriptions, and the like. The important part of the funeral was the "wake"—very similar in all respects to the Irish custom[1]—and attended with the consumption of an enormous amount of strong spirits. As the drink took possession of the mourners, their sorrow turned to merriment, ending very frequently in dancing and music, so that a casual observer would have been unable to decide whether the occasion was that of a wedding or of a funeral. The coffin took time to make, and during the interval between death and burial, it was considered necessary to keep the evil spirits away

[1] It would be interesting to ascertain how far the Irish custom is a Danish legacy.—Ed.

by holding wild orgies round the corpse. This state of affairs continued up to the actual burial, the funeral party as often as not arriving at the church almost helplessly intoxicated, and returning home afterwards to drown their grief in a nocturnal carouse. All funerals, however, were not of this class, for at the larger farms due respect was paid to the dead; candles were kept burning round the coffin, and in some cases the body was embalmed. The funeral procession was often of considerable length, consisting for the most part of men, and on arriving at the church the coffin was set down on what was called the corpse-stone—a slab of rock—outside the church door. Here it remained until the bell had tolled for a time, when it was borne within the church. The funeral party then dug the grave and the burial service was carried out.

Speaking of death brings us to a subject which is at the present day of no small account, and which is to be found chronicled in nearly every Hardanger parish—this is the Great Plague (1350), known to the Norsemen by the same name as to ourselves—the Black Death. Old Bishop Pontopiddan tells us that it was introduced into Norway by a British sailing vessel, which brought merchandise to Bergen, and that those who assisted in unloading the ship caught the disease, which spread rapidly throughout the land. The whole country was depopulated, and, if any credence is to be placed in the records of Hardanger, the effect of the fell disease was to make a clean sweep of nearly every inhabitant of the principal districts. In one part, we read that, of a considerable population, there remained only two fugitives—a boy of one family and a girl of another—who fortunately eventually fell in with each other and were married. Again, the chronicles of Eidfjord say that in that parish not a soul survived from the ravages of the *Sorte Död* (Swart Death), and moreover that it derived its name from the fact, Eidfjord being nothing more than *öd*, or deserted, fjord. This is, perhaps, somewhat far-fetched, yet we may presume that its three legends of the plague are not

without some foundation. The first relates how a man from Hallingdal, travelling across the Vidde when the plague had abated, discovered at the mountain farm of Maurset (on the borders of the fjeld above Eidfjord) a tiny girl, the sole survivor within an area of hundreds of square miles. Taking her with him, he passed into what is now a populous district, and thence to Graven, twenty or thirty miles down the fjord, where he first met human beings. Here the child was left to be adopted, and to become, in the course of time, the mother of a large family.

The second tale says that in Eidfjord two survived, one a man who lived in the lowlands and the other a girl, whose parents had owned a mountain farm, the man, of course, meeting with the girl and marrying her. It will thus be observed that there is little variety in these old plague stories, though the third legend of Eidfjord is somewhat different :—A short time before the disease appeared, a monk came to the place, and, discovering the terrible state of depravity in which the people lived, prophesied that unless they listened to his warning, a great calamity would overtake them. He was disregarded, except by two men, who seeing the sinful life of their neighbours, decided to forthwith retire from their society, and to live by themselves on the Vidde. This they did, dwelling in a hut in the wilds and subsisting on what they procured by fishing and hunting for two or three years, when returning to have a look at their old home they found not a single inhabitant living. They were then convinced that the monk's words had come true, and turning their backs on Eidfjord, they travelled across the Vidde and took up their abode with the people of Numedal. Whether the plague was in reality as great a scourge as the Hardanger chroniclers make out is perhaps open to doubt, for if we accept their accounts, there would have been but two people left in every parish, or say a total of barely a score of inhabitants. Yet we have good authority for knowing that Norway suffered terribly, losing almost two-thirds of her population.

The *Sorte Död* is one of the landmarks in Hardanger history, which is for the most part dateless and disconnected, though the parish records, which have been fairly well kept in recent centuries, supply a good deal of local information. The historical legends, of which the district possesses a goodly stock, may be divided into several distinct periods; commencing with the somewhat vague one generally described, as I have already said, as the "days of the petty kings." After this comes the missionary visit of Olaf the Saint (about 1020), then follows the plague (about 1350), then the Reformation (about 1530), from which time each parish has kept a register of births, deaths and marriages, amongst which have been preserved some interesting notes and memoranda by worthy divines, to whom I shall have occasion to refer later on. But, first, as to the Olaf period; each parish has its story of his visit, for it seems that he sailed up the Hardanger fjord with a powerful fleet, offering conversion or the sword to the pagan inhabitants, who in reality cared little which they had, as long as the result was to leave them in possession of their lands. Here, as elsewhere in Norway, he has left his name, for there are Olaf's *dals*, mountains, streams, etc., without number, but whether he himself actually christened the places is not for us to enquire.

The foundation of many an old church is ascribed to St. Olaf, though in most cases nothing but the foundation-stone now remains. In Mauranger they show the spot, close to the foot of one of the glaciers of the great Folgefond, where Olaf wrestled with the evil spirits before he was able to start the building of the church. The building material was several times collected on the spot, but was as often mysteriously removed—a story, I may remark, which is told of countless Norwegian churches, and also, by the way, of Christchurch Abbey, in Hampshire. The Mauranger incident is, however, one of *the* Legends of Norway, and under the title of "Olav den Hellige" has been immortalised in a poem of considerable length by no less a personage than Welhaven. At Eidfjord, at the

head of the Hardanger fjord, Olaf received very hostile treatment, having to fight a small naval battle before being able to land his troops. The people here, however, as elsewhere, were soon converted, a soft tongue, backed by force of arms, doing wonders on Olaf's missions to the heathen. Neither did Olaf leave the Hardanger without working miracles, and streams are still to be found whose waters, blessed by the saint, are said to this day to be remarkable for their healing properties. Such a stream is Olsbæk close to the entrance of the Hardanger fjord, where, according to the legend, Olaf went ashore in order to baptise an infant born on his ship. The story of the departure of St. Olaf from Hardanger contains a moral. Olaf's ship was called "Ormen glade," and his half-brother, Harold Haardraade, had a ship called "Oksen hin lade"; now considerable rivalry existed between the two as to the sailing powers of their respective vessels, and it was decided to race from Hardanger to Trondhjem, the Norwegian kingdom to go to the winner. Harold, says the legend, got away at once, but Olaf stayed behind for three days, preaching to the people on shore, though he eventually reached Trondhjem several hours before his brother. *Tout vient à point à qui sait attendre!*

St. Olaf has not yet been forgotten in Hardangeren, for *Olsokhelgen* (St. Olaf's Day, 29th July) is kept in all the country parts by young and old, when excursions are made up to the *sæters*, to see how the exiled milkmaids are getting on. A fiddler generally accompanies the party, and an impromptu dance is got up for the *sæterjenter*, who in their turn do not forget to provide an abundance of cream-porridge to appease the hunger of their visitors. Of feast-days, however, the most important have always been Christmas and Midsummer's Eve, the latter being the occasion for much *al fresco* revelry, which only within the last decade or so has commenced to decline. The traveller who wanders early in the summer in the more remote parts of the Hardanger may still chance to witness a *Sankthansblus*, or *Jonsokbaal* (St. John's bonfire), and

take part in its attendant entertainments, though time, in this as in all else, is fast playing havoc with the land, and in a few years St. Hans Nat will be a festival as archaic as that of St. Valentine has already become with us.

To return to the periods of Hardanger chronicles, we come next to that of the Reformation, a time not less memorable, and not less bloody in Norway than on the Continent of Europe. Each parish has its tales of long resistance, hard fighting, priest murders, and the like, for the Northmen were not easily convinced, though Lutheranism, once established, was accepted for good and all, and Lutherans the people have remained to this day. Whether to the great change is to be ascribed the enlightenment of the Hardanger folk is perhaps doubtful, but in the matter of keeping parish records the Reformation certainly seems to have done great things, for prior to that event there appear to have been no church books, unless, as some say, they were all destroyed. Now one may turn up the parish register for the past four hundred years and more, and therein discover the pedigrees of the farmers, and the value of their land at different times, while the clergy have, here and there, left behind them most interesting journals of their labours.

With regard to these worthy divines, one thing strikes us as remarkable—their belief, until comparatively recent times, in the "black art" and in various superstitions. Undoubtedly the clergy were of very considerable erudition as compared with the population of the Hardanger, yet a perusal of the works of the learned Pontopiddan, Bishop of Bergen (1759), and of the manuscripts of many a renowned Hardanger parish priest, shows that it was not only the uneducated Norsemen who were troubled by things supernatural, for their guides, philosophers and friends—their spiritual advisers—firmly believed that the Devil was capable of being suddenly let loose to work destruction, and as suddenly to be got rid of by means of the parson's "black book." Looking at the matter from a modern standpoint, it seems probable that the clergy were fully

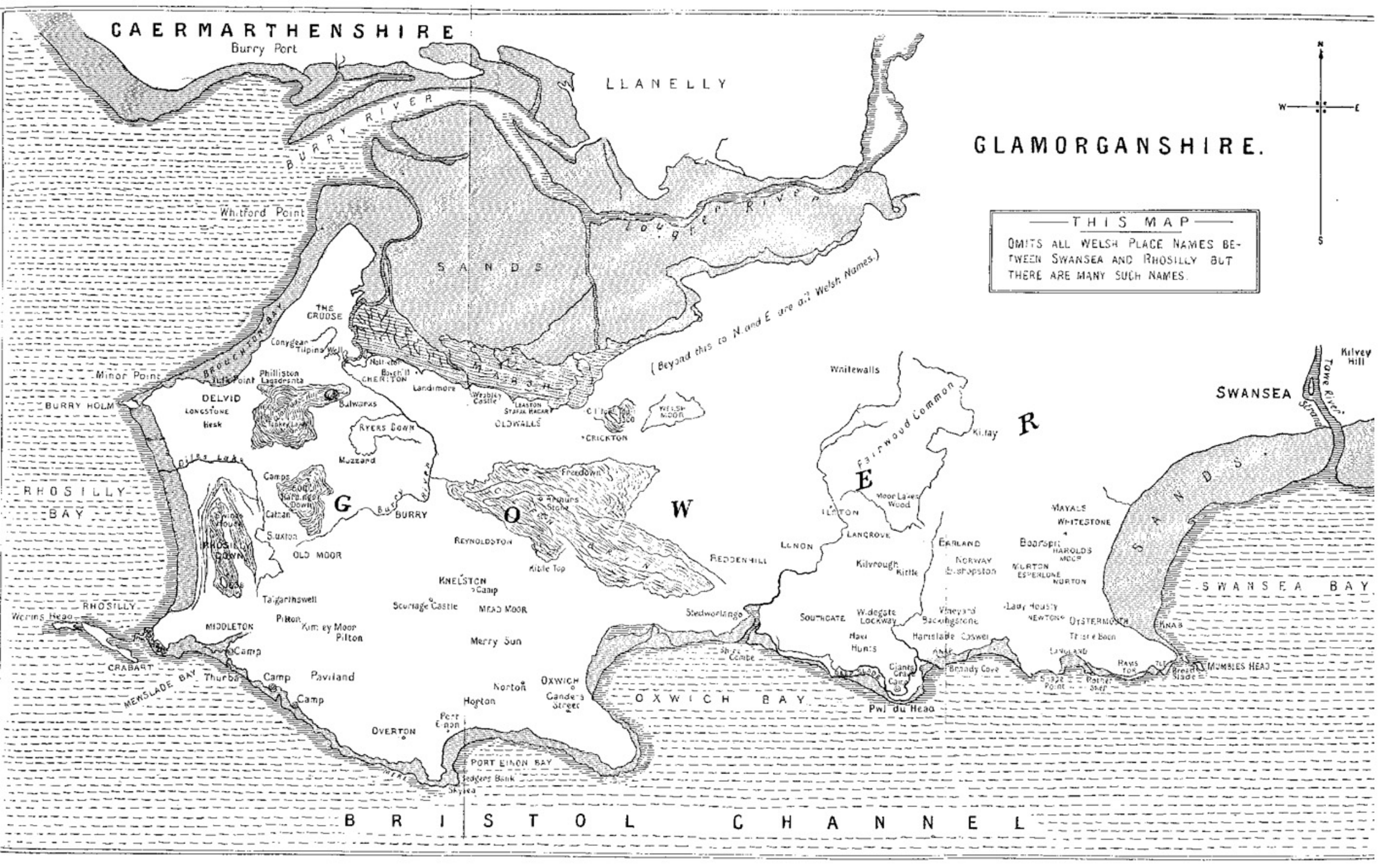
aware of the immense hold they had on their flocks by fostering and maintaining the belief in sorcery and things of an uncanny nature; still, many a Hardanger priest has left behind him writings which go to prove that he really thought that there was good foundation for the general idea that spirits, good and evil, wandered by fjord and fjeld. As an illustration I will mention a couple of stories of Christian Bolle Rördam, who had charge of the parish of Ullensvang from 1779 to 1802. Rördam, I may say, was a man who had seen a certain amount of the world, having been educated at Wittenborg, and afterwards having filled the post of Lutheran minister at St. Thomas (West Indies). He, moreover, was one of the privileged parsons who owned a "black book," by means of which he could, at will, call up or get rid of the Devil and his hosts. He possessed also the power of second sight, and the awe in which he was held by his parishioners is little to be wondered at, for not only did he know all that was going on, but at a moment's notice he could produce an evil spirit to punish offenders. The first story relates how, on one occasion, a sack was missed from Rördam's mill, whereupon the parson saddled his horse and, accompanied by a mill-hand, rode through his parish. At length he reached the door of a hut, where he pulled up and informed his servant that, just within the door, he would find the sack, and, sure enough, there it lay, and no one interfered with its removal—the only thing that seems remarkable is that anyone should have had the impudence to steal the property of such an individual. The other story refers to the laying of a ghost—and bad people when they died, as you may know, always left ghosts behind them. The ghost in question was that of a man who had hanged himself, and the cause of whose death had been concealed by his relatives, though, of course, Rördam knew all about it. Ullensvang became haunted by the spirit until, at last, three girls confessed that they had noticed marks of a rope on the neck of the corpse, and the priest was begged to use his power to rid the village of the nuisance.

Rördam accordingly gave orders that when next the ghost appeared, he was to be immediately acquainted, and, a short time afterwards, news was brought that it was in the churchyard, whereupon the parson, having hastily put on his vestments, proceeded to the spot. There he found the ghost disporting itself amongst the tombstones, but on seeing Rördam it took to flight; the priest followed from grave to grave and over the churchyard wall, when he commanded the ghost to halt. At the sound of its name the spirit stood still, when it was immediately condemned to proceed into the bowels of the earth and to remain there for ever. This is evidently the correct method of laying a ghost, for the village was troubled no more, though the manuscript says that the operation was a great tax on the strength of the layer, who returned bathed in perspiration from head to foot.

Ullensvang, for many reasons, is by far the most interesting parish of Hardangeren, and Niels Hertzberg who succeeded Christian Rördam is certainly the most remarkable of the clergy of the district, since he had charge of his parish for forty years and wrote an autobiography packed with information of all kinds. In it are to be found long descriptions of ancient customs which he saw gradually disappear, and his recollections of folklore are in themselves a valuable record. He himself, as he says, belonged to a new school, having little belief in supernatural agencies, and regarding his predecessors at the Vicarage as no better than sorcerers; whether he was instrumental in bringing about a change in the people, or whether he merely happened to live to see the change, is a matter of opinion, though it is certain that before he died (1841) he had witnessed the uplifting of the black veil that had hung for so long over the minds of the Hardanger folk. During his time the Hardanger was *discovered* by English yachtsmen, and in his private diaries are carefully entered the visits of foreigners to the fjord; thus, he records that, in 1821, there came three Englishmen, in 1825 two, in 1828 four, in 1834 two, and so forth,

whilst amongst his visitors he mentions the Marquis of Lothian, Lord Clanwilliam, and Lord — Kerr, Robert Everest, Francis Scott, Forrester, and others. Here is one of his entries:—"25th May, 1834. Arrived here in his yacht, *Mr.* John Moore, *Esquire*, his nephew, George Moore, John Cope, Baronet, and friends—all wealthy men. They rode to the Folgefond, but could not cross it, because of the state of the snow. I was invited to dine on board, being treated to five courses and four kinds of wine. At dessert Scotch whiskey (disgusting spirit), butter, bread, and English and Parmesan cheese. Spoons and forks of pure silver. Conversation in French."

With Niels Hertzberg, the most complete and trustworthy chronicler of modern Hardangeren, I will close my dissertation, though in reality, with the aid of his writings one might pen volumes; still, "enough is as good as a feast"—even of the Chronicles of Hardanger.


CAERMARTHENSHIRE
Burry Port
LLANELLY
BURRY RIVER
Whitford Point
SANDS
Loughor River
GLAMORGANSHIRE.
N
W
E
S
THIS MAP
OMITS ALL WELSH PLACE NAMES BETWEEN SWANSEA AND RHOSILLY BUT THERE ARE MANY SUCH NAMES.
(Beyond this to N. and E. are all Welsh Names.)
THE CRUDGE
Conygear
Tilpins Well
BROUGHTON BAY
Minor Point
Jeffs Point
Phillipston Lagadernta
DELVID
LONGSTONE
Beak
BURRY HOLM
Balwarras
Oldwalls
Landimore
Weobley Castle
Leason
Stafak Hagar
Cillibob Top
Welsh Moor
Crickton
Ryers Down
Muzzard
Giles Lake
Camps
Rhosilly Down
Catgan
Suxton
OLD MOOR
RHOSILLY BAY
RHOSILLY
Worms Head
Tair Carnau
Burry
Burry River
Freedown
Arthurs Stone
Bible Top
Reynoldston
KNELSTON
Camp
Scurlage Castle
MEAD MOOR
Merry Sun
REDDENHILL
Whitewalls
Fairwood Common
Kilvey
ILSTON
Moor Lakes Wood
LANGROVE
LENON
Kilvrough
Kittle
EARLAND
NORWAY
Bishopston
Boarspit
HAROLDS MOOR
MURTON
ESPERLONE
NORTON
MAYALS
WHITESTONE
SWANSEA
Kilvey Hill
Tawe River
SANDS
SWANSEA BAY
Stedworlange
SOUTHGATE
Widegate
Lockway
Hare
Hunts
Shire Combe
Harleslade
Coswel
Vineyard
Sackingstone
Lady Housty
NEWTON
OYSTERMOUTH
Thistle Boon
KNAB
Langland
Brandy Cove
Giants Grave
Caves
Rams Tor
Redpath
Shelf
Breaksides
MUMBLES HEAD
Pwl du Head
OXWICH BAY
Oxwich
Gandens Street
Norton
Horton
Port Eynon
OVERTON
PORT EINON BAY
Sedgers Bank
Skysea
MIDDLETON
Camp
Thurba
Camp
Paviland
Camp
Pilton
Kim ey Moor
Pilton
CRABART
MEWSLADE BAY
BRISTOL CHANNEL

NORSE PLACE-NAMES IN GOWER (GLAMORGANSHIRE).

By ALEXANDER G. MOFFAT.

THERE is, I believe, an Icelandic proverb to the effect that only the highest peaks are visible out of deep snow, and the snows of some 900 winters have so covered up the presence of the Norsemen in the Bristol Channel that but a few crags are left to testify to those who named them. But I hope to find something to interest you, even though my material may be scanty.

The Bristol Channel might, at first sight, seem to be an unlikely spot to look for any abiding traces of the Viking, what with wild Kelts on the one side and a strong Saxon population on the other; but it was a waterway, and that was enough for them to put in an appearance there. In fact, it was a direct highway from Ireland nearly into the heart of England, and we know that Norwegians and Danes were very much to the fore in Ireland from 800 to 1100. From the two Norse settlements, Waterford and Wexford, to the Welsh coast was only a distance of about 80 miles, which in fine weather would be but a pleasant day's run for those hardy seamen. Small wonder, then, if we find Scandinavian place-names in Pembrokeshire and Glamorganshire.

Worsaae, in his "Danes and Norwegians in England," page 7, says:—"Not even the remote and poorer districts of Wales were spared by them. . . . The connections of the Danish Vikings were, however, far from being always unfriendly. For as the Britons in Wales and Cornwall constantly nourished a lively hatred against the Anglo-

Saxon, on whose land they continued to make war, the Danes often entered into an alliance with them against their common enemies."

The name by which Wales was known to the Northmen and Danes was Bretland. "Öngulsey," or Anglesey, says "Magnus Barefoot's Saga" (chap. xi.), "is one third part of Bretland." That its coasts were well known in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and that the Scandinavians were in the habit not only of plundering but also of trading there, and of settling for longer or shorter periods, can be inferred from the following extracts from original authorities.

The first appearance of the Vikings in Wales was in 795, in Glamorgan, where they were beaten off by the King of South Wales ("Gwent Chronicle," Publications of Cambrian Archæological Association). About 865 the partly mythical Ragnar Lodbrok is said to have fought battles in Wales ("Lodbrokar Kviða"), and the trustworthy Florence of Worcester, copying contemporary annals, tells us that in 878 "the brother of Inguare and Halfdene [Ubba the Dane] came with 23 ships from Demetia [South Wales], where he had wintered."

About the beginning of the tenth century, Viking settlements had been made in Galloway, Man, Cumberland and North Lancashire; and in 900, Hingamund (Agmund), with Norsemen expelled from Dublin, landed on Anglesey, was beaten by the Welsh at Penrhos near Holyhead, and finally settled on land granted him by Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, on the shores of the Mersey ("Chron. Princes of Wales and Caradoc").

Soon they made a settlement in South Wales also. About 911 the Northmen from France, an overflow from the first settlers of Normandy, came in a great fleet to the Severn and overran Wales. This is given by most of the chroniclers as an important event: Florence puts it under 915, with details of how they took the Bishop of Llandaff prisoner, and finally retreated to Demetia, and thence to Ireland.

In 920 Leofred, a Dane, and Griffith ap Madoc, with help of an army from Ireland [then the Vikings' head-quarters], landed in Wales and took Chester, but were overcome by King Edward and his son Athelstan (Caradoc, and William of Malmesbury). Whereupon Howel Dda, Clitauc and Idwal, together with Agmund's Viking settlers, swore allegiance to Edward in 922 ("Saxon Chronicle").

Next we have further indications of something more than a passing visit. "Two brothers, Hring and Adils, ruled in Bretland; they were tributaries of King Athelstan, and withal had this right, that when they were with the king in the field, they and their force should be in the van of the battle, before the royal standard. These brothers were right good warriors, but not young men." When it was reported that Olaf (Viking king of Dublin) had victoriously invaded Northumbria, they marched out to join him, and played an important part in the great battle which ensued, but were both slain ("Egil's Saga," chaps. li.-liv.). If this battle was Brunanburg, the date would be 937. The Saga, written down over 200 years after the event, may err in certain details, but it proves a definite tradition of Viking settlement in Wales, for Hring and Adils are Scandinavian names, although an attempt has been made to identify Adils with Idwal. Hring has been supposed to be a son of Harold Gormsson, said by Irish chronicles to have fallen at Brunanburg. But this is doubtful, as he is here represented as no longer young. In any case we have this record of Scandinavian *jarls*, as they are expressly called, hailing from Wales.

In 980 the city and province of Chester was laid waste by Norwegian pirates (Florence of Worcester). In 985 Olaf Tryggvasson—the King Olaf of Longfellow's poem—landed in Wales and plundered ("Olaf Tryggvasson's Saga," chap. xxxi.), and in 987 "the pagans [Vikings] devastated Llanbadarn, Menevia, Llanilltyd," etc. ("Chron. Princes of Wales"). Olaf remained in these parts for some time, as the next extract shows.

About 980 Palnatoke, the Jomsburg Viking, went with twelve ships to Wales, and was well received by a resident Viking chief, Jarl Stefnir, who gave him his daughter Olöf to wife, with half his realm and the title of jarl. In less than a year Palnatoke tired of quiet life, and took his wife to Denmark, leaving her foster-father, Björn the Brezki (Bretlander), to keep his place, as Stefnir was growing old. When Olöf died, Palnatoke gave up his earldom to Björn, as he had lost interest in Wales now that his wife was dead. Before long he died also, and Björn went out to Jomsburg and fought in the great battle with Jarl Hakon of Norway, 994, after which he returned to Wales. There he met Olaf Tryggvasson, and told him news that turned his mind to the attempt to recover the crown ("Olaf Tryggvasson's Saga," chap. xci.). "Björn went to Bretland, and ruled there as long as he lived, and was looked upon as a most brave man" ("Jomsvikinga Saga," chap. xlvii.). About this period—the end of the tenth century—there are many independent witnesses to the Vikings in Wales.

In 993 Kari Solmundsson took Njal's sons from Iceland a sea-roving. "They harried south about Anglesey and all the southern isles." Then they went to Cantyre. "Thence they fared south to Wales and harried there. Then they held on for Man, and there they met Godred, and fought with him," etc. ("Njal's Saga," chap. lxxxviii.). This cruise was chiefly directed against Northmen of a hostile faction, and the context leads us to believe that they were attacking settlements of Northmen in Wales, as well as those which we know existed in Cantyre, Man, and the South Isles or Hebrides.

In 997 the Danes entered the mouth of the Severn and ravaged (Chron. of Florence of Worcester), and about 1000, "Jarl Einar went on cruises to Ireland, Scotland and Wales" ("Orkneyinga Saga," chap. ii.), continuing his expeditions until his death in 1015.

Next we have a most interesting picture of the Vikings in Wales from "Njal's Saga" (chaps. clvi. to end). After

the battle of Clontarf, 1014, Flosi the Icelander and his fellows "sailed into Wales and stayed there a while." Kari Solmundsson, before mentioned, had it laid on him to take vengeance on Flosi or one of his fellows for the burning of Njal, and came to the Hebrides in pursuit. There he learnt that Flosi had gone to Wales, whither he followed, and lay hid "in a creek out of the way"—the regular Viking instinct, *vik* meaning "creek," and *Viking* "man of the creek." "That morning Kol Thorsteinsson [one of the men who burnt Njal] went into the town to buy silver [*i.e.*, to barter goods for money]. Kol had talked much to a mighty dame, and he had so knocked the nail on the head that it was all but fixed that he was to have her and settle down there." But Kari came also into the town and found Kol in the act of counting out his money and cut off his head—"and his head counted 'ten' just as it spun off the body." Then Kari bade Kol's followers tell Flosi of the vengeance he had taken, and sailed away satisfied to Whithern in Galloway. Flosi buried Kol and sailed south, arriving ultimately in Rome, where he got absolution for his crime, and returned to Iceland to make peace with Kari. Thus in 1014 the Northmen were quite at home in Wales, visiting ladies, buying and selling, staying for a considerable time, and able, if they wished, to settle in the country. Such settlements must have been among their own people, for with the native Welsh they were not just then on friendly terms. In 1040 Griffith, King of Wales, was captured by the pagans of Dublin, *i.e.*, Danish Vikings ("Cambrian Annals"), and about the same time "Harold Hardrada's Saga" in the "Heimskringla" (chaps. lvi., lvii.) relates that Guttorm the Northman and King Murchadh of Ireland ravaged Wales. Shortly afterwards, Griffith—we need not here ask why or how—made common cause with these lesser foes against a greater enemy, the English. In August, 1049, Irish pirates (Vikings), with 36 ships, entered the mouth of the Severn and landed at a place called Wylesceaxan, and, in union with Griffith, King of

the South Britons, plundered the neighbourhood, etc. (Florence of Worcester). In the course of this war, 1052, the Northmen are first mentioned as settled in Hereford and fighting the Welsh. Again, in 1055, the Saxon earl Algar, being outlawed, brought eighteen Viking ships from Ireland to Wales, to help Griffith against the English; and in 1058 he was outlawed again, but, assisted by Griffith and supported by a Norwegian fleet, which came to him unexpectedly, he soon recovered his earldom by force (Florence of Worcester).

In 1098 Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, came to Wales with six ships and took the side of Griffith against Hugh, Earl of Chester, and Hugh, Earl of Montgomery, and fought a battle with them in the Menai Strait, in which the Earl of Montgomery was killed ("Orkneyinga Saga," chap. xxix.; Florence, 1098). In 1103 Magnus died. Up to that time his young namesake Magnus Erlendsson (St. Magnus) had been "with a certain bishop in Bretland," thus showing the friendly relations which now existed between Northmen and Welsh ("Orkneyinga Saga," chap. xxx.).

About 1140 Swein and Höldbodi, the former a Viking from Orkney, the latter from Man, combined to make reprisals on Höld of Bretland, who had ravaged Man and the Hebrides. They landed "in Bretland at a place called *Jarlsness* [the Earl's promontory. A place of the same name is mentioned in "Egil's Saga," chap. liii. Jonæus reads *Ines*, which would, of course, mean "the island," but *Jarlsness* rather suggests Jarl Stefnir and other Welsh-Viking jarls]. One morning they went to a certain village and met with a little resistance." It is amusing to note this delicate way of putting it. "The inhabitants fled from the village, and Swein and his men plundered everything and burned six homesteads before dinner"—a fact which was the better commemorated by a poem made on the occasion. "Höld fled to an island called Lund [*Lund-ey*, the "grove or puffin isle"], where there was a strong place. Swein besieged it for some

time, but to no purpose. In the autumn they went back to the Isle of Man." ("Orkneyinga Saga," chap. lxxii.).

With this evidence to hand, incomplete as it is, it cannot be denied that the Vikings of the tenth and eleventh centuries frequented the shores of Wales and settled there. And when a series of place-names in Pembroke and Gower strikingly analogous to the characteristic Lancashire and Cumberland place-names, which we know from Domesday Book to have been pre-Norman, are found, the conclusion is inevitable that they are the tangible evidence of Viking settlements, planted in pre-Norman times, and persisting, through the struggles of the Norman invasion, into the comparative quietude of the Middle Ages.

With regard to the above-mentioned Jarlsness, it should be observed that in "Egil's Saga" (Rev. W. C. Green's translation, page 98), which describes the battle of Brunanburg, said to have been fought in Yorkshire or Lancashire, Alfgeir, after he was defeated, is stated to have ridden "to the south country, and of his travel 'tis to be said that he rode night and day till he and his came westward to Jarlsness. Then the earl got a ship to take him southward over the sea, and he came to France, where half of his kin were. He never after returned to England."

Petersen, a commentator, says Jarlsness must have been in Wales, and doubtless he based his opinion on the fact that in the "Orkneyinga Saga," Swein Asleifarsson, about 1140, is said to have landed at Jarlsness, as I have related. However, it is evident that there was a place called Jarlsness in the Bristol Channel. Brunanburg was fought in 937, 200 years before Sweyn's raid, and Alfgeir then found friends, a port and ships, at Jarlsness, in his flight south and by west from Brunanburg, so that the place must have remained pretty much a Norse settlement, and it is reasonable to suppose that it was one long before 937. Very likely Sweyn, as a Viking, made warfare on his own countrymen, especially as he had a grudge against

that particular freeman (a Norseman) of South Wales.

I suggest that this Jarlsness is the point now known as the Nash, a few miles to the south-east of Swansea Bay. Some land in that neighbourhood was known for many years as Tir-y-jarl, the earl's land.

Law's "Little England beyond Wales" gives other references to the "visits" of the Northmen.

795. Danes entered Glamorgan; killed and burnt much. Conquered by Kymri; driven into the sea and to Ireland.

810. Saxons burnt St. David's.

833. Danes for three years ravaged the land, assisted by Cornishmen, and it is surmised that about this date they may have colonised Pembroke.

860. Danes entered Gower, and were expelled with great slaughter.

866. Hinguar—Halfdan—Hubba.

877. Half (Exeter), Hringun (Northumberland), and Hubba (Dyfed), with 23 warships, ravaged the coasts. They had the Dannebrog woven by the Three Sisters, and after wintering at Milford, Hubba crossed the Channel to Bideford. Alfred's Saxons attacked him, and, according to Asser, Hubba and 1,200 of his men were slain. As they wintered at Milford, they doubtless did so among friends, who would still remain (Lundy legend).

874. Harold Fairhair of Norway broke the aristocracy of the North, and the Northmen poured in a flood over England, Scotland, Ireland, Man, and likely enough to Wales. Danes plundered on the coast, and are said to have driven all the Saxonised Britons into Gower.

918. Ottor and Rhoald came from France (? Normandy) to the Severn mouth with a great fleet, and spoiled where they pleased, taking bishops prisoners and gained large ransoms for them from King Edward. The men of Gloucester and

Hereford are said to have defeated them, killing Rhoald and a brother of Ottor, who (O.) having gone into camp was besieged and had to capitulate. He gave hostages to King Edward, who had no faith in him, and peace was soon broken. He was beaten off Porlock and Watchet, took refuge in the Flatholms, and after being nearly starved out came to Dyfed, and eventually went to Ireland.

921. Dyfed had the reputation of being a nest of pirates. King Edward sent an expedition to Milford Haven, and built a fort at Cleddy's mouth, but the Saxon tongue does not seem to have taken any hold on the men of Pembroke.

966. Einion partly freed Gower of the Gaels, though aided by the Danes.

967. Army from Bristol (King Edward's) came to Gower and made men swear allegiance.

976. Einion ruled again in Gower, but was ignominiously expelled.

981. Danes invaded Dyfed; destroyed St. David's. Defeated by Einion. Einion killed in a foray.

984. King Aeddan and the men of Glamorgan invaded Pembroke, with them numbers of Danes, who, as usual, are said to have burnt, etc.

995. Another attack on St. David's. Bishop Morgenen killed and said to have been eaten, but this latter account is incredible.

1021. Olaf Haraldsson, King of Norway, ravaged Dyfed and spoiled the cross of St. Dewi, saint.

In these extracts it will be observed there is frequent reference to Gower itself. Canon Taylor's "Words and Places" notes many of the places in the Bristol Channel with Norse nomenclature, and I beg to refer you to that work for general information. My task is to deal more particularly with Gower. Speaking roughly, Gower is a peninsula about eighteen miles long by five miles broad, stretching to the westward of Swansea. Compare it with

Wirral in Cheshire and with Angle in Pembrokeshire and you will see that they have a great family likeness, and are just the description of land that the Northmen liked to occupy. Surrounded on three sides by water, they always had their ships to fall back on, within easy access. Gower is indented with bays, as a reference to the map will show you, and very beautiful bays they are too. The rest of the coast-line consists of bold limestone cliffs, and many of these are crowned by earthworks and encampments that still go by the name of Danish camps. The interior of the country is hilly, the middle being a long ridge of sandstone called Cefn Bryn, and known as the backbone of Gower. At one time the hills must have been thickly wooded. The coast-line has suffered much from erosion, and also from tidal waves and sand-storms in places. Early records show it to have been peopled by Irish Gaels. Skene, in his "Celtic Scotland," states that the Irish occupied all what we now call Wales to the westward of a line drawn from Conway in the north to Swansea in the south.

After these Irish were expelled (to a certain extent) by Ceredig ap Cunedda, a chieftain who, with his brothers, was instrumental in driving the Irish from North Wales in the middle of the fifth century, he received as a reward for his services that part of Wales called Tyno Coch, or the Red Valley, to which he gave the name of Caredigion, or Caredig's country (S. R. Meyrick, "History of the County of Cardiganshire," 1810, also the "Mabinogion"). This would appear to be the first notice of the Cymri coming south in Wales. But they do not appear to have come right up to the southern sea-coast all at once, so that it may be presumed that the people on the sea-coast were able, by means of outside help, to hold their own. Still, there must have been a gradual admixture of the two races, as witness the number of Welsh words and place-names still in use in Gower.

From these Irish the Northmen must have learnt about South Wales, and, I am inclined to think, at a much

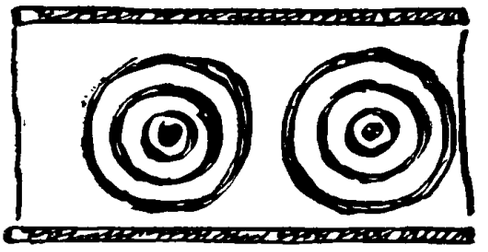
earlier date than we have any definite historical data. They may have come first as traders, but their first recorded appearance would be when some plundering band descended on the coast with fire and sword, regardless of traders and colonists who may have formed peaceable ties with the Gael and Cymri in Pembroke and Gower. We hardly knew Matabele Land until an armed force entered and annexed it, but Lobengula recognised British traders and settlers before that.

That the Cymry in Gower recognised the Northmen the following extract from Clark's "Cartæ et Munimenta," vol. iii., fo. 30, being a confirmation by Gruffydd, King of Britain, of all the territories of the Church of Llandaff to Bishop Herwald (Vitellius, chap. x., fo. 36, A.D. 1032-1061), will, I think, show:—". . . tum contra barbaros Anglos ex una parte. . . . tum contra Hibernienses occidentales et semper fugaces . . . tum contra indigenas solito more bellicosa[o]s, tum contra Danaos marinos, tum contra insularum Orcadum habitatores et semper versis dorsis in fugam et firmato fœdere ad libitum suum pacificatos . . ." In plain English, Gruffydd agrees to defend Herwald "Against the English foreigners on the one hand; against the Irish of the west, always fleeing [from us]; against the Welsh, warlike in their usual manner; against the Danes of the sea; and against the dwellers in the Orkney Islands, who have always turned their backs in flight, and after making a peace have kept it just so much or so little as they pleased. . . ."

Influence of Irish Art on Scandinavian Weapons, Trappings, etc.

There was also a reciprocatory influence of Ireland on Scandinavia. Worsaae alludes to Ring Ornaments, found on trumpets, shields, and the like, both in Scandinavia and in Ireland, and Montelius, "Civilisation of Sweden in Heathen Times," p. 136, remarks:—"The ornamentation of many objects of the Iron Age found in the North

points to the influence of Irish art. It is, therefore, more than probable that the ancient Swedes, even before the

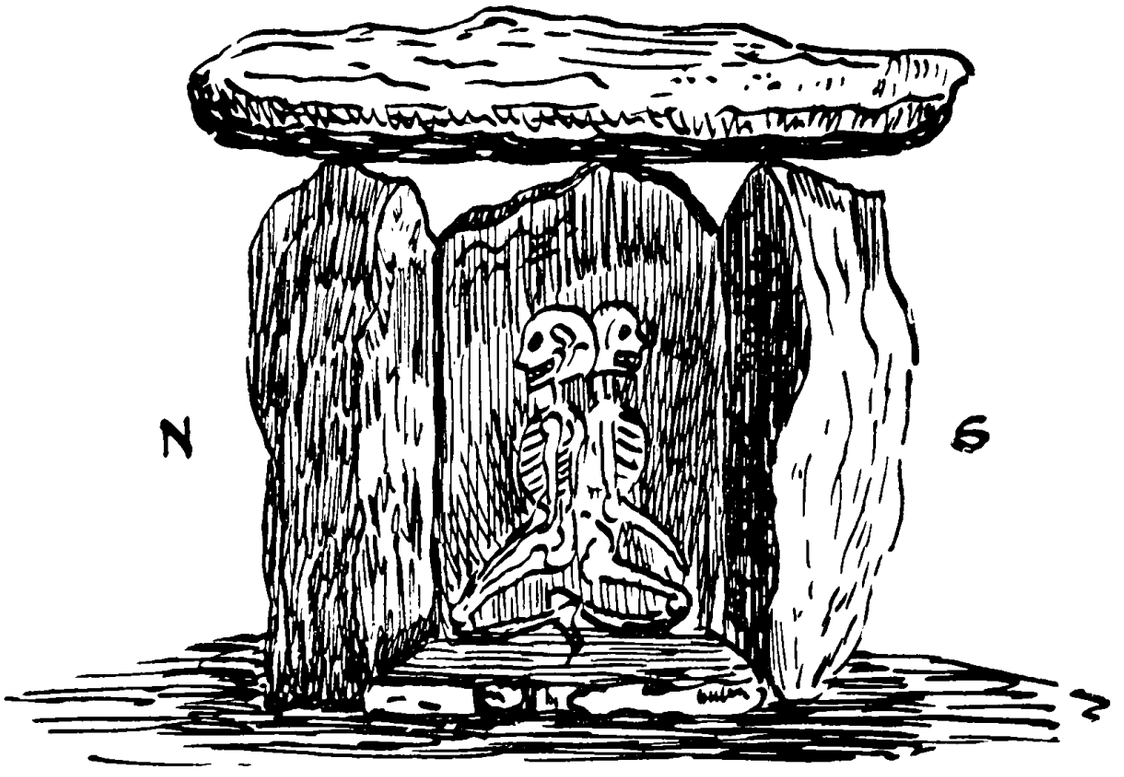


beginning of the Viking period proper, had direct communication, whether peaceful or warlike, with the British Isles." The poems of Ossian seem also to point to early relations between Scotland and the western side of the Scandinavian peninsula. Du Chaillu, in the "Viking Age," also offers similar testimony. In Mallet's "Northern Antiquities," vol. ii., pp. 196-7, is pointed out the resemblance between the laws of versification adopted by British bards and Icelandic skalds, both being of the alliterative kind. While these may also be due to accidental resemblances, or to the spreading of a common wave of culture over different nationalities, their occurrence is worth notice.

Other objects about which divided claims are made are those called Hoar Stones or Rocks. Such stones have been in Denmark and Norway not only memorials of some departed hero, but objects of worship, and the same probably in England. One such monolith, known as Hoar Stone, stands upon a long barrow at Duntsbourne Abbots, Gloucestershire. Cleasby and Vigfusson's Dictionary gives as explanation, *hörgr*—a heathen place of worship, an altar of stone erected on high places, or a sacrificial cairn built in the open air.

Whether *hörgr* or *haug*, or other word, is present in the title of Sweyn's House on Rhosilly Down, Gower, is undecided with present lights, especially in the case of grave arrangements, where a surprisingly common likeness exists between Scandinavian and much that is reputed British here. Thus the cromlech, or dolmen, in Gower, called

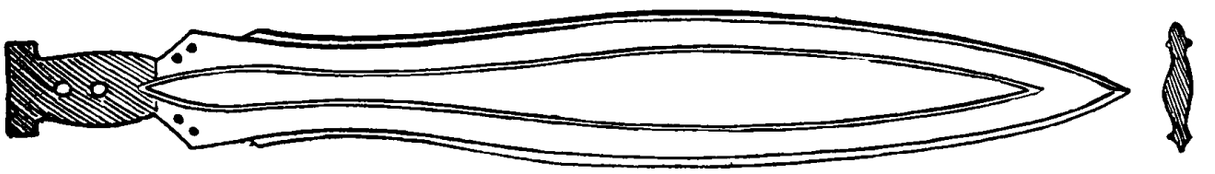
Sweyn's House, answers exactly to that represented in Worsaae's "Primeval Antiquities of Denmark," p. 90, of which below is a woodcut :—



and also to that given by Montelius in his "Ancient Swedish Civilisation," p. 30, and situated at Haga, Island of Ornst :—

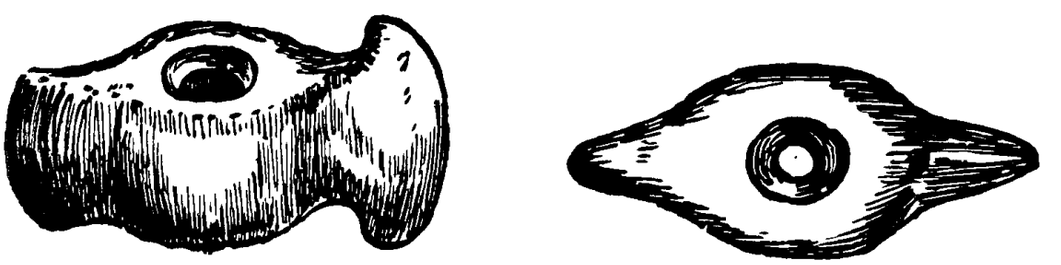


In view of the wide distribution of similar types of bronze weapons, due possibly to early commerce and also the ease of their fabrication, little evidence is afforded from the bronze sword found some time since in Glamorganshire, and now in the Royal Institution, Swansea, of which the following is a woodcut :—

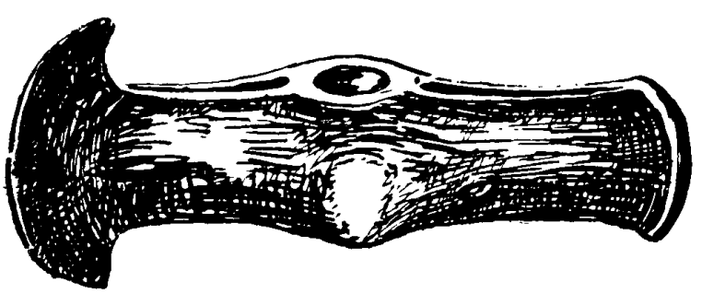


Length, 23¾-in.; widest part of beads, 1¾-in.; weight, 23 oz.

But a stone axe (of felspathic ash) found at Llanmadoc Fort, and now in the Royal Institution, is decidedly similar to the Scandinavian type (see Sir John Evans' work on "Ancient Stone Implements"), as the following comparison will show :—



LLANMADOC AXE (6 inches long). Weight, 23 oz.



NORWEGIAN STONE AXE (Du Chaillu's "Viking Age," p. 82).

In passing on to the evidence afforded by place-names sounder ground is met with, especially where I have been able to support my contentions by the most ancient documentary evidence.

A name which at first blush would be considered as Danish, Pitton, from Danish *pyt*, a well, is claimed in

Skene's "Celtic Scotland" as a Pictish word. "Pit," once "pette," it is said, is not to be found in Wales. It appears to signify a portion of land, and is used synonymously with "both," a dwelling, and "baile," a town. "Pette" is the form of this word in the "Book of Deer," and it appears to mean a portion of land, as it is conjoined with proper names. With the article it forms "Pitten" or "Petten," as in Petten-Taggart, termed in a charter of the Church of Migvie ("St. Andrew's Chartulary," Preface, p. 21) "terra ecclesiæ." It is Pettan-t-Sagairt, the priest's land. "Pit" and "bal" are frequently used indiscriminately. Whether or no Pitton in Gower may be derived from the same root I leave for the judgment of others.

Kilvrough is generally set down as Cymric, meaning the lair of the badger, or as some have it, of the sow. This word in old documents is spelt Kilvrock, and the meaning may be the Gaelic "keeil," a chapel, and "voreg," the Virgin, akin to the Cymric word meaning "a maid"; therefore, St. Mary's chapel. Pennard Church near by was dedicated to St. Mary.

Lonnon, set down as the church of Non, is capable of a different interpretation. There is a Kirk Lonan in the Isle of Man. Mr. Knox, writing in the *Antiquary*, No. 97, says, "It is thought to be the name of St. Adamnan, Abbot of Columba, who died A.D. 704, and who was the biographer of the blessed Columba. It is a remnant of the word 'keeil' and the name 'Onan'—Killonan, as the church is still called. Onan is, by comparison of dedication names in Scotland, a well ascertained corruption of Adamnan."

Kilvey and Killay may also have a Gaelic derivation. Having referred to the "Book of Deer," I would just remark that there is a sculptured stone at a village called Llanrhidian, Gower, which is said to have similar figures to what are depicted in that book (Mr. Romilly Allen, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, April, 1888, p. 174). These several points I mention in order to show the Irish

occupation, which I think was followed by that of the Northmen from Ireland.

"Lake" is a common word in Gower for a stream, and there can be no doubt but what this is the Norse "laekr," which carried the same meaning. One of these streams is known as Diles Lake, in old documents Dilly Lake, and I take this to be a corruption of Deildar-laekr, the boundary stream. Iceland gives us this word still, and I think that in it we have good evidence of Norse colonisation, especially if we couple with it the fact that not far from it is Delvid (Deilvidr, the boundary wood). The said stream has been the boundary "time out of mind" between two parishes.

"Well" and "wall" appear as field and place-names in Carsewell, White Walls, etc. Writing in *Notes and Queries* (8th S. IX., May 2nd, 1896, p. 345), S. O. Addy says:—"In by far the greater number of cases the suffix 'well' in place-names is the old Norse 'völlr,' a field. In a plan dated 1758, lately seen, I found 'Semary (alias St. Mary) Walls, church lands.' This land belongs to the Sheffield 'Church burgesses,' and it seems obvious that 'walls' here means 'fields.'"

BACKINGSTON.—*Bakki*=bank; *ing*, *eng*=meadow. *Bakka-engs-tún*—bank, field, enclosure. Compare, N. Lanc. —Backbarrow; Iceland—Bakkaholt, Bakki.

BARLAND.—Possibly from being a bare moorland spot, but there is an alternative *barr* (= North English, bear) =four-rowed *bar*ley. Compare, N. Lancs.—Bigland, evidently from *bygg*=six-rowed barley, and *Barr-ey* (Barrow-in-Furness) may be barley-island. Many names are from the kind of corn, etc., grown there, before the days of rotation of crops, as Haverthwaite, etc.

BERGER'S ISLAND.—Bergery is a name common in the neighbourhood of abbeys, meaning the sheep-cote of the monks, and therefore mediæval, but this is in the sea, and therefore, I think, may be set down as a

personal name. Compare "Landnamabok"—Bergr-rakki, Bergr-vosteinos, Bergr-vigfuss.

BERRY—BURRY—BURRYHOLMS.—Applied to an island, a river, a place—*Borgar-ey*, *Borgar-á*. *Borg*, fort, camp, town (the *g* pronounced less hard than our *g*, and more like *y*, turns *Borg* into *Bury*—*Borgar-holmr*.) As applied to the River Llwchwr, this appellation testifies to the enduring strength of the Norse name. The mouth of the Llwchwr, where Northmen must have settled. Burryport on mainland, Caermarthenshire. Island (*holm*) bears remains of defences, ditch and dike, etc., even yet. Compare, Iceland—Borgardalr, Borgarholt, Borg, etc.

BESSIE'S MEADOW, mentioned in old surveys, is, I think, a memento of a personal name. Compare, Icelandic —Bersi (personal name); Bessi Hallason.

BOVEHILL.—*Bú-fé*=Live stock, milch kine; *bófi* (Dict.)= rogue; (?) rogues' hill, as a resort of evil repute. Boverton near Cowbridge (site of Roman Bovium).

BRACELET—BRAYSLADE—BREIDSLADE.—A corruption of *breiðr*=broad, and *slétta*=level field—*Breið-slétta*= broad-field. *Breyta*=to alter, change, form a new channel. This last by configuration of land quite possible, if one suppose the first island at the Mumbles to have been joined to the mainland at one time, then sea broke through joint and made a new channel. "Bracelet" is common in Furness, meaning, I think, a long rounded ridge, especially with a road along it. This suggests *sleðí* (siedge) and *slód* (a track), but *slétta* is equally good, for the broad back of a "bracelet" is green, and *slétta* would easily become "slade," whereas *sleðí* is "sled" and *slód* is "sleuth," "slot."

BROUGHTON.—(?) *Borgar-tun*. Compare Broughton-in-Furness and elsewhere, on the sites of early forts. In days gone by there was an extensive oak wood here, and a road through it, with a ford, to the opposite side of the River Burry, which river got its name, perhaps, from the *borg*—*Borgar-á* (or perhaps *Borg-á*).

Now the oak wood has all been swept away by encroachments of the sea, which both here and at other parts on the coast, notably at Kenfig in Swansea Bay, has much altered the line of the sea-shore. Close by is

BULWARK—BULLROCKS.—The name of a large fort on Llanmadoc hill, apparently Danish, not Norse. *Ból-virki* (see Dict., *ból*), a rampart, a defence, bulwarks of a ship. *Ból-virki* is not in the dictionary, but must be a possible combination, like *ból-staðr*, meaning "enclosure-wall," properly in the sense of a defence for cattle, like a kraal, to which use Viking farmer-settlers might put an old ruined fort.

CALVES' WOOD.—*Kalfr*, (?) personal name. As these settlers were farmers this might, however, easily be the wood where they kept calves. Compare, Icelandic—kalfr-, Kalfa, Kalfborgara; Westmoreland—Calgarth, anciently Calf-garth.

CAREY'S WOOD.—*Kari*, a common personal name amongst Norsemen. "Njal's Saga," p. 157, notes:—"Kari Solmundsson sailed from Dublin south to Wales, and lay a long time in a creek in hiding."

CASWELL—CARSWELL.—*Kjar's; völlr* = field. Scotch—carse, kerss=low and fertile land. Generally denotes a valley watered by a stream, as distinguished from higher ground; but (?) Carse of Gowrie, Carsewall. Compare, Cumberland and Yorkshire—"carrs," wooded fields near a stream; Icelandic—*kjarr*, fields or woods (? a marsh); Swedish—*kärr*, a heath.

CHERITON.—(?) *Kari-tun*. May be of later date, but compare Cheriton in Pembrokeshire and in Devonshire.

CROFT'S LADY.—(?) *Kropp's*. Compare *lathe* = a barn. Norse—*hlada*.

CUNNIGER.—This may be Norse *konning gar(th)*, a rabbit warren, which it is. I do not think it can be set down as *Conning garth*=the king's yard, as there could not have been any Norse king there to warrant

such an appellation. Besides, the name is common in many parts of England and Ireland. Joyce gives several instances in Ireland. Jamieson's Dictionary, "cunningar." Brand's "Orkn.," p. 37—"The whole island is but as one rich cunningar or cony warren."

DEEP—DEEPSLADE.—The same as the Norse *djup*, and "slade"=*slettr*. Iceland gives Djupa, Djupidalr; Westmoreland—Deepdale; Normandy—Dieppedal.

ESPERLONE—ESPERLOND—HISPLAND.—This is evidently *öspir* and land or *lundr; aspen* land or grove. Compare, Esps near Ulverston; Espelandsps, Hardanger fiord, Norway; Espihóll, Iceland. In *Chambers' Journal* for February 13th, 1897, there is a very good article on the aspen and its uses; how, like the Scotch fir, the aspen belongs to one of the oldest families in the forest-world, and that in mediæval times the wood was much prized for various purposes, especially arrow-making.

GANDER STREET.—(?) *Gandr*=a fiend; close by is Giant's Grave. Note that this is the way to the Worm's Head from Oxwich. *Worm, Ve-Orm, Jormund gandr.* Can there be any reference to Norse mythology in this? Compare, Lincolnshire—Gander Hill; Pembrokeshire—Gander's Nest (Ness); Denmark—Ganderup.

GATE (Westgate, Widegate, Widyiatt, Southgate).—*Gata* =a thoroughfare, a street or road (? sheep-way). Compare, Icelandic—Gata; Westmoreland—Clappersgate and Gaitscale on the Roman road, etc.

GROOSE.—A sandy, stony piece of land (? *grjot*, meaning just such a spot). Compare, Iceland—Grjotá, Grjotgarðshaugr, etc.; N. Lanc.—Greetygate (Stonyroad); Cumberland—Greata or Greta (stony river).

HAEL.—(?) *Halr*=a creek or strip of land; *hjalli*=a ledge of rock (as is the ground), a tongue of land stretching into the sea. Compare, Iceland—Haell; Cumberland—Hall (Hallthwaite, from *hallr*, big (sacred) stone ?).

HALLAR.—A slope, used *temp.* Queen Elizabeth. This is the exact counterpart of Norse *hallr.* Compare, Hoar Rocks—Boundary Rocks (? *hár*=high, like (Furness) Hawcoat=*há-kot;* or, *hábl*=slippery; or, *hálmr, mar-hálmr*=sea-weed). Iceland, personal name, Hroarr (?).

HAROLD'S GATE.—Appears as a town locality in an old document.

KETTLES—KITTLE HILL—KITTLE—KYTEHULL.—Personal name. S. O. Addy writes in *Notes and Queries,* May 2nd, 1896, p. 345:—"I see no reason why Kettlewell should not mean 'Kettle Fields,' because, according to ancient custom, the kindling of a fire on land, and the boiling of a kettle (pot) thereon, was proof of possession. See Grimm's 'Rechtsalterthümer,' 1854, p. 107."

KNAP—KNAB—KNAVE—NAB.—*Knappr* = a knob. Compare, Icelandic—Knappadalr, Knappsstadir; Westmoreland—Knab-scar, etc.

KNELSTON.—Looks like Connals-tun, a trace of an Irish Viking.

LADY HOUSTY—is a curious compound. Can the word "Housty" be a corruption of *Haust* = harvest? Compare, Cumberland—Lady Hall=*hlada, hóll* or *hall.*

LONGSTONE.—*Lagadranta.* (?) *Laga-drangar* = law (or boundary) rocks. Perhaps a sign of Norse annexation of the land. Compare—Halliday and Longstone, "Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," p. 150.

MARGALS.—(?) On *Mjöll,* and *möll*=pebble beds. Compare, Lincoln—Meels (sand-hills); Lancs. and Cumberland—Meols and Meals (sand-hills). Murton, or *myrr*=mere or marsh, as in (Furness) Marton, formerly Mer-ton; *tun* = farm. [(?) Moorghil—*cf.* Margate, Walmer, Weston-super-mare, where *mer* = moor, *not* sea.—ED.]

MERRY SUN.—A locality. No public-house dedicated to jocund Sol, simply a locality. Bearing in mind the inversions that often do take place in course of time

with many place-names, I believe this is really *Sunmaeri*—the south boundary or country. *Maerrigen-Maerar* = a land, border-land (? *maeri-sund* = boundary lane or strip of land). Compare, Cumberland—Maryhall,etc.; Norway—Nordmaeri, Sunmaeri.

MEWSLADE.—*Mjór* = narrow, and *slétta*. Compare Breiðslétta and Mjo-sund, Mjorifjörðr in Iceland.

MIDDLETON. — Compare, Iceland — Meðalheimr, and Middletons in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, etc.

NOTTLE-TOR.—Close to Bovehill, is *naut* = cattle; or Knothill-tor, *i.e.*, *Knút-hóll* (?)

OXWICH.—(?) *öxar* = axe, and *vik* = wick, named, perhaps, from its shape. Compare, Iceland—Öxar-á and Öxar-heidr.

PAVILAND.—A puzzling word, but one that may have an easy explanation. This land was originally Church land and belonged to Neath Abbey up to the time of King Hal, of noble memory. Now the Norse for Pope = *Pafi;* Paviland might therefore mean Popesland. Compare, Cumberland—Pavey-ark and others. Ferguson derives it from *paugi* = devil, so that there is a good difference between his derivation and mine! Pavey-ark may mean simply "priest's chapel." A hermit may once have lived there, or some fancied resemblance to a chapel may have been found in the rocks. A big stone on Windermere used to be called by the fishers "Staniforth's Bible," the Rev. T. Staniforth being the owner of the land.

PHILLISTON.—(?) *Fylkis-tun* = country or shire; (?) *Fylkis-thing* = folks' council meeting-place. Compare, Cumberland—Flixborough; North Lancs.—Flookboro'.

REDDING HILL. — The riding, a territorial division. [*Redding* meant a clearing, from *ridd*, to clear out. Ackroyd, Boothroyd, oak and booth clearing. Whenever disafforesting was officially sanctioned, the "riddings" became tangible entities specifically designated.—ED.] Compare, Lincoln—Ridings.

SIGMUND'S HILL.—*Sigmundr*, also a mound in Port Eynon bay. Rises abruptly at the end of a sand-spit extending a short distance into the bay near the salthouse. Perhaps some warrior's "*haugr*." Not been opened as yet. Called locally "Sedger's Bank."

SLADE.—This is a frequent place-name in Gower, either singly or as a terminative. Undoubtedly the Norse *slétta* = a plain, a flat piece of land, a slade—which is just what the majority of the slades are. Rotherslade—(?) *röd* = bank, ridge, sea-bank; *rauða-slétta*, *i.e.*, red-field; [see also Worsaae, explanation of Rotherhithe in Thames.] Deepslade—*djup* = deep, compare *Djupidalr*; Hareslade — *héri* = a hare—*héra-slétta*; Butterslade, etc. Compare, Iceland—Melrakka-slétta and others ("Sturlunga Saga"); Slétta, Slettaness ("Landnamabok"); Westmoreland — Sleddale = *Slétti-dalr*.

STRAND.—*Strœnd* is the old river bank.

STAFAL HAGAR.—Has a good Icelandic look, and hardly wants description. *Cf.*, Stafholtstungr ("Landnamabok").

SWANSEA.—In 1188 written Sweyns ei; in 1234, Sweines heie; in 1305, Charter by Du Breos, Sweyn (abrd.), Sweynes (abrd.). Seems to be a compound of Sweynes and *ea* (island), although it has been traced back to all manner of Welsh derivations. All the old spellings uniformly reproduce "Sweyn."

SWEYN'S HOUSE.—A cromlech, or rather two, on Rhosilly Down, facing north. Called locally "The Swine's House," but evidently the last resting-place of someone called Sweyn—or might it have been his *hörgr*?

TANKEYLAKE MOOR.—*Tungu* = tongue; *lækr* = stream; *mór* = moor. Compare, Iceland—Tungu-fell, (Tungu-á?) Tunga, the "tongue" of land between Svartá and Jokulsá; Westmoreland—Tongue in Troutbeck.

TULK POINT.—Close to where was once a large oak forest, may be a corruption of *Telgja*, Norse for "a wood-cutter"—"Wood-cutter-ness," afterwards "point."

WELLS.—Of actual "water" wells I name the following :—

DERVIN'S WELL.—(?) *Thorfinn.*

HARP'S WELL.—(?) *Erpr* (personal name).

LAMB'S WELL.—(?) *Lambi.*

RAVEN'S WELL.—*Hrafn* (perhaps personal name).

TILPIN'S WELL.—(?) *Dolfinn.*

WELSH MOOR.—The occurrence of this name is to my mind an important piece of evidence. It is highly unlikely to have been bestowed by the Cymry, but as a designation employed by Norsemen or Danes to show the limit of the Welsh power in the peninsula it has a distinct application and value of its own. It is to be added that beyond this moor, to the N.E., the place-names are all Welsh (see map).

WORM'S HEAD.—Extreme point west of Gower. Said to be Saxonised form of *Orm,* but I take it to be *Ve-orm* =the holy serpent. Likely enough an object of veneration to the seafaring Norsemen. I have referred to Gander Street just now as being a way to the Worm's Head, and there are many curious mythological coincidences in Gower and Pembroke that offer a field of study for anyone with a bent that way.

There are many other place-names that I might have referred to, but I think the foregoing will show you that in Wales we have some good samples of Northern nomenclature.

Among personal names remaining in the neighbourhood are—Ace (Asa, Ass), Austin (Eysteinn), Gammall (Gamli), Hullin (Ullin), Ivor (Ivar), Sambrook (Samr Barkars), Tustin (Thorsteinn), Yorath (Joreidr), all the Norse names being taken from the "Landnamabok."

I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the kind assistance of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, one of our members, in preparing this paper.

VIKING NOTES.

In our advertisement pages appears a list of the translations of Sagas published by Mr. David Nutt in his Northern Library, which have done something to redeem us from the reproach that in this country we care nothing for the ancient sagas of our race. Members who do not know these publications already should lose no time in making their acquaintance. Those who know only the life of Olaf Tryggvasson in the "Heimskringla," will be astonished at the wealth of additional detail which the fuller Saga gives. It is to be hoped that Mr. Nutt will be encouraged in his public-spirited attempt to unlock these treasures for the benefit of those ignorant of the old Norse tongue.

The Rev. Charles W. Whistler, who has been recently appointed Herath-Umbothsman for Somerset, is the author of some delightful books for boys dealing with the period of the Danish invasions of England. "A Thane of Wessex" tells of the early Danish attack on the Somersetshire coast in 845; "Wulfric the Weapon Thane," of the Danish Conquest of East Anglia; and "King Olaf's Kinsman," of the last Saxon struggles under Eadmund Ironside. Not only can the writer tell a stirring story, but his brilliant reconstruction of history from a knowledge of the meagre facts of the chroniclers, and the surviving testimony of legend, combined with local knowledge of the countryside where the events took place, renders his work of no small value to the student. In his pages the forgotten past comes to life before our eyes. The illustrations by Mr. W. H. Margetson are excellent, both artistically and archæologically. In anticipation of the millenary of King Alfred the Great, Mr. Whistler's next work will deal with the retreat to Athelney and the great king's crowning victory. Members of the Club, who wish to extend its influence, cannot do better than introduce all boys and girls of their acquaintance to these stories, which will help to teach the rising generation what we owe to the Vikings of old.

Reference is made elsewhere to the gradual destruction which is overtaking, in various parts of the land, the priceless relics of antiquity. On this subject, speaking of the Hebrides, Miss Goodrich-Freer appositely writes:—"That such remains should be rapidly disappearing where the hard-pressed Crofters economise every inch of land and thriftily build dykes out of architectural treasures is not surprising in a country where the proprietress could only contribute a coat of whitewash for the preservation of the unique castle of Kisimul, and the ducal proprietor of Tiree, when informed by myself, being in the island at the time, that some drunken lads had wantonly overthrown one of the rare fourteenth century chapels of that island, not merely ignored the fact but did nothing for the protection of any of the similar buildings which remain. Such matters deserve the attention of those appointed to carry out the provisions of Sir John Lubbock's Act for the preservation of ancient buildings." From

my own observation in the Orkneys and Shetlands I should say there is urgent need for the same Society to step in to prevent the gradual destruction of the many memorials of antiquity yet existing there, which are now being slowly improved off the face of the earth by the exigencies of an ignorant and impoverished peasantry and the neglect of landed proprietors.

In this connection we may also deplore the frequency with which ancient camps and earthworks are left to be overgrown with woods and plantations, which render it difficult to trace their form, and gradually destroy many of their characteristics. Cawthorn Camps, an interesting group on the old Roman Road that ran from York to Sandsend Bay, the ancient Dunum Sinus, are a notable instance. Owing to the growth of young plantations it is now hardly possible to distinguish peculiar curved salients that guarded the gates of the two so-called "Camps of the Auxiliaries," which earlier antiquaries depict clearly.

To add to the list of "Norsemen masquerading as Macs" furnished by the Rev. Mr. McClure's paper in Vol. I., Part iii., p. 271, as also of Norsemen disguised as Englishmen, I add the following, which may serve as a contribution towards a more exhaustive compilation. From far Cape Town the name "MacKeurtan" is reported, obviously the same as the Kjartan of Saga time. The Irish "Plunket" stands for Blondketel. The English surnames "Snarry," "Snare," and "Snorey," are variants of Snorri. The founder of the clan Campbell is said to have been a Dugald Cambell or blackgail Gammel. "Eohric" of the "Saxon Chronicle" and "Yorick" of Shakespeare are forms of Eric. "Doth" and "Dow" of Essex, London (Dowgate) and elsewhere, have documentary attestation that they are the lineal descendants of a Scandinavian Thord, despite our crazy antiquaries' and historians' derivation from the Celtic *dwr* (water), or the impossible French *d'eau*. The Essex surname "Siborne" is Sigbiorn. "Thorburn" is Thorbiorn. "Colburn," "Coburn," and "Coving" are Kolbiorn. "Thurtle," "Turtle," and "Tuttle" are Thorketel. "Gorm" is Guthorm. "Tooke," "Tuke," etc., are Toke. "Eohwils" of the "Saxon Chronicle" is Egils. Lastly, the "Wellesleys," "Wolseys," and the "William Wallace," the fighting hero of Scotland, are alike from the same stock which dubbed the Wallaseys in the mouths of the Thames and the Mersey, *i.e.*, the Norse *wealas*.

The speech of Mr. MacAleese, the introducer of the Irish Surnames Bill—a Bill to allow Irishmen to assume the prefix of "O" or "Mac" to their surnames where absent—reminds us that in Ireland also Norse race marks have been destroyed. It appears that these prefixes, at some period previous to the poet Spenser's time, were arbitrarily assumed in certain cases by the heads of septs in Ireland for the strengthening of the Irish national feeling. Such a circumstance, only known, possibly, to students of Irish history, would explain the Gaelic overlay of Norse surnames which is often puzzling to Norse antiquaries, and also shows, by historical evidence, the artificial basis of many modern Gaelic claims. To make Irish-

men by tribal precept and voluntary mutations of surnames is certainly out of the usual course of scientific ethnology.

A WORK which has appeared during the year which is not without interest to Norse students is "Early Fortifications in Scotland: Motes, Camps and Forts," by Dr. Christison, M.D. The writer has examined every mote, camp, and hill fort in Scotland, of which upwards of 1,100 exist, and classified, illustrated, and described them. The three leading types are the vitrified forts, motes, and square forts. Of the first there are 53 examples, the best of which is Craig Phadraig, near Inverness. They are more numerous in Argyll, Inverness and Nairn than in other shires. Dun Ængus in Aranmore is the most notable example out of Scotland. Their origin is not necessarily prehistoric, nor of the Bronze period, and they may even have been contemporaneous with the Saxon motes. A mote is a palisaded mound very similar to a Saxon *burh*. Of these 150 exist in Scotland. Their distribution, as shown on the author's map, suggests, as the author says, "interesting questions concerning Saxon immigrations into southern and eastern Scotland, and ethnological affinities between the populations north of the border and those to the south of it." The word "mote" also—but we are not aware whether the author points it out—suggests kinship with the Norse *mith*, and *mote* as shown in such places as Mortlake (Motlæg) on the Thames, Morthoe (Mothoi) in Devonshire, etc. As to the square type of fort, Dr. Christison demolishes the popular contention that they are necessarily Roman. Of the 83 alleged Roman works, only seven have been proved to be Roman by the discovery of inscribed stones or other relics. Obviously the author's work is destructive of many pet antiquarian prepossessions.

WITH one thing is the Reformation in Scotland to be upbraided—with the banning of Yule. Before the Reformation, north as south of the border, Yule was celebrated, as the old Scottish rhyme suggests—

"Yule's come and Yule's gane,
And we hae feasted weel;
Sae Jock maun to his flail again,
And Jenny to her wheel."

New Year's Day, or Hogtide, still retains some of the old Yule customs, and their likeness to those always current in the Shetlands and Orkneys is unmistakable. The oaten cake prepared by thrifty housewives and doled out with cheese and other additions to the "puir bairns" who come to the door crying "Hogmanay," with perhaps the added rhyme—

"My feet's cauld, my shoon's thin,
Gie's my cakes and let me rin!"

are only another form of the Christmas boxes of the South. The evening revels, with the "guizards" and strolling players, resemble the masques of the old English mummers. The "hot pint" prepared on the approach of midnight, a flagon of warm ale spiced with cloves, nutmeg and cinnamon, and fortified with spirits, are the counterpart of the "loving cup" of

the ancient Saxons. The drinking by each member of the family of the wassail—"Wæshael!" "To your health!"—after the clock has struck the last hour of the dying year, the mutual congratulations, and the sallying forth to neighbours, bearing the tankard, buns, and short cake, to extend the circle of congratulations, are only further addenda of the ceremony.

THAT Iceland is not a "barren heritage" in all but legendary lore is, it would appear from unmistakable signs, being slowly recognised. One of these signs is afforded by a recent article on the water power of Iceland which appears in *Cosmos*. Its immense waterfalls, it is there stated, "would suffice to supply all the 75,000 inhabitants with as much light and heat as they could possibly want, and might also open up the country industrially. The Gulf Stream makes the climate quite bearable, in spite of the high latitude. The three cataracts, Dettifoss, Gullfoss, and Goðafoss, could develop a power greater than the largest waterfalls in Europe. Their first duty would be to heat and light the capital, Reykjavik—a town of 4,000 inhabitants, whose population has doubled during the last twenty years—making use of a roaring torrent three miles from the town. The soil of the island, which is of volcanic origin, is rich in minerals, and water power is everywhere available for electro-metallurgical processes. If Iceland, it is remarked, took a more serious position in the minds of the civilised world, its situation would be recognised as a valuable one for scientific observations, and for the erection of a meteorological observatory, which would contribute useful information as to the laws governing tempests, and might also be of practical service in telegraphing warnings of approaching storms." To this it may be added that its fisheries, naval harbours and geographical position make it of first importance to a naval Power like our own, and there are valid reasons for believing that the wishes of the population and high State policy would both be served by some friendly arrangement with Denmark to the end of including it within the orbit of the British Empire.

INCIDENTAL evidence of the truth of even the more extraordinary details of Saga stories is repeatedly furnished, and that remarkable instance in "The Wilkina Saga," where Völundr is described as simply laying his Sword of Sharpness lightly on a scoffer's head and asking the man how he feels, to which the man, rising from his seat, makes answer, "A little chilly in the inside," at the same time falling asunder in two halves to the ground, is nearly paralleled by the case of a man recently killed at Aldershot station by being caught by the buffers of a train. "He seems," states a report, "to have received his death-blow without at first being aware he had suffered any injury. When the train backed out he was seen standing up and brushing his trousers, as though to remove the mere dust of the impact. In another moment he fell dead." Kol's head speaking after struck from the body, cited in Mr. Moffat's paper, is also an incident in point. Cases of men receiving a fatal wound on the battlefield without knowing that they have been hurt, or even hit, are also said to be not uncommon. Death comes even more quickly than the shock of pain.

UNSOLICITED testimony to the value of the Norse blend in the Pan-Germanic stock of the population of the British Isles was recently afforded by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Wolseley. Speaking of Scotchmen generally he remarked, "Wherever I have gone—north, south, east, and west—I have always found Scotchmen, and I have always found them occupying prominent positions. This was more especially the case in British North America, where I served for a number of years, which I knew then, and which I think I may say I know tolerably well at this moment. I have no doubt you have all heard of the great Hudson Bay Company—a company of vast possessions, originally a great trading company in furs, which had posts from the Atlantic to the Pacific. All along its line of posts I have travelled—many hundreds of miles—and I think I am not exaggerating when I say that the chief officials were Scotchmen, and that they generally came from that part of the country where I have been recently travelling with Sir Donald Currie. They came from the Western Highlands of Scotland, and many of them from the Orkneys and Shetlands, and they were all doing well." One only comment need be made on Lord Wolseley's speech, and that without invidiousness, which is that it would be well if others, in alluding to "Scotchmen," would always discriminate, as he here does, between Scotchmen of Norse strain and others.

WHATEVER may be thought of difference of views as to the exact spot of the landfall of Leif Ericsson, the fact that others are interested to furnish a solution is cause for congratulation. Of these, Bishop Howley of St. John's, Newfoundland, is the exponent of a particular theory. In a recent lecture he has mapped out the probable course, in his view, which Leif took after leaving Greenland as through the Straits of Belle Isle to Point Roche, along the coast to Flower's Cove and Magdalen Islands, and finally bringing up at the mouth of the Miramichi River on New Brunswick. Places in this neighbourhood were formerly termed Vin Island and Bay de Vin, and here his lordship concludes was Vinland. He does not, however, seem to make it clear how these names could have survived for a century or more after the total destruction of the Norse colony.

THE tree-life of Western Greenland has recently been the object of attention by two American scientists, Messrs. Charles Schubert and David White. Far to the north of the Arctic Circle they have been exploring luxuriant tropical forests, in which palms, tree ferns, and other plants belonging to the neighbourhood of the equator have been found. These forests disappeared from the face of the earth several millions of years ago, and their fossil remains are only now recovered from the strata of rocks. Such a land would seem to localise Professor Sayce's cradle-land of the blonde races of the North, and the habitat of the mammoth, only that the temperature of the equator would seem to be unfitted for such denizens, unless there were some unknown qualifying circumstances. Possibly, as in India and Africa, there may have been temperate highlands interspersed with tropical lowland plains and valleys.

THE "well of English undefiled"—that is, undefiled by foreign admixture—is undoubtedly the dialects and the folkspeeches of the shires. On the authority of Dr. Bosworth, the Anglo-Saxon tongue in its power of word-forming is equal to the Greek. Therefore, were it not for the Gallo-Franko-Norman admixture, and the subsequent foolish classical craze, we should have developed our mother tongue wholly without the present indigestible classic scientific terminology. The gain this would have been to popular education and progress is incalculable. As it is, the garden of the higher knowledge is in England practically locked to the plain man and the key thrown away. Less exposed to the whims of fashion and change, the shire speeches have always been the conservators of our forefathers' speech, wherefore the "Dialect Dictionary" with which the name of Dr. Joseph Wright is associated is worthy the support of all fatherland lovers. For Vikings it has peculiar claims, for the Editor says:—"From the words contained in this volume it would be easy to give a sketch-map showing clearly those districts in which the Norse element is particularly strong."

IN weighing the value of folklore and the transmission of beliefs and traditions from one age and people to another, oversight should not be made of what may be called the unconscious and non-oral transmission which sculpture is able to produce. The leading religions of former times employed metal, stone, and other substances for the expression of their conceptions of the Godhead, divine persons, etc. Thus the notion of winged angels is no traditional or oral transmission from Latin mythology to Christianity, but an unconscious imitation, born of the observation of the innumerable statues of winged Victories and goddesses which were set up all over the Roman world. The number of these found in Britain alone may amount to fifty. In a similar way the popular notion that the Biblical devil has horns and a tail have no doubt been derived from the inspection of certain well known grotesque stone presentments of Pan, in which the hair and headgear and the mantle simulate the appearance of horns and a tail respectively. The *odium theologicum* was always sufficiently strong in the popular mind, in viewing the unintelligible sculptural remains in the overturned Roman cities scattered throughout Britain, to account for this and a good deal of other "popular theology," and the interpreter of folklore should not let out of his sight this possible contribution to the variation of his subject matter.

DEATH-ROLL.

MR. SAMUEL LAING was the second Viking-Jarl of the Club. He was born at Edinburgh in 1812, and died at Sydenham in the course of last year, being consequently in his 87th year. He has been described as "the most distinguished Orkneyman of the century, and his career was certainly a brilliant and varied one. He came of a talented family, his father, Samuel Laing of Papdale, being the translator of Snorri Sturlasson's "Heimskringla," and the author of able works on the social and political state of several European countries, which ranked as models of their kind and were frequently quoted as authorities by John Stuart Mill and other writers. His uncle, Malcolm Laing, also achieved literary fame by his "History of Scotland from the Union of the Crowns to the Union of the Kingdoms." He entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, and took his degree in 1832, eminently distinguished as Second Wrangler and second Smith's prizeman. St. John's elected him a Fellow in 1834, but Mr. Laing subsequently entered at Lincoln's Inn, where he was called to the Bar in 1840. In the following year he became private secretary to Mr. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton), then President of the Board of Trade; and upon the foundation of the Railway Department of the Board he was appointed secretary, and thenceforth distinguished himself as a railway legislator under the successive presidencies of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Dalhousie. In 1834 he published "A Report on British and Foreign Railways," and gave much valuable evidence before a committee of the House of Commons on railways. In 1845 he was nominated a member of the Railway Commission presided over by Lord Dalhousie, and drew up the chief reports on the railway schemes of that period. In the report of the Commission presented to Parliament in 1846, which Mr. Laing prepared, his own ideas prevailed as largely as his words.

In 1847 Mr. Laing resigned his post at the Board of Trade, and established himself at the Parliamentary bar, where he soon gained a large practice. In 1848 he was offered and accepted the post of chairman and managing director of the Brighton Railway, and piloted it through a sea of difficulties into safe water. In 1852 Mr. Laing became chairman of the Crystal Palace Co., from which he retired in 1855, as well as from the Brighton Co., but resumed his connection with the latter in 1867, and again restored prosperity to the undertaking. He continued to be chairman of the Company until his death. The only other companies of importance with which he was connected were the Railway Share Trust (Limited) and the Railway Debenture Trust (Limited), of both of which he was chairman.

Politics had for several years been occupying more or less of Mr. Laing's attention, and in July, 1852, he was elected in the Liberal interest for the Northern Burghs, which he continued to represent till 1857. During the Crimean War he was offered, but declined, the Under-Secretaryship for War. He was re-elected to Parliament in 1859. He accepted under Lord Palmerston the post of Financial Secretary to the Treasury, which

he held till October, 1860, when he proceeded to India as Finance Minister. Returned thence after a stay of a little over two years, he was once more elected in July, 1865, to the Northern Burghs, but failed to secure a seat in the election of 1868, but in 1873 was returned for Orkney and Shetland. He was returned again without opposition in 1874, and re-elected in 1880. At the election of 1885 he retired from public life. Mr. Laing was a Home Ruler, and published a pamphlet on "Rational Radicalism" in 1883.

Throughout his life he took interest in scientific subjects, and in 1863, in collaboration with the late Professor Huxley, he published a work on "Prehistoric Remains in Caithness." In 1885, the year of his retirement, he published "Modern Science and Modern Thought," of which over twenty thousand copies were sold. It was followed in 1870 by "Problems of the Future," and in 1892 by "Human Origins." Of his other writings may be mentioned "A Modern Zoroastrian" (another volume of essays) and "A Sporting Quixote" (a novel).

He was offered the post of Lord Lieutenant of Orkney and Shetland by Mr. Gladstone, but declined it owing to his advanced age. The offer was then made to his son, Mr. Malcolm A. Laing, who accepted it. Mr. Laing married in 1841 a daughter of Captain Cowan, R.A. His eldest surviving son is Mr. Malcolm A. Laing, formerly a captain in the 14th Hussars, and Lord Lieutenant of Orkney and Shetland; and a daughter, Mrs. Edward Kennard, is well known as a writer of sporting novels. He took a great interest in the affairs of the Club, but his advancing years prevented an active participation.

Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. II. PART II.

ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY & MUSEUM.

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

GIVEN BY

J. W. CURSITER.

"The Scottish Brochs: their Age and their Destruction." By J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A. Scot.

ALEXANDER BUGGE.

"Gotlændingernes Handel paa England og Norge omkring 1300." By Alexander Bugge.

REV. J. SEPHTON.

"What the Sagas say of Greenland." By the Rev. J. Sephton. Reprinted from *The Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.* (Fifty copies for distribution.)

ACQUIRED BY EXCHANGE.

Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. Nos. 13, 14, and 15.

SPECIAL DONATIONS TO FUNDS.

	£	s.	d.
Lord Strathcona	1	0	0
Miss C. Horsford	0	10	0
F. T. Norris	1	0	0
Mrs. Pocklington Coltman	0	10	0
W. G. Collingwood	0	10	0
B. Winstone	0	10	0
A. G. Moffat	0	10	0
Rev. C. A. Moore	0	10	0
E. E. Speight	0	11	0
John Bruce	0	5	0
A. J. Wallace	0	5	0
Mitchell Library, Glasgow (1897)	0	7	6
Major Mockler-Ferryman	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
M. A. Laing	0	10	0
Roland St. Clair	0	10	0
The Chisholm	0	10	0
Sir H. Dryden, Bart.	0	10	0
R. L. Bremner	0	10	0
Lady Paget	0	10	0
G. Commia	0	10	0
W. Sinclair, sen.	0	5	0
Alex. Sandison (1896-97)	0	10	0
T. Johnston	0	5	0
Basil Sievwright	0	10	0

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

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

"The Saint-Clairs of the Isles, being a History of the Sea-Kings of Orkney and their Scottish Successors of the Surname of Sinclair." Arranged and Annotated by Roland William Saint-Clair. (Auckland, N.Z.)

"The Scottish Brochs: their Age and their Destruction." By J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A. Scot.

"Gotlændingernes Handel paa England og Norge omkring 1300." By Alexander Bugge. (Christiania.)

"King Alfred's Viking. A Story of the First English Fleet and of the Campaign from Athelney." By the Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., L.S.A.

FORTHCOMING WORKS.

"A Pilgrimage to the Saga-steads of Iceland," with 13 coloured plates and 140 black and white illustrations. By W. G. Collingwood and Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

"The Life and Death of Cormac the Skald," being a translation of Kormak's Saga. By W. G. Collingwood and Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

"Coniston Tales" (historical sketches of the Northmen and others in the Lake District). By W. G. Collingwood.

"The Early Sculptured Monuments of the Present Diocese of Carlisle" (the Gosforth and other Crosses and Remains of Saxon and Viking Ages). By the late Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A. Edited by W. G. Collingwood, Local Sec. Soc. Antiq. London.

Also, in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, papers on "The Ormside Cup" (Anglian interlaced and scroll-work), by W. G. Collingwood; and on "Lost Churches in the Diocese of Carlisle" (survivals in place-names of Celtic *Kils*, etc., of the Viking Age), by W. G. Collingwood and J. Rogers.

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

SIXTH SESSION, 1898.

AL-THING, JANUARY 14TH, 1898.

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

A reply from Dr. Karl Blind to the vote of condolence passed at the last meeting was read.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., Herath-umboths-man for Hougun (Furness) and Westmoreland, read a paper on "Gudrun's Grave and other Saga-Steads in Iceland," with relics and lantern-slide illustrations, in which he gave some account of the journey to Iceland, to visit the scenes of the Sagas, which he and Dr. Stefánsson have now recorded in "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland." A large collection of Mr. Collingwood's water-colour sketches of Icelandic scenery was also exhibited.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 4TH, 1898.

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

Mr. A. Knox, Things-both-man, read a paper on "The Manx Tynwald Court," in which he traced the history, institutions, and customs of the Court from the earliest documentary evidences remaining. He said that his sketch must necessarily be to a certain extent fragmentary, because he discarded all mere tradition and assumptions, and the many books on the Court which take note of such traditions, and only regarded those ancient features for which we have documentary evidence.

After tracing the various features of the Court through the existing records, Mr. Knox gave a sketch of the Court in its present form, and described the circumstance and surroundings in which this lineal descendant of the Norse Things, or meetings of the whole people, still met in the old Norse kingdom of Man.

In moving a vote of thanks, Mr. Albany F. Major remarked that the name of the first of the Norse kings of Man was frequently given as "Orry," but there seemed no historical foundation for the name. Perhaps Mr. Knox could tell them if "Orry" was only a legendary character, or whether he had a real existence. It was to be hoped that the open-air Court on the Tynwald would not be done away with by modern iconoclasts.

Dr. Jón Stefánsson, in seconding the vote of thanks, asked what was the origin of the word "Keys," as the title of one of the Manx Courts, the "House of Keys." The word "sheading" was, he thought, Norse, derived from *skeið*, ship, and denoting a district which had to supply a ship. He should be glad to know the last instance of the use of the title of King of Man. In Cornwall there existed an open-air Court, the Court of the Stannaries, held by the miners. One ought to gather details both as to Norse and Celtic Courts to elucidate the Tynwald Court, for the Manx Courts were probably a mixture, like the Manx people, owing something to both elements. Man was now the only place in which the open-air Parliament survived. It was abolished in Iceland in 1800.

Mr. E. E. Speight said he should very much like to see a chart of the Tynwald. The lecture was very interesting, but it was not possible to visualise so much detail. A chart showing the Courts, with their relation to each other, their degrees, and the duties falling on them, would therefore be very useful.

Mr. F. T. Norris said that light would be thrown on the Tynwald by the constitution of the old Hus-Thing Court in London, which dated from Danish times, and was the

successor of Saxon open-air Courts. As to open-air Courts generally, they were a common feature of both early and late English procedure, and embraced the smallest ward, town, or hundred mote, to the great council of the realm. He should like to know if any meaning could be given to the name "taxiaxi."

Mr. Froude added his thanks to Mr. Knox for his valuable paper. In reply to Mr. Speight's complaint as to too much detail, he would point out that many long books on the Tynwald were focussed by Mr. Knox into his paper. He should like to ask if there were local Tynwalds, as in Iceland and Norway, where local questions were settled. In Man nowadays the Tynwald meeting was held under a tent. In the old records it was laid down that the lords and officers should sit in the face of the people. When does the tent date from? The use of it probably accounts for the lack of vitality in the Tynwald at the present day. The old custom was to strew rushes on the road to the meeting on Tynwald Day. Was this done elsewhere? In 1895 the Clerk of the Rolls moved that no future meetings should be held in winter, but this was lost, and very rightly. If once the custom were broken, summer meetings too might be affected, and it would be a great pity to break in upon the customs of the oldest Parliament in the world.

Mr. Knox regretted that his paper was not more compact and lucid. He had gathered his material from the Tynwald Acts themselves, instead of working from printed books. The use of rushes referred to was not a Tynwald custom. There was a legend that a certain farm was held rent free on condition of supplying the rushes, but this was not true. The Clerk supplied them, and probably the custom originated in the strewing of rushes in the chapel, to which the meeting adjourned on St. John's Day. The Deemster and jury formed the Thing, but there were local Things consisting of the parish priest and six laymen. The jurymen at the Tynwald Thing were 24 in number. He realised how valuable a chart would

be, but at present his idea of the Tynwald was too confused to enable him to frame one. King Orry was, he thought, Godred, first king of Man. It was said that the number of the taxiaxi was fixed at 24 in King Orry's days. Magnus, who was king at the time of the sale of the island, was the last king of Man. The Deemster and the House of Keys called Sir John Stanley king, but he himself never used the title. The title was last used in 1265. He could not throw any light on the origin of the word "sheading," and he thought it useless to speculate on the origin of the names "Keys" or "taxiaxi." The latter were generally called simply "the twenty-four."

JOINT MEETING

OF THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF LONDON, THE IRISH LITERARY SOCIETY, AND THE IRISH GAELIC LEAGUE, FEBRUARY 12TH, 1898.

LORD REAY in the Chair.

Dr. Jón Stefánsson read a paper on "The Norsemen in Scotland," which attracted a considerable audience and led to an interesting discussion. Owing to the temporary laying aside of the author through illness, the reproduction of his paper is deferred to a future occasion.

AL-THING, MARCH 18TH, 1898.

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

The Rev. Pastor A. V. Storm, Danish Chaplain in London, read a paper on "The Revival of Old Northern Life in Denmark," which is reproduced on another page.

GREAT AL-THING, APRIL 22ND, 1898.

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

The Great Al-thing was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 22nd, 1898, at 8 p.m. The

Law-Thing-Saga, or Annual Report of the Council, together with the Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet presented by the Treasurer, were laid before the meeting and unanimously adopted. The following resolution was passed as embodied in the Law-Thing-Saga :—

> That the Viking Club was founded by Orkneymen and Shetlanders in recognition of the fact that their native land is Norse; that its aim is to unite all those, whether within or without the British Empire, who claim the common bond of descent from the Scandinavian sea-kings, or their Anglo-Saxon kindred, and to promote the study of the ancient history and records of the Gothic race; that, while glad to enrol among its members Scots who are in sympathy with its aims, or to join with Scottish Societies for objects of common interest, it can take no action which would conflict with the above standpoint, or stamp it as an exclusively Scottish Society.

Umboths-Vikings, or Officers of the Club, for the ensuing year were elected by ballot.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, Law-man, then gave a descriptive account of Orkney, illustrated by drawings and lantern slides, and by a selection of Orkney folk-melodies and song, rendered and accompanied on the piano by Mr. E. Home-Popham. The proceedings terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Johnston for his able and interesting paper, and to Mr. Popham for his skilful interpretation of the Orkney music.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 11TH, 1898.

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

The Jarl, Dr. Karl Blind, expressed his thanks to the Club for the vote of sympathy conveyed to him during the previous Session. He also thanked the Club for continuing him in an office which he valued highly, though he had been of necessity an absentee for so long. He then delivered his inaugural address on "The Earliest Traveller to the High North," which is reproduced on another page.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 25TH, 1898.

Dr. KARL BLIND (Jarl) in the Chair.

In the absence of the Rev. C. W. Whistler, the Hon. Secretary read his paper on "King Alfred's Campaign from Athelney," which is reproduced on another page.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 16TH, 1898.

Dr. KARL BLIND (Jarl) in the Chair.

A paper by Miss Cornelia Horsford, Jarla-kona, on "Vinland and its Ruins: or some of the Evidences that Northmen were in Massachusetts in Pre-Columbian Days," was read. The lecturer dealt with the ruins of stone and other buildings belonging to some early settlers on the American Continent, which she offered considerations for believing were Norse. The paper was profusely illustrated by lantern slides.

In allowing that Miss Horsford had sent a very interesting paper, Mr. G. M. Atkinson said he feared no profitable discussion was possible, as very few had seen the Icelandic ruins. He himself had seen sections of the Roman rampart thrown up by Agricola between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, which appeared in some parts to resemble in character the black lines of the decayed vegetation of the walls shown in the illustrations. The path illustration also resembled part of the paved way from Chichester to London known as Stane Street, which is supposed to be Roman. But so much depended on the character of the stones in the American case that it was impossible for anyone who had not seen the remains to venture on an opinion. The presence of bricks was curious, but did not necessarily militate against the antiquity of the walls, as brick-making was a very ancient art, and known to the Romans and even to much earlier nations. The walls found by Miss Horsford were certainly very primitive in character, but he thought the illustrations showed that

they were built at different times, by people in different stages of culture. It was to be noted that the foundations of some of the walls differed in style from the upper portions.

Mr. F. T. Norris said the meeting was indebted to Miss Cornelia Horsford for a very interesting and lucid paper. It was her great desire to find the site of the landfall of Leif Ericsson, and, as far as her paper was concerned with tracing and identifying the localities of the events described in the Sagas, her work was excellent, and might be admitted to be conclusive. When, however, the attempt was made to identify structural remains with buildings erected by the Norsemen, the evidence appeared less substantial. At no period known had the Icelanders used bricks for building; consequently, the presence of pieces of brick, if they could not be satisfactorily explained away, might be held to be important evidence against the theory that the remains were Scandinavian. In saying this he did not wish to accord too much weight to hereditary methods of building, which were very much governed by questions of climate, building material available, and local circumstances. It might perhaps be that with the abundance of wood they found in Vinland, the Icelanders abstained from the resort to stones and turf, and built their dwellings in the New World of the native wood. These in the course of time would, of course, wholly disappear. Whether this was so, or that they used more substantial or artificial substances, the failure to positively identify the remains did not detract from the interest aroused by Miss Horsford's investigations.

Mr. Albany F. Major said that he had much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Miss Horsford. She had taken up work to which her father, Professor E. N. Horsford, had devoted much time and learning, and the results, if not conclusive, were certainly interesting and stimulating to the imagination. Without further evidence it was not possible for anyone in this country to say that no other place could be found on the east coast of North

America which would correspond to the descriptions of Vinland in the Sagas, but certainly Miss Horsford showed that the site she advocated answered the requirements of the Saga in a very remarkable degree. Further, she had shown that upon that site there existed ruins, whose origin was unknown, which could not be ascribed to any of the settlers of post-Columbian days, and were like no ruins of buildings erected by any of the natives, so far as we knew. These ruins were built in a style that closely resembled the building methods of the Norse settlers in Iceland and Greenland. There were some doubtful elements in the case, such as the presence of pieces of brick, possibly introduced subsequent to the erection of the buildings themselves, which prevented our saying conclusively that these ruins were Norse; but their presence at a spot answering to the requirements of the Saga was at least a very curious coincidence, and it seemed quite possible that they might be due to the Norse settlers. In discussing the question of the Norse discovery of America, the speaker thought that we must not assume too readily that the voyages of which records have reached us in the Sagas were the only expeditions to the new-found lands, and that no permanent settlements were made there. On the face of it, we might suppose that the settlers in Greenland, where wood was unknown, except as drift-wood, would not neglect the source of supply opened up to them by the forests of Vinland. Moreover, in the annals of Greenland there are indications of some permanent settlement having been made, such as the story of the Bishop who went to visit Vinland to re-convert the settlers there, who were reported to have relapsed into heathenism. It was much to be hoped that Miss Horsford would continue her researches, and be able to throw more light upon this interesting question.

The President observed that the geographical and historical identification of Vinland, as made by Miss Horsford, was complete. The identification of supposed ruins was not so easy, especially as the Icelandic Saga

spoke of wooden huts ("Leif's Buðir") of the earliest settlers. Still, it might be, as Mr. Major had said, that the stone remnants found were from houses of later Norse colonists. At any rate, the north-eastern coast of America —from Nova Scotia down to Boston and New York, perhaps even farther south—had been discovered by Northmen 500 years before Columbus. The last recorded voyage to Vinland took place, indeed, as late as 1347. With good reason, Humboldt, no mean authority, called that region "Normannic America," declaring that Columbus had "re-discovered the same Continent." Undoubtedly there had been even earlier discoveries in antiquity, as we know from the classic reports about the "Atlantis." Here Karl Blind mentioned the account of Platon as to what Solon had been told by Egyptian priests, as well as passages from Plutarch and Ælian. Though these reports were overlaid by fables, they contained some historical truth, and in Humboldt's opinion merited serious consideration. No doubt, there was some vague indication in those accounts of the Antilles, the Caribbean Sea, and the Mexican Gulf. There are Welsh and Irish tales also, pointing to an early knowledge of the great land beyond the sea. As to Columbus, he, as a skipper, had gone from Bristol to Iceland, and conversed there with priests and learned men in the Latin tongue, and had thus evidently been put on the track to America through what he had learnt in that Northern Thule. His son, who wrote his father's biography, mentions the fact of Columbus having visited such a far-off island. When Columbus was there, only 130 years had elapsed since the last voyage of the Norsemen to their American settlements, and undoubtedly there were men then still alive in Iceland, whose grandfathers had been on the other side of the Atlantic. The Norseman who first discovered the Western Continent was Leif, the son of Erik the Red, in the year 1000. With him was a German, named Tyrker, his foster-father. During one of their inland expeditions, Tyrker penetrated alone into the interior, and for a time

was held to be lost, but finally turned up with every sign of excitement. So great was his agitation that at first he spoke in German, but at last was made to explain himself in Norse, when he reported that he had discovered vines and grapes, some of which he brought. Being probably a Rhinelander, his excitement and his joy at having found that welcome fruit was easy to understand. Owing to those grapes, the settlement was called Vinland, or Wineland. In the last century, a commissioner sent to America by the Swedish Academy, Peter Kalm, actually still found wild vines in Albany, and even in Canada. For the first time, the name of Vinland occurred in 1072, in a Latin work of a German priest, Adam of Bremen. He heard a description of that Transatlantic country during a visit to the Danish Court. The several Norse settlements were called Vinland, Markland, and Helluland, and they lasted until the year 1347. A Bishop of Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland was appointed in the twelfth century by Pope Paschal. The Bishop's name was Erik Upsi. There is a statue now, at Boston, of Leif Erikson, whose glory it was to have been the Norse discoverer of America, and who therefore merits the first place in the Walhalla of those forerunners of Columbus. In conclusion, Karl Blind said he was sure the audience would pass a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Horsford for her interesting paper, and signify the same in the usual way.

REPORTS OF HERATHS-UMBOTHS-MEN.

(District Secretaries.)

The District Secretary for Cumberland and Westmoreland (Mr. W. G. Collingwood) writes :—

The First Decipherer of the Crosses.

With the death of the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., F.R.Hist. Soc., etc., Vicar of Aspatria, we have to deplore the loss of a distinguished member, to whom we owe the discovery and interpretation of Edda myths on Christian crosses. It was in 1881 that he first pointed out the fact, in a paper on "Illustrations of Teutonic Mythology from Early Christian Monuments at Brigham and Dearham." In 1882 he addressed the Archæological Institute, at their Carlisle meeting, on the Gosforth Cross, showing that the sculptures, never before understood, represented Loki and Baldr and other pagan subjects, carved to illustrate Christian teaching, just as the Orpheus of the Catacombs was made to stand for the figure of Christ. The statement found a warm supporter in Prof. George Stephens, of Copenhagen, and Mr. Calverley followed it up in a series of papers, including one for the Archæological Institute at Edinburgh, in 1891, on the "Sigurd" at Halton. Meanwhile, the Rev. G. F. Browne (Bishop of Bristol) had shown illustrations of the same "pagan overlap" in the crosses at Leeds and Kirk Andreas, Isle of Man, and the theory, which at first had been warmly disputed, won its way to general acceptance. Mr. Calverley, who was born at Leeds and educated at Oxford, was for twenty-six years one of the most active and energetic of Cumberland clergymen, finding time, nevertheless, for much antiquarian work, in the midst of which he died, on September 21st, 1898. The book on which

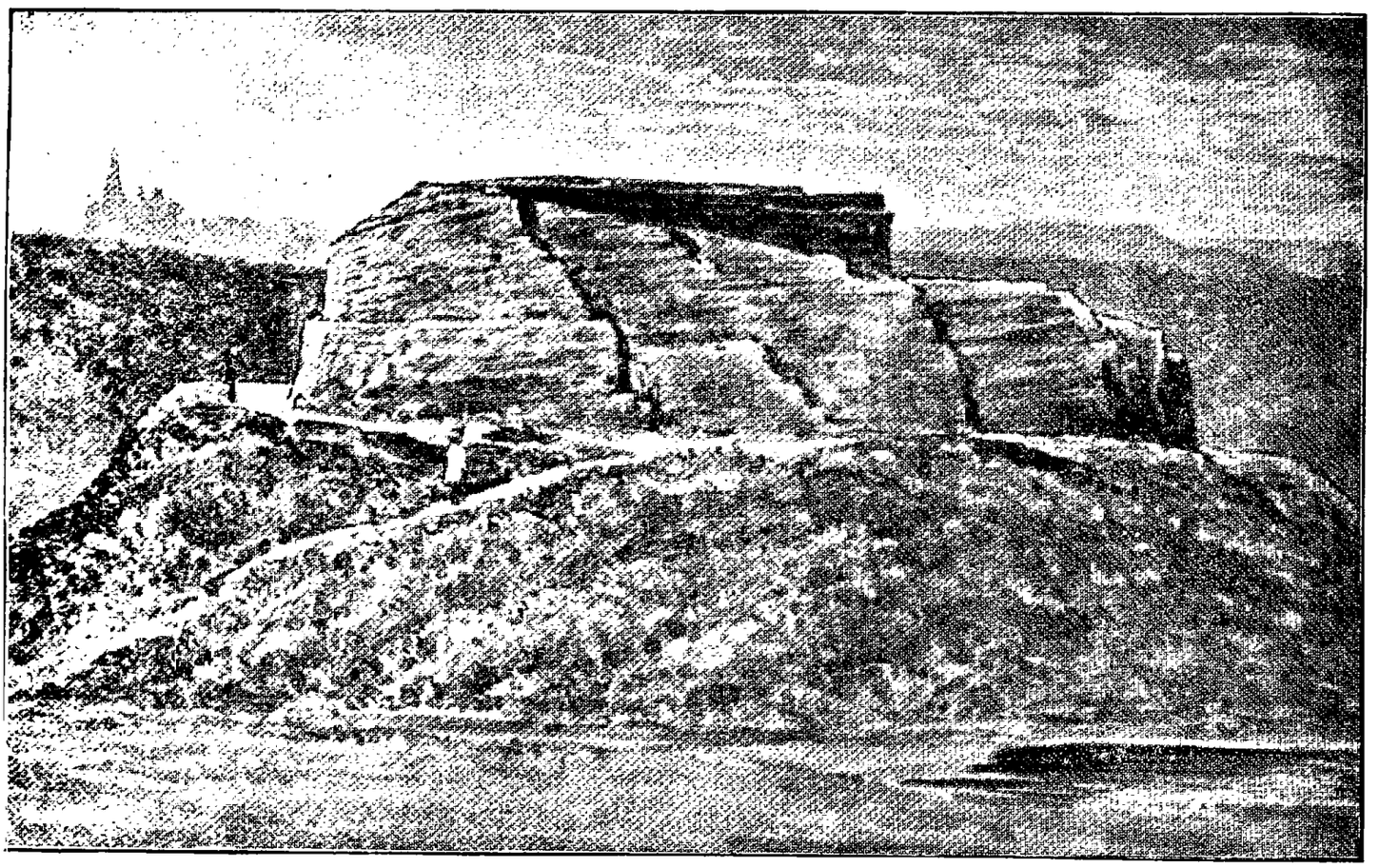
he had been long engaged, "Early Sculptured Crosses, Shrines, and Monuments of the Present Diocese of Carlisle," has been prepared for publication by the present writer, and will shortly be issued by Mr. T. Wilson of Kendal.

The Discoverer of the Norse in Cumbria.

We have also to regret the death of Mr. Robert Ferguson, M.P., F.S.A. (Lond. and Scot.), Vice-President of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, who, though not a member of the Viking Club, deserves our respect and remembrance for his work on "The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland." Published in 1856, this book was the first attempt to deal in any detail with the Viking settlement. So early as 1819, Thomas de Quincey had written, in the *Westmoreland Gazette*, a short series of articles, giving in general terms his opinion that the Lake district dialect was of Danish origin, and instancing a few words, such as *patten*, *neif*, and *attercop*, but hesitating over others, such as *fell*, *dale*, and *tarn*. But Worsaae's "Danes and Norwegians in England" led Mr. Ferguson to reconsider the subject, and to work out place-names, dialect, and remains as thoroughly as the means at his disposal allowed. He was led to the belief that the ancestors of Lakeland folk were not the Danes of the East of England, but Norse coming in from the west, especially from the Isle of Man, and time has not shaken this theory, though the evidence now collected seems to fix the date earlier than that given by Mr. Ferguson, and accepted by no less a writer than Mr. Freeman. In the matter of place-names he has left room for more modern study in the historical and comparative method; but this book, and other books by him, are full of information and suggestion; he was the pioneer in a line of research which many of us are now following up, one of the great men on whose shoulders we sit, saying, "How far we can see!"

Thor's Stone, or Fair Maiden Hall.

In the *Saga-Book*, vol. i., part ii., p. 191, I noticed briefly the Viking colony of 900 A.D. on the Mersey, so closely akin to ours on Morecambe Bay. Recently re-visiting the neighbourhood, I sketched what is now known as the "Thor's Stone," in Wirral, a favourite spot with excursionists, who, after making their flesh creep with tales of pirates and human sacrifices, proceed to cut their initials on the "Altar."

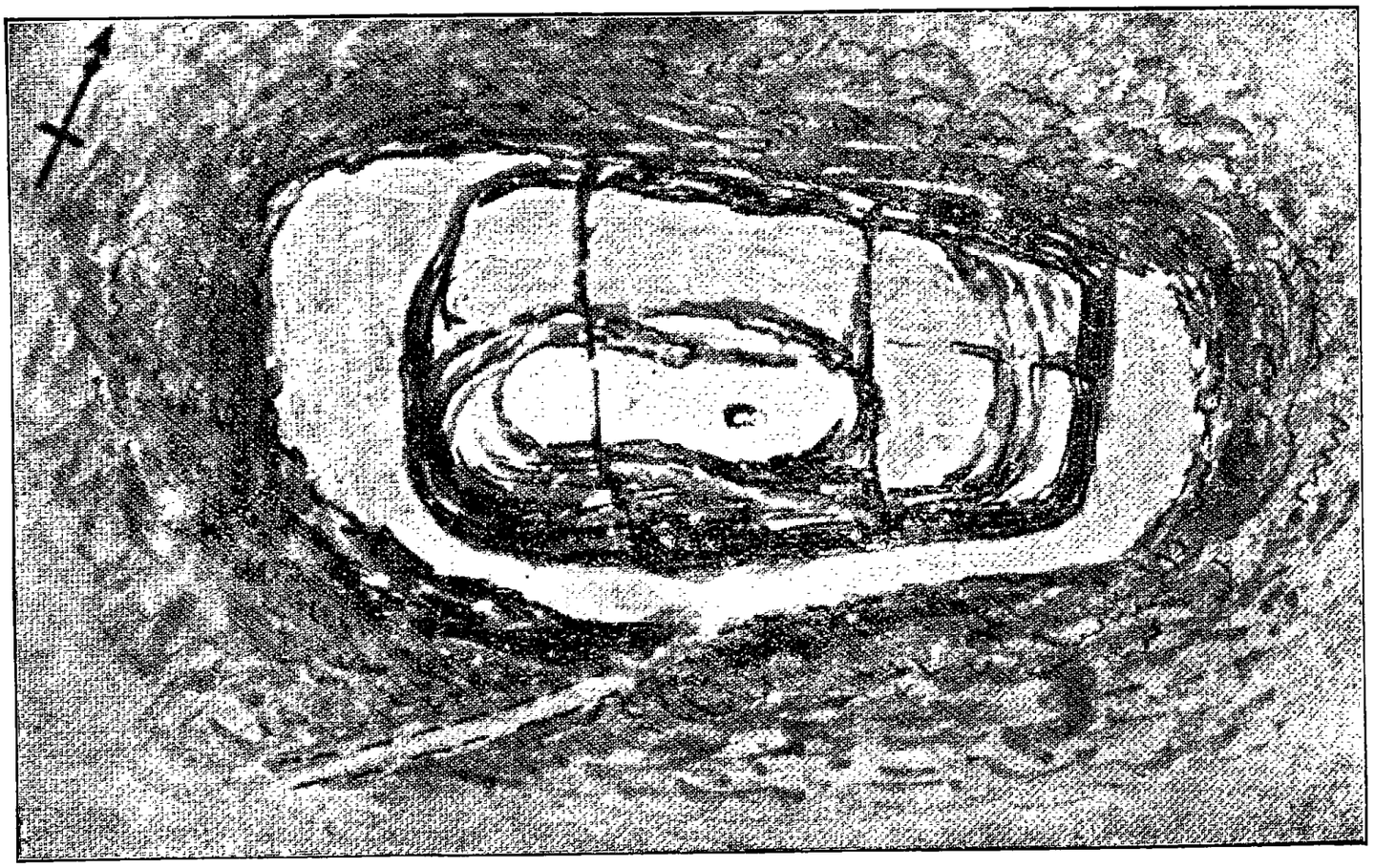


GENERAL VIEW OF THE SO-CALLED THOR'S STONE.

It is a hummock of Permian red sandstone, rising bare and conspicuous above its fern and gorse-covered pedestal, in a little dell (much misnamed an amphitheatre) with a swampy bit of flat bottom. The rock is flat on the top, which measures about 36 by 10 feet, with a slight basin holding rain water, as shown in the plan. There are two terraces, neither of them continuous, all round the rock; but their apparent regularity and the steepness of the sides

remind one of the Manx Tynwald and other thing-mounts. A well-known local antiquary, connecting the rock with the village of Thurstaston (in Domesday Turstanetone, and in the fourteenth century Thurstaneston), which lies five-eighths of a mile to the south-south-east, thought it was the *Thórs-steinn* from which the place was called, and described it as a Norse altar.

Thurstanes-ton, however, matches *Thorstanes-watter* (A.D. 1196), the old name of Coniston Lake, Latinised *Turstini*



GROUND PLAN OF THE SO-CALLED THOR'S STONE.

Watra, and obviously containing the genitive case of a personal name, *Thórsteinn*. The ending in "ton" is not necessarily Anglo-Saxon, and *Thórsteins-tún* must have been the homestead of a Northman.

Two and a quarter miles west of the stone is the interesting site of Thingwall, in Domesday *Tingvelle* (for the Norman scribes could not say *Th*), meaning *Thing-vellir*. There is now no trace of a thing-mount; several hillocks which might be identified as such are built upon

or ploughed over, and the hill on which the mill stands has no resemblance to the thing-mounts we know. If the "Thor's Stone" had been at Thingwall we might have been tempted to fancy it another Tynwald, but that is out of the question.

The proper traditional name of the rock is "Fair Maiden Hall," and local legends describe it as a fairies' haunt.

Its form, though at first sight seeming artificial, is only a more pronounced development of the scarped and shelved knoll so commonly found in that sandstone formation. If the terraces had been cut by the hand of man they would surely have been continuous all round the hill. They are really the result of the weathering of level beds, cleft across by great joints, as shown in the plan and sketch.

Other Antiquities of Wirral.

But though we must give up the Thor's Stone and its human sacrifices, there is much to interest the Viking Club in Wirral. Its pre-Norman cross-fragments are partly described by Mr. E. W. Cox in an appendix to "Early Christian Monuments of Lancashire and Cheshire," by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot. (*Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Ches.*, vol. ix., N.S., 1894), and deserve much study in connection with the Viking settlement. Of one relic in the little museum of St. Bridget's Church at West Kirby the legend is that it came from Ireland, and we have similar traces of Irish Christianity in the Viking age in Cumbria. Several cross-slabs have been found over graves in the post-Viking monastery on Hilbre island; one still is to be seen there, another has been taken away. Neston and other churches contain valuable fragments, of which some are earlier than 900, but some were doubtless carved while the Vikings and their children lived in Wirral.

Norse Place-Names in Wirral.

The place-names also are of great interest to us. The Norse origin of many among them has been long accepted,

and they have been much discussed. A paper by Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine (*Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Ches.*, vol. vii., N.S., 1893) may be mentioned, but I venture to add a few notes on some left unexplained, for we have here a very neat and striking example of the Viking colony, and some leading features which these names illustrate are of importance with regard to the subject in general.

Ingimund's Lochlans (Norse) from Dublin asked for lands here "because they were weary of war." They did not come as conquerors, but as settlers. They did not blot out the existing churches, where pre-Viking crosses were left standing. There could have been no question of storming or creating strongholds: they wanted farms, not forts; agricultural, not strategical advantages. I think we can see plainly that each chief got a slice of land with a frontage to the fjord of Mersey or Dee,[1] and reaching back up the hills to waste land of the interior, just as the settlements were made in Iceland. In each landtake the *bóndi* fixed his homestead, neither on the exposed hilltop nor on the marshy flat. He made his *bær*, a group of buildings, in the *tún*, or homefield, which he manured and mowed for hay, and surrounded with a garth to keep the beasts out; so that *bær*, *heimr*, *staðr*, or *tún* would equally well express the place, and it might be distinguished by the name of the settler or by some natural feature. *Þórsteins-tún* must have been a Norse farm, though Bebbington was Anglo-Saxon, being the *tún* of the Bebbingas. A place called Brimstage, anciently Brunstath[2] or Brynston indifferently, shows that *staðr* and *tún* were convertible terms; the first part of the name, in which the *u* became *y* and *i*, must be *brunnr* (spring), and not *brún* (brow), so that the Norse name was *Brunns-staðr* or

[1] In which the most southern creek is Shotwick, the Domesday Sotowiche, *Suðrvík*.

[2] This, being inland, cannot be Anglo-Saxon *stæð*, bank or shore, as suggested by *The Reliquary* in a review of Mr. H. Harrison's "Place-Names of the Liverpool District," a book published since our article was written.

Brunns-tún. In Storeton I think we have the Icelandic *Storð*, found in the Lake district as Storth, Storthes, and Storrs, meaning coppice or scrub, which once covered the country, though it might have been *Stór-tún* (big field). Oxton, which is a difficulty to those who derive all *tons* from Anglo-Saxon, seems to be good Norse. It lies on the saddle or col of a long ridge or yoke, Latin *jugum*, Icel. *ok*, the name of a mountain in Iceland; and *Oks-tún* would be the "farm on the yoke."

Some of these are secondary settlements; for, as in Iceland, the younger sons of a chief, or his freedmen, would receive bits of less valuable ground inland. There is Irby, up the hills from *Þórsteins-tún*, which like Ireby and Irton, in Cumberland, would be *Íra-bær*, the "farm of the Irishmen," perhaps Thorstein's dependents. Raby, like Raby in Cumberland and the Isle of Man, Roby in Lancs., Vraaby in Denmark, etc., means a farm on a small holding wedged in between the greater estates—a wray, taken by some squatter. The Anglo-Saxon for such a place, as Mr. Henry Bradley has shown, is *unþances*, "without leave," from which come the Unthanks of the North of England.

Around these farmsteads were the acres where they sowed bigg and barr and haver, and pastures of various kinds. Some were called *völlr* (plural, *vellir*), as Crabwall, *krapp-völlr*, "narrow field"; Heswell, in Domesday Eswelle, and mediæval Haselwell, *i.e.*, *hasla-vellir*, "hazel fields," and many other names in wall (*völlr*) or well (*vellir*).

Each estate had its woods (*viðr*), such as Birket (*birk-with*), where firewood was cut, and charcoal burned in coalpits (*gröf*, genitive *grafar*), from which we get the "graves," as Hargrave, and Greasby, in Domesday Gravesberie.

A field at some distance from the farm, especially one that sloped from the hill to the shore or swamp, was a *þveit*. Many, if not most, of our Lake district thwaites are sloping fields; and in Wallasey there are fields called

thwaites. The *hólmr* and *kjarr* (carr) and *mýrr* served for pasturing larger cattle; on the firmer ground they had special places for keeping lambs and calves. Near Windermere we have Calgarth, anciently Calvgarth, *Kálfa-garðr.* In Caithness is the burn of Calder, which in "Orkneyinga Saga" appears as *Kálfadalsá*, stream of the dale where calves were kept; just as we have many Swindales (*svína-dalir*), Hestfells, etc. In Wirral is Calday near *Þórsteins-tún*, which the Domesday scribe wrote Calders. There is no particular "cold water" there, and I suspect this to mean "calf dales."

The sheep were sent up to the moor, and the path up which they were driven was called the Rake, as at Eastham. In summer, cattle also were taken up the moor, and the herdsmen had huts like the Swiss châlets and Norse sæters. In the Lake district we have many examples of Satterhow and Satterthwaite, together with a short form, Seat-thwaite, Seat-scale, becoming Sea-thwaite and Sea-scale, which have nothing to do with the sea. In Wirral, Seacombe can hardly be the hybrid "Sea-cwm"; it is surely the *hvammr* or combe of the seat or sæter.

Summerhill and Sellafield we have in the North, with the same meaning as sæter; and there is another word, *erg* or *ærg* (see the Icel. Dictionary), a loan-word, like so many others, from the Gaelic, in which *airidh* means "moor, summer pasture."[1] The *g* must have been very guttural, and so confused with the *dh*, and sometimes softened into a weak syllable, just as *borg* becomes "borough." We have Arrad near Ulverston, and at Coniston there is Little Arrow, formerly spelt Ayrey, like Aira Force, etc., and evidently this is *ergh* or *airidh.* In the translation of "Orkneyinga Saga" (p. 187, note), Dr. Anderson shows that *Asgrim's ærg* has become Askary. This must explain the Wirral name Arrow, which

[1] In Galloway the word is *aroch*, "a shieling," as in Lochnarroch. In *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc*, 1890, Dr. H. C. March gives instances of the same word becoming *ergh*, *argh*, and *ark*.

may have been Thorstein's *ergh* on the inland wilds; he, being presumably one of the settlers from Dublin, would use the Gaelic loan-word, which two or three centuries later became misunderstood and confused with *Arwe*, the Anglo-Saxon for an "arrow."

Right in the middle of Wirral, where the hinterlands of the old settlers met, was their Thingvellir, showing that they had some organisation of their own during the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is very curious to find, close to Thingwall, a place in a muddy dell called Landican, in Domesday Landechene, which, whether Welsh or Irish, denotes a chapel or kil; not a Saxon kirk, such as also existed in Wirral, but a little place where a Celtic monk lived as a hermit. There are several such in Cumbria, and it seems certain that Irish monks came in with the Irish Vikings, who were not all heathens. The second syllable in Landican is short; perhaps the original form might have been *Lann-Aedhagain*, the kil of "Athacan" as the name is written in runes at Kirkmichael, Isle of Man. Just up the hillside is Prenton, in Domesday Prestune, the priest's farm; and it looks as though the hermit who had settled near the thing-stead, and had so often held up the Cross above debates of feud and strife, had become a recognised power, and—as often happened—had been endowed with a bit of land for his living.

It is only, I think, by comparison with other districts, and from the history of the old Danes and Norse—not merely as pirates, but as colonists—that we may hope to learn the facts and interpret the remains of the great Viking settlements.

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

The Norsemen in Suffolk.

The inland part of Suffolk from which I write has probably not much that is Danish or Norse. East Anglia,

as is well known, was much overrun by the Danes; Norwich, Ipswich, and many other towns, felt their harrying. Thetford, ten miles distant from me, was twice sacked by them. There is a hill at Thetford, supposed of Danish origin, a sepulchral mound perhaps; but hitherto the excavations made have not revealed much, neither Viking nor longship. It is well known that traces of Scandinavian invasion and occupation remain in many names; *wich*, *by*, *toft*, etc., tell their tale. The mention of Thetford stirred me to search if the river Thet were likely to derive its name from the North. I find an Icelandic adjective *þettr*, "watertight." Well, a river is certainly in a sense watertight, the Thet as much so as others; it has a firm gravelly bottom in most parts. But I would not insist on this etymology if others know a better.

Viking keels, beyond doubt, came up our rivers; and some suppose that there was much more water in our waterways in old times. Suffolk and Norfolk are divided in one direction by the Waveney, in the other by the Ouse. It is about five miles from here, close to Redgrave village, that the Waveney and Little Ouse rise. You can pass on a road just between these hardly visible puddles of sources in Redgrave fen; from one side of you the water flows by Diss, Harleston, Beccles, and Breydon Water, to Yarmouth (part being diverted by a cut through Oulton Broad to Lowestoft), while from your other side the Little Ouse, joined by other streams, blends at Brandon Creek with the Great Ouse, and finds its issue in the Wash close by King's Lynn. A wetter state of things would, by no very great rise of water, have admitted vessels of shallow draught from either coast almost within speaking distance, and would have gone near to make Norfolk an island, past which Norse rovers may have rowed, as did Cnut past Ely's isle, when he listened to the monks' quiring. The inland navigation of the Broads district would certainly then be open to and used by fiercer mariners than the holiday yachters and honest wherrymen of to-day.

East Anglia has many words of Scandinavian origin. Glossaries would show this. But I will venture to point out one or two that have struck me. Very common on the Norfolk Broads and rivers is the word "staithe"—a landing place, quay, harbour for vessels. This is just the Icelandic *stöð*; the pronunciation is all but identical. Curiously enough, Vigfússon, in his Lexicon, while giving the English, "stead, roadstead," appears to know nothing of the East Anglian "staithe," which meets one's eye to this day on the ordnance maps of the district.

There is a common word here in the East, "car,"—a small copse, wood, plantation. Especially is it used hereabouts of the small copses by our rivers. I got first knowledge of it years ago when perch-fishing along the Thet. This word is obviously the Icelandic *kjarr*. The word was new to me when I found it hereabouts; in Northamptonshire such a wood was a "copse" or "spinney." Egil has one of his adventures in a "car." And in the "Saga of Sigurd the Jerusalem-farer," that king, in his boastful account of his exploits, tells how he swam over the Jordan, "and out on the bank there was a car," into which he entered and tied a knot (in the rushes, reeds, or willows).

About the Icelandic verb *fara* and the Suffolk "to fare" there are some curious facts. The Icelandic word is very common, and the Suffolk "fare" meets you every day in the countryman's mouth. *Fara* means "to go," in almost every conceivable sense of going; it covers also the common English uses of "fare," in well or ill-faring. But yet *fara* is not used as a Suffolk villager uses "fare" every day of his life. "To fare" here is almost invariably followed by a verb in the infinitive, and is a sort of auxiliary verb, qualifying, supplementary, almost superfluous. You cannot talk long with a Suffolk rustic without hearing expressions of this kind: "I don't fare to like it"; "I fare to feel strange"; "He don't fare to get any better"; "He fare to think so"; "I don't seem to fare to know what to think." In any of these sentences you

might bracket [fare to], and not lose much meaning, but the Suffolk flavour would be gone.

Vigfússon, in his Lexicon, puts the Icelandic *fara sofa, fara vega,* "to go to sleep," "to go to fight," as akin to the East Anglian use; but they are not exactly the same. He also says that in the East Anglian phrase, "to fare to do"="to begin to do." But, though it may have originated thus, "to go to do," "to go about to do," yet it certainly does not definitely now express "to begin" in this part of Suffolk. Vigfússon says, "No instance of this usage is recorded in old Icelandic, but the English usage shows that it must be old." Old, certainly, the usage must be, but not necessarily old in Icelandic; nor need it have come from the Danish element in the ancestors of East Anglians, but from others. Indeed, there is in the Suffolk country speech much cautiousness and non-committal. The rustic's expression of a wish to do is by, "I don't mind if I do," "I don't object." And this feeling may have led to the circumlocutory and less positive "fare to do."

Now I cannot venture to speak authoritatively about the amount of Norse or Danish blood in Suffolkians, but it is probably not nearly so much (at least inland) as in the Norfolk fen-dwellers, broad-men, and coast-folk. In their qualifying and cautious speech (exemplified by "fare" and otherwise) they differ much from the bluntness of the Norsemen.

And it may be remarked that going to sea is especially repugnant to your genuine Suffolk inlander. Hardly a boy ever goes to sea from the villages hereabouts; they think that those who go on the water are almost sure to be drowned. Certainly they do not recall or resemble the Egils, Ingolfs, or Gunnlaugs, of the Sagas: the "hardy Norseman" whose "house of yore was on the wave."

The District Secretary for Somerset (Rev. C. W. Whistler) writes :—

The Norsemen in Somerset.

There is not much to report from the Somerset district. It may be a question whether some further research might not prove the existence of pre-Saxon settlements of Northmen along our Severn coasts, as they undoubtedly existed on the opposite shore of "Demetia." But we need more members in this somewhat wide district.

It may be possible that one or two names in the Quantock country, which are usually taken as referring to the British of Devon and westward, refer to such settlements, and I may specially mention "Williton" and "Will's Neck," and perhaps Wellington, though this last is not so certainly named from the "Wealas" as the other two. By the time that the Saxons had conquered Devon and Cornwall, the Briton was hardly so definitely foreign as to give his appellation to a town as being his special habitation in his own country, more especially as there can certainly have been no sort of extermination of the British here. It is far more likely that Williton, the "Town of the Wealas," was the slightly inland settlement, on the ancient road, of Northern colonists, who held, and perhaps made, the port of Watchet, foreigners alike to Saxon and Briton.

"Will's Neck" is a *col* of the Quantocks, and the name may be either a remembrance of the ancient traders who crossed it from west to east, or of the site of some battle against foreign invaders, not necessarily British. The old "way of the army," the "Hare Knap," runs, as its name implies, along a ridge of the hills far to the north of Will's Neck.

Survival of an Odinic Riddle.

I met with a very curious riddle not long since, asked me here by a village child, which, at all events, has an

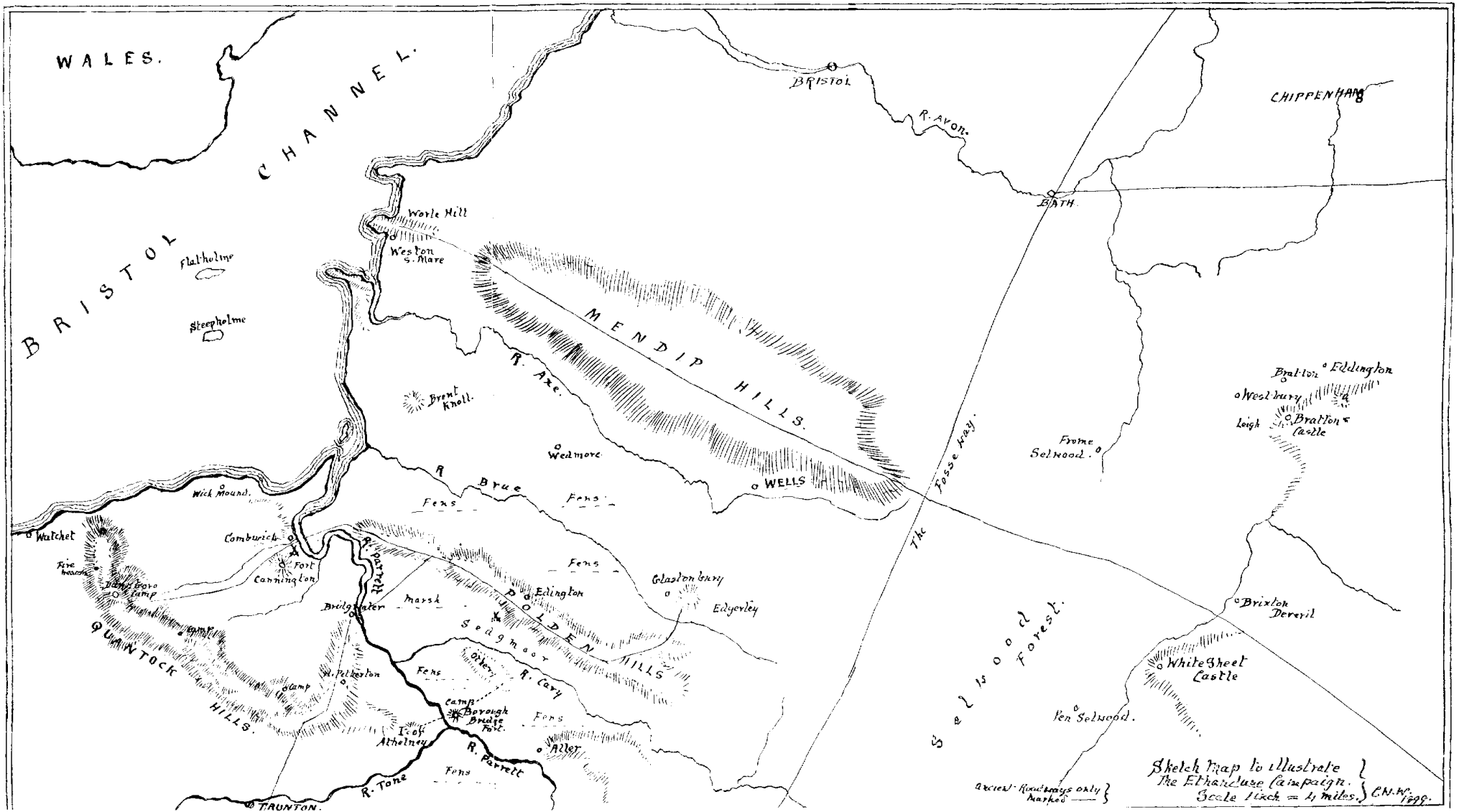
identical Norse counterpart, and which may well be a relic of Norse settlement—

"Four walkers,
Two lookers,
Two crookers,
Four hangers,
One wiggle waggle.
What do her be?"

The answer is, of course, "Her do be cow!"

The Norse riddle occurs in the series proposed by Odin, in the disguise of Gest, to King Heidrek, and runs thus—

"Four are walking,
Four are hanging,
Two showing the way,
Two keeping dogs off,
One lags behind
All his days,
That one is always dirty."


WALES.
BRISTOL CHANNEL.
BRISTOL
R. Avon.
CHIPPENHAM
BATH.
Worle Hill
Weston S. Mare
Flatholme
Steepholme
MENDIP HILLS.
R. Axe.
Brent Knoll.
Wedmore
WELLS
R. Brue
Fens
Wick Mound.
Watchet
Combwich
Fort Cannington
Fire Beacon
Dangboro Camp
R. Parrett
Bridgwater
Marsh
Edington
POLDEN HILLS
Sedgmoor
Glastonbury
Edgerley
Other
R. Cary
Camp
W. Petherton
QUANTOCK HILLS.
Camp
Borough Bridge Fort.
I. of Athelney
Aller
R. Parrett
R. Tone
TAUNTON.
The Fosse Way.
Frome Selwood.
Bratton
Eddington
Westbury
Leigh
Bratton Castle
Brixton Deveril
White Sheet Castle
Selwood Forest.
Pen Selwood.
Ancient Roadways only marked
Sketch map to illustrate The Ethandune Campaign. Scale 1 inch = 4 miles.
C.N.W. 1899.

ETHANDUNE, A.D. 878—KING ALFRED'S CAMPAIGN FROM ATHELNEY.

By the REV. C. W. WHISTLER.

It is not too much to say that the campaign from Athelney, which culminated in the decisive victory of Ethandune, and was followed by the "Frith of Wedmore" as its full reward, is one of the most important, and at the same time one of the most neglected, events in our own history, if not in that of the whole warlike North. For besides its effects on the result of the long struggle between Dane and Saxon, the fact that here for the first time recorded, victory, complete and enduring in result, was gained for a weak force by actual generalship, properly speaking, as opposed to the mere leading of a fighting line, marks a new stage in the progress of the art of war among our forefathers.

Certainly up to the date of Ethandune (878 A.D.) we are told of nothing to equal Alfred's achievement. The forces opposed to him were immensely superior to his own in every way, for England, in her long isolation, had by no means kept pace with the kindred nations in the matter of efficiency in warfare. Strategy and weapons alike were those of the days of the first wars that had won the land from the Welsh, and had sufficed for the settling of the question of supremacy among the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, while in the North there had grown, out of constant warfare, an advance in every point but that of actual generalship.

The long Saxon spear, however terrible it had been

against the half-Roman weapons of the Welsh, was no match for the axe and long sword, which could shear its shaft and repeat the blow before the short seax could be of any avail, and it seems certain that the defensive armour of the North was far more elaborate than that of England. Again, in the all-important matter of discipline the invaders were far advanced beyond the men of the hastily summoned levies who came up at the call of the Sheriffs, only hoping for speedy victory and return to their homes. However mixed a Danish host might be, it had always a steady and reliable nucleus in the men of the seaboard, whom annual Viking cruises had trained in the prompt obedience to orders and reliance on their leaders which makes a sea-trained force always formidable; while the permanent followers of the English chiefs, their housecarles, were few, and their organisation was of no use to the army as a whole.

And besides all these advantages, there was one thing which gave the invader an immense superiority over the invaded—the definite battle formation, the terrible "swine-array," or wedge. This seems to have come into general use among the Northern nations about A.D. 700, the date usually given for the battle of Bravöll, for it is recorded that when the old king, Harald Hilditönn, saw his opponents, in the great duel that was to give him a hero's ending, drawn up in a "swine-array," he said, "I had thought this a secret known only to Odin and myself. It would seem that Allfather is deserting me at the last." Maybe the old hero's name, "The War-tooth," bears witness that he was indeed the first to drive that irresistible fang, tipped with such warriors as that axeman who kept the whole English army at bay on Stamford bridge, into the heart of an opposing line and break it into two disorganised sections. But if it were the invention of one man, or the natural result of years of warfare, here in England our chiefs seem never to have learnt it, possibly because the national weapons, long spear and short seax, did not lend themselves to any formation but line or mass.

In itself the wedge formation is primitive, and but the first step in advance from the line—the Romans used it in the early days of their wars, but superseded it as time went on by the ordered line, in which every arm was represented and had its own part to play in every probable turn of a fight—yet it was the only real advance made in Northern warfare until the time of Alfred, and then, from despairing Wessex, came an as yet to the Danes unknown science, the craft of the general.

No wonder that Alfred's people thought that the wonderful plan of campaign that reduced the hitherto victorious Danes to entire submission was a direct inspiration from Heaven, sent in the dire need of Christian men against the heathen, for it was as wonderful to them as the "swine-array" to the men of the Norse king. To the Danes this new departure from the ancient ways of war was nothing short of bewildering. Doubtless to them also this craft seemed as a gift to Alfred from the God whom he served, and as such by no means to be withstood. They had no need to fear meeting the English forces in the open field, for even if by some turn of fate the actual battle went against them the result would be much the same. Whether in victory or defeat the levies would at once disperse after battle, and leave the way open for advance, and the hardest trial of an English leader was to keep any force, with which to strike the second blow that should secure an advantage gained, together. But from the day of Ethandune forward the fear of Alfred was on his foes in a new way. How or when he might strike next, or what unknown force he might have in reserve, was beyond calculation. No man had made war thus in all the time gone by, and they were powerless.

I have spoken rather of the campaign than of the battle, for the latter is not by any means the important point. In the case of other of our decisive contests, as, for instance, in the later case of Hastings, there had been no campaign as usually understood. The forces sought each

other and met, and the matter was ended on the one field. But from the day of his flight to the fens, no move made by Alfred was without its end to be served. One occurrence was possibly unforeseen, namely, the landing of Hubba, but not certainly so, and in the end may have been rather fortunate than otherwise, but in any case the great plan could hardly have failed in final success.

And I have said that this is one of the most neglected events in our history, for it is invariably passed over with a few words in any book that one may choose to take up. Yet in the case of any battle of equal or less importance fought subsequently to the Norman conquest we should certainly, were the records available, be given full details of the affair. And in the case of Ethandune there are, as the late Bishop Clifford pointed out to the Somerset Archæological Society in 1876, ample materials preserved by the older chroniclers for the reproduction of the whole campaign, if only some knowledge of the country involved is brought to bear on the research.

What our books have told us is practically this, that from his hiding in Athelney the king suddenly emerged at the head of a force sufficient not only to inflict a severe defeat on the Danes under a veteran and successful leader, but also to besiege the beaten force for a fortnight and compel surrender on his own terms; but how this remarkable stroke of generalship was carried out we are not told. Possibly our authority may speak of Chippenham as the stronghold of the Danish army, and complicate matters for us by-and-bye, when we realise that between there and Athelney some fifty miles intervene, so that, unless that intervening country swarmed with Danes, there would certainly have been no reason for Alfred, with all Devon behind him moreover, to have remained in hiding, while if he must needs do so, the very Danes who kept him in the fen would have taken the news of his new levy to headquarters, and the implied surprise must have been a failure.

Presently, as we pursue the subject further, we find that

Alfred must actually have had a strong force in the field at the time that he had been described as lost in the fenland, for he fought the mighty Hubba, and won the magic Raven banner from him, with the men of Devon. And one day, perhaps, the Great Western express, on its way past Bridgwater to Taunton, takes one within sight of Athelney, and there, plain to be seen, is the high, triply-walled earthwork at Borough Bridge which Alfred and his thanes raised while they lay in the tiny island a mile away across the river and marshes, an evidence to every Dane on the surrounding hills that some leader, if not the king himself, was yet in existence. Then one recalls the statement that from Athelney the king and his few followers continually harassed the Danes by sudden attacks, after which they would retreat to their fastness in the fen, and one realises that this was the base of these sorties, but at the same time, it becomes very evident that the enemy must have been in force somewhere close at hand on the borders of the wide-stretching fenland.

Putting all these evident details together, it is plain that some other explanation must be sought for the king's movements than the time-honoured and careless statements that we have grown accustomed to. We can hardly believe that Chippenham and Edington, in far-off Wiltshire, were the points at which Alfred aimed, and one is puzzled, perhaps, as to how they came to be pitched upon in the first place, though we know that a statement once made and noticed is usually followed, so long as it seems to come from a reliable authority. And in this case the original identification comes from Camden, and, of course, has been blindly followed, though he had a casual way of connecting these far-off historic events with places which he happened to know, if the name fitted, regardless of the possibility of a duplication of name, as in the case of Knut's last battle with Ironside, where he gives the far inland Ashdon as the scene of the fight, instead of Ashingdon on the coast—misled, one would think, by his acquaintance with the former, and the proximity of the Bartlow tumuli.

It is easy to see, too, how he has been misled in the case of the Athelney campaign, for the only town mentioned in the chronicles is Chippenham, and there is an Edington close at hand, whose distance from Athelney corresponds nearly enough with the recorded march made by the king.

But the duplication of names is rather a feature of Wessex generally, and if we can induce ourselves to abandon the old identifications, which can by no means be brought to harmonise with the facts of the campaign as given by the chroniclers, it is possible to bring out the progress of events most clearly, and with some more definite appreciation of Alfred's powers as a general. We can safely follow Dr. Clifford's lead in this matter, as he was perfectly acquainted with the country, and deeply versed in the various chronicles which relate to the period. His paper on the subject of the places named by them is, however, almost forgotten, as it would seem, although in trying to follow out the military aspect of the matter it soon becomes evident that he was right in what seemed a bold departure from received ideas. It may be as well to give at once the chief sources from which our knowledge of events come. The "Saxon Chronicle" and Asser's life of Alfred stand in the first place, as contemporary; the former possibly and the latter certainly so. Our dates are from the "Chronicle," whose account of events is curt and without detail, while Asser fills up the gaps in this respect. After these come the eleventh and twelfth century writers, who, no doubt, record the current traditions of the time, if they had not, as is most likely, access to records which have been lost. Some simply follow the "Saxon Chronicle," or Asser, but add incidents and details of the greatest interest to us, as they materially assist in clearing up difficulties here and there. Ethelweard, Henry of Huntingdon, Florence of Worcester, and Simeon of Durham, all wrote in the eleventh, and Ingulf, Matthew of Westminster, and Brompton belong to the twelfth century school of monastic writers, and all are worth collating for light on the Alfred period.

There is one point which comes out more or less clearly in tracing the course of events which led up to the retreat to the island, and that, one that is hardly noticed, if at all, and therefore may be worth mention, specially as it has its bearing on our subject. When the definite tide of invasion with intent to occupy England set in from Denmark in the year 865, the prime movers in the project were the three "sons of Lodbrok," Ingvar, Halfdan, and Hubba, and there seems little doubt that they had planned an equal division of the country they meant to conquer among them, Ingvar taking Mercia and East Anglia, Halfdan Northumbria, and Hubba Wessex. Other chiefs were of necessity associated with them, as "host-kings," but, with one exception, we hear little of them, Lodbrok's sons being evidently supreme. What relationship these actually held with the hero, Ragnar, it is almost impossible to say, for while Northern authorities claim actual sonship, their excuse for invasion of East Anglia after peace made was vengeance for the death of their father at the court of King Eadmund. Probably we may not be far wrong if we consider them grandsons of Ragnar, and sons of a second Lodbrok, who kept the old and honoured names alive in them. However this may be, the partition was, in the case of the two first-named brothers, duly carried out. There is no need for us to go through the events that followed the invasion; but by the year 876 the whole of the country north of the Thames was completely and beyond hope of recovery in the power of the Danes, and only Wessex, saved for the time by the nine pitched battles of 871, still kept her independence, and remained to be conquered for Hubba. Warned by her stout resistance, the invaders had turned back to make their footing sure in the already conquered country before again crossing the Thames, and had done their work thoroughly. Halfdan had gone to his kingdom, Northumbria, and was apportioning it among his followers in full settlement, while Ingvar, called to Denmark by some trouble that had, as the Danish authorities say, arisen in

his absence, had handed over the sovereignty of Mercia and the eastern counties to Guthrum, the one other of the host-kings whose name is only too well known to us. He, therefore, was left to co-operate with Hubba in any further operations, and suddenly, in 876, the invasion of Wessex began in earnest. The host surprised Alfred, who may have been at sea yet with his first few ships, as a cruise is recorded just previously, by a march from Cambridge through the heart of his country to Wareham, where they evidently expected the arrival of a new fleet from the eastward, if not from Denmark. Alfred besieged them, and made terms with them, and then, possibly for the first time, realised that a Danish host was composed of the followers of many independent chiefs, who were by no means bound to their "king" and his peace-makings, as were his own people. For, after oaths taken and hostages given for departure from Wessex, a strong section of the Danes, many of whom were new-comers to England, cut through the Saxon lines, after what seems to have been a sharp cavalry engagement, and plunged yet deeper into Wessex, establishing themselves in Exeter. Alfred followed them, leaving, for some reason, the remaining Danes in Wareham, possibly knowing that there were divided counsels at work, and trusting that the "frith" would be kept by these.

But there was the coming fleet to be guarded against, and, needing every man ashore, the king entrusted his ships "to certain Vikings," and sent them to intercept it. And here is a point of immense interest, for it is not hard for us to see who these Vikings were. Certainly they could not be Danes, and Frisians were traders rather than warriors. They must have been Norsemen, hereditary, and therefore trustworthy, foes of the Dane, and always ready to join any leader who would help them to a fight. And there were many Norsemen in the Channel just at this time, for in the previous year Rolf Ganger himself had wintered quietly in England, where he had had the vision which sent him across to "Valland" to win his

new dominion ; and the stream of emigration from Norway, where the high-handed methods of Harald Härfager and Jarl Rognvald were causing so much unrest, was still following him. Our sorely tried king could not be slow to make use of such formidable allies when the long ships put in to the southern havens to refit or to hear whither the mighty son of Rognvald had gone, if indeed he might not be busy in conquering England herself. If this was the first time that Norsemen fought at the side of English it was not to be the last, as Brunanburg is witness, and we might date the friendly rivalry between Härfager and the great Athelstan from this beginning.

For the king's servants, as the new allies are called, did well and valiantly, meeting the invading fleet, which had been delayed by storm—in which the vessels had suffered severely—off Swanage as they bore up for the Poole inlet, at the head of which Wareham stands, and annihilating it. We may gather that the Danes were unprepared to meet any opposing fleet, and were driven to sea, to meet a fresh gale on a lee shore, 120 ships being lost in battle or gale. The English fleet must have sheltered in Poole harbour from force of weather, and it is not surprising therefore that the Danes yet there made the best of their way to Exeter, following the other part of their force. Alfred did not hinder them, the risk of a front and rear attack if a sortie were made from the town being plainly too great ; but, once they were within the walls, he penned them there, and they surrendered. He must have been a master of leaguer, though of course no supplies would come into the town when once the raiding parties were ended.

This seemed to be the end. The king took what hostages he chose for the immediate departure of the host from Wessex, and they went back by the way they came, leaving the country in peace, at least for a time.

Then followed an unheard-of terror. In the depth of the following winter, which we incidentally learn was unusually severe, some time in the middle of January the

Danish host suddenly left Gloucester, their winter quarters, returned, and took Chippenham once more. The English had, of course, no force in the field, the Christmas-time feasting was hardly over, and the king fled to Athelney.

Where he was when the blow fell we are not told. Almost certainly, therefore, he was keeping the traditional open house at the "royal Vill" of Chippenham itself, and the Danes had hoped to take him there. If not at Chippenham, he must have been close at hand, for the enemy were hard on him when he fled. Had he been elsewhere, we should certainly have been told, moreover; while that the enemy sought him there would seem self-evident to the chroniclers.

In Athelney, for a time at least, Alfred seems to have given way to despair, and we hear of visions sent to comfort him. But however much his first flight to the fen was a matter of necessity, there is no doubt that before very long he chose to remain there for strategic reasons. He knew the country well, having private possessions of his own in the district, and it was impossible for him not to see that the advantages of his position were many. For Athelney is as it were an outpost on the southern frontier of the strongest natural "quadrilateral" in Wessex, and one can hardly find such another in England. Kenwalch had driven the Welsh into this refuge country to Petherton in 658, and even now the dialect retains traces of the mixed occupations by race after race, differing in some particulars from that of the rest of West Somerset.

Roughly speaking, this quadrilateral is some twelve miles in extent from the Bristol Channel, which forms its northern frontier, to the fens of the Tone which guard the southern; and in the other direction, the average distance from the camp-crested Quantock Hills on the west to the tidal, and fen bordered, waters of the Parrett may be some eight miles. The great circular refuge camp of Dowsborough, or Danesborough ("Dinas-beorh," one would say, for the camp dates back to far British days,

and the Saxon who heard the place called "Dinas" would naturally take the term for a proper name, and add the duplicate in his own tongue), and a chain of lesser forts, some Roman, keep the line of the Quantocks, from which a defending force at the worst could retreat to the fastnesses of Exmoor and beyond, while where the hills inland slope to the Tone fens, Ina's strong town of Taunton completes the western frontier. From Taunton to what is now Bridgwater the southern line of defence is the deep belt of fenland along Tone and Parrett and around their junction—a mile or so from Athelney, which lies about midway between the two towns—while what we may call the eastern boundary is formed by the tidal waters of the Parrett, whose mouth is guarded by an ancient hill-fort at Combwich, about which there is more to say.

Here, then, Alfred had a new base, and a country unharried, in which he might gather the Devon men at least. Across the fens no force could make its way except by the tracks known only to the few serfs who dwelt among the meres and mosses on the ridges of firm ground here and there. The old Saxon town of Taunton kept the western causeway, and the older Roman works of "ad Pontem," now Bridgwater, guarded the one bridge across the Parrett, so that it needed but a few well-organised men to keep the Quantock sanctuary untouched. And here, therefore, Alfred began to make his preparations for one more attempt.

There were now two Danish forces to be reckoned with—that overrunning the country from Chippenham, under Guthrum, and that under the more terrible Hubba, which was now wintering, with the fleet which had presumably left the upper waters of the Severn in the preceding autumn, in the district of South Wales—Demetia—across the channel. With spring, this fleet might be looked for at any time, and that either as bringing reinforcements to Guthrum, or with the more dangerous intention of making a landing on the Devon coast, and co-operating by means

of a rear attack. That the latter was likely was to be inferred from the inactivity of the Chippenham host, which made no further advance into Wessex as the spring came on. At all events, Alfred prepared against it, and by March he had a strong western force in the field under Odda, the Devon earl, as is plain by the next move of the Danes. Where this force was gathered is not certain; it may have been at Exeter or at Taunton, or in the Danesborough camp on the Quantocks, which is, perhaps, as likely as anywhere, from its position with reference to Athelney and the line of coast to be watched as well.

The expected landing came with the first possibility. On or about the 21st of March, Hubba's fleet of 23 ships left Demetia and landed his men, under the terrible raven banner of Lodbrok, somewhere in Devon, in the immediate neighbourhood of a fortress called by the chroniclers, with varied spelling, Kinwith or Cymwich castle.

Here we need an accurate location for a forgotten battle that should have its place in our memory, for the sake of the name of Devon, and here again old conjectures have made a difficulty for us. The site of Hubba's landing is usually given, if mentioned at all, at a non-existent and presumably, therefore, submerged site at Apeldore, near Bideford. This identification began with Leland, and is quoted by Spelman, and followed accordingly by Camden, and after him by the rest. None of the chronicles mention Apeldore, however, and Dr. Clifford traced Leland's statement which Spelman copied to a reference to a battle at Apeldore in Kent in 893. There is no castle corresponding to that required in the neighbourhood of Bideford, whence the notion that it must have been submerged. Nor is it at all easy to see why Hubba should have landed at a point whence he must cross first the Taw and then the wilds of Exmoor in order to come to touch either with Alfred or Guthrum. Moreover, Brompton records the presence of Alfred himself at the first battle which followed the landing, and at that time he was in Athelney. It is evident that we have good grounds at least for seeking the

site of Hubba's landing elsewhere in the Devon of Alfred's time than so far west as the lost site on the Taw. And in those days Devon meant the last conquest of the Saxons, the Roman province of Damnonia, whose eastern border was the river Parrett, in whose waters the coming fleet must have at least been expected, if it was to co-operate with Guthrum.

We have no need to go further. At the first available landing-place in the Parrett we find the very name of the castle and the ancient fort itself, exactly corresponding to the description given by Asser from his own knowledge of the place. Combwich is the name to-day—and Kymwich is that given by one chronicler, the rest varying it from Kinwith to Cynuit—of the tiny port in the Parrett that is dominated by what we call Cannington Park, a new manorial title for the strange conical hill that yet has the crumbling remains of the ancient British walls around its crest, "fortified after our manner," Asser, who was a Welshman, says. Whoever planned the works was certainly a master of his art, for the fort is practically impregnable; but it is waterless, the formation being an outcrop of mountain limestone, and this one weakness is duly noted by the old writers as having much to do with the final event of the landing.

Here, then, at Combwich, Hubba landed with some 2,000 men—the complement, to be more exact, of 23 long ships—and at once Odda, the earl with the Devon levy, marched to oppose him. From the fen came Alfred and his thanes to join Odda, and, on the authority of his kinsman Ethelweard, had a narrow escape in the severe defeat that ensued on the first meeting of the forces, the Danes having possession of the field. In the rout that followed there were some, however, who held together, Odda, with about 600 men, taking refuge in the fort, where the victorious Danes at once proceeded to besiege them, not caring to waste men in a hopeless assault on a place that would be untenable immediately for lack of water, while it needed but three strong posts on the

rising ground east, west, and south of the fort to complete the investment, the fourth side being kept by the tidal stream that forms the harbour, or "Pill," to use the local term, with the swamp of the "cwm wych" itself, through which it ran, wider and deeper then than now.

Then Hubba made the mistake of underrating the value of men driven to desperation, and, *perperam agens*, sent a body of his men across the river, as it would seem, to raid the fertile grazing land on the eastern bank, and the fall of the tide (some 15 to 23 feet) cut him off from them, the Parrett mud banks being impassable, except in one place where there is an ancient ford, impassable to any but a native, and that only at "low water springs."

Odda saw, and was not slow to take, the advantage of more equal numbers. He addressed his men, reminding them that there was but a choice of deaths before them, and that it was better to die sword in hand than to perish slowly by starvation and thirst—and one may imagine what followed. The desperate Saxons came across their ramparts with no thought but to die, and fell on Hubba and his Danes, probably disposing of one of the besieging camps before the next knew that their lines were attacked, and then meeting the rest in detail. Hubba fell, and the local tradition records that the Danish force was exterminated, with the exception of one boy (the Danish boy of Wordsworth's unfinished poem, written during his stay on the Quantocks).

To-day one may identify the spot where the banner—"the Raven"—stood and the last stand of the Danes was made, for the hill-top which is between the fort and the river, where Hubba himself would certainly have chosen his own station during the siege, is covered with the graves of the dead. They lie, stripped of all their arms, buried in shallow trenches, feet to head, and in some cases which I have lately found, face downward, and with the stones next the body—even on the face—evidences of hasty battle-field interment. One skull that I disinterred had the jawbone fractured in two places, but beyond the finding

of a broken spearhead, there is nothing left to help fix the date of the burials. I have, however, found a hip bone stained green with the presumable decay of some bronze buckle, or may be sword-hilt.

It is noteworthy too that, even now, the "wild hunt" is said to pass over the old camp and across to the Quantocks, as if there were some memory of the Valkyrie who should choose out the heathen heroes.

Odda did not wait for the return of the men from across the river, but made a rapid retreat. The tradition of the extermination of the Danes being referred to the Danesborough camp points to that as his next station, and there is no nearer refuge. At all events, the Danes on their return buried their fallen chief near the ships, and marched at once to join Guthrum, who was, as we shall see, on his way to meet the fleet from Chippenham.

Camden has been quoted as saying that Hubba's grave existed in his time, but he himself is quoting from Brompton. It is not known now, for the floods of the Parrett must have long ago swept it away, if it was near the river. There is, however, a large tumulus, mostly composed of stones, and so far corresponding to the description of that raised over Lodbrok's most mighty son given by Brompton, on a hillside overlooking what has quite lately been an inlet of the sea where the ships would be well berthed, slightly west of the Parret mouth, but in position relative to the fort quite possible as the landing-place. Hubba's name is not attached to it, but it is of sufficient note to have several definite legends attached to it. One in particular it shares with many Northern mounds—the old tale of the Pixies broken baker's "peel," and the cake made for the man who mended it. The mound is unsearched as yet, but its position halfway up the hillside seems to point to a burial from the ships that lay on the strand a stone's throw distant.

(Dr. Clifford points out another mound, on the level, and a mile or so distant from the shore, as a possible

"Hubbelowe," but exploration proved it the site of a forgotten windmill. He believed also that the course of the river had left this vicinity, which would seem likely from all analogy, but last year the discovery of British pottery refuse on the marsh near the river proved that the outfall of the river has altered little, if at all.)

Now began Alfred's great planning, for at last he had the whole Danish host before him, and his men had learnt that the enemy was not altogether invincible. The moral effect of the death of their most terrible chief and the loss of the magic banner must have been very great on the Danes also. For once there was a Saxon force in the field which they had cause to fear, and which must be watched. The remainder of Hubba's men would not underrate the strength of the force which had inflicted on them a loss that is variously stated at from 800 to 1,200, the former being probably correct as the number accounted for in the two days' fighting.

Two main points were now in Alfred's mind—to keep the Danish force within striking distance, and to raise sufficient force of his own to crush it once for all. So long as Odda's men were within the quadrilateral they were not only safe as a nucleus of a western levy, but a constant danger to the Danes, who could only win their way into the refuge land at immense loss.

It therefor became necessary to make as much of the force already known as possible, and therefor, about Easter, the king and his thanes commenced the camp at the junction of the rivers Tone and Parrett which we now call "Borough Mump." For this work the river had to be bridged, and a causeway led to it across the swamp from Athelney, the remains of both remaining at the present time. Asser describes the fort with much enthusiasm, and it is indeed very strong with its triple lines of earthworks encircling what seems to be a more or less natural mound. At all events, it is so large that a labourer of the place from whom I tried to gain some tradition of its building was of opinion that it could only

have been made "in them days when men worked for a penny a day." There was no remembrance of the royal hands that had toiled on the raising.

The position of the fort in itself is secure from attack from the Polden or Hamdon hills on east and south, owing to the wide fenland and swamps of several river systems, and Alfred, in placing his fort on the *eastern* bank of the Parrett, provided against a possible forcing of the Quantock district. An attack from that direction would be stopped by the river after the strip of fen around Athelney had been crossed.

But if any force from the "burgh"—Bridgwater—had attempted to march on Athelney from the north, it would have had to fight its way across the Petherton heights, where the Welsh turned to bay in the days of Kenwalch, before reaching a point whence to cross the fens. Here Odda's levies would meet them on the first sign of movement, and did he defeat them as he had defeated Hubba, their case would have been hopeless, as pent in the quadrilateral.

From this fort the next move was to make a causeway still eastward across the fens towards the bold line of the Polden Hills which, running from Glastonbury to the sea between the Parrett and Brue rivers, bound the level mosses of Sedgmoor, and were the most likely position to be chosen by Guthrum from which to watch the unlooked for rising of the strong fenland fort. This causeway gave Alfred access to the long island of Othery, which runs yet further towards the Poldens, and now it is certain began the continual harassing of the Danes from the fen of which we read. Now, too, they must have been massed on that long ridge, and we can name the bold height which they chose for their position—Edington Hill—the Ethandune which has been overlooked. There they made some slight earthworks which still remain, but it would seem from the chroniclers that they also held some fortress which is nameless, but strong enough to stand a long siege. It is quite possible that this was the old fortress

of "Burgh," which is now amplified to Bridgwater, for Guthrum would hardly leave the one exit from the quadrilateral open to Odda and his force, while he was quite strong enough to hold a *tête-du-pont* besides the Edington position, reinforced as he had been by Hubba's men, to whose help he must have advanced on the news of the defeat, even if he had not left Chippenham in order to meet the fleet before the landing actually took place.

It is now certain that he was watching Alfred, for, "seeing that there was danger in delay as the king's army increased daily," he called in his more distant outposts. And this strengthening of his forces was no doubt due to the constant (Ethelweard says daily) sallies from the fens, which would give the impression of a far more numerous gathering than existed on the west of the Parrett.

This position lasted for seven weeks, dating from Easter when the Athelney stronghold began to rise in full view from Edington Hill. The story of the king's visit in disguise to the Danish camp belongs to this period; but, if this is but legend (which is told also of Eadmund Ironside), Alfred was employed in sending messengers through the southern counties in preparation for his great stroke.

Guthrum's attention was fixed on the Quantock quadrilateral and the fen, and now there was a possibility of raising another force, unsuspected by him, in his rear. By Whitsuntide this was accomplished, the word had gone to the southern thanes, and the place of assembly was named. On May 11th the king left the fen and rode to "Ecgbyrht's stone on the east of Selwood," a place which is always and rightly identified with Brixton Deveril, on the borders of the three counties of Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset, and here he was met by the men of those three counties and of Hants who had not yet fled across the seas. Dr. Clifford suggests that the ancient encampment known as "White Sheet Castle" may have been the actual gathering place; but, wherever the tryst was kept at Brixton, Alfred made no delay, but marched at once on the enemy.

Now there is actually no mention of a march towards Chippenham in any of the chronicles. The nearest approach to it is in the statement of Ethelweard, that "King Alfred fought against the host that was at Chippenham at a place called Ethandune"—an identification of the particular host, *i.e.*, the Chippenham host, that was the cause of the trouble at the time. The actual names given of the stages of the march are from Ecgbyrht's stone to Æcglea, or Iglea, or Okely, and thence to Ethandune. On the supposition that the route was towards Chippenham, the former place is only conjecturally identifiable; but with Guthrum at Edington on Poldens, the march is easily traceable.

One would expect that the halt to be made on the night before the battle would be at some place within easy striking distance of the Danish camp, and, following the ancient road from Brixton to the ridge of the Poldens, we come on the place at once. Hidden among the hills around Glastonbury are the level meadows of Edgarley, or Egerley, whence to Ethandune, along the gradually rising Poldens, is but eight miles, distance and position alike making the halt secure from observation. The place corresponds well with the description of it given in the "Life of St. Neot," as a day's march from Brixton, and protected in front by marshy ground. The twenty miles or less from Brixton would not be more than the Saxons, unencumbered by baggage, could cover in a forced march easily enough, and we shall hardly be wrong in identifying this position as that of the halt on the march.

What followed on the ensuing morning is inexplicable, unless our identifications are correct. The Danes were ready for battle, but on the other hand the Saxons surprised them by capturing the heights in their rear. Guthrum therefor must have left the Edington position and descended to the level westward, whence he had been so long expecting attack, and there may therefor have been a preconcerted arrangement that Odda, with the Western force, should make a feint on the fortress held by

the Danes, and into which they were eventually driven either from Taunton or the Quantocks. If we are right in thinking that this fortress was at the Bridge, the reason for the abandonment of the strong hill position is evident.

We may notice, in confirmation of this unmentioned co-operation, that in the first place Alfred rode from Athelney with no force behind him, and then that there is no mention of the men of Devon in the accounts of the gathering at Brixton. Odda and his men must therefor have been left on Quantock side with some definite intention.

The first intimation that Guthrum had of the fact that he was outgeneralled came from his own camp, as the Saxons cheered in defiance of the enemy, whom they saw crossing the level towards the fortress. His men were yet in loose order, another proof that Alfred's force was not that which he was advancing on, for when he heard the shouts he formed up his force "juxta morem suam aciem disposuerunt," says Simeon of Durham, in the terrible "swine-array," and turned back to regain the lost vantage ground. His position was, if between Edington and the Parrett, most critical, for he had no exit from the fens except across the Poldens, now barred to him, and the fortress was nothing but a trap, with Devon men on the far side and Alfred on this. Therefor the hills must be retaken at all costs.

Then the battle raged all day long, from the early morning to the evening, as the Danes seem to have tried to force passage after passage across the hills, only to be met and repulsed at every point, until Guthrum made one final charge on the main body of the Saxons, which was still on Edington hill, the men of Alfred's immediate surrounding lying down at the time of this great assault. The magnificent "shield-wall" of the freshly-formed wedge seems to have made an unforgotten impression on the king as he watched its advance, for Asser speaks specially of it. The usual arrow flights crossed from either side as the Danes came up the hill, and then,

surgentes a solo, Alfred's fresh men charged down and swept the "swine-array" out of existence into a headlong rout.

The Danes made, of course, for the "fortress," which one can only suppose to be Bridgwater, then only known as "Burgh," still probably held by some of Hubba's men to prevent sortie by Odda's force from the "quadrilateral," losing many men in the flight. So close indeed was the pursuit that the gates were closed in the face of many of the fugitives, and no time was given for driving in the cattle. Then Odda would close in from the west, and the siege began.

It lasted for a fortnight, a fact which only the supplies of a town can account for. The place must, therefor, have been more than some old fort strengthened by the Danes, though it may have been but a village within its quick-set "ham" and stockade when they took it in hand. We ourselves know the value of a thorn hedge as a first line of defence—the "zereba" of our desert warfare—but if Bridgwater was the place, there were already the ramparts of the Roman "ad Pontem" as citadel. They remain still, but only as the mound on which the castle of the Norman Walter who gave his name to the town as we know it. Yet even this late name of "Burgh Walter" may give us the clue to identification of the fortress that was but known as the "Burgh" until he owned it.

With the "frith of Ethandune," or Wedmore, that followed we have nothing to do, but there are one or two points that are worth notice. It does not seem to have been one of Alfred's conditions of surrender that Guthrum and his chiefs should become Christians. The suggestion came from themselves in the first place. It may have been prompted by a wish to please the victor who had them so completely in his power, but one would think that there was a deeper reason yet underlying the request. Guthrum, at least, was no stranger to the Faith after his long residence in England, and now at last he must have felt, as Harald Hilditönn had felt before, that the Asir

were no longer on his side. Certainly his Christianity, as evidenced by his strict adherence to the terms so solemnly ratified, was genuine.

Aller, where he was baptised, is close to Athelney, and was probably the one church that had escaped destruction, owing to its position in the fenland, where Alfred's men were masters. Wedmore lies toward the Mendips, and here was probably the one royal house left where Alfred could entertain his godson. There he gave, and Guthrum accepted, the gifts that proved to all men that Alfred was Overlord in very fact.

If one may make a comparison of a small campaign well planned and entirely successful with a far greater one, equally well planned, but without any decisive result, the Athelney campaign, as we have worked it out on the lines indicated by Bishop Clifford, is the same in strategic motive as that of Marengo. In both cases the plan was to hurl an entirely unsuspected force on the enemy as he watched an army already opposed to him.

Alfred's Alps were but the depths of Selwood forest; but the principle is the same, and the victory was that of a great general.

C. W. WHISTLER.

May 3rd, 1898.

The Hon. Secretary then exhibited a skull which Mr. Whistler had found in the graves on the outlying hill at Cannington Park, which might, he conjectured, be the burial place of Hubba's fallen host. The speaker had himself visited the spot in Mr. Whistler's company. The dead had apparently been buried in long trenches, which were now cut through by a quarry. He showed a sketch of the situation, and of a grave in which he and Mr. Whistler had seen the bones of two men, buried huddled together, and one of them lying on his face. This pointed to very hasty and irregular interment, and bore out the conjecture that this was a battle burial. Dr. J. G. Garson had examined the skull, and had given the following opinion :—

"64, Harley Street, W.,
"22nd Nov., 1898.

"Dear Mr. Major,—The skull you sent to me for examination is that of a young person about 14 years of age. This being so, no reliable data can be obtained from it for determining race characters. I find that the cephalic index, or the relation which the breadth of the head bears to the length, expressed in terms per cent., is 76. This is not inconsistent with its owner being a young Dane, but I cannot say more.—I am, yours truly,

"*(Signed)* J. G. GARSON."

We know from the Sagas that lads went out on Viking cruises at a very early age, and the youth of the supposed Dane did not render the battle theory impossible.

A review of Mr. Whistler's paper, by Major A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, Oxfordshire L.I., Instructor in Topography at the Royal Military College, was then read, as follows:—

Apart from the fact that even after their supposed crushing defeat at Ethandune the Danes remained in undisputed possession of the whole of England to the north-east of the Thames and the Watling Street, it is a question in my mind whether Alfred really was a general, whether he actually worked out a plan of campaign, or whether he merely kept his head and took advantage of opportunities—though, perhaps, this would be generalship. With regard to the military organisation of the Saxons, or the want of it, surely the housecarles, who were doubtless small trained bands, would have formed a very valuable leaven of discipline, etc., to any army of the period. It is almost impossible to criticise satisfactorily military operations which took place 1,000 years ago, or to in any way compare them with modern operations. In the case of the Ethandune campaign, our knowledge of what took place is most imperfect; we know nothing about the nature of the country in the sphere of operations. Did

roads exist at the time? Was the country much intersected with fences? Were movements impeded in any way except by swamps and marshes? Many other such matters would enter into the tactical part of the campaign. Then, again, we do not know whether cavalry was employed by either side, though there is mention of a cavalry engagement at an earlier period of the war. If the Danes had cavalry scouts, it seems difficult to understand how Guthrum remained ignorant of Alfred's advance from Brixton, which, according to all accounts, appears to have been a complete surprise. The matter of arms also adds to the difficulty of comparing ancient warfare with modern, for when the actual fighting did not commence until the opposing forces were within 100 yards of each other, there must have been little scope for the "craft of generalship." Still, if we accept the opinion of great strategists, the principles of warfare never change so long as the opposing forces are *equally* armed, *i.e.*, armed with similar weapons, and Alfred's generalship may be therefor compared strategically with that of any other great commander. Rüstow, in his "Fundamental Laws of Strategy," lays down certain fixed principles which, he considers, should influence the plans of a commander, and a glance at the more important of these will, perhaps, assist in determining what claim Alfred had to be considered a great commander:—

(1.) A general should make his own army do as much work as possible, and hinder the enemy from operating, support his own army, and destroy the enemy's.

(2.) Battle is the one aim and object of all combinations of war.

(3.) Secure a victory; render it complete; provide for retreat in case of defeat.

(4.) Make certain of victory by superiority of numbers at the right moment; if necessary, by concentrating his own army and dividing the enemy's.

(5.) The first law of war forbids the division of force, as doing so exposes to the danger of being beaten in

detail. "To attempt to deceive the enemy by leaving a part of the force in his front, and to gain a position in his rear with the remainder of the force, renders the latter force liable to be cut off from its line of retreat in the event of defeat."

Now, let us see what Alfred did (as described in Mr. Whistler's paper) as far as these five laws or principles are concerned.

(1.) Alfred's army (by which is meant the quadrilateral force and the Brixton levies) probably did as much work as possible, and the Athelney party held the Danes in check by frequent sorties, while Alfred launched the Brixton levies to destroy the enemy.

(2.) Battle was Alfred's sole aim on leaving Brixton.

(3.) Alfred secured a victory, rendered it complete; but we have no record that he provided for retreat in the event of defeat.

(4.) We are not told whether the Brixton force was superior in numbers to the Danes.

(5.) If Alfred's Brixton force was not superior in numbers, then he was liable to have his line of retreat cut and to be beaten in detail.

So was Napoleon in the Marengo campaign; but he had come to the conclusion that he could not possibly suffer in this way (from the situation of the enemy). Rüstow's "Laws," and all other strategical theories, however, are doubtless often impossible to put into practice, and no general is worthy of the name unless he is prepared to run a certain amount of risk to gain an important end, even though he violates all the laws of war. Looking at the Ethandune campaign from Mr. Whistler's point of view, and accepting his filling up of details as correct, we find that Alfred left his Athelney force to occupy the attention of the Danes on the Polden Hills, while he secretly led the Brixton levies to cut in on the enemy's rear (or flank). Mr. Whistler says he actually got in on the enemy's rear and above them, *i.e.*, Alfred's force gained the Polden ridge, from which the Danes had

advanced towards Athelney. This seems most improbable. Where was the Danish base? However, accepting this, we come to the matter of the unnamed fortress into which the Danes retired. Mr. Whistler suggests Bridgwater as this fortress, though elsewhere in his paper he distinctly says that "Ad Pontem," which he identifies with Bridgwater, was in Alfred's possession, guarding the one bridge into the quadrilateral. I cannot see how Bridgwater can be identified with the nameless fortress into which the Danes retired, for if they were in possession of it all along, they held the most important entrance into the quadrilateral, and they might have turned the Athelney position whenever they wished. Why did the Danes sit down on the Poldens and watch Alfred building his fort? The distance was some seven or eight miles—could they see anything of what was going on at that distance? The highest point is apparently only 300 feet above Athelney. With regard to the identification of places, the location of the theatre of the operations rests on the identification of four points, one of which, "Ecgbyrht's stone," offers no difficulty. Without doubt this is Brixton, where the three counties (Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset) meet. The other places are all doubtful, viz., (1) Æglea, or Iglea; (2) Ethandune; and (3) the fortress of the Danes. The clues to identification are slight, and may be summarised as follows:—

(1.) Æglea, or Iglea=a night's march from Brixton.

(2.) Ethandune=a night's march from Æglea, or Iglea.

(3.) The fortress=the place to which the Danes retreated after their defeat at Ethandune.

On the identification of these three places depends everything connected with the question of Alfred's generalship (as maintained by Mr. Whistler).

Knowing no more than is contained in Mr. Whistler's paper, I cannot see that there is any proof to establish the sites as he does (shown in blue; the usually accepted identifications are shown in red). Mr. Whistler's reasons are apparently these:—

(1.) Æglea, or Iglea = Edgarley, or Egerley (near Glastonbury); a night's march from Brixton, corresponds with St. Neot's description, protected in front by marshy ground.

(2.) Ethandune = Edington on Poldens; distance correct; corresponds with description.

(3.) Fortress = Bridgwater; surmise; no clue to go on.

Now as to what older authorities say :—

(1.) Æglea, or Iglea. Ingram (1823) and Thorpe (1861) say it is Iley, Wilts (*i.e.*, near Melksham). Ingram supplies a special map ("to illustrate the Iglea of the 'Saxon Chronicle'"), in which is shown "Iley mead," etc., in an angle formed by the Avon and a tributary; low hills around; Melksham and other marshes to westward; distance from Brixton = a possible night march.

(2.) Ethandune. Ingram (in frontispiece map) shows this place between Iley and Chippenham, and identifies it with Heddington, Wilts; distance from Iley, a short march. Thorpe says, "Ethandûn (Heddington ?)"

(3.) The fortress. Ingram shows it on his map as Chippenham.

Comparing Whistler and (say) Ingram, without an intimate acquaintance with the geography of the rival localities, I, personally, am inclined to follow Ingram's identifications, chiefly because I do not like "Edgarley, or Egerley," as an interpretation of "Æglea, or Iglea." I think, therefore, that Mr. Whistler should strengthen his argument by stating his reason for converting Æglea into Edgarley. No doubt he has arrived at his identifications after due consideration, but his paper hardly convinces the reader.

I cannot see that there is any proof of Alfred having worked out anything in the nature of a plan of campaign, and, even if we admit Mr. Whistler's identifications, there is no evidence to show either that the Athelney people were intended to co-operate or that they ever *did* co-operate with Alfred and his Brixton levies. There may, of course, be evidence of this in Asser, etc., but Mr.

Whistler does not put it forward. The only things we know for certain are—that Alfred strengthened the Athelney position, which was watched by certain Danes; that seven weeks after Easter Alfred dashed off to Brixton, took command of the county levies, marched to Æglea (one night), thence to Ethandune (one night), fought a battle, defeated the Danes, drove them into a fortress, besieged them for a fortnight, and eventually received their submission.

I offer as a suggestion that Alfred had sent emissaries to the counties of Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset, and that the chiefs had agreed that on a certain day they would assemble their men at the place where the three counties meet, *i.e.*, Brixton. Alfred left Athelney (alone) and rode to Brixton, where he took over command of the levies. They then made a forced march to Iley (near Melksham), where they bivouacked. The Danes, hearing of the advance of Alfred's force, issued from the fortress of Chippenham and took up a position at Heddington. Alfred's force advanced next day from Iley, passing westward and taking the Danes in flank. Then followed the battle of Ethandune and the retreat of the Danes to Chippenham, which Alfred besieged, and, after a fortnight, captured.

It is possible that the levies of the three counties were raised principally (perhaps solely) for the attack of the Danish army at Chippenham, and that Alfred, knowing the difficulty of taking his followers from Athelney, decided to leave them in the quadrilateral to watch the Danish outposts, which were and had been for some time pushed forward from Chippenham.

Now, as to Alfred's generalship :—in the absence of any record, it seems doubtful if he ever really worked out any strategical plan of campaign which would entitle him to be considered a general. In the matter of Athelney and the quadrilateral, Alfred found himself in a position where he and his few followers could, with little labour, make themselves fairly secure from attack. The natural instinct

of self-preservation caused them to strengthen their position. That the Danes were in no great strength in the neighbourhood is perhaps vouched for by the fact that the Athelney fortifications were allowed to be built without opposition. Hence I arrive at the conclusion that the Danes in sight of Athelney were merely a line of outposts pushed forward from Chippenham. If they were anything more it is hardly likely that Alfred would have harassed them; in fact, the raids spoken of were probably only slight skirmishes between the Danish outposts and the men sent out by Alfred to cover the parties working at the fortifications. If the Danes had been in force opposite Athelney they MUST have attempted to stop the building of the fort.

We are not actually told that Alfred planned a great campaign against the Danes, and as far as I can see there is no reason to suppose that he did. I am inclined to believe that his first idea was to stand on the defensive at Athelney; he then, perhaps, heard that the men of Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset were ready to take up arms against the Danes at Chippenham, and he decided to lead them in person, leaving his Athelney people to take care of themselves for the time being. The campaign (*i.e.*, the march from Brixton to Iley, and the fight at Ethandune) lasted two days, concluding with a fortnight's siege of the fortress (Chippenham?) Regarding matters in the above light, it is impossible to say whether Alfred had any pretensions to being considered a general; that he was a *leader of men* is, however, certain. He arrived at Brixton, presumably alone; he assumed command of the levies of three counties, and led them within two days to victory. It is fair to imagine that these levies were well-trained and well-disciplined men under their own chiefs, and as we are given no idea as to the numbers of the opposing forces, we can take it for granted that the levies under Alfred were superior in numbers to the Danes. If they were not, it is impossible that they could have invested the fortress for a fortnight and have eventually reduced it to submission.

In the oral discussion which followed, Mr. F. T. Norris said that our gratitude was due to the lecturer for his learned and interesting paper, whatever views we might hold as to the theory he put forward. He himself had seen both positions, and was not at present prepared to give an opinion. He did not think, however, that the supposed Kynwich Castle was a fortification; its alleged ramparts seemed to him to be natural piles of stones covered with soil and overgrowth. Bratton Castle, near Heddington in Wiltshire, identified by Leland, Camden, and the older antiquaries, as the site of the battle, was, however, a most imposing fortification, the handiwork, obviously, of the same builders as those of Battlesden and Scantlebury, near Salisbury, and Maiden Castle, near Dorchester. What was most remarkable about it was its excellent military design, even according to modern notions, and its great strength, making it, well defended, very hard for either side to reduce. He felt bound to take exception to the lecturer's statement that the "swine-array" was only found among the Vikings. Tacitus describes it as the common battle-formation among the Germans, and it should have been well known to the Saxons, both by inheritance and from their sustained relations with the Germanic continent. He rather inclined to the opinion that Alfred's success was due to his bringing an overwhelming force to bear on the Danes at a critical juncture, and when they were weakened in numbers by the drawing off of the Danish forces to aid in the conquest of Neustria. He could not accept the statement that Guthrum was the only leader of note on the Danish side, with the exception of the sons of Lodbrok. The "Saxon Chronicle" records the names of many other Danish leaders, and among them that of "King Bacseg," wounded at the battle of Reading, and whose death left the way open for Guthrum himself to take the leadership of the Danish forces here. He also could not agree that Guthrum's conversion was any other than a diplomatic move due to Alfred's influence, and a stipulation to facilitate the

frith, or peace, arranged at Wedmore. In reply to Mr. Major, who questioned the likelihood of the Danes, an invading, conquering host, throwing up elaborate fortifications at Bratton, or elsewhere, to guard against a foe that had absolutely disappeared, Mr. Norris said that there were historical notices of the Danes building forts. Bratton Castle, too, was one of a series of camps which run along a range of hills facing that portion of Wessex which had not then been subdued by the Danes, and which thus had a distinct strategical value for a foe who, like the Danes, were advancing upon Wessex from the north and east.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson wished to know how it was possible to identify certain forts as Danish or Saxon. It was a point he had always wanted to ask with regard to various camps which antiquaries confidently ascribed to one or another race. As far as he knew you could not get beyond the identification of Danish barrows, and that only after an examination of the relics found therein.

Mr. J. Newmarch was rather disappointed not to have heard more about King Alfred's life in Athelney. The title of the lecture had led him to expect details about the island. For instance, it was hard to see where food supplies for the king and his followers were procured in an island among the marshes.

In proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Rev. Mr. Whistler for his painstaking disquisition on moot and doubtful points of Alfred's campaign, the President (Karl Blind) said that though Alfred had not been king of England in the present meaning of the word, he yet had maintained and enlarged, amidst enormous difficulties, that corner and foundation stone on which the State structure of England was afterwards raised. Englishmen, Northmen, and Germans—Alfred's nearest kinsmen—were alike interested in everything connected with his memory. In war on land and on sea, in home government, as well as in literature, his name marks an epoch. He did a great deal for the upholding of the strong Anglo-Saxon speech.

Some of the most appreciative biographies and references concerning him were written by Germans, such as Count Stolberg, more than sixty years ago; by the distinguished historian, Lappenberg; and more recently, by Dr. Pauli.

As to the opinion of Mr. Whistler that the warriors of Alfred were mainly armed with the long Saxon spear, and had no axes, it had to be remembered that at the battle of Hastings the Anglo-Saxons had axes—and even stone axes were still used, as it seems to have been proved; which latter circumstance would mark the axe as a traditional weapon of theirs. Although defeated in that battle, they made strong use of their axes in it. The wedge formation of the Danish army—the "swine-head array," as it had better be called, lest our Scandinavian friends should take offence at the expression "swine-array"—Mr. Whistler thought to be peculiar to the Scandinavians, who said that they had learnt it from Odin. The President, however, supporting a statement of Mr. Norris's, showed that that battle-array had been already described as a German strategic custom by Tacitus (*acies per cuneos componitur*—"Germania," vi.). This Roman historian wrote a thousand years before the Danish writer Saxo, in whose work the array in question is also explained as the wedge, cone, or pyramid formation. Even in ancient Vedic India there is a trace of a similar shape of military columns.

Passing to the important subject of the creation of a fleet by Alfred, Karl Blind showed from Asser, the Welsh Bishop, who wrote about the deeds of that king, that Mr. Whistler's idea of Norsemen—"certain Vikings"—having had that fleet entrusted to them could not be supported by the Latin text. Asser has not the word "Vikings." He simply says that Alfred had short and long ships built, and that he manned them with sea-rovers (*impositisque piratis*—"Annales Rerum Gestarum Aelfredi Magni"). Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes were certainly sea-rovers. But so were originally the Saxons, too, who even in Roman times harried the British shores. And so

were also other German tribes, like the Frisians. In very olden times the Frisians came over to this country. The Firth of Forth was once called the Frisian Sea (*mare Fresiacum*). Freswick Bay, on the east coast of Scotland, has its name from the Frisians. It is a very nice, clean, and convenient bay to push ashore at. He (the President) had recently seen it during his visit to Scotland, in September last. Freswick Bay, it need scarcely be said, is a twofold description—"wick" itself meaning "bay"; from which the Wickings, or Vikings, have their name. This word "wick," or "wiek," in the sense of bay, occurs in many cases on the German coasts as well as on the Scandinavian shores. Frisians were among the earliest Teutonic arrivals in this country. They came over with Jutes, Saxons, Angles, and other German war-sibs for the conquest of Britain. Prokopios, the Greek historian, who wrote in the sixth century—several hundred years before Alfred's time—says, in his book on the "Gothic War," that Saxons, Angles, and Frisians were then the three chief tribes that held Britain. Now Alfred, it is known, had Frisian shipwrights. Three of his sea captains were Frisians. These Frisians, among whom some Northmen had settled, were not—as the author of the paper read thinks—"traders rather than warriors." Since their first appearance in history the Frisians have been known for their martial qualities, and for their war fleets. Considering all these circumstances, it is certainly more likely that the "sea-rovers" whom Alfred put on his own navy were Frisians, and not Norsemen, and they fought under Alfred against the Danes. We know by clear testimony that though there were feuds between the different Scandinavian branches, they were both equally hostile to the Anglo-Saxons. Hence men of that Northernmost folk might have professed to accept the task of manning Anglo-Saxon ships, and then handed them over to their own countrymen. The Frisians being the nearer kinsmen of the Anglo-Saxons, it is easy to see the greater likelihood of some of them being accepted as a crew for the Anglo-

Saxon navy. Even in an otherwise valuable work, founded on good research, it is asserted that Alfred had a "hired fleet." The fleet was *not* hired, but—as mentioned before—built at the king's order. As to the crew, Richard Green, a trustworthy historian, writes:—"The Norwegian fiords, the Frisian sand-banks, poured forth pirate fleets such as had swept the seas in the days of Hengest and Cerdic." And again, Green states that Alfred did "man his vessels with 'pirates' from Friesland. In one of the battles against the Danes, the "Saxon Chronicle" records that Frisians fell at the side of Anglo-Saxons. In conclusion, the President said he was sure the meeting would unanimously express its best thanks to Mr. Whistler, and he asked those present to signify the same in the usual manner.

Mr. Albany F. Major said that, as far as he could, he would reply on behalf of Mr. Whistler, and before doing so he must express his regret that the lecturer had found it was not possible for him to come up from Somersetshire to read his paper. He himself had had the great advantage of going over the ground with Mr. Whistler in the summer, and entirely adopted his opinions. In one point the lecturer had, he thought, not fully explained the sequence of events according to his theory, namely, with regard to the nameless fortress, "Ad Pontem," which was held by Alfred at first as one of the gateways into the quadrilateral, but finally was the refuge of the Danes after their defeat. The fact was that the landing of Hubba forced the quadrilateral position, and, with the remains of his army on one side, and Guthrum's host on the Poldens on the other side, Alfred would be obliged to evacuate "Ad Pontem," or Bridgwater. But the situation of his Athelney position, among almost impassable marshes, rendered it virtually unassailable. Just as William the Conqueror found it impossible to drive Hereward out of Ely, till treachery came to his aid, so the Danes would be powerless to penetrate the belt of marshes and to interfere with the works by which Alfred strengthened and extended

his position. The Quantock Hills, with their line of camps, afforded a safe refuge to Odda and the Devon men, for the Danes, even though in possession of the river-passage at Bridgwater, could not advance beyond it, leaving Athelney in their rear. The Athelney marshes would supply plenty of fish, wild fowl, etc., for the support of Alfred's following. He disagreed with Mr. Norris as to the supposed fortifications in Cannington Park, and considered the remains were undoubtedly those of dry stone walls, now fallen, and very much overgrown. The lecturer considered the dry stone wall mode of building stamped the works as British, and agreed with the statement of the Welshman, Asser, that Kynwich Castle was fortified after the manner of the British; but he did not understand him to profess to distinguish between Saxon and Danish earthworks. With regard to the question of the manning of Alfred's fleet, the national enmity between Norwegians and Danes, which constantly recurs in the Sagas, would make the former allies, whom Alfred could fairly trust. This hostility did not disappear entirely in foreign warfare, for we read of the Danes and Norwegians waging war on each other in Ireland, and our President has suggested that it may partly account for the failure to entirely subdue that country. We meet with it again in English history when Olaf Haraldsson (the Saint) helps Ethelred against the Danes, captures London from them, and is known as the Protector of the land. Besides this, if Norsemen and Frisians were alike sea-robbers, Alfred could trust one as little as the other. But probably both nations were represented in his fleet. The upholders of the Wiltshire theory overlook one strong argument against it. If the battle of Ethandune was fought near Chippenham, and Guthrum forced to come to terms in that town, why should Alfred take him to Aller, some sixty miles away, to be baptised, and to Wedmore to conclude the peace? The selection of those places is on this theory against all probability; but if the Somersetshire Edington is the Ethandune of the chronicles, the close proximity

and the situation of Aller and Wedmore would explain their selection.

The following written reply to the criticisms offered has since been made by Mr. Whistler :—

It has been a great regret that I was not able to be present and read the paper on the Ethandune campaign personally, but my best thanks are due to Mr. Major for so kindly undertaking the task for me. In addition to the actual reading, he has had to submit to the fire of criticism which I ought to have stood myself; but I have to thank the various critics for their kindliness in every respect. With notes of their remarks before me, I will do my best to make some reply, though I fear that the question of the site of the battle can hardly be settled by anything short of a visit to the ground itself. I should not in the least despair of converting the club bodily if they could meet on the spot—at Athelney or Ethandune.

With regard to the difference in weapons, it is quite true that the axe was used at Hastings, but the two centuries had made a vast difference in the English race itself with the coming in of the Danish monarchy of Cnut. The Danish methods of warfare had been adopted with their weapons. Harold's men were Anglo-Danes, and used the Danish axe. The axe is never found with Saxon interments, the arms of the dead chief consisting of spear and seax, and possibly sword, with the shield. Even the sword is not invariable, a peculiarity which has led to the notion that it was not used, but more probably points to the value of the weapon as an heirloom. Judging from this fact and the absence of mention of the axe as a weapon, it seems certain that it was unused by the Saxons until the Danes were incorporated in the nation. The same may be said of the wedge formation. Old as it was, it does not seem to have been used in England.

With regard to the minor point as to the manning of Alfred's first fleet, it is certain that his later vessels were manned by Frisians, but had they been present in this

earliest case they would doubtless, as in the later case, have been mentioned. The most evident pirates ("Vicingas" of the chronicles) of the time were certainly Rolf's Vikings, and the Irish annals will show that it was no unusual thing for Dane and Norseman to fight savagely on a foreign shore. Had the Frisians, if present, been long established settlers of the old migration, they would hardly have been named as pirates, or indeed otherwise than as Alfred's own men.

Combwich Fort, or Cannington Park, as the modern name has it, is certainly in a rueful state of dilapidation (literally) after its countless years of neglect, but it is unmistakably a once-walled fort of the type of Worle hill and some Welsh hill camps. It is marked as such on the ordnance maps, and my friend Mr. Norris is the first antiquary who has doubted it. The pretty plentiful fragments of pottery, of the type of the vessels found at the Glastonbury village, which may be found on the summit, seem to set back its age to far pre-Roman times. It would, of course, be used by any force that had need of a temporary stronghold.

From the very strength of Bratton Castle it would seem impossible that Alfred could take it unobserved by the Danes, or that if the Saxon force was overwhelming Guthrum should have left it. Nor does there seem any reason to account for his having done so in such a manner as to allow Alfred to take it without a struggle, as the chroniclers state was the case with the "Promontorium." It was impossible that the camp at Athelney, conspicuous from every point, could have been allowed by the Danes to remain as a constant menace to them. They must have attempted to stop its building, and to remain at Bratton or Chippenham was hardly the way to do so. Yet on arrival at Edington the fens absolutely prevented attack on it. This was no doubt the evidence of the growing strength of Alfred which made Guthrum call in his men from the towns, and it may be possible that Alfred had learnt (was it in that visit to Guthrum's camp

which is laughed at by our instructors ?) the day on which the fenland ways were to be forced from Edington, and so timed his gathering as to profit by that movement. There is no statement as to the relative numbers of the hosts, both being spoken of as "vast." One may take it that the Saxon was not less numerous, but it is certain that the Danish was the more efficient. It would not seem that Bratton could hold supplies for a vast host during fourteen days' siege, more especially as the Danes were in such hasty flight to their fortress that no cattle could have been driven in.

Guthrum and the sons of Lodbrok are the only leaders mentioned in connection with any campaigns after the battles in the Thames district. The rest of the host-kings seem to have found their places, and certainly never reached the power held by those four.

It would not seem certain that the Danes had need to throw up any camps in England, though they may have been the authors of some of those where no British or Roman remains have been found. The country was already camp-studded by the hosts of previous invaders who found the same lines of value. One can generally locate the Roman by his potsherds in the fosse, and the Briton by his on the summit. Both had a long occupation, and left their crockery in the usual places—one in the moat, being orderly, and the other outside the hut door, being primitive. The Dane had not time to leave anything to speak of, as he had not the need to occupy the camp permanently as had his predecessors. There is a marked type of camp met with in East Anglia, circular, and with horseshoe shaped earthworks beyond the moat, which is usually considered to be Danish, but it is not certainly so. The known Saxon camps, as that at Castle Acre in Norfolk, are circular, but without these outworks.

With regard to the food supplies in Athelney, the king was at first terribly straitened. Asser says, "He had none of the necessaries of life except what he could forage openly or by stealth from the pagans, or even from the

Christians who had submitted to them, by frequent forays."

After the victory over Hubba, the need for secrecy was gone, and supplies could come in from the Quantock side without hindrance. Athelney is only separated from the mainland, as one may call it, by a comparatively narrow stretch of marsh, the main fenland lying between the island and the Danes.

I have had the advantage of a criticism of the paper since it was read by Major Mockler-Ferryman, some queries in which have already been answered as anticipated by other questioners, and others need a few words of elucidation. As to the position of the housecarles as a possible nucleus of trained men for a Saxon force, I may add that they were simply attached to their lord as his immediate bodyguard, the "shield wall" as one might say. They had no such training in concerted action as had the crews of a Viking ship, nor any tendency to take orders from a head chief. Their sole duty was to live and die for their lord, and they did it. They were, therefor, scattered bands of well-armed men round each leader only.

No cavalry seems to have been used in actual warfare at this period. The Danes had used the horses from the eastern counties in their raids, and those who objected to the peace made at Wareham seized these horses and rode through the Saxon lines on them; but the Northman, whether Dane or Norse, at this time preferred to fight on foot.

With regard to Alfred's generalship, Major Mockler-Ferryman doubts whether the king's strategy can be justified by the unchanging principles of warfare. But his doubts only rest upon the last three of the five "Fundamental Laws" which he quotes from Rüstow, and I think I can justify Alfred with regard to these.

As to point 3, I owe explanation, possibly because my own knowledge of the country has led me to assume too much on the part of others. As to retreat. Given the

Somerset Ethandune, retreat is well and safely, and at any stage of the battle, provided for. The Polden ridge is a long peninsula, running through wide fens on either side, and crowned by a Roman road from the dip at Glastonbury, where the range commences, to the end at the Parrett mouth. Alfred's force could in no way be prevented from retreat into the fens, of which his men alone had the secret, and could thus join the force at Borough Bridge fort, or on the Quantocks beyond. At the same time the advance from Edgarley cut the only line of retreat possible to the Danes, who had only the "fortress" left as refuge.

Point 4 has already been answered as well as we are able. We may assume that the levy was not less in number. An alternative line of retreat would be back along the road to Glastonbury, where fresh and very strong positions could be taken, still hemming in the Danes.

Point 5. The Devon men were certainly not at the Brixton gathering, and the position they would hold in the Quantocks seems to justify the division of force. They had camp after camp to fall back on, and it was certain that in case of defeat the levies, after retreat across the fens, would join them immediately.

The "Laws" seem, therefore, to be far better carried out than could have been possible in the case of the Bratton site. The chroniclers are precise in the statement that Alfred occupied the hill position without a battle. Wallingford says: "Anticipavit montem, hostibus nimis aptum si precavissent." And the "Vita S. Neot": "Deposita seriatim acie, proximum anticipaverunt promontorium," which expression exactly fits Edington hill, but will certainly not do for the camp at Bratton.

My theory that there was some demonstration by the Quantock force under Odda that led Guthrum to leave his stronghold may not be necessary, as I have suggested that there may have been a march on the new fort; but it is in some degree upheld by the chroniclers. Guthrum was

expecting some attack which, from the quotations just given, was not that of Alfred. Simeon of Durham says that Alfred, "Venit cum immenso exercitu ad Adderandun, quo juxta paganorum immensas phalangas invenit ad bellum paratas;" but this expected attack was not yet at hand, for, on finding that the height was taken, "Protinus juxta morem suum acies disposuerunt."

Major Mockler-Ferryman asks for the oldest known name of Edgarley, and the earliest that I can give is Egerley, which is the present pronunciation, and is thus given by Dr. Clifford. The place is not mentioned in Domesday.

Two sites are given, as a rule, for "Iglea"—Iley mead, near Melksham, and Leigh, near Westbury, on the Chippenham theory. The Major prefers the name of Iley to Egerley as now representing the Saxon name, but it may be a question whether the hard G would not be preserved in modern speech. Asser gives the name as Okely, where the hard consonant could hardly be lost. But the name may have been given only to the place by reason of the halt, as descriptive, and not as permanent. Edgarley fulfils requirements, but there are many similar spots in the vicinity which would equally do so, and to which the name would equally apply as a description.

Longdown Hill, near White-sheet Castle, is visible from one point on the Quantocks, and it is remarkable that the only one of the known "signal pits," which is now known as the "Fire-signal," commands this view. Its light could not have been seen from the Poldens, and it seems as if deliberately placed for communication with the Brixton positions only. This may account for the choice of that special point in the fringe of Selwood as the gathering place, communication with Odda thus being simple.

In connection with this gathering I should like to call attention to a remarkable instance of the slip-shod way in which the events of this campaign have been treated. Green, in his "History of the English People," says:

"With the first burst of spring Alfred called the thegns of Somerset to his standard, and still gathering his troops as he moved, marched through Wiltshire on the Danes."

The chroniclers are precise and unanimous that there was a special day of meeting at a special point. No such gradual gathering is hinted at, and there was no time for it. Alfred left Athelney, came to Brixton apparently on the same day, left on the next day, and fought on the following morning.

One more point in the kind criticism may be mentioned. Is it certain that the baptism of the Danish chiefs was not part of the terms imposed by Alfred? It is nowhere stated in the chronicles that this was so. On the contrary, the "A. S. Chronicle," Asser, Ethelweard, Florence, and Huntingdon state that they "also promised to be baptised," the wording only varying slightly; while Simeon of Durham plainly says that "Guthrum bore witness that he wished to become a Christian."

Perhaps I may sum up in a few words the points that seem to bear on the question of the sites.

Against the usual, or Camden's, theory—

(1.) The distance of Chippenham, etc., from Athelney prohibitive of daily attacks on the Danes, unless on raiders only.

(2.) The existence of these raiders or other force between the two places prohibitive of the Brixton gathering in force, unhindered.

(3.) The entire absence of record of a march on Chippenham.

(4.) The absence of name to the fortress in which the Danes were besieged.

(5.) The distance from Chippenham to Aller and Wedmore.

(6.) The extreme difficulty of making the details of the campaign tally with the Chippenham localities.

Against the Somerset sites—

(1.) The vague and unsatisfactory statements of every historian since Camden.

(2.) The absence of any large camp as required by their theories.

For the Wiltshire sites, as given by Camden and since him—

(1.) The fact that Chippenham had been the base of the Danish force.

(2.) The existence of an Edington near that base.

(3.) The existence of a large camp.

(4.) The unsupported statements of Camden and of his followers.

(5.) The fair correspondence of distances and halt at Iley as required by the details of the march.

For the Somerset sites—

(1.) The accuracy with which they meet the details given by the chronicles, as to the strategic points involved.

(2.) Their being in the vicinity of Athelney. This also explaining the absence of need in the minds of the old writers for more definite statement of place than is given by them.

(3.) Had Chippenham been the place of the siege, one would have expected some attempt to have been made during the fortnight by the Mercian Danes to come to Guthrum's assistance.

(4.) This would have been impossible if Guthrum is penned up on the fen-girt end of the Polden peninsula.

(5.) The crushing nature of the defeat is fully explained in this case, as the whole of Wessex had risen in the rear of their enemies.

(6.) The choice of Aller and Wedmore evident if Edington on Poldens is the place of the victory.

(7.) The impossibility of Guthrum remaining at Chippenham while Alfred had defeated Hubba and was building the fen fortress.

(8.) The existence of a fortress with the indefinite name of "Burgh" in the only possible line of flight of the Danes, explaining the possibility of a fortnight's siege, and also the reason for no name beyond that of "the fortress" being given to their refuge.

(9.) The identity of names, as given, and accuracy of distances of the march.

I may add that, while I can find no authority beyond that of Camden for the Chippenham sites, presuming that he has not been misled by the occurrence near there of the name of Edington, it is a remarkable coincidence that in the Athelney district itself, where we should expect naturally to find the sites of the campaign, we should meet with another Edington occupying such a definite "Promontorium" as is given as the site of the battle, and that in the best position for the Danes, if they had the sense to keep an eye on Alfred and his victorious Devon men, while in the one possible line of retreat thence existed a town and earthworks (with, in Saxon times, no definite place-name beyond that which its fortifications gave it) where the defeated Danes could stand a fortnight's siege, and whence the host could have had little fear in allowing their chiefs to retire for the baptism to Aller and Wedmore.

Guthrum's forces did not leave Chippenham, to which they must have retired after the peace was made from the fortress of the siege, until the next year. It would seem unlikely that they would have been allowed to stay there so long had the defeat taken place in the district. It would have been more in accordance with former arrangements that they should have been ordered back to some town on the line of march thither from the eastward. This would have been the case if they left the Athelney district for the Wiltshire town.

Further note from Mr. A. F. Major:—

Since this discussion took place I have had the opportunity of visiting, in Mr. Whistler's company, Edington hill, near Bridgwater, the conjectured site of the battle. The position fulfils all the requirements of the site upon this theory. The ridge of the Poldens rises abruptly from the marsh-land—practically on the sea level—facing Athelney, and is only some 30 or 40 yards broad, sinking away

not quite so abruptly on the other side towards Edington village. An ancient earthwork runs along the crest facing Athelney for several hundred yards, and there are clear indications of a second entrenchment midway between this and the marsh-land. The rear face may also have been protected, but the ground here has been broken up by cottages and gardens. The ridge commands a clear view of the works at Borough Bridge and Athelney, as well as of Bridgwater. Lower hills stand out into the marsh in front of it, which would have allowed of outposts being thrown out to guard the main body on Edington hill. The commanding position of this comparatively low hill rising from a dead level is very striking.

THE EARLIEST TRAVELLER TO THE HIGH NORTH.

By Dr. KARL BLIND.

Not long ago the name of Dr. Frithjof Nansen was on everybody's lips, with words of high and well-deserved praise. As a true Viking of Scientific Exploration he had braved dangers with extraordinary courage, trying to reach a part of our globe, hidden in utter darkness, which no human eye has seen as yet. His bold venture remains one of the most notable deeds of daring and perseverance. Fortunately, Nansen's undertaking was facilitated by many modern appliances, which to the men of classic times would have seemed almost impossible, nay, wholly fabulous and fairy-like. He had built to himself a ship capable of withstanding the pressure of enormous masses of drifting ice that wedged her in. He had ample and excellent food on board, in the way of preserves, which even during the long years of his absence were not fully consumed. He had a fine library with him, to while away the dreariness of his and his companions' enforced captivity in that "Frozen Circle" of the Highest North. He had electric light, got out of the very surroundings of the Polar darkness, shedding powerful rays of civilisation, as it were, upon its otherwise impenetrable gloom. It is true, great were the sufferings of the hardy explorer on his coming back. Still, the very remembrance of the good use made, for so long a time, of these resources of modern science, may have steeled him for bearing the terrible hardships of his path-finding journey home across

the icy desert. The record of Nansen's voyage will stand for ever glorious in the history of Polar expeditions.

Now let us glance at what happened more than 2,200 years ago. Let us transport ourselves in thought to the time shortly after the death of the Makedonian conqueror, Alexander the Great. The whole of Northern, and even the greater part of Central Europe, then lay, to the highly cultured Greeks and the Romans, still hidden in the deepest darkness. Wild stories were afloat about those far-off lands and their barbarous inhabitants. Far down in the South there was then a Greek colony at Massilia, in Gaul —the present Marseilles in France. There, from the sunny shores of the Mediterranean, a man went forth, a great mathematician, astronomer, and philosophic scientist, a Greek by origin, who was bent upon exploring, by ship, those dim, unknown regions of the North, even up to the Antarctic Circle. Imagine the audacity of such a venture in those days!

Yet it was done. But how many are there, generally speaking, who have heard of, or at least know something more definite about, Pytheas, the Humboldt of Antiquity, as he has been called?—a proud title, which we might properly enlarge by calling him a Humboldt and a Nansen combined. Starting, about the year 320 before our era, from Marseilles, he sailed along the coast of Spain, and of what is now France, up to the British shores. There was then no England yet. That name only came up, with the Teutonic Anglo-Saxon conquest, nearly 800 years later.

From the coasts of Britain, Pytheas crossed the German Ocean. He then rounded the Skager Rack—once pre-eminently called the Wick, that is, the bay, from which the Vikings, the bay-men, have their name. Steering through the Cattegat, he entered the Baltic. There he seems to have gone beyond the mouth of the Vistula.

Turning back, he went up to the Scandinavian North, probably as far as the Orkneys and Shetland, and even farther. Some think he may have touched Iceland,

and that that was the *ultima Thule* of which the ancients spoke—evidently for the first time after the voyage of Pytheas.

Coming near the Arctic Circle, he met with masses of ice in a sea that appeared to him monstrous, nay, supernatural; which we can easily understand in one accustomed to the genial climate of the Mediterranean shore. It is difficult to say whether he sailed home by way of the German Ocean, or along the western coasts of the British Isles; but the former route seems the more likely one. At any rate he came back along the north-western and western coast of Gaul, which 800 years afterwards got the name of France from its German conquerors. This time he did not go into the Mediterranean—perhaps he had had enough of the Bay of Biscay—but he landed at the mouth of the Garonne, and so went home to Marseilles. It was an astounding feat.

Brehmer, in his work, "Entdeckungen im Alterthum" ("Discoveries in Antiquity"), says:—"Pytheas was a man that stood high above his contemporaries, and to whom astronomy seems to be not less indebted than the science of geography is." Mr. Charles Elton, in his valuable work, "Origins of English History," quoting Brehmer's remarks more fully, holds an equally high opinion of the Hellenic explorer. Only those, however, who have gone carefully over all the passages which either clearly or probably refer to this discoverer—and I may say I have often done so for years—can fully feel the loss we have to deplore in his case. I know nothing in the domain of archæological research more fascinating, and at the same time more harrowing, to the student of antiquity, than the frequent flashes of light thrown upon British, German, and Norse prehistoric times—flashes as suddenly followed by utter darkness and uncertainty. For, unhappily, the book, or books, written by Pytheas, are no longer in existence. We only know him through scattered extracts—piecemeal—partly in very obscured form. Even invidious animosity, nay, calumny,

has not been spared him. So his memory has come down to us, in spite of his signal achievements, either in confused and indistinct shape or disgracefully traduced.

Yet it is through him that the land of the Britons became first known to the civilised nations of the Mediterranean. Centuries afterwards even, the Britons were still spoken of as "divided from the whole world"—*toto divisos orbe Britannos.* Yet he had found them. It is alleged that he had declared he had travelled over part of Britain on foot. Again, through Pytheas, to all appearance, the ancients must have heard for the first time of such German tribes as the Teutons, the Kimbrians, and the Goths, along the North Sea and the Baltic. Our own modern historians, strangely enough, often speak of the Teutons and Kimbrians having for the first time been mentioned in the century before our era, when they became such a terror to Rome. That is a curious oversight. The earliest knowledge, at least, of the name of these tribes, we owe to the Greek traveller, 200 years before the Kimbrian terror.

Through Pytheas, remarkable details were learnt of that amber trade in which, together with the tin trade, the Phœnikians were engaged. That trade was carried on also, even in prehistoric days, across the Continent, on what was called a "sacred road," which lay from the northern coasts of Germany to the Adriatic Sea. Some of the most painstaking writers on Pytheas believe that a great deal that was known in antiquity about the North, especially in regard to the Baltic, was founded on his descriptions, though not acknowledged as being drawn from his lost book. He had explored the Baltic. No one, for centuries after, did so any more. It stands to reason, therefore, that, on that point, he had been the source for later classic writers.

Whether Pytheas did or did not travel on foot over Britain, this much is certain—that, in olden times, explorers mostly were able to get on much better with foreign or semi-barbarous races than is often the case in

our days. They seem to have used more humane means in their intercourse, and thus to have succeeded very well. Had they not done so, Herodotos could not have obtained, in his travels, so much useful knowledge, which he records in such calm and impartial language. Nor could the famous Phœnikian circumnavigation of Africa have been effected, which the Egyptian king Neko organised, 2,400 years ago—that is, about 2,000 years before Vasco da Gama. That Phœnikian expedition lasted two years. From the Red Sea these enterprising navigators started, going ashore now and then, in order to sow the land and to wait for the harvest. Having reaped the corn, they went to sea again. They must thus have been in very friendly intercourse with the African natives. These old explorers had no Maxim guns, nor any guns whatever. But they knew how to treat properly the dark races they met. In the third year only, doubling the Pillars of Hercules—the Straits of Gibraltar—they returned to Egypt through the Mediterranean. "They reported," says Herodotos, "what does not seem credible to me, but may be to others—namely, that as they sailed round Libya (Africa), they had the sun on their right hand."

That latter statement, which Herodotos doubted, is now credible enough. It is a fact which best proves this ancient Phœnikian circumnavigation of Africa. I will presently show that Pytheas had to suffer from similar unfounded doubts cast upon his statements.

This Greek scientist and traveller knew that Britain was of a three-cornered shape, like the head of a battle-axe. A glance at the map will prove the correctness of that description. He knew that this country was a land of little sunshine and much rain. I believe we know that. He knew that plenty of wheat grew in the southern parts of Britain, and that it was threshed out in covered barns. To him, the son of a warm climate, that was an unusual sight. He found that the inhabitants of Britain had a drink made by mixing wheat and honey. It is a beverage

still used here and there in this country, under the name of "metheglin."

Professor Ridgway, in an otherwise remarkable paper published in *Folklore*, has raised a doubt as to whether a particular passage, drawn by Strabon from Pytheas, which is generally held to refer to Britain, really does apply to this country. But if Britain were not meant, Thule (that is, probably, Iceland) would have to be substituted for it, and that appears impossible from what is said in the text. Evidently, the apparent obscurity is one of Strabon's making. He speaks of Thule "and neighbouring places," in a chapter concerning Britain and Ireland. Very unfairly, Strabon never gives a literal quotation from Pytheas, though he attacks him. Yet, in Book iv., c. v., even Strabon feels bound to acknowledge that, "as far as astronomy and the mathematics are concerned, Pytheas appears to have reasoned correctly" in regard to those Northern countries. That is certainly strong evidence in favour of the correctness of Pytheas' other statements. And in the same chapter Strabon speaks of a land which Pytheas asserted to have visited, where "a drink was made of corn and honey," and where the threshing of corn was done in the way mentioned, "on account of the rain and the want of sun" (Book iv., c. v., § 5). Do we not recognise the customs and the climate of the British Isles in this description?

What a gain it would be to our ideas concerning prehistoric Britain if the works of Pytheas were some day recovered! Unfortunately, it is not very likely that they will yet turn up, although similar recoveries have now and then been made most unexpectedly. Thus, a number of the historical works of Tacitus were only found in a cloister in Germany in the sixteenth century. The monks who destroyed much of our most ancient German literature, because it referred to heathen times, also often neglected reading what they possessed of classic works. No wonder the most valuable manuscripts should have lain forgotten in their little-used libraries.

From the Thames, Pytheas made his voyage to the Rhine. Going round Jutland into the Baltic, he came to a river called Tanais. This cannot, of course, have been the Tanais which is now called the Don. It may have been either the Vistula or the Dvina. "Tan," "Don," or similarly sounding names for rivers, are of frequent occurrence from Russia to this country. Pytheas, in going both through the German Ocean and the Baltic, had thus visited the shores of the two seas where the amber trade was largely carried on.

Roman writers, in speaking of the Baltic—of which they can only have had knowledge through Pytheas—mention an island called "Raunonia," or "Ravnonia," where amber was said to be cast up by the spring tides. To this day, in Danish, amber is called "rav." Ravnonia would thus mean the Amber Island. The same Germanic sounds which we hear even now, had already struck the ear of the Hellenic Humboldt.

Here something has to be said about the amber trade. In the Homeric and the pre-Homeric age, amber was most highly valued for purposes of ornament—almost like gold. In the Odyssey, its colour is compared to the radiant sun. A solar origin was long attributed to amber. In the graves of Mykenê, Dr. Schliemann discovered a mass of amber beads. They date back, in all probability, to the time of the Trojan war. Chemical investigation by Dr. Otto Helm, of Danzig, has proved them to be of that particular kind of amber which comes from the Baltic. Phœnikians, Greeks, Romans, and even more ancient nations, prized most highly that "Northern gold," as it has been called. It was largely used for ornament. Perhaps you will be astonished to hear also that Roman ladies were in the habit of holding amber balls in their hands, for the purpose of cooling themselves in summer. The best amber came to the Southern nations both from the Baltic and the German Ocean. The Emperor Nero, for purposes of the amber trade, once sent a knight, Julianus, through Germany to her Northern coasts. In

later times, the Arab Moors got hold of that important trade. As old fashions are often revived in our times, perhaps the golden-glittering material, which the ancients valued so greatly, may one day rise again in estimation.

Now there is a curious Greek amber story, or myth, about the Heliades, or daughters of the sun-god Helios. I mention it because it bears upon the amber which came from the North, about which Pytheas evidently made enquiries. You remember how Phæthon, the son of Helios, one day asked to be allowed to drive the sun-car, contrary to the strong warning of his father, and how that rash charioteer came to grief. The horses bolted; the orb of Heaven became unsteady: a revolution of the earth was the result. Vast forests were consumed by fire; whole generations of men perished. Phæthon himself, struck by lightning, found his end in the river Eridanus. His sisters, the Sun-daughters, wept his death so long, that they were changed into trees, when the tears running from their tree-forms became hardened in the water to electron, or amber.

Well, from the point of view of natural science, we have in this charming tale a very ancient and correct rendering of the production of amber from the resin of submerged fir and pine trees, and then found, in globular form, in the sea. Nature myths generally contain a good deal of early scientific speculation in poetic garb.

I have shown elsewhere that this tale about the Sun-daughters is, to all evidence, of Northern origin, and was only taken over into Hellenic mythology, as has been so often the case. The very name of the river, Eridanos—supposed to be the Po, in Northern Italy—at which the Greek myth was afterwards located, occurs, in similar form, near the Baltic, as an ancient river-name. It is the Radanus, a confluent of the Vistula. From the country near those rivers, amber came plentifully to Greece. The sound of "Radan" and "Eridan" is similar enough to bring about a confusion. The Greeks were great and very able adapters of foreign myths and words to

their own use and tongue. So they localised the Heliades, in their amber-engendering tree shape, at the Eridanos; for to that neighbourhood, or the Adriatic, amber was certainly brought from the North by an overland route, on the "sacred road" I have before mentioned. But as to the Eridanus, Pliny, the Roman scientist, already knew better. He says that there are no islands called Elektrides, or Amber Islands, in the Adriatic, as was alleged in Greece, but that amber is doubtless a product of the islands of the Northern Ocean, and called *gless(um)* by the Germans, and that it was originally the gum or resin of a pine tree. Pliny also mentions that Pytheas speaks of the amber trade of the Goths with the Teutons.

Amber, then, came largely from Baltic shores to the Mediterranean. If another tale of olden times can be believed, there were statues, made of tin and amber, on an island near the entrance, or rather outlet, of the "sacred road" along which amber was carried to the South. That outlet was probably in the neighbourhood of Venice and Trieste. It was said that all the barbarian nations—and here we come again upon friendly intercourse with natives—held that trade route in deep respect. It was for them a means of livelihood. Recent research has shown that Etruscans and Phœnikians must have been up to the Baltic. Graves were discovered there, in which things were found pointing to such intercourse. The last resting-place of those Southern traders contained their religious symbols, undisturbed by the Teutonic inhabitants. There was more religious tolerance then than is shown now sometimes at burials. As to the erection of a statue of tin and amber at the head of the Adriatic, it looks like an intended reminder to coming generations, in case the sources of the supply should be forgotten. Thus, at the time of Columbus, there was found on one of the Canary Islands a statue, mysteriously, but significantly, pointing with the finger towards the West.

If the interpretation of a cuneiform inscription by a friend, Professor Julius Oppert, at Paris, the distinguished

Assyriologist, to whom I owe a communication on the subject, is correct, even the middlemen of the Assyrians had already, in grey antiquity, been near the Baltic. The inscription says: "They fished up from that sea where the North Star stands, that which looks like copper." That is, no doubt, amber. There is a controversy, I know, among Assyrian scholars, about that passage. But the opinion of so eminent a scholar as Oppert certainly merits the fullest attention; and if his view holds good, the amber trade from the Baltic to the South again comes out, even in the direction of Assyria, perhaps through what is now Russia.

Now I mention all this because it bears upon the voyage of Pytheas. It has been asserted that the merchants at Marseilles, and other Greek colonists on the northern shore of the Mediterranean, wished to take the wind out of the sails of the Carthaginians, and to get themselves at the sources of the Phœnikian tin, amber, and lead trade. This would explain the voyage of Pytheas to the British coast, as well as to the North Sea and the Baltic. He was, as I said before, a great astronomer and mathematician. Even his antagonist, Strabon, acknowledged this. But though a great astronomer and mathematician, Pytheas was a man without private means. That is not seldom the case with eminent scholars, whose enthusiasm for science renders them neglectful of the opportunities for making their pile, as the Americans say. It has, therefore, been asserted that Pytheas went North at the request of a committee of merchants at Marseilles. So far as I am aware, however, there is no positive evidence to that effect; but the fact, or perhaps rather the surmise, is likely enough.

At all events, the Phœnikians sought to hide their trade connections most jealously from the remainder of the world. The Greeks were sharp enough, but it required many Greeks, or Romans, to catch a Phœnikian. Speaking of the commerce with the Kassiterides, or Tin Islands, Strabon, the Greek geographer, says:—

"Formerly, the Phœnikians alone carried on this traffic in tin and lead, from Gades (Cadiz), hiding the passage from everybody else. When once the Romans followed a certain Phœnikian shipmaster, so that they too might discover the market, the shipmaster, from jealousy, purposely ran his vessel upon a shoal, thus leading those who followed him into the same disaster. He saved himself by means of a piece of wreck, and received from the State an indemnification for the cargo he had lost. However, the Romans, by repeated efforts, at last found out the passage."

In his voyage Pytheas touched at both the tin and the amber countries. Presumably it is through him that the earliest mention of a country called "Germara" was made: a name to be found in ancient but fabulously disfigured writings soon after the return of Pytheas. Evidently, by this "Germara," stretching from the Rhine eastwards to Scythia, and northwards from the Orkynian Forest to the sea, Germany was meant. A blue-eyed people were said to dwell there. Odd stories were told about them, which may at first have arisen from the misunderstanding of words, and then may have been added to by ever-busy concocters of fanciful tales. We know how such tales often arise in folklore.

I will say here a word about the Orkynian, or, as it is also called, Herkynian Forest, which is first mentioned by Aristoteles. Strictly speaking, it means the German forest country in general. Although the expression was sometimes used for some particular forest, there are numerous passages in ancient writers which prove its more general meaning. From the Rhine, and from the sources of the Danube, the German Herkynian Forest reached beyond the Vistula. Cæsar says it took two months for a man to traverse it from west to east. But what does the word Herkynian mean? The question, I believe, is not difficult to solve. "Harug" is the old German, "hearg" the Anglo-Saxon, "hörgr" the old Norse word for a forest. Hence the Herkynian name.

"Hergenröther" and "Herkner" are, to this day, German family names. They mean Forest-clearer, and Forester, or Forster. In this way we come upon an old Teutonic word at the time of Pytheas, more than 300 years before the Christian era.

Between the Rhine and the Elbe Pytheas found a tribe called Ostions—to all appearance, Ost or East-men. Later Roman writers mention an island there, Austeravia, probably meaning East Island. More than a thousand years later, the merchants of the German Hansa were in England called Easterlings. From them the pound sterling has its name. East-men the Norwegians, Danes, and Frisians were also called, who penetrated into Ireland and held sway there between the ninth and the twelfth century. Besides Ostions, Pytheas, according to the fragmentary evidence which has come down to us, knew of Kimbrians and Teutons on the German coasts, also of Guthons, or Goths, in Baltic quarters. The Kimbrian peninsula (Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland) he described as reaching high up at the entrance of an immense bay. It is quite correct. This bay represents the Cattegat and the Baltic; for the ancients looked upon it as part of the Ocean.

In Bessell's work on "Pytheas of Massilia" there are strong arguments, showing that the Greek explorer must have seen that curious formation of the German Baltic coast which goes under the name of "Nehrungen"—small sandy strips of land which separate the sweet-water "Haffs" from the sea. As to manifestly Norse names like "Nerigon" and "Bergæ," which appear to have first been reported by Pytheas in his voyage to Scandinavia, Bessell thinks they are not identical with Norway (or "Norge") and Bergen, but that they must be sought for in Shetland. This, however, is not the general view of learned enquirers. For my part, I hold Norway and Bergen to be clearly indicated by the Nerigon and Bergæ of Pytheas.

After having visited the Ostions, the Kimbrians, the

Teutons, and the Goths, near the German Ocean and the Baltic, Pytheas made his way farther North to the Land of the Midnight Sun. Strange tales about that High North had been current already in Homeric times. You find them in the Odyssey. There a country is mentioned where there is light throughout the night, or night and day are close together—"*Ἐγγὺς γὰρ νμκτὸς τε καὶ ἤματός εἰσι κελευθοι.*" There, says Homer, "a sleepless man could earn a twofold wage." It is a country peopled by tall, giant-like men and women. A ship landing there has to pass through a narrow firth, or *fjord*. A large stag with vast horns is also mentioned, apparently a reindeer. It is manifestly a country in the High North, as may be seen by comparing the tenth and the eleventh song of the Odyssey. It is a country near the Midnight Kimmerians, where the deep, world-surrounding Okeanos joins the sea.

In the Land of the Midnight Sun, Pytheas came upon Sun-worshippers. This is not to be wondered at. There is more cause for people in the cold North to worship the beneficent sun than for those in the South, where he is often a Destroyer. From Hellenic accounts about Apollo we even gather that the worship of that God originally came from the North, from the Hyperboreans—that is, those who dwelt behind the north wind.

To all primitive races the Sun is not merely a star, but also a Deity. German chieftains swore by the orb of heaven as by a God. So the Romans report. In the Edda, the Sun—who is there a female deity, whose celestial car is drawn by two stallions—gives birth to a daughter, "not less beautiful than she herself." In Low German folk-tales, Freia, once a Goddess of the Sun as well as of Love, still appears as the Little Sun *(dat Sönneken)*. Among the Greeks there were daughters of Helios, the Sun-God—the Heliades before mentioned.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the Northern barbarians should actually have shown to Pytheas the lair where the sun takes his rest—"*ὅπου ὁ ἥλιος κοιμᾷ*," in the

Greek text. The poetic and the prose Edda is full of references to the sun.

High up in the North, Pytheas came to an island, Thule. There has been much speculation as to whether this Thule meant Iceland, the Shetland, or Orkney, groups of islands. It has been pointed out that there is a Shetland island called Foula—of old, Fugl-oe, Fowl or Bird Island—and that by a well-known interchange of the "F" and "Th" sound, Foula, or Ful-oe, might have given rise to the name of Thule. If that were so, it would prove an early Scandinavian, Germanic, occupation of Shetland.

In those Northern regions, it was said, there were six months of day and six of night. In another passage it is stated that there is much cultivation of fruit in Thule. ("*Sed Thule larga et diutina pomona copiosa est.*") So, at least, the sentence was once translated. But this certainly does not fit in with the nature of Shetland and the Orkneys, much less of Iceland. There is not much fruit there. Pomona, the Roman Goddess of fruit trees, could not have given her name to any Thule. However, the queer and altogether impossible Latin of the sentence is in itself evidence of a corruption of the text. Now, as Bessell justly remarks, one of the Orkneys, and the largest of them, is called Pomona. He might have strengthened his surmise by an additional argument. In the last letter of the Orkney isle, Pomona, there is contained a well-known Germanic word for island.

And if it were contended that at the time of Pytheas there was probably no Germanic population in the Orkneys, I would say that there is strong reason to believe in an immigration of Norse war-clans having taken place into Scotland and the Orkneys even in prehistoric times. Tacitus attributes to the Caledonians a Germanic origin, and describes them as large-limbed and with reddish hair. His statements are based on the reports of his father-in-law, Agricola, who, as General in North Britain, fought the natives and must have known them, both by sight and through interpretation.

Still higher up in the North, Pytheas came to a "crusty ocean," a frozen sea, where the earth, the water, the air, and all things seemed to be intermixed, and where one could neither sail nor walk, through the supernatural confusion. The whole elementary mass was compared to an enormous kind of sea-lungs: that is, sea-nettles, or a substance like jelly-fish. Ebb and flow—so one rather difficult passage attributed to Pytheas is interpreted—was brought about by the breathing of an immense marine animal that lived there.

Of course, we do not know how the Greek scientist expressed himself exactly on this subject. Still, we see clearly that he must have described the neighbourhood of the Arctic Circle—that "stiff and nearly immovable sea," as Tacitus, in his "Germania," calls it, and which he places beyond the land of the Suiones (Sweden), at the farthermost end of the earth. It is what Hans Sachs, the German master-singer of the sixteenth century, still semi-fabulously calls the "Kleber Meer" (the Sticky Sea), or the "Leber Meer" (Liver Sea).

Now if Pytheas mentioned the explanation of the tide from the breathing of an immense animal, he can only have done so by way of quoting a Northern folk-tale, for we know as a fact that he himself explained ebb and flow from the action of the moon.

Curiously enough, the Northern folk-tale concerning an immense marine animal was still believed in by some people in Shetland in the beginning of the present century. This has been stated to me by Mr. Robert Sinclair, of Lerwick, who was a fisherman in his youth, and later on a merchant. He, as a young lad, got many "Finn" and "Sea-Kye" tales from an old man, John Georgeson, and that man also told him his version of the cause of the tides—namely, that "away far out in the sea, near the edge of the world, there lived a monstrous sea-serpent that took about six hours to draw in his breath, and six hours to let it out," which sufficiently accounted to him for the rise and fall of the waters. Thus the report of

Pytheas gets confirmation, even after more than 2,000 years, from ideas which were still in vogue in the Shetland Thule in our own days. Those who have studied the folk-tales of Shetland know well what weird and ancient notions, traceable to a long bygone cosmogonic creed, are still lingering in those storm-beaten islands.

I have now to say a few words about the bitterest enemy of Pytheas in classic antiquity. It is Strabon, the Greek geographer, who wrote nearly 400 years after him. Pliny, the author of the "Natural History," shows a greater sense of justice towards the Massilian scholar and explorer. It is difficult to get rid of an impression that Strabon, who otherwise states matters with much calmness and in a fair spirit, must have had some personal reason, perhaps a kind of scientific jealousy. Born in Asia Minor, he was a traveller himself, but he had never been up to the North. In Europe he even came only as far North as Etruria in Italy. It is somewhat noteworthy that he should attack Pytheas at once in the "Introduction" of his large work. He concludes that Introduction with another attack, which could not possibly be more baseless. Strabon says that "Pytheas has given us an 'Account of Thule.'" If that Account were only yet in existence, how much might we learn from which the adversary of the brave scientist could be confounded!

In trying to heap insult upon Pytheas, Strabon only shows by his own remarks how much mistaken he himself was on the very points on which he sought to convict the explorer of the High North.

For one thing, Strabon would not believe that there are inhabitable islands so far North as those mentioned by Pytheas under the name of Thule. These regions, Strabon imagined, were too cold for man to live there. The Orkneymen and Shetlanders, and the Icelanders, that may be present to-night, probably do not share that view.

Then Strabon placed Ierne (Ireland) "just north of Britain," and he said:—"People live there wretchedly, and like savages, on account of the extreme cold. It is

here, in my opinion, that the bounds of the habitable globe must be fixed." So Strabon was twice wrong, also about Ireland, putting her in the wrong geographical place, and saying that she is not habitable.

Again, he would not believe that the sea voyage from Cadiz to what is now Cape St. Vincent would take so long a time as Pytheas asserted. Strabon simply was not aware of the force of the south-eastern currents in those parts. He also ridiculed the statement of Pytheas that it is easier to pass from the northern parts of Spain into the Keltic country (France) by land than to go there by sea. Strabon knew not the "Bay of Biscay, oh!" Again, he declared the terrors of the storm-floods in the German Ocean to be a mere marine tale, a yarn of Pytheas. We know now the great historical island-devastations in that stormy sea, how many of those islands have gone under or been broken through by storm-floods, and in what danger the inhabitants of the "Halligen" still live.

Finally, Strabon thought that Pytheas could not have gone so far into the Baltic as he said he had done, because, if his report were true, he would have found there the mouth of the Caspian Sea! That was a false belief once prevailing in antiquity—perhaps a false belief founded on an old tradition of a prehistorical connection of the two seas, which some geologists really assume. But it is no wonder that Pytheas did not come upon the outlet of the Caspian Sea in the Baltic.

I will give another example of the wrong done to Pytheas, this time even by one of his best modern defenders, the German writer whom I have before quoted, Bessell. Pliny says, in a passage drawn from Pytheas, that the Guthons, or Goths, in the Baltic, did "use amber by way of fuel, and sell it to their neighbours, the Teutons." Now Bessell thought this a suspicious passage. He imagined that Pytheas, if he was on the island where he said amber was used for a fire, had probably mistaken a kind of hard peat or lignite—"Braunkohle" in German—for amber. Perhaps the mistake, Bessell adds, may,

however, be attributed to those who, in their quotations or shortening extracts from Pytheas, corrupted the text.

But there is no mistake in the passage in question! I have seen it stated in German newspapers that, to this day, a kind of dirty and otherwise useless amber, which is thrown up from the sea, is used, in some parts of the German Baltic coast, as firewood. Actually, the German word for amber, "Bernstein," literally means a "burning stone"; fire being kindled from it even under friction. "Bern" is the same word as the English "to burn."

Enough, I think, has been said to defend the memory of Pytheas. His case of unmerited obloquy, unfortunately, does not stand alone. Has not Herodotos also, the Father of History, sometimes been attacked as the "Father of Lies," and does not recent research more and more confirm many of those statements of his which were formerly set down as fabrications? Has not that African dwarf race, which was so long held to be a fable, been proved by explorers of our times to be a fact? Is not that man-ape of antiquity, whose existence had been looked upon as a myth, now known as the gorilla? If we had not the account of Herodotos as to the making of a Suez Canal, a canal which was only allowed to decay after the Mahommedan conquest of Egypt, would anyone believe that such a canal had been begun by Neko, the Egyptian king, 2,600 years ago, and completed by Darius, the king of Persia? Was there not some early Greek knowledge as to the sources of the Nile, although for about 2,000 years afterwards the reports in question were regarded as fibs or wild guesses?

In the same way the reputation of Pytheas has been unjustly dealt with, even in olden times. But through the darkness of ages the name of this earliest visitor of the English, German, and Scandinavian coasts now shines with undiminished glory, and our only regret is that his valuable record should no longer exist in its original shape—a loss to history which can never be enough deplored.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Albany F. Major said that in thanking Dr. Blind for the paper he had just read, he wished to express on behalf of all present the pleasure they felt in seeing the Jarl among them once more. They looked forward to his presiding over their meetings during the coming Session, and aiding and enlightening the discussion of the papers by his valuable help.

The Rev. A. Sandison, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that he had always noticed that members were slow to rise to discuss a paper by Dr. Karl Blind, and he was not surprised that they were inclined to pay their President the homage of silence. He himself always found when Dr. Blind spoke how much he had to learn. For instance, at school and college he had learned to consider Pytheas a mere constructer of ill-made fable, but he had learned to-night something of the man Pytheas and how great he was. Not for the first time had he to thank the lecturer, to whom we of the Northern race especially owe so much that gratitude to him is enshrined deeply in our hearts.

Mrs. Wyndham Hill wished to support the vote of thanks. She had heard in her youth, from a learned grandfather, of Pytheas and his voyages, and had listened with much pleasure to Dr. Blind's account of him.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson said he should much like to know if an early Suez Canal or waterway between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea had really existed. Some evidence of the early amber trade in this country was afforded by the amber and glass beads so often found in prehistoric graves. It was curious to note that in many instances the variegated glass beads had the ends rubbed down, so as to give a representation of the rays of the sun.

Mr. W. F. Kirby said that the knowledge which the ancients had of the world had been much underrated, because so few of their writings have come down to us. We look on them as in a very primitive, ignorant condition, yet the nations of antiquity, at the stage when we

know them, seem to have been in a decaying state of civilisation, and we may be quite ignorant of the heights to which they had previously attained. Plato, at any rate, says that owing to the destruction of Atlantis, civilisation suffered so great a blow that the Athenians lost their knowledge of literature and history, and doubtless other nations which survived the catastrophe would have been more or less severely checked in their progress in a similar manner.

Dr. Blind briefly thanked the meeting for the way in which they had received his paper, and for their kind reception of himself.

THE REVIVAL OF OLD NORTHERN LIFE IN DENMARK.

By the REV. PASTOR A. V. STORM.

For one who has always loved the old Viking life and been fostered upon it, it cannot but be a welcome opportunity to meet English friends who have formed a Club in connection with that interesting subject. I have, therefor, been looking forward to this evening, although, I must confess, with a slight fear lest I should not be able to read a paper interesting enough to men who far surpass me both in age and experience. However, I do not mean to deliver any great literary criticism upon the movements which have shaped the life of Denmark in this century, but only to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, as faithfully as possible, how that life has formed itself, and then leave the criticism and judgment to you. I venture to hope that you will be mildly disposed beforehand towards the small country that is so closely connected with your great nation, not only from olden times, but also in recent years. We have given to you not only a king, but a princess, of whom we often think with joy, and they, I am sure, have a share in your affectionate feelings for your own nation. In this hope of indulgence I include also my English pronunciation and style. It has been a matter of pleasure to learn your language, but you will throughout discover that, even if my speech resemble yours, my tongue is Danish.

The title of my paper, which alludes to a revival, presupposes a sleep. The old Viking spirit of our forefathers

was kept alive through the first part of the Middle Ages, but not by the same causes which stirred the Norman, French, English, and Teutonic races. While the crusades to the Holy Land found scope for their warlike energies, we also had our own crusades, but they were on the shores of the Baltic, where our rule was extended to the utmost limits of the Baltic shores. Without entering into details it may be sufficient to remark that while Denmark tried hard to subdue Sweden, and was partly successful, there arose a spirit of antagonism which has had most detrimental results to both the brother countries, and also to Norway, which was under the same king as Denmark. I count the period of the Reformation of the Church as a revival too; but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries our kings imported great numbers of German knights and adventurers, who trampled on our ideals and subjected our tongue to contempt. The manners at Court became foreign, our noblemen of ancient lineage were cast into the shade, and the people at large was subdued. This period of our history is one of the most disagreeable to think of. In the latter half of the eighteenth century the first signs of a coming springtime became manifest with the advent of a national poet —Ewald—and with the grant, in 1788, of greater political freedom, accorded by the king, whose powers were still despotic. In the same period Danish commerce began again to flourish, especially during the great wars with France in the nineties, when Danish ships, as carriers or traders, were seen on every sea. Wealth also began to be accumulated on many hands, and to such a degree did our prosperity progress that it excited the attention and even envy of England. Despite this increase of material prosperity, the people in Denmark remained unaroused to any real corporate life.

It was, as has often been asserted, at the battle of the Baltic, on April 2nd, 1801, when the Danish nation first began to realise that it was asleep, but could be roused. We always call that battle the battle in the roadstead of

Copenhagen, because it was fought so close to the shore and piers of the harbour in Copenhagen that the citizens could view it closely. The reason for the battle was that England would not allow our men-of-war to convoy our trading vessels. After some few encounters an agreement was entered into between Denmark and England that the whole question should be discussed in London. It was in the year 1800. Meanwhile Denmark had been negotiating an understanding with Russia, and as it could not be friends with both Russia and England, open war ensued. In March, 1801, Admiral Sir Hyde Parker left Yarmouth with 53 ships, with Lord Nelson as Vice-Admiral, and the English fleet was soon sighted from Elsinore. Activity now showed itself in Copenhagen; willingness to sacrifice whatever was necessary was shown by all. The students formed a Volunteer Corps, the craftsmen a bodyguard for the king, and although our ships were quite incapable of meeting such a foe, they were rigged out as well as possible and made ready to meet the attack. Nelson was very eager for the fight, and proposed to Parker to destroy the whole Danish fleet in an hour. On Thursday, April 2nd, 1801, the battle was commenced; but the hour soon passed and Nelson was no nearer the end. At one o'clock Parker gave the signal to stop, but Nelson would not see it, and put his telescope to his blind eye and continued the fight. At 3-30 the situation became critical for him, but by means of a letter to the Crown Prince the Danish ships were ordered to stop firing, and a treaty was signed. We had lost the day; but, as a compensation, the nation had awoke. Nelson expressed his admiration for the courage of the Danes. It is worth noticing that the battle was fought in sight of the people of Copenhagen, for if it had been in the Baltic, far from the Danish shores, it might not have influenced our nation so much. Many took part in it who might not otherwise have been able. Thus those who in the coming years would be leaders were onlookers, and received the impression of national danger, and the

need for self-sacrifice if the nation was to maintain its liberties.

But it was only for a moment. The people soon sank back again among their pillows. Another shock was necessary. It came in the following year, 1802, from a young Dano-Norwegian, Henrik Steffens, who had been trained in the new Romantic school of Germany. He had sat at the feet of Schelling and the leaders of the new thought, which was to destroy the barren teaching of the preceding century. He came back to Copenhagen and delivered his lectures on these subjects. His efforts were, however, ill-received. He told them plainly that all the poets they had hitherto held in esteem were nothing at all. He pointed to Shakespeare and Goethe as the real poets. The meeting with him gave to a young man, Adam Öhlenschläger, the first impulse to break away from the old dry schools and enlist in the new victorious army. Öhlenschläger called on Steffens at an hour before noon, and discussed the new burning questions until three o'clock next morning. Then they had a short sleep, and Öhlenschläger, returning to his own rooms, wrote his first famous poem, "Guld Hornene"—*The Golden Horns.* The subject is interesting, because it treats of old Northern life, and of two golden sacrificial and festal horns, accidentally found by a girl and a yeoman respectively, in a field in Sleswick. They were sent to the Museum in Copenhagen, but were subsequently stolen thence in the beginning of this century. With this poem begins the modern literature of Denmark, with its harking back to the olden times for inspiration. A distinctive feature of it was that it was national in its origin, and continued thus for many years. Öhlenschläger, who began it, was and is its leader. His pen was very fertile, many of the Sagas and old Northern myths being treated by him. His style was also clear and elegant, and in many ways came near to the old Saga style. But he was always and everywhere the classical poet, who formed his Northern heroes partly, at least, according to the Greek ideal of beauty. For

many he will, therefor, not reach the shoulders of Grundtvig, who was indeed a genuine son of the Old North, and by whom the old mystic thoughts of our forefathers were understood and interpreted for our time. No man has ever done more for the revival of the old strong life than Grundtvig, who was himself a strong personality. Throughout a life of 90 years' duration, in poverty and misunderstanding, he went his way calmly, just as an old-time hero of the North. No man has influenced Denmark more, and his influence will go down to the latest days, if only because the foundations of his inspiration are so deep that there will always be some who will seek him for instruction.

I venture to give a few details of his life and his work. His forefathers were ministers in the Church, and through his mother he descended from some of the best men of the thirteenth century. He was born in 1783, and as a child was fed on the old-time myths, growing up with the history of his land ever before him. After tedious years spent in the Grammar School, the stirring events of the battle of the Baltic, in 1801, awoke in him some response. But his real revival came about by the reading of Öhlenschläger's new Northern poems in 1805. Grundtvig then took up the same subjects, and from 1808 till his death in 1872 he was always in the fore rank of writers. His first works were the "Scenes from the Last Days of the Heroic Period of the North," in which he depicts the old Northern heroes in their struggles with one another or against the "White God," Christ. Grand and majestic are his works, and they speak in solemn tones to the people of modern times. In 1808 appeared his "Northern Mythology," wherein he tried to explain the mystic meaning of the deep questions which exercised the minds of our earliest forefathers. In the three years to 1808 he became so permeated with the inspiration of the old Saga world that nothing would satisfy him but pilgrimages, in the company of a friend, to the several woodland sites of the old sacrificial places to Odin which were still to be found.

Their enthusiasm was such that they nearly worshipped the old gods.

But the memorable year in Grundtvig's personal development was his earnest conversion, in 1810, to the Christian faith of his forefathers, when he also preached a sermon on the subject, "Why has the Word of God disappeared from His House?" From that date he fought for Christ with an ardour and simplicity in faith and an endurance that was well worthy of the Old North. Nevertheless, I believe that it was just because of this that he understood better than before the deep longings and thoughts of our heathen forefathers. He translated Snorro and Saxo, and at the same time tried to sing his ideas into the people.

While Grundtvig was much occupied with these endeavours, he unexpectedly came to England in 1829-30-31. Let me translate what he himself has said about it. In 1838 he delivered some historical lectures, and, speaking of the English public spirit, he says that even many Englishmen themselves think that they owe this spirit to English stout or English roast beef.

It seems, therefor, a risky undertaking for me [he continues] to try with might and main to extricate them from this false opinion. But as the welfare of the North, and indeed of the whole of Christendom, depends upon England being awakened to a real understanding of itself, I will try. By the public spirit of a nation I understand the invisible strength of life whose element is the free use of all its forces, and whose breath is the mother tongue; and we thus understand why a nation becomes spiritless which loses its liberty and partly forgets its mother tongue. Is it not likewise true that the English public spirit is nothing else than the formerly well-known heroic spirit of the North? This being so, I do rejoice that the Englishman, as Governor for the Northern Spirit, has regained the sceptre of the world. [He alludes to the downfall of Napoleon.] The English language and spirit has undoubtedly made such progress that its victory is assured.

It is doubtful only whether the Englishman will remember his Northern origin; but this he should recognise, if by no other token than his poetical bequest in the Anglo-Saxon literary remains.

It was especially for their sake that I went to England in 1829, 1830, and 1831, and I went not only to London, Oxford, and Cambridge, but even to Exeter and Bristol, the frontiers of the Anglo-Saxons.

My aim was not only to study the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the British Museum, but wherever they were to be found, and, as honestly as possible, to steal them to the best of my abilities. Mine was, therefor, a Viking expedition on a small scale. My hope was, really, to be able to conquer England, or at least prepare for the only conquest the Danes from olden time had cared for.

I would conquer the English for the Anglo-Saxons, and thereby for the whole North. This seemed quite impossible, as the praise of "*Old* England," which is on everybody's lips, does not apply to what history calls Old England, but rather to New England since the Revolution of 1689. It is only a few of the historians of the British Isles who go farther back than to the Norman conquest, while they consider the Anglo-Saxon and Danish periods as woefully barbaric.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only was it that certain learned men studied and published a little Anglo-Saxon, but in the eighteenth century all these studies were quite overlooked. As an instance of this is the fact that the Anglo-Saxon poem "Beowulf," which is suitable to be the common Homer for England and the North, was only made known in 1815 by a man from Iceland, Thorkelin, who brought a copy to Denmark and published it in 1815, and it was translated into Danish by me in 1820, but not noticed at all in England.

The first summer I came to England the English looked upon me as a mad poet, who had got the idea into his head that great treasures were buried in the old barbaric manuscripts, and they laughed at me when they saw me daily sit down to study them, and they told me, with a haughty air, that there was nothing in them. The next summer when I came again, like a Viking, and when they saw that I began again, they got suspicious. I teased them, and showed how little taste they exhibited in choosing glass pearls for real jewels, and they began to fall off from what oracles like Hume had told them about their old treasures!

I may mention a characteristic story anent this. At Exeter there was an Anglo-Saxon book of poetry which had been in the archives of the see from the eleventh century, and the first question I asked at the British Museum was, of course, if they had a true copy of the famous book. With a haughty air they answered me that they did not care for such a thing.

Next summer it was my intention to go to Exeter, and I got an introduction to the episcopal library from the Archbishop of Canterbury. When I told them that, at the British Museum, they were far from laughing, but looked very serious, and asked me several times if I really would take so much trouble. Then I answered, with a smile, that I would do so, "For what is dirt to you is a treasure to me." A couple of days later the secretary met me, saying, "Now you need not go to Exeter, for we have written and asked for the famous manuscript, to copy it." "Well," I said, "it is very kind of you; but it will be tedious to wait so long, so I must go all the same."

The next step was that a publisher asked me to arrange the best Anglo-Saxon manuscripts for publication. I promised him to do so if he would publish a prospectus of the work. This was issued as follows: "Biblio-

theca Anglo-Saxonica. Prospectus and proposal of a subscription for the publication of the Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts illustrative of the Early Poetry and Literature of our Language, most of which have never yet been published. Edited by the Rev. N. F. S. Grundtvig of Copenhagen. London: 1831."

In this prospectus I had, of course, remarked that it was the Anglo-Saxons who Christianised Germany and the North, and that their literature was also the mother of the German and the Northern as well as of the English. Wherefore I used Shakespeare's words—

> "And duller shouldst thou be than the fat weed
> That roots itself in ease on Lethe's wharf,
> Wouldst thou not stir in this."

This was more than John Bull could stand, for when I returned next year to the British Museum I found them very busy in copying the Exeter book . . . and I rejoiced that the Englishman had himself undertaken the work.

I hope you will pardon me in reading this long extract, but you will easily gather from it how anxious Grundtvig was for the revival of the mighty Northern spirit, and that he sought to bring England over to his ideals.

Interest in the Olden Days.

It was not only the poets, but the historians and philologists of Denmark who began to work. The nation, too, responded to all that they brought forth. It was a movement that did not last for a few years only. It took root in the national life. Let me remind you of what I can testify myself. While I was a student a great stream of people continually flowed to the Museums, where the old trumpets or horns, which were used in the old-time battles, were exhibited and sounded. It was not only the intellectual or academic classes of the nation that were concerned, but the whole people became interested. I remember, some 15 or 20 years ago, how our ploughed fields were searched to find the old stone axes, spears, etc., belonging to the era of our earliest forefathers. Every spot of earth where a little mound appeared was ransacked for relics. Every old grave, with the three upright stones in the ground and one on the top of them,

was hallowed and left untouched. In every town the relics discovered were stored up, and even in the small country place where I came from a nobleman built a Museum, so as to store up whatever was found in the locality. No reminiscence, however small it might be, was overlooked, no trace of the older life was left unsearched. Even in the Board Schools the boys and girls were brought up on the old stories and myths.

Results.

"All this may be very nice, but what are the results?" it will be inquired. I am not afraid of saying that when the Danish nation can look back upon an honourable history in its fights and falls in the last 50 years, it must think of the old Northern spirit by which the people was regenerated. The nation felt it was one; the great differences between rich and poor became less, as they all felt themselves to be children of the same forefathers. This was demonstrated by the unity of the nation in the national crises in 1848 and 1864. In the former, which lasted three years and ended in 1850, Denmark was consolidated. The nation at large had borne the sacrifices which ensured victory; now they shared the common liberty granted in 1849 by their beloved king, Frederic VII. The grant of free constitutional government was then made without the bloodshed of innocent citizens, but by the free will of the king, before the threatening clouds from the south. It was a policy of give and take, whereby both the king and the people gained. The motto of the late king was, "My strength lies in the loving affection of my people." The common law was given on the 5th of June, 1849. In the following 15 years Denmark built on this good and sound foundation, until the fatal year 1864. The German element in Holstein had always been dissatisfied with Denmark, and everybody feared the worst when King Frederic died in November, 1863. The fears were realised to the fullest extent, and the calamity which befell us was greater than anticipated. Our oldest part

of Denmark, Sleswick, was violently torn away by nations who had no more right to it than what the sword gave them.

But at no time in our former history did the Northern spirit show itself so strongly as after 1866. For, in spite of vexatious treatment, the Danish element in Sleswick fought stubbornly for and made progress in its aspirations towards the North. In this resistance of the Northern nations the Anglo-Saxons ought to rejoice, just as we acknowledge that the lead has now fallen to them. There are still in Sleswick 150,000 persons who recognise the North as their cradle-land, and still fervently hope, at some future time, to be given back to it. A distinguished English scholar, Prof. Dr. Stephens, who knew the North better than most men, said: "May the lands of the Northern nations, the sons of the fearless sea-kings, always hold together, and always hold their own."

Our present king, Christian IX., who celebrated his eightieth birthday on the 8th of April, did his best to meet the proposals of Prussia; but Bismarck had made up his mind that a war with Denmark would be a help in forming the German Empire, and Austria was willing too. What do you now think, gentlemen, of two great Powers attacking a small nation on a question which the small nation was willing to discuss? You have, no doubt, formed a judgment. I will only remind you that our men did their best. Their weapons were, I am sorry to confess, not good, the fortifications not satisfactory; but in spite of these depressing defects, which were inevitable, their spirit was not cast down. The upshot of the war was that we lost Sleswick and Holstein. Sleswick and Holstein are two separate divisions. Sleswick had always been an integral part of Denmark from the time history began. By the weakness of the Danish Government, the German language had been allowed to get hold of the people in the southern parts of the kingdom, and there is no doubt that there arose a wish in Holstein to be

joined to Germany. Many even in the southern part of Sleswick wished the same. There are only 200,000 Danish-speaking people in North Sleswick, and their right to be allowed to decide with their vote whether they would belong to Denmark or Germany was fully recognised at the peace of Vienna in 1866. This right was always to them, as to us, a morning-star that promised a brighter day. But in 1878 Prussia and Austria declared that Section 5 was not valid, and they simply nullified it, and since then Prussia has ejected the Danish inhabitants, and in every way vexed and persecuted those who preferred their old country to the new.

You will understand how bitter and hard this is to the national spirit of the Danes. But do not think we are cast down. We know that the cause we fight for is holy, because it is just. We know that there may be a long time to wait, but it is never in vain to endure for righteousness' sake. And this chastisement has been for us in Denmark a most profitable teaching. The good Old Northern spirit had not fallen asleep. It is now awake and working, as you will soon see. And we have, at least, this great advantage—that we have a real, a just, and a national cause to love, and to implant the same love into those who come after us. I belong to the generation after 1864, but my father took part in that war, and I can assure you that in the sons of the fathers that fought there is at least as much courage and stubbornness as was in them.

You will remember that Grundtvig came to England to find out the Anglo-Saxons, and you will not forget that he looked upon you as the real successors to those who, in olden time, were spokesmen for the Heroic spirit of the Old North. There is no doubt that the English flag waves in every breeze, and will go on increasing the area of its influence. But I need not remind you of the first and most important maxim of a Viking, namely, to protect the weak. Man against man was a lawful fight, but never trample on the weak! Therefor, when Eng-

land boasts of her great power, she must also remember her responsibility. I do believe that the English people are just; and what a blessing for you that you have got the might, so that you need not care what anybody else says! You can just mark out your own course and follow it. For the English-speaking race all over the world there is unlimited opportunity of manifesting the characteristics of the Old Northern spirit. You are absorbed in great undertakings, but do not forget the question of North Sleswick. It is so near to you.

But let me leave this political question, although it is not political but national, because it is the same to us as it would be to you if Prussia landed in Norfolk and took possession of English soil between the Thames and the Wash.

Let me rather turn your attention to Denmark after 1864. In the Syllabus you will see reference to the High School, and work on every side. But the latter ought to precede the former, as the former is only a part of the work.

It is now 35 years since the war, and in those years Danish national life has been established as never before in any century. Barren parts of the country have been cultivated, and in that way we have gained within our own boundaries what we lost in the war, our country has been ploughed and kept up so as to produce that amount of butter you know we send to England. In spite of agricultural depression we have managed so far that the education of the people is improved year by year. Our commerce has doubled; we have built a free harbour in Copenhagen, whereby we seek to conquer the commerce of the Baltic; our commercial fleet is many times bigger than before. We have had, I am sorry to say, a most hot constitutional conflict in our land, which I do not consider good, but I will not touch upon it here.

Only let me tell you a little about the High School. That word itself does not really express in English what

is meant. The High Schools are designed for boys and girls of all classes of the people above the age of 18. The young people stay there four months, or six months, or one or two years, according to their time and means. The schools are made and kept up on terms such as are suitable to all, and free grants are given. If you ask me what the young people are taught there, let me say that it is how to lead a useful and happy human life, active and energetic in every respect outwardly, and filled with noble thought and aim inwardly. These schools have sprung from Grundtvig's initiative, who founded the first one in the forties, but it was only after 1864 that they flourished. Many of our best young graduates at the Universities volunteered for the war. They returned and set to work to build up a new and strong generation, who would not give in. Therefor, instead of real weakness, national strength manifested itself. There are now such schools all over the country, and the best young men, after their University career, still go out and work amongst the people at large. In Denmark we do not know any very great differences between the several classes of the nation. We like every man—labourer, shopman, farmer, nobleman—to be a gentleman, in the genuine sense of the word, and as long as these forces are working I have no fear for my land.

Perhaps you think I have strayed from my subject, and cannot see where the old Northern life comes in; but every expression of new life in Denmark is influenced by the memories of the past. I have only mentioned Denmark, but I should tell you that the same can be said about Norway and Sweden, where the same forces have been at work.

And here is a remarkable historical fact—that when the old national spirit roused these people, they found that they were *one—one* in language and thought. So early as 1820 was this feeling of unity manifested, and the University at Lund in Sweden saw its expression, where our first poet, Öhlenschläger, was crowned as the king of poets

of the North, and thenceforth there was a growing connection between the three kingdoms. It was manifested clearly when the students from the four Universities held a great meeting at an arranged place and exchanged ideas, and their songs and speeches were echoed all over the North. The outcome of this was the springing up of friendship between those who had erstwhile been foes in arms, which in the subsequent Danish wars bore fruit, for young men of the best blood in the brother kingdoms came to our help, and shed their blood freely for their brother country.

I have kept you long, ladies and gentlemen, but to me it has been a pleasure to speak here.

VIKING NOTES.

UNDER the name of Det Engelske Selskab (Anglo-Danish Club), a society has been formed in Copenhagen with the view of strengthening the mutual ties of sympathy between Denmark and the English-speaking race. The society proposes in every possible way to propagate a knowledge of England and everything English in Denmark; to encourage the study of the English language and literature, the institutions, political and social movements, etc., of England and America; and on the other hand to spread in these countries as far as possible an interest in Danish affairs. Lectures will be given and discussions held in the English and Danish languages, and it is proposed to have permanent club-rooms, where all the leading English newspapers and periodicals will be accessible to members, also to form a good English library. The preliminary Committee consisted of N. J. G. Carlsen, M.D.; A. Collstrop; R. Gram, Judge at the Criminal Court; Ad. Hansen, Ph.D., Lecturer at the Copenhagen University; Johan Hansen; Otto Jespersen, Ph.D., Professor at the Copenhagen University (Chairman); A. Peschcke Køedt, Member of the Danish Parliament (Vice-Chairman); and G. Rubin. Vikings desirous of joining the society should communicate with the Honorary Secretary, E. Staal, Vesterbrogade 3, Copenhagen V.

AN unexplored field, as far as I am aware, of Northern research is afforded by the writings of the Arabian voyagers of the eighth century. Of these voyagers, Omar-el-Hudri explored the north of Europe, and among other Scandinavian references he alludes to the presence of Northmen in Ireland. Speaking of the Irish he says:—"They submit to the rule of the Normans, and their principal article of luxury is a cloak. The price of one of these cloaks is a hundred pieces of gold, and those belonging to important personages are embroidered with pearls." Omar further adds that the principal amusement of the Irish was harpooning whales. They first attracted their attention by clapping their hands, then they gave them voluptuous sensations by tickling them under the chin, and finally they drove harpoons through their heads with hammers. This last observation points to the fact that the British seas were formerly much fuller of cetaceans than they are at present.

I EXTRACT the following from a review which appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* of "The Tale of Thrond of Gate" (Vol. II. of the "Northern Library": David Nutt), as offering a criticism that is worthy of attention. Alluding to the wizardcraft incident, where Thrond confronts Thorgrim and his sons with the wraiths of those they have murdered, the reviewer remarks:—

"And here it is that Professor Powell has misread his text. 'The method of conducting this operation,' he says in his preface, 'is but imperfectly described. The four lattices are apparently to prevent the spirits getting at the protective fire, and the wizard sitting by it within them, the nine squares drawn outside are

puzzling.' Not at all. The Icelandic text, though obscure, is intelligible. It runs thus: 'Ok grindr fjórar lætr hann gera med fjórum hornum og nu reita ristr Thrandr alla vega út fra grindunum'—that is to say, 'And he, Throud, causes to be made a four-cornered lattice-work, and he draws nine circles out from the lattices in all directions.' Thus what really seems to have taken place was simply this:—The wizard, after lighting a fire, constructed a square screen out of four pieces of lattice-work joined together, from each angle of which he then proceeded to draw nine charmed circles in all directions, so as to cover most of the room, of course to make it demon-proof, so to speak. Then he sits down, not *inside the lattices*, but, as the Icelandic text distinctly says, *between the lattices and the fire*, to mutter his spells and await the result. The fire is *not* protective, but attractive—it attracts the cold, wet wraiths, who warm their hands by it. What then, it may be asked, was the use of the lattice-square? Why, surely, to be a receptacle for Thorgrim and his sons, from whence they can view the accusing spirits, themselves unseen, and thus be convicted of their crime."

THE visits of ghosts and wraiths and unearthly forebodings were firmly believed in by the early Northmen. The circumstantiality of the accounts of some of these visitations in the Sagas is somewhat staggering at times, and calls for something more than the explanation that they are the creations of the imagination or superstition. The following physical origin of certain unearthly sounds, and the explanation attached to them by a superstitious and ignorant peasant folk, are suggestive, maybe, of the probable explanation of some of the Saga cases. It relates to the bog-slide in the Ormacree Valley, Ireland, where a mass of peat, 700 acres superficial, and extending along an inclined plane a quarter of a mile wide, shifted a distance from its site, destroying dwellings and life in its course. Says the newspaper notice:—

"In the Killarney district it is stated that about a week before Christmas extraordinary noises were heard in the valley at night, which the people describe as resembling what is traditionally supposed to be the wailings of the banshee. These noises—a long-drawn, uncanny sound, with cries resembling the Irish keen—are said to have been heard by several persons residing in the valley. Large numbers of the people explained the nature of the cries to the priests, who succeeded in calming their fears. So widespread were the feelings which these sounds occasioned that numbers of old people sent for the clergy to visit them in their houses. The priests were busy for some days ministering religious consolation to the people and reassuring them. The noises undoubtedly were there, for numbers of the people heard the cries during the night, and in one instance they reached official ears also. The fact that these banshee-like cries, causing apprehension of some disaster amongst the people, should be so quickly followed by the great calamity that has befallen the district, is regarded by those who attach credence to the story as very singular."

A visitor, however, furnished a physical explanation for the banshee cries. The sliding bog, he remarked, made a noise during the night peculiarly weird, rumbling and continuous, which seemed to increase in volume as the day advanced. The constant falling of the rain and the howling of the wind added to the uncanny effect, the volume of the rainfall apparently facilitating the motion of the sliding bog.

As a slight addition to Mr. Knox's contribution to Manx history, I quote the following description of the Manxland people from the observations of a recent traveller :—

"In appearance and character the native Manx resemble the Highlanders of Scotland rather than the Welsh, or even the Irish ; perhaps, in the latter case, from the greater proportion of the Norse element in their nature. They are not a tall race, a tall man being a rarity among them ; but they are a broad, strongly-built race, so much so, indeed, that it was remarked that a body of Manxmen, raised as a militia during the Revolutionary War with France, occupied more ground than an equal number of men from any other British regiment. But small as the country is—only a little more than thirty miles from end to end—there is yet noticeable a marked distinction between the inhabitants of its two extremities, the island being in this respect, as in others, a strange parallel to its greater neighbour to the eastward. In the south, the natives are dark-complexioned, with black hair and eyes ; in the north, they are fair, with light, often red, hair. There are also marked differences in the native language of the two districts, differences so great as to affect their pronunciation of the English language, and amounting almost to dialectical peculiarities. So great, altogether, is the difference in appearance, in speech, and in habits, that it is commonly easy to distinguish between the natives of the two districts."

ATTENTION may be called to the "Report of Manuscripts in the Welsh Language," the first volume of which has recently been issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The manuscripts are those of the famous Mostyn Hall collection, and may possibly be found of use in furnishing the earlier forms of Norse place-names now hidden beneath the later Cymric overlay.

AN interesting book is that written by Mr. H. Bullock Hall, and published by Macmillan, entitled, "The Romans on the Riviera and the Rhine." The writer champions the view first advanced by Baron de Belloguet in 1869 ("Ethnogénie Gauloise"), that the "fair Celts" of the classic writers were of German stock, and a race different from the major portion of the population of ancient and modern France. The Welsh and Bretons are defined as Iberians, as are the Basques, and both Iberians and Ligurians are regarded as branches of an ancient race settled for upwards of three thousand years in their present possessions along the shores of the Mediterranean. If the "yellow-haired Celts" of Gaul are to be removed from the Gallic family, so must the "yellow-haired" *fionna*, and similar races of Ireland and Scotland, which is, of course, only what has been contended long since by myself and many others in this country.

THE "champion of lost causes" may have our admiration and our pity, but he can hardly have our praise. Therefor the words of Lord Russell of Killowen, in presiding at the meeting of the Irish Literary Society, are perfectly fit and proper. It is impossible to revive the Gaelic tongue in this day, and hence the futility of seeking to do so. The Gael in England, Scotland, and Ireland, when he lost the overlordship of his native land, lost the power of perpetuating his tongue. When, furthermore, he survives as a mere fraction in numbers, to the alien intruders, the attempt to revive his former language and predominance is absurd. In England the

unmixed Gael is found nowhere but in small isolated communities. In Scotland his proportion to the rest of the population is perhaps one-fifth. The rest of the population in the lowlands, in the northern highlands, and in the islands, is Saxon or Scandinavian. In Ireland the unmixed Gael forms hardly one-third the population, the rest being Danes and Saxons (of English or Scotch origin). In Wales likewise the non-Welsh element is nearly half the whole population. Forming, then, a mere fringe of the population of Great Britain, his cause undoubtedly is a lost one, as an independent entity, and his only possible future is incorporation into the dominant elements of the population, whether he likes it or not.

THIS natural conclusion makes the absurdity the greater, not only of the attempt to revive Gaelic, but to induce the disuse of the terms "English" and "England," and the substitution therefor of those of "British" and "Britain." If the term "English" applied to a Gael is a misnomer, so is the term "Briton" applied to an Englishman and a Lowland Scotchman equally incorrect. It is a greater fault, indeed, to use these suggested terms; because, as we have shown, the vastly larger proportion of the population of these isles is non-Gaelic. If prejudice is done by the use of an inexact term, it is surely less applied to a minority than to a majority. Moreover, the case for the Gaels is the weaker from the probable fact that numbers who signed the petition for the use of the terms "British" and "Britain" are, unknown to themselves, not Gaels, but Saxon Lowlanders. Ignorance as to the actual component elements of the population of Scotland is as widespread in England as it is in Scotland; hence the fact that many writers indiscriminately describe all Scotchmen as Gaels and all Irish as Celts or Gaels. As regards Scotland, the language of the lowlands, of Burns, Ramsey, and all the vernacular poets and writers, in short, the "Doric" itself, is a dialect of Anglo-Saxon but little mixed with Gaelic, and often purer English—that is, having more Teutonic or Gothic elements —than literary English. It is just as much English as the tongue of America is, and is so recognised by all sane Scotch writers, past and present, including Sir Walter Scott. Better teaching in the public schools of the history of the spoken language would do much to lessen the cloud of ignorance prevailing, and prevent misdirected efforts like the attempted Gaelic or Celtic revival, the substitution of "British" for "English," etc.

BUT what warrant has Mr. David Macrae to speak for Scotland? He says he represents 104,647 Scotchmen who signed his petition. But what are 104,647 to the total population of all Scotland? Mr. Macrae, in fact, speaks but for a minority, and that a Gaelic, as distinct from a Saxon or Lowland Scotch, one. It is the old story of the tail seeking to wag the head, the cart leading the horse. The answer made by the Queen, through Lord Balfour of Burleigh, to the petition, in which the agitation is dubbed as "ridiculous," is very just. I conclude my observations with quoting this:—"'Britain' and 'British' are in not infrequent use, and are in some connections most appropriate; but while their use would satisfy us, it would not be an accurate obedience to any provision of the statute book, and it would give our Irish fellow-subjects a grievance in respect that their

rights were altogether disregarded. 'Briton,' in spite of one well-known instance, is quite out of date for general use, and is even slightly ridiculous." But Lord Balfour allows there is ground for charging Englishmen generally with an "unfair and aggressive feeling of national vanity" in this matter.

As a contribution to a future monograph on the "Danes in Ireland," and Viking remains there, which I trust some Viking will presently undertake, I give this additional cutting anent the artificial permutation of personal names in Ireland:—"At the time of the Union there was a rage among well-to-do Irishmen to put *de* before their names—the Lancys became De Lancys, plain Mullins became De Molyns, and the Baths, De Bathes."

THE entertaining journal *Modern Society* makes the following appreciative observations on the Viking Club:—

"When the promised history of clubs is written, it is to be hoped that its compiler will have included descriptions of those which exist, as it were, beneath the surface. There are in London innumerable associations conducted on the lines of quaint traditions that have no *locus standi* in the clubland of the West End, though they often serve for the bringing together of notable men distinguished in science, art, or, more generally, letters. Such is the Viking Club. The members are, of course, not real Vikings, or descendants of Vikings, but they preserve the social customs of the Scandinavian pirates, the President being called the 'Viking-Jarl,' the Secretary the 'Umboths-Man,' the Treasurer the 'Skatt-Master,' and the Editor the 'Saga-Master.' The idea is not to perpetuate the literary achievements of the legendary freebooter, but to unearth the folklore of the North, and to do something to keep the high time of the Vikings from being forgotten. The members meet and read papers, and otherwise amuse themselves in an icy, Arctic sort of way."

A slight error is contained in the statement that the members of the Viking Club are not "descendants of Vikings," as many, or most, of them, if genealogical, historical, and other evidence have weight, can certainly claim that honour.

To judge from his writings, Mr. Rider Haggard is no higher informed than the very average Englishman regarding the early facts of his nation's history and of his race. It is difficult to say whether the extracts below from "King Solomon's Mines" are satire or serious, and whether the text or the footnote is to be taken as expressing the author's own views. Certainly the footnote has a touch of Mrs. Malaprop about it, which is not also absent from this author's other lucubrations on kindred subjects in other of his works:—

"One a gentleman, of about thirty, was perhaps the biggest-chested and longest-armed man I ever saw. He had yellow hair, a thick yellow beard, clear-cut features, and large grey eyes set deep in his head. I never saw a finer-looking man, and somehow he reminded me of an ancient Dane. . . . And, by the way, it is a curious thing, and just shows how the blood will out, I discovered afterwards that Sir Henry Curtis is of Danish blood."

Mr. Rider Haggard then adds the following as a footnote:—

"Mr. Quatermain's ideas about ancient Danes seem to be rather confused; we have always understood that they were dark-haired people. Probably he was thinking of SAXONS.—EDITOR."

"THE Saint-Clairs of the Isles," by R. W. Saint-Clair (H. Brett, Auckland, N.Z.), claims to be a history of the Sea Kings of Orkney and the Sinclairs, their Scottish successors. The claim is sufficiently comprehensive, but it must be admitted that Mr. St. Clair has performed the task he set before himself. The work gives a fairly complete account of the Norse period, and exhaustive pedigrees of the various lines of the Orkney Earls. The Saint-Clair line, with all its branches and allied families, are, of course, very fully dealt with, while a chapter is devoted to other leading Orcadian families. The work is fully illustrated by various charters and genealogical tables, as well as by quotations from the Sagas, histories, and legends bearing on the subject. It contains besides a map of Caithness and the Isles and nearly fifty engravings, some of them of great interest. The time and labour which the author must have spent on his work cannot possibly be adequately recompensed by any profit he may reap from it, for the work is produced in a style that does credit to our kinsmen in New Zealand, where it has found a publisher. But Mr. St. Clair will find his reward in the knowledge that his work will be invaluable to all students of the subject, and that he has done his task so thoroughly that no one is likely to try the vain task of gleaning in his footsteps.

THE *Globe* of the 5th July, 1900, had the following paragraph :—

"The East London Water Company, in excavating their new reservoirs at Tottenham marshes, have made a discovery of unique interest. A war vessel, 50 feet long with a beam of 26 feet, made of oak and elm, has been dug up in an almost complete state. From several special indications archæologists claim to give the exact date of the vessel. The form of the rivets proves that she is of Danish build, and it is not an outrageous inference to argue that the ship belonged to the Danes who were defeated by King Alfred in the Lea Valley in 894 A.D. At any rate, the conjecture is plausible, and—a somewhat rare occurrence—archæologists are in agreement."

The delight which this interesting discovery naturally evokes was subsequently rudely checked. In answer to enquiries, the Secretary of the East London Waterworks Company wrote :—

"I regret to tell you that the unfortunate publicity as to the discovery of the ancient ship in Tottenham Marsh caused a huge crowd to collect early on the Sunday morning following, who, in spite of the efforts of the Company's men and the police, smashed the whole of the uncovered portion and carried the fragments away as relics. This is one of the most scandalous pieces of vandalism I have ever known, but we were powerless to prevent it. The remaining portion of the boat will be excavated during the summer, but I have given the Contractors the strictest instructions to keep it perfectly secret."

No comment can express the feeling of horror which the terms of the above communication give rise to.

ONE of the very active representatives of the Viking Club in the United States is Miss Cornelia Horsford, Jarla-kona, who not only spends her money but her time and exertions in the furtherance of Viking research. On December 29th, 1898, she read a paper before the Tenth Annual

Meeting of the American Folklore Society, at Columbia University, New York, on "A Tradition of Shelter Island, N.Y.," which offers points of interest to others besides her then hearers. She said:—

"The eastern end of Long Island, New York, is divided into two long points which partially enclose a bay. The northern point is named Orient, and the southern, which is longer, is named Montauk. Between these points lies Gardiner's Island, and within the bay thus sheltered from the ocean is Shelter Island. One of the natural curiosities of Shelter Island is what appears to be a footprint in a rock. This footprint is that of a right foot. The impression of the heel and instep is deep and well formed, but the toe-prints are lost where the rock slopes suddenly away. The tradition about this is that when the Evil Spirit left the island he took three long strides—the first on Shelter Island, the second on Orient Point, and the third on Montauk, whence he plunged into the sea. The rock on which there was a corresponding footprint at Orient Point has been removed to the rooms of the Long Island Historical Society in Brooklyn. It is said on Shelter Island that if anyone makes a wish when he places his foot into this footprint for the first time, he will certainly get it. This, unfortunately, is not true; but another saying, that the footprint will fit the right foot of anyone, from a little child to the largest man, is a striking fact; for as the bottom is narrow and the top wide, and there is no limit in length, it supports comfortably any foot that is placed in it. Finally, it is said that no horse will pass this stone without being seized with terror on drawing near it, snorting, rearing, and trembling in every limb. A similar story is told about another rock on Shelter Island, where the notorious pirate, Captain Kidd, is supposed to have murdered and buried a young woman. This rock is also said to be an object of terror to horses, who, so the story says, cannot be safely ridden near enough to see it.

"It is these sayings about fear in horses to which I wish to draw your attention. Why should a horse be supposed to dread the scene of a crime, or the footprint of Satan? These traditions are evidently Old World stories transferred to a new and suitable scene. The opportunity to secure a wish, the footprint of the devil, and the three long leaps, are all familiar to us in English folklore. If we look for a more serious cause for some of these traditions than that of the gossip of the countryside in England, we must pass beyond the limits of what can be proved at present. A possible origin for these stories occurred to me lately while reading a paper in the *Saga-Book* of the Viking Club of London, named, 'Odinic Traces in Somerset,' by the Rev. Charles W. Whistler. Mr. Whistler says 'that the thing that is never forgotten in a district is a terror. Often the latest terror will absorb into its own story the legends of the older days,' and 'one can trace the remains of the past beliefs in many ways as colouring the thoughts of our people, and in nothing more than in the matter of the one terror of our faith—the fear of the spiritual enemy, the Power of Evil. The fear of the old gods has been, not replaced by, but transmuted into, the fear of Satan. And this is natural; for to the early converts from heathenism the sway of the pagan deities represented the power of evil from which they had escaped, and to their minds Satan was to a certain extent typified in the likeness and with the ways of them, as they had been wont to fear them.' Mr. Whistler then traces several of the Somerset traditions back to an Odinic origin. Among them is a story about footprints of the devil which are still to be seen on the rocks. Two stories are about the 'wild hunt.' Once a man saw it pass in the air over him. The rider stayed to speak to him, to his terror, for he saw that the huntsman was the devil, and that he rode a great sow. '"Good fellow, now tell me, how ambles my sow?" "Eh, by the Lord! her ambles well

now!" the man answered. But the pious emphatic was not to be withstood by the fiend, and he vanished in a flash of fire.' In this tradition Mr. Whistler sees Frey mounted on his golden-bristled boar, Gullinbursti, transmuted into the devil, while his boar, for the sake of the rhyme, is changed into a sow. In another story the appearance of a headless man riding on a black horse is supposed to have been the hooded Odin; and in a third, the wild huntsman riding on a headless horse suggests that the horse was headless from his sacrifice to Thor at the Vé. Horse sacrifice was the cause of much trouble in England in the old days, as it was to King Olaf Tryggvasson in the far North.

"Is it possible that these stories about the terror of horses for the scene of a crime, and for the footprint of Satan, may have come down from the time of the confusion of the Christian and old Norse faiths in England, when, if a crime had been committed, the wrath of the Æsir must be appeased by the sacrifice of a horse; and likewise when Satan, invested with the character of the northern gods, would be supposed to desire for himself their ancient sacrifice, a horse?"

For the furtherance of Norse research, the National Geographical Society of the United States offered in December, 1898, two prizes, of 150 and 75 dollars respectively, for the best and second best essays on the pre-Columbian discoveries and settlements of the Norsemen on the mainland of North America, and on the location of the lands mentioned in the Icelandic Sagas. The competition was to close on December 31st, 1899.

Two little volumes, published by Herra Björn Jónsson, Reykjavík, are worthy of being brought to the notice of the Viking Club. They are entitled "Fornsöguþættir," and are by Pálmi Pálsson and Thórhallur Bjarnarson. They consist of extracts from Icelandic Sagas, Edda, etc., and supply amateurs of Icelandic with easy text-books at the small cost of 1 krone each, or for a postal order to the value of 1s. 6d.

"The Cult of Othin: an Essay on the Ancient Religion of the North," by H. M. Chadwick (London: Messrs. C. J. Clay and Sons. Price 2s. 6d.), is an able attempt to ascertain the characteristics of the worship of Odin in the North, its identity with that of the ancient Continental Germans, and the date of its introduction to the Northern nations. As to the identification of the personality of Wodin, the writer, who of all things is independent, is unconvinced that "Woden is the deified Wode," and suspects an outside origination—Slavic or Gaulish. He places himself thus at issue with many leading German and Scandinavian authorities. With regard to the characteristics of Odin worship, human sacrifices are proven, both voluntary and involuntary, by hanging and stabbing. Female self-sacrifice, similar to, but not exactly identical with, the Indian suttee, is also shown to have existed. The date of the introduction of Odin worship, as also of the origin of runes, in the North, is very elaborately investigated, the author contending for a date hardly later than the end of the first century after Christ. On the theory of the tracing of certain phases of Odin mythology to Christian sources, the author declares himself at issue with the views of Munch and Bugge. The work is a valuable contribution to a subject on which little light has yet been thrown, the author's logical and clear style showing a thorough grasp of the main points at issue.

The popular price at which the work is got out should ensure alone, apart from its inherent recommendations, its acquisition by every Viking.

TITLE Page and Index of Vol. I. are unavoidably held over, and will be published at an early date.

DEATH-ROLL.

THE Club has to deplore the death of one of its Jarla-men, Sir Henry E. L. Dryden, Bart., which took place on July 24th, 1899. Sir Henry Dryden was a lineal descendant of the great poet, John Dryden, and was born on August 17th, 1818.

As an antiquary and archæologist Sir Henry Dryden was looked upon as one of the greatest authorities in the country, and, in fact, his skill and knowledge in that direction were most extensive and much sought in solving many problems in connection with antiquarian and archæological research, not only in his native county, but in various parts of the country. His lectures on prehistoric times always drew large audiences, and were of a most interesting and instructive character, and gave full proof of the fund of knowledge possessed by him in the particular subjects he dealt with. His annual lectures and talks in Northampton were looked forward to with great interest, and in these his facts and figures were always enlivened by a remarkable flow of wit and humour. Not only did he lecture in his own county, but he also annually visited Wolverton, Banbury, and Oxford. His style of delivery was unique, and truly his own, and whatever subject he dealt with, be it dry or otherwise, he never failed to make it attractive and generally acceptable. He had in the past taken his part in the annual meetings of the Archæological and the British Associations, and his views and criticisms on the various subjects discussed were closely watched. Sir Henry used for some years to spend the summer months in Orkney, where he was engaged in making measured drawings of the Cathedral Church of St. Magnus at Kirkwall. These drawings were published in a handsome folio, and formed the Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland for the years 1868-71. Throughout the Islands of Orkney, and even as far as Shetland, Sir Henry's name was a passport. Sir Henry was an honorary member of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, a position accorded to him in recognition of his work at Orkney, and for many years President of the Oxfordshire Archæological Society. He accepted in 1892 the office of Jarla-man of the Viking Club, in whose aims and doings he took considerable interest, although circumstances did not allow him to be present at its meetings.

Curtis & Beamish, Ltd., Printers, Coventry.

Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. II. PART III.

ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY.

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

GIVEN BY

PROFESSOR SOPHUS BUGGE.

"Erpr og Eitill, et lidet Bidrag til den Nordiske Heltedigtnings Historie." By Professor S. Bugge.

REV. C. A. MOORE.

"The Book of the Settlement of Iceland. Translated from the original Icelandic of Ari the Learned" By Rev. T. Ellwood.

H. M. CHADWICK.

"The Cult of Othin. An Essay on the Ancient Religion of the North." By H. M. Chadwick.

MESSRS. JOHNSON AND GREIG, Lerwick (the Publishers).

"Shetland Folklore." By John Spence, F.E.I.S.

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"Lakeland Words. A Collection of Dialect Words and Phrases as used in Cumberland and Westmoreland, with illustrative sentences in the North Westmoreland Dialect." By B. Kirkby.

A. F. MAJOR.

"Stories from the Northern Sagas." Edited by E. E. Speight and A. F. Major.

THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION, Christiania.

"Norway." By J. Johanssen. Issued for the Paris Exhibition, 1900, by the Ministry of Public Education.

SPECIAL GIFTS TO FUNDS.

	1899. £ s. d.	1900. £ s. d.
The Chisholm, Jarla-man	0 10 0	—
Dr. Karl Blind, Fræthi-man	—	0 10 0
Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby, Göfgir-kona	—	1 1 0
Miss Cornelia Horsford, Herath-umboths-kona ..	0 10 0	0 10 0
W. G. Collingwood, Herath-umboths-man ..	0 10 0	0 10 0
Colonel Bertie Hobart ,, ...	0 10 0	0 10 0
Rev. Allan McDonald ,, ...	0 10 0	0 10 0
A G. Moffat ,, ...	0 10 0	0 10 0
A. C. Nicholson ,, ...	0 10 0	0 10 0
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Harry Speight ,, ...	0 10 0	0 10 0
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G. Norman ,, ..	0 10 0	—
A. C. Reid ,, ..	1 0 0	—
F. T. Norris ,, ..	0 10 0	0 10 0
C. Roy Saunders ,, ..	0 5 0	—

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

AMONG publications by members in the two years under review are :—

"Upper Wharfedale, its History, Antiquities, and Scenery, from Otley to Langstrothdale." By H. Speight. (London : Elliot Stock.)

"Gísli Súrsson : A Drama. Ballads and Poems of the Old Norse Days, and some Translations." By Beatrice Helen Barmby. (Westminster : Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd.)

Also in the *Scottish Review* for April, 1900, "Wayland the Smith," by Karl Blind ; also an article with a similar title in the *Deutsche Revue* for September, 1900 ; also in *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1901, "Sir Francis Barry's New Excavations of Brochs" in Scotland. In the *Reliquary*, "King Alfred," by the Rev. C. W Whistler, M.R.C.S., L.S.A.

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

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

SEVENTH SESSION, 1899.

AL-THING, JANUARY 20TH, 1899.

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

The Rev. R. M. Heanley, M.A., read a paper on "The Vikings, and Traces of their Folklore in the Lincolnshire Marshes," which, with the discussion, will be reproduced in a future issue.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 10TH, 1899.

Dr. KARL BLIND (Jarl) in the Chair.

Pastor A. V. Storm, Göfgir-man, Danish Chaplain in London, read a paper on "Early History and Monuments of Jutland and Sleswick," which is reproduced in the present issue.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. J. S. Thornton, a visitor, said that he had been much interested in the paper, especially in the account of the Jelling Stone, as he had himself travelled in Jutland, where he met and made friends with a Danish pastor, who he found was curate at Jelling. Twelve months later, being again in Denmark, he visited Jelling, and called at the pastorate. The pastor made him very welcome, and showed him the stone, the church, and other features of the place. Especially interesting was a chambered barrow to which he took him [that of King Gorm and Queen Thyra], as the chamber was made of oaken boards. Unhappily, he

heard later that the chamber had fallen in soon after his visit.[1]

Mr. G. M. Atkinson asked whether the stones described by Pastor Storm were given in Professor Stephens' great work,[2] and observed that the Runic stone in the Guildhall Museum, and the two fine ones at Oxford, if properly deciphered, and the age and circumstances fixed, might bear an equal contribution to those cited by Pastor Storm to historical events in England.

Dr. Jón Stefánsson, in moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer, pointed out that all these monuments were found in South Jutland or Sleswick, and none south of what was formerly the Danish border. This seemed to point to that being an old racial boundary-line. It was very satisfactory to find that the stones corroborated the Sagas, as pointed out by Pastor Storm. It showed the truth that so often underlies tradition, and that the Sagas were based on historic facts, and that forgotten truths often lived on in them.

Mr. A. F. Major expressed his appreciation of the paper, and endorsed the remarks of the last speaker. He himself was convinced that the Sagas and traditions of the Scandinavian North were far closer to fact than was popularly supposed. Ancient monuments which helped to prove this were of inestimable value. The pity was that so few in this country knew of or cared to study them.

The President (Karl Blind) observed that Orkneymen and Shetlanders, Englishmen in general, Danes, Icelanders, Norwegians, Swedes, and Germans, all met in common brotherhood in the Club. The treatment of political questions which might give rise to controversies was mutually excluded by the rules of the Society. Referring to the earliest known inhabitants of Jutland, the speaker showed from ancient chronicles that Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, were described, of old, as three tribes

[1] An illustration of this interesting chamber appears in Bache's "Nordens Historie," p. 295.—Ed.

[2] Some only of the stones are given in Stephens' work.—Ed.

from Germany. Richard Green, in his "History of the English People," says:—"To the north of the English, in their Sleswick home, lay another kindred tribe, the Jutes, whose name is still preserved in their district of Jutland. Engle, Saxon, and Jute, all belonged to the same Low German branch of the Teutonic family, drawn together by the same ties of a common blood, common speech, and common social institutions." In the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Dr. Hyde Clarke had fully made out this point. The original population of Jutland belonged to the Suevian branch of the Teutonic stock. When it had swarmed forth by land and sea, it was gradually replaced by Slavs from the East and by Scandinavians from the North. In this way Jutland became a Dane-land in the present sense. The lecturer (Pastor Storm) having been under the impression that there were no inscribed Runic stones in this country, Karl Blind mentioned that there are thirteen in the Isle of Man and one in Shetland. The custom of drinking blood-brotherhood having been referred to in the lecture, the President avowed that in his University days he had himself indulged in that barbaric custom, which was an old Scandinavian, Skythian, and Teutonic one, and that the friends with whom he had drank blood-brotherhood remained true friends to him down to their death. He thought the time might come when all Germanic nations would have to withstand a Slav onset, and that then such brotherhood might bind them all together.

Pastor A. V. Storm, in responding, expressed his gratitude to the meeting for the reception given to his paper. He wished very much that models and copies of monuments such as he had described could be easily obtained.

AL-THING, MARCH 13TH, 1899.

Dr. KARL BLIND (Jarl) in the Chair.

A paper by Dr. W. Dreyer on "Some Features of the Advance of the Study of Danish Archæology in the last

Decades," translated by Miss E. Warburg, was read by Miss Warburg, and will be reproduced in a future issue.

AL-THING, MARCH 24TH, 1899.

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

Mr. F. T. Norris read a paper on "The Vikings in the Thames Valley," which is held over for future issue.

GREAT AL-THING, APRIL 21ST, 1899.

Dr. KARL BLIND (Jarl) in the Chair.

The Great Al-thing was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 21st, 1899, 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 1898, were laid before the meeting and unanimously adopted, and Umboths-Vikings, or Officers of the Club, for the ensuing year were elected.

A paper by Professor Sophus Bugge, Viking-Jarl, on "The Wayland Lay," translated by Miss E. Warburg, was then read by Miss Warburg, and is reproduced in another place.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Alfred Nutt said that listening to Professor Bugge's very complicated, ingenious, and acute paper excited a feeling that one could not see the forest for the trees. The theory was that Vølundr's tale did not in reality belong to the Scandinavian North, but was an importation from England, no doubt in its ultimate origin concocted by Englishmen from classical fable. The latter point, however, was not before us. As usual with Prof. Sophus Bugge, we find a curious instance of circular reasoning. The date of the legend in its present shape is assumed to be the ninth century, and because at that date there are certain historical personages who are assumed to be the originals

of the characters in it, the date is held to be proven. This is so much part of Prof. Sophus Bugge's method, that he himself was always suspicious of it. There is no doubt that this story was widely known in England, though the explanations given of the carvings on the Frankish casket were quite new to him. But he still failed to see any reason why the story should not be Teutonic, and known to the North Germans who inhabited Scandinavia. Professor Bugge always regarded what we actually have as all that ever existed, and made no allowance for what must have perished in the lapse of time. He also seemed to regard all variants of a story as so many versions of one definite tale, instead of as separate handlings of traditional matter. He was interested in the identification of Kiar with Ciarbhal, but he doubted whether this could be Ciarbhal of Ossory, as the latter was well known to the Norsemen; but there were three earlier kings named Ciarbhal in the sixth century, one of whom might perhaps be the original of the Kiar of the story. He thought that there had been much give and take between Celtic and Scandinavian legend, but was of opinion that swan-maidens occurred first in the Celtic tales. With regard to the date of "Haustlong," which he had hitherto considered a fixed date, he would like to know whether Prof. Sophus Bugge had any ground for throwing it forward except a desire to make it fit in with his theories.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that the paper presented an interesting mixture of myth and reality, bringing together actual Irish kings and mythical swan-maidens. The swan-maiden story was extremely common in legends of various countries. He hoped the ornamentation of the bone casket would be fully reproduced if the paper was published.[1]

Mr. C. A. Seyler echoed the hope that the paper would be printed, as it was impossible to properly criticise it

[1] The casket is reproduced on p. 280.—Ed.

from one reading. It displayed remarkable ingenuity, especially in the explanation of the designs on the Franks casket and the details as to Egil. But why was it always deemed necessary to assume that one nation had borrowed from another? Why was it impossible that each should have drawn on a common stock? He would like to know what connection there was between the legend and that of Wudga, who was called the son of Wayland, and was mixed up with the stories of Theodoric and Ermanric.

Colonel Bertie Hobart asked for further information as to the place-names, Wayland's Smithy and Wayland's Stock. He did not follow the topographical point as to whether Wayland came from England to Norway or *vice versâ*.

Dr. Karl Blind expressed the thanks of the company to the author of the paper, as well as to the lady, Miss Elsie Warburg, who had translated it so ably and read it so charmingly. Prof. Sophus Bugge, he said, was a very learned man, to whom we must listen with respect, but he must protest against his always trying to prove the Scandinavian mythology to be a mixture of classical myths and Christian lore. Dr. Bugge makes Wayland a Finn or a Lapp, and one of the swan-maidens an Irish girl—a theory which he was compelled to combat, though he had nothing to say against the Finns as a race, whom we must especially sympathise with as victims of the peace-loving Czar; nor against Irish girls, or any Keltic race. Professor Bugge glided over the passage in the Edda which makes Wayland come from the Rhine. The names of the brothers in the "Völundarkhviða," a fragmentary poem interlarded with prose by the scribe who wrote it down, are not Finnish, but Germanic. Jakob Grimm asked whether the name Finn in the poem is not the same name that we find in genealogies of the Germanic and Anglo-Saxon kingly races. This name, he (Karl Blind) would add, is found as a family name in Germany, Norway, and Ireland, introduced into the latter country by the Fionna,

or Fenians, who were fair-haired, blue-eyed conquerors from the Scandinavian North. One might have expected that Prof. Bugge, who shows his full reading by numerous quotations, would have mentioned and dealt with Grimm's noteworthy hint; but he does not. The author of the Völundr poem is certainly not answerable for the prose note prefixed to it. In his own view, the "Völundr Saga" has twice travelled to the North from Germany. In the "Wilkina Saga," which contains a version of it, the author distinctly refers to German songs, and to the communications of men from Soest, Bremen, and Münster. There are other Eddic poems which deal with Germany, and in which Sigurd appears dwelling on the Rhine, and the whole Sigurd, or Siegfried, story is located on that river. Professor Bugge thinks Egil gave his name to Aylesbury, but he is wrong in saying that there was only one hero of the name. The Egil or Eigel name occurs in the German Wieland tale. Germany also can show a great many place-names connected with Wayland. No doubt the story has contact with the classic tales of Hephaistos, Erichthonios, and Daidalos; but, as we have it, it is a Teutonic tale brought to the North from Germany, whether it came by way of the Anglo-Saxons or not. "Southern," in the Eddas, always means German, and the Swan-maidens and Valkyries of the tale are southern demi-goddesses (*dísir sudhrœnar*). So the Battle Virgins are called in the "Lay of Helgi the Hunding-Killer." No doubt we should have had stronger evidence of this if the Germans had not unluckily lost their old heroic ballads through monkish fanaticism. The Mirk-wood of the legend is the equivalent of the Schwarzwald, or Black Forest. The oldest German testimony to the existence of a Wayland tale in German is in a Latin poem, which may be assigned to about the year 930, where, as in Beowulf, certain armour is said to be Wayland's work. Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions cups which Wayland, working in gold and jewellery, made in the Siegen country, and Simrock identifies this with

Siegen on the Lower Rhine, a mining district. The Rhine is beyond doubt a gold-bearing river, and was still more so in early years. The statement of Geoffrey of Monmouth has also not been alluded to in the paper read before the Club. In conclusion, he was bound to say that he thought Professor Bugge's attack on the origin of the noble Scandinavian mythology had failed.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to Dr. Karl Blind on his vacating the office of Jarl, and to Mr. E. M. Warburg on his resigning the office of Skatt-master.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 17TH, 1899.

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

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, the Jarl, gave his inaugural address on "J. L. Runeberg, the Finnish Poet, with special reference to his work 'King Fjalar,'" which will be reproduced on a future occasion.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 15TH, 1899.

MR. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Mr. A. R. Goddard read a paper on "An Old Viking Game."

In the discussion which followed, Mr. E. Magnússon thanked the lecturer in the name of the Society for his paper, and said that he thought great credit was due to Mr. Goddard for having recognised from one glance in the speaker's house at the picture of the fragment of a board found in the Gokstad ship what game it had been used for. He himself did not know if the game was known in Norway, but it was very common in Iceland, where it is called "Mylla." The Icelandic name is no doubt a corruption from an original "Milla," and there may be a connection between this and the name "Merelles," which also has had its corruption into

"Morris." The game is nowhere mentioned in the Sagas, at any rate so as to be recognisable. The game described as played by Knut, called "Shák-tafl," was no doubt chess, the word *shák* being probably derived from "shah," the Persian name for chess. Other games mentioned are the game played by the gods in the days of their innocence, but no hint is given as to what this was; also a game called "Hnefa-tafl," in which the object was to surround and checkmate one of the pieces. There was also a game called "Hala-tafl," and he thought some light was thrown on the nature of this by Mr. Goddard's discovery. There was one story in the Sagas that told how two men were playing this game, and an old woman, incensed with one of them, seized one of the pieces on the board and struck him in the face with it, forcing his eye out of the socket. No doubt in this case the pieces had a pin to stick into a hole in the board when the game was played at sea.

Mr. A. F. Major asked whether the game was purely Scandinavian in its origin.

Mr. G. Maynard, Curator of the Museum at Saffron Walden, said that he had seen the game played by Welsh shepherds, who called it "Caer Troja." With the figures cut in the turf for playing, the game might be compared to the so-called mazes in the grass found in various parts of the country. There were some in south-west Northamptonshire, which were said to be of Scandinavian origin.

Mr. W. F. Kirby quoted a game mentioned in a Danish ballad, which might be similar. Dr. Prior, the translator, however, thought it was a kind of backgammon.

EIGHTH SESSION, 1900.

AL-THING, JANUARY 26TH, 1900.

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

A paper by the Rev. A. McDonald, District Secretary for the Hebrides (Long Island), entitled "The Norsemen in Uist Folklore," was read by the Hon. Secretary. The paper, with the discussion, in which Messrs. Major and Kirby took part, will be reproduced in a future issue.

AL-THING, FEBRUARY 23RD, 1900.

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

Mr. Albany F. Major, Viking-Skald and Hon. Secretary, read a paper on "Sea-Trading in Saga-Time," which will be reproduced on a future occasion.

AL-THING, MARCH 23RD, 1900.

Mr. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON (Jarl) in the Chair.

Miss A. Goodrich-Freer, Vice-President, read a paper on "The Vikings in Yorkshire." The paper, with the discussion thereon, in which Colonel Bertie Hobart, and Messrs. Norris, Atkinson, Major, and Magnússon, took part, will be produced in a future issue.

GREAT AL-THING, APRIL 27TH, 1900.

Mr. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON (Jarl) in the Chair.

The Great Al-thing was held at the King's Weigh House on Friday, April 27th, 1900, at 8 p.m.

The adoption of the Law-Thing Saga, or Annual Report of the Council, including the Treasurer's Account and the Balance Sheet for the year 1899, was moved by the Rev.

W. C. Green and seconded by Mr. A. W. Johnston, and was carried unanimously, and the election of Umboths-Vikings, or Officers of the Club, for the ensuing year then took place.

The Rev. W. C. Green, District Secretary for East Anglia, then read papers on "Hallgrim Pjetursson and his Hymns" and on "A Passage in 'Sonatorrek,'" the latter of which is reproduced on another page.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon expressed his great appreciation of the papers that had been read. He thought the subject-matter of the paper on Hallgrim would be new to most. Mr. Green had shown a very just appreciation of the personality of the man, and of his individuality as a poet, and had not shrunk from indicating the shadows that darken the picture. Hallgrim was undoubtedly the greatest Icelandic hymn-writer. The early Icelandic poetry was epic in its character, and therefore the earliest Christian poems were Drapas of the lives of the Saints and the Virgin Mary. No fewer than sixty Drapas of the latter had come down to us. In Roman Catholic times the Church aimed rather at giving amusement to the eye and ear than to stirring the emotions of the heart. Consequently there was no place in it for such contemplation as Hallgrim's. But when by translation Iceland became possessed of Holy Scripture in the vernacular, the opening up of the fountain of Oriental imagery and of the poetry of the Psalms created a new generation of poets, the singers of Reform, whose works were a treasure down to the present day, but the prince among whom was the peerless leper of Saurby. Hallgrim's hymns were a pleasant memory of his childhood, for during Lent the great hour of the day for Icelandic children was the hour when all the household gathered together at the evening devotions for the singing of Hallgrim's Passion hymns. The line of Icelandic hymn-writers did not die out with Hallgrim, but none were his equals in simplicity and the power of introducing the homely things of everyday life in the state-

liness of finished art. With regard to the passage in "Sonatorrek," the speaker had already heard Mr. Green bring forward his views on the subject, and was still of the opinion that he was on the right track, and that the passage might be translated, "My son has gone to meet with his kin in the home of the beeskip." Corruption of the text was hardly likely, because both alliteration and metre were perfect in this passage. Though this is the only place in Icelandic literature where the word *býskip* is found, it is to be noted that it is used by a most observant man, who had spent many years in England. Egil no doubt knew and possibly spoke Anglo-Saxon, an accomplishment of no very great difficulty, seeing that the two tongues were so closely allied. We know that he served in the English army in the North of England, where the beeskep is used. The speaker considered "the city of the beeskep" a perfect expression for the vaulted home of the swarming dead. He thought it was possibly a Christian reminiscence, as it is hardly a heathen form of speech. He considered Mr. Green's view of the passage very likely to be right, although this cannot be absolutely proven. In conclusion, he might say that Mr. Green's translations from Hallgrim were models of closeness to the original, and he also thought Mr. Green's version of "Egil's Saga" the best translation of all that had appeared in English.

Mr. A. F. Major expressed his gratitude to the lecturer for introducing to the Club the poetry of Hallgrim, and thought all would agree that Mr. Green's renderings were good English verse, and far above the level of many, if not most, English hymns. He was very glad that the lecturer had drawn from Mr. Magnússon such a charming picture of the hour of hymn-singing in the winter nights in Iceland. With regard to the passage from "Sonatorrek," his only doubt was whether Egil, composing in Iceland for the benefit of Icelanders, would use an image that would represent nothing to them unless they had been abroad.

The Rev. W. C. Green briefly thanked the Society for

their reception of his papers, and said he thought so many Icelanders had been to other countries, and honey was so universally an article of commerce in the North in days when sugar was unknown, that there would be few who were not familiar, at least by hearsay, with the mode of its production and with the dwellers in the beeskep.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 2ND, 1900.

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

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, Jarl, gave the inaugural address of the Session 1900-1901, on "The Conversion of Iceland to Christianity, A.D. 1000," which is reproduced on another page.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. G. M. Atkinson asked if the relics of early Celtic Christianity found in Iceland, as mentioned by the lecturer, had been preserved. Was the Celtic influence to be traced in Scandinavian art derived in any way from this source; such, for instance, as he had observed in the museum at Copenhagen on a remarkable carved doorway from Valthiofstad Church, Iceland, where Celtic ornamentation appeared with dragons, rings, etc.

Mr. A. F. Major said he thought all present thought that there was no scope for any discussion, because Mr. Magnússon had exhausted the subject in his paper. He should, however, like to thank him for his pregnant suggestion that among the settlers in Iceland the worship of the Æsir was yielding to the worship of the *landvættir*, or spirits of the land. This had been a new light to the speaker, and he thought it accounted for much that seemed strange in the accounts in the Sagas of the religion of Iceland in heathen times. He hoped the lecturer would pursue this point on some future occasion.

The Rev. A. Sandison said that the silence, only broken by applause, with which the paper had been received, was, if not golden, at least eloquent. Anything he himself had

thought, or intended to say, on the subject, had had to be reconsidered, and the whole thing had been represented in a new light. He should like to know whether human sacrifices actually took place. He was much struck by the suggestion as to the *landvættir*. The early Icelandic converts must certainly be put down as very militant Christians. He understood that, apart from the very earliest Christian Celts in Iceland, there was a large Celtic element among the later settlers, which would account for the Celtic influence on the art of the country.

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon said that the human sacrifices referred to were resorted to by the heathen as a counsel of despair, but were not carried out. It was a doubtful point when the Celts first came to Iceland. The question he raised as to the *landvættir* had never been brought under discussion before, but it was a very fruitful subject to pursue, as materials for it were to be found up and down the whole of Icelandic literature.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 14TH, 1900.

Colonel BERTIE HOBART (Law-right-man) in the Chair.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, District Secretary for the Hougun (Furness) and Westmoreland, read a paper on "King Eric of York," which is reproduced on another page.

A brief discussion followed, in which Mr. E. M. Warburg, Pastor A. V. Storm, Messrs. A. F. Major, G. M. Atkinson, W. F. Kirby, Colonel Hobart, and the lecturer, took part.

REPORTS OF HERATH-UMBOTHS-MEN.

(District Secretaries.)

The District Secretary for Cumberland and Westmorland (Mr. W. G. Collingwood) writes :—

Great Clifton Cross-shaft.

A sculptured stone of the Viking Age, about the tenth and eleventh centuries, has been brought to light during a recent restoration of the church at Great Clifton, near Workington, Cumberland. It is in a neighbourhood where many such stones have been found, but few so interesting. All along the west coast of Cumberland there are relics of pre-Norman art, in the form of memorial crosses and coped tombs; and these can be broadly divided into two classes—Anglian or native Cumbrian derived from Anglian models, and Scandinavian, that is to say, sculptures having the art ideas of the Norse and Danish invaders, when, after Christianisation in Ireland, they introduced a new style, quite distinct from that native to the north of England, though partly derived from it, and in some cases influencing it. This shaft is of the distinctly Scandinavian type, with Irish influence visible, and must have been the grave-cross of some Viking settler or his descendant.

It was found in the Norman foundations of the church, and the fine preservation of one side is owing to its burial for the last 600 years. Part of it was encrusted with the ancient hard mortar used by the church-builders, but this was cleared away with dilute hydrochloric acid by Mr. W. L. Fletcher and Mr. Lidbetter of Workington—a process which, as the stone was sandstone, has done no damage to the detail, and is much better than any attempt to chip the mortar off. Mr. Fletcher then photographed

the stone for the present writer; copies of the photographs



CROSS-SHAFT, GREAT CLIFTON CHURCH.
57 × 14 × 6 inches. White and red sandstone.
(Photo by W. L. Fletcher.)

of one side and one edge are submitted herewith. The

other side is partly defaced, and shows only some rather late and irregular interlacing, partly zoomorphic, and the other edge is almost entirely gone.

The stone measures 57 by 14 by 6 inches, and is the whole lower part of the shaft of a cross which, when complete with its wheel-head, would have been about 75 inches in height. It is remarkable, perhaps unique, from the fact that the stone was so chosen that it showed red on one side and white on the other, being cut across the junction of two beds differing in colour. The long, narrow triangle of darker tone in the photograph, at the lower corner of the side, is a bit of the red which apparently intruded into the white face. But the intention is evident, and bears witness to the love for colour which often comes out in the Sagas.

The subject is the favourite one of the conflict of the "Seed of the Woman" with the "Old Serpent." In the upper part, two little naked figures ride upon the necks of two great dragons—a motive which is also seen in the so-called "Saint's Tomb" at Gosforth, one of the Scandinavian hog-backs connected with the famous Edda cross. Over the head of the lower of these two figures is a human head ending in a plaited serpent, a form which recalls the early mediæval symbol for the serpent of Eden. The idea suggested is that of the temptations of human life struggled with and overcome. Under these is a great wolf-headed serpent, recalling the Edda myth of the Fenris wolf; and below it is a figure, robed in long drapery, with a glory round his head, interwoven with serpents and grappling with them. This, though grotesque in drawing, like all the figures on Irish crosses (and unlike the fine types on the early Anglian monuments), seems to be meant for Christ descending into hell: a subject not unusual in memorials of the dead, and obviously meant to express the Christian hope of redemption and life beyond the grave.

As a piece of sculpture, it is picturesquely designed and clean-cut in low relief, more nearly like the fine work

of the Gosforth school than most of the Cumberland examples, which are often extremely rude.

Glassonby Shaft.

A very rude specimen of the same style and period has been known for some time, and figured in "Early Sculptured Crosses of the Diocese of Carlisle," as it appeared while built into the wall of Mr. Rowley's house at Glassonby in East Cumberland. Last summer Mr. Rowley very kindly had it taken out of the wall, and it is now in Tullie House Museum, Carlisle. It proved to be a broken fragment of a cross-shaft, split longitudinally, and on the sides were an interlaced dragon and a rude human figure. The key-pattern on the edge connects it with examples from old Viking neighbourhoods on the Dee, and more remotely with Ireland, for at Clonmacnois there is a tenth century slab with a similar pattern. It may be remarked that the name Glassonby, spelt in the twelfth century Glassanebi, must mean the *bær* of Glasan, an Irish name (seen in MacGlashan), which like Gilemichel, Duvan, and other Irish names, may have been imported into Cumbria by Vikings, just as the Irish names Njáll, Kjartan, Kormákr, etc., were imported into Iceland.

The Witherslack Sword.

At a visit to Witherslack by the local Antiquarian Society in last September, the Rev. F. R. C. Hutton exhibited an iron sword which had been found in a bed of sandy gravel at the foot of Whitbarrow Scar, eight feet below the surface. There is no ornament; the pommel and decorated part of the hilt are gone, though the guard remains; and the point has been broken off, leaving the sword now only two feet in length. It is of the type well known as Anglo-Saxon or Viking, and resembles the sword from Ormside churchyard, and that from the Hesket tumulus now in Tullie House, the two latter probably Danish.

As indicating local interest in subjects promoted by the Viking Club, it may be noted that in December the Rev. Canon Thornley, of Kirkoswald, lectured on "Kormák's Saga" to large audiences in Barrow-in-Furness and Workington.

From Séra Thórhallur Bjarnarson, the present writer has received the third volume of the pocket edition of "Fornsöguthættir" (Isafoldarprentsmiðja, Reykjavík, 1900, 1½ kr. = 1s. 8½d.), containing readable extracts from Hardar Saga, Egla, Helga en fagra, Björn Hitdælakappi, Viga-Styrr, etc., much to be commended to any who would read a little Icelandic.

The District Secretary for Vinland (Miss C. Horsford, *Jarla-Kona*) writes:—

Research in Vinland.

This year is the millennial anniversary of the discovery of America by Leif Erikson, and it ought to be a year for unusual interest to be taken in that event.

Last spring the prizes were awarded for the best essays on Norse discoveries in America, which were offered by the National Geographic Society. About half-a-dozen papers were sent in. None of these were very good. The first prize was given to an essay which was almost a plagiarism from Dr. B. F. De Costa's "Pre-Columbian Discovery of America"; but it was so carelessly copied that several absurd blunders appeared. Dr. De Costa's book was for many years the best American work on the subject, and well deserving of a prize, but unfortunately the judges did not recognise the authorship. It would seem, therefore, that this country is not at present able to produce either competent writers or judges for such a competition.

Dr. De Costa is an elderly gentleman who has recently become a Roman Catholic, after having been for many

years the Rector of the Church of St. John the Evangelist in New York City. He now travels a great deal about the country, lecturing to Roman Catholic societies about the Norse discovery of America; speaking chiefly about Leif having been a missionary, and about the Vatican records of the establishment of the Church in this country in pre-Columbian times. I saw him not long ago in New York, but he had nothing new to tell me.

Bishop Howley of Newfoundland is now interested in other researches.

About two years ago, Mrs. Hammer, the widow of a Danish-Norwegian Consul in Boston, gave, in memory of her husband, a large sum of money to Harvard College, the income of which was to be spent in promoting the study of Scandinavian literature. A concert representing the history of Scandinavian music was given soon after, and a library of ancient and modern Scandinavian literature is being collected.

Dr. W. H. Schofield, who has the care of this fund, and is the instructor of Old Norse history and literature at Harvard, has studied one year in Copenhagen and one in Christiania. He recently translated into English and published the great work of our honoured Viking-Jarl, Professor Sophus Bugge. He has the gift of inspiring great enthusiasm in his pupils, and there is reason to hope for great and increasing interest in the ancient history and literature of the North in Vinland.

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

East Anglia.

East Anglia has not, so far as I know, any Scandinavian novelties to record since two years ago. In the last *Saga-Book* I spoke of some local words of Scandinavian origin or kin. No doubt there are plenty more, but they are mostly common to several counties. Such are the *wiches*,

havens, nesses. In regard to the last named, on some parts of our Eastern Coast the *ness*, such as Thorpe-ness, Orford-ness, does not appear now much of a projection. But possibly the sea has encroached, and flattened or snubbed some noses. We have a peculiar form of *ness* in our Walton-on-the-Naze. In its other name, Walton-le-Soken, one might suppose is present *søkant*, Danish for "sea-shore"; but Soken is from Anglo-Saxon *soc, socn*, a court, or a court's jurisdiction. The French *le* is due to the judicial privileges having been accorded in Norman-French times. *Cf.* the ward of Portsoken, London, and other instances where it is applied without reference to the sea. Is the river Stour to be traced to *stor*, "great"? It seems likely; and then also we shall refer to this origin other Stours, and *stur* in several words. The occurrence of *Sturium amnem* in the pseudo "Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester" may be dismissed from consideration. I have wondered whence Ant, a Norfolk river, got its name. The insect does not seem to the purpose. Can it be from the Icelandic *önd*, "duck," Danish, *and?* The new settlers under Skallagrim in Iceland (of whom we read in the "Landnámabók" and in "Egil's Saga") called an inlet "Duck-kyle" (*anda-kil*).

Your Somersetshire correspondent, in 1899, gave a surviving form of the cow-riddle propounded by Odin when he played the Sphinx. I have heard from a native Suffolk kinsman another form of this, as follows—

Four upstanders,
Four downhangers,
Two hookies,
Two crookies,
A wiggle-waggle,
And a swish-about.

More symmetrical this is in its pairs than the Somerset form.

I met with the following in my parish, of which I seek an explanation, Norse or otherwise. An old woman was saying how the young people who left their village for

soldiering, or what not, often came back useless for farm labour—"They don't know a bee from a bull's foot, as the saying is." Query: a bee, the insect? or B, the letter? I suppose in the Scotch proverb, when anyone has "a bee in his bonnet," it is the buzzing insect that is supposed to confuse the thoughts in his head. Proverbs are, as we know, commonly alliterative, as in "not knowing chalk from cheese," and the like. All our country riddles, as I pointed out in a previous paper, are of the descriptive kind; seldom, if ever, are they questions.

The District Secretaries for Orphir, Orkney (Mr. R. Flett and Mr. A. W. Johnston), write:—

The Round Church and Jarl's Bu at Orphir, Orkney.

Excavations were made last autumn at the Round Church at Orphir and at the adjoining site of the Jarl's *Bu* or Palace. The work was carried out by Mr. Alfred W. Johnston of London, architect to the Kirk Session, and Law-man of the Viking Club, and with the consent of Mr. W. L. Hutchison, laird of the *Bu*, and Mr. S. Bews, the tenant. All that now remains of the Round Church is the half-round apse or chancel, and a small portion of the contiguous walls of the round nave. At a depth of three feet, the old floor, steps, and base of the stone altar were uncovered. Two interments had been made under the altar and floor. These had evidently taken place after the disuse of the church, as part of the remains of the first interment were in the lower strata of debris, while the bed of the grave was only twelve inches below the old floor bed, necessitating the removal of the central portion of the altar and steps, which had not been replaced. A carved bone handle of a Norwegian comb was found at the floor level. About two feet down below the present ground level there was a rough floor of broken roof-slates,

overlaid with refuse of lime. In the Session Records during the eighteenth century it is stated that the Round House was used as a store for lime for repairing the parish church. Photographs of the church and excavations have been taken by Miss Tulloch of the Palace Street Photographic Co., Kirkwall. The site of the Jarl's *Bu* lies immediately to the north of the church, as described in the "Orkneyinga Saga." Mr. Johnston pointed out, some time ago, to the Rev. Mr. Caskey, Incumbent of the parish, the exact spot where the Jarl's *Bu* would have stood in accordance with the description in the Saga. At that time there were no indications whatever of any ruins.

In 1899 Mr. Caskey informed Mr. Johnston that Mr. Flett of Mussaquoy, the gravedigger, had come across the foundations of a wall in digging two graves at the north-west corner of the graveyard, the wall lying from east to west. As this would correspond with the south wall of the Jarl's *Bu* as described in the Saga, Mr. Johnston obtained the co-operation of Mr. Robert Flett of Bellevue, the Honorary District Secretary of the Viking Club, who made two further excavations to the eastward in line with the supposed wall, with the result that he struck the wall again. A careful survey of the site, and measurements of the church, were at the same time made by Mr. C. S. S. Johnston, architect, of Edinburgh. During last autumn Mr. A. Johnston and Mr. Flett continued a series of excavations eastward, and traced the wall to its eastern extremity, opposite the Round Church. The Saga states that a noble church stood opposite the south wall of the Jarl's *Bu*, near the eastern gable. As considerable confusion has arisen regarding the "present church," mentioned in various contemporary accounts of the Round Church, it will be as well to explain that the present parish church was built in 1829, immediately to the west of the Round Church, and its eastern end stands on the site of the western half of the round nave. The previous parish church was built in 1707, and stood immediately to the south of the present church, and therefore clear of the

Round Church. The Jarl's *Bu* and Round Church are situated at the head of the Hope or Hap of the *Bu*, in the township or *tun* of Orphir, from which the parish takes its name.

Some recent writers have placed the site of the Jarl's Palace in the township of Swanbister, which adjoins the township of Orphir. But the mound at Swanbister, which is described in the Ordnance map as the "site of the Earl's Palace," is the ruins of a broch or round tower. Moreover, the Jarl's *Bu* at Orphir mentioned in the Saga remains to this day. The present *Bu* at Orphir is described in the rent-roll of A.D. 1500 as boardlands (*i.e.*, Earl's guests' quarters) of the old earldom, paying no skatt. Dr. Joseph Anderson surmises that the Round Church was built by Jarl Hakon in the twelfth century, after his return from Jerusalem and Rome, whence he had gone on a pilgrimage in expiation of the murder of his cousin Magnus, Jarl and Saint. He brought back relics with him, and probably placed them in this church, which is built in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

Two notable events are recorded at much length in the "Orkneyinga Saga" as having taken place at the Jarl's *Bu* at Orphir. The one, under date 1126, recounts the accidental slaying of Earl Harold by means of a poisoned shirt meant for his brother Paul; and the other, under date 1136, details the differences which arose at Earl Paul's Yule-feast between Sweyn Asleif's son and Sweyn Breastrope, ending in the death of the latter and another man.

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

The Wirral.

Mr. Collingwood, in vol. ii., part ii., Jan., 1899, has dealt with most of the immediately interesting features of

this district. *En passant* I may correct "Permian" (p. 141, 8 lines from bottom of page) to "Triassic." I have done little besides trying to interest every and sundry in the history of the country. I hope later to send you some notes of interest. Last year I was precluded from spending any time over these as I had hoped.

Thingwall.

There is, as is well known, a Thingwall in the Hundred of West Derby, just over the Mersey. Some doubt has been expressed to me whether this is not a *modern* Thingwall, and not original; this is a question to enquire into. Near the Wirral Thingwall is Cross Hill, near which there is a stone set on a foundation of granite boulders, 3-ft. 9-in. in height. On Cross Hill itself there used to be a stone, now said to be buried. This raises the question whether *the* Thing was actually held where now the mill and hamlet stand; is it not far more likely to have been held at Cross Hill? There are curious markings to be seen on the fields, but these latter having been ploughed for years, surface inspection gives one very little information to determine their actual nature; what is required is resort to spade investigations.

Car (p. 149 *op cit.*)

We have the Carrs in West Kirkby parish, also Newton Car, and the Car houses.

Sandbanks and Sea Channels.

It is probable that these are remains of Norse names. I heard of one the other day—"Marker-ey," the highest point on a certain sandbank, not far from Hilbre; but one must not expect to find them on the Ordnance map, nor on the Navy charts.

The District Secretary for the Hebrides (Rev. Alexander McDonald) writes :—

THE HEBRIDES.

I HAVE nothing to report as to any discoveries made in the Hebrides during the last year. There was a paper in the current number of the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* giving etymologies of place-names in the island of Eigg, and the Norse names in that island were considered in detail. Last year an excellent work on the Charms, Hymns, and Incantations of the Gael (collected principally in the Hebrides), was published by Mr. Alexander Carmichael, who has been collecting folklore for over 40 years. There is less in this work to show the Norse influence on the prayers and literature of the Hebridians than might have been expected. There is, however, a hymn to St. Magnus, of which I enclose Mr. Carmichael's translation.

"HYMN TO ST. MAGNUS.

"O Magnus of my love,
Thou it is who would'st us guide,
Thou fragrant body of grace,
Remember us.

Remember us, thou saint of power,
Who didst encompass and protect the people;
Succour thou us in our distress,
Nor forsake us.

Lift our flocks to the hills,
Quell the wolf and the fox,
Ward from us spectre, giant, fury,
And oppression.

Surround cows and herds,
Surround sheep and lambs,
Keep from them the water-vole
And the field-vole.

Sprinkle dew from the sky upon kine,
Give growth to grass and corn, and sap to plants,
Water-cress, deer's-grass, 'ceis' burdock,
And daisy.

O Magnus of fame,
On the barque of the heroes,
On the crest of the waves,
On the sea, on the land,
Aid and preserve us."

(This hymn was taken down from George Gunn, who was evicted from Kildonnan, Sutherland. Mr. Carmichael says that he is, or was, peasant proprietor in St. Ola, Orkney.)

[The "Legenda et Sequentia Sancti Magni" contain nothing specially remindful of this hymn; but it would be interesting to know whether the poem on St. Magnus in 52 stanzas, preserved in the Arna Magnean Library at Copenhagen, has any parallel. It is reminiscent both of Christian and pre-Christian ideas.—ED.]

THE NORSE LAY OF WAYLAND

("VØLUNDARKVIÐA"),

AND ITS RELATION TO ENGLISH TRADITION.

By Professor SOPHUS BUGGE.

IN the second half of the thirteenth century, an Icelander copied from a then old collection of parchments, the oldest poems he knew (the names of the authors of which are not given) about the gods and heroes of the heathen North. In this vellum, now known as the Elder Edda, we find, as the first of the poems about the heroes of our prehistoric times, the Song of the Smith Vølund. This wonderful hero was known to the Anglo-Saxons by the name of Weland; the Germans called him Wieland (Weland, Velent), and the French, Galans. I will not investigate here the origin of the legend or myth concerning him; I will merely say that, in my opinion, in this legend, mythical tales which were common among Germanic peoples from the earliest ages, tales about supernatural beings clever at working in smithies and about women who flew in swans' attire, are blended with Latin myths dealing especially with Vulcan, Dædalus, and Theseus (who in the "Mythograph. Vatican.," ii., 127, is confused with Dædalus). These stories were, even in the early Middle Ages, and most likely also later, carried to the Germanic peoples, and were by them transformed and fused with their own stories. Neither will I here attempt to show the origin of the name of this hero,[1]

[1] I write *Weland* without attempting to decide the quantity of the vowel in the first syllable. This name cannot be explained by the old Norse

which up till now has not been traced clearly; but in the following treatise I shall try to show *where*, and *at what time*, the poem on Vølund, found in the Elder Edda, was written, as well as on what model it was based.

I.

The "Vølundarkviða" is introduced by a piece of prose which explains to us the persons who appear in the poem. Two short pieces of prose are also found in the body of the poem, which itself is written in the oldest Northern metre, consisting of alliterative pairs of lines. The contents of this poem, in which we find the freshness, but also the coldness, of the nature of the far North, are briefly this:—Three maidens come flying from the South, and stop to rest at the brink of a lake.[1] There they are found by three brothers, who, according to the prose prologue, are the sons of the King of the Finns. Ølrún becomes the bride of Egil, Slagfinn takes Hlathgunn to wife, and Vølund her sister Hervør. For eight years the maidens live together with the brothers, but in the ninth year they fly away, clad in swans' feathers. Egil and

word *vél*—skill, craft, cunning—for this form *vél* is not found in Anglo-Saxon. The old Norse *vél* (fem.) is the same word as Anglo-Saxon *wîl* (neut.)—wile, trick. The smith, in old Norse, is called *Vølundr*. The vowel in the first syllable is here short; *cf.*, for example, the poem "Lilja," 92. The French *Walander*, *Galans*, shows that, as early as the tenth century, the name was pronounced with the *ø* or *a* of the first syllable short.

An old Norse form *Vølondr*, with a long *ø*, has, in my opinion, never existed. Such a form is in direct opposition to Norse phonetic laws of the year 900 or thereabouts, as at that time it would have become *ølondr*. Neither can it be proved, by reference to the metre, that the first syllable is long in the Norse name. The lines *háls Vølundar*, *kván Vølundar*, are built up as are, for example, *lítt megandi*, *margs vitandi*. The line *fyr Vølundi* is built up as the lines *ok ǔnandi* ("Sig.," xvi. 5), *und vegundum* ("Guðr." ii., 4-8). I quote the Edda from my edition, Christiania, 1867.

[1] *á sævarstrønd*. This expression by itself can denote both the "seashore" and the "brink of a lake." The author of the prose prologue has given it the latter meaning, and gives the name of the lake as Wolf-lake (Úlfsjár). In the poem of "Friedrich von Schwaben," the three maidens bathe in a spring.

Slagfinn set out to look for their wives, but Vølund remains at home in Wolf-dale. He expects his bride to return, and fashions costly rings for her. It comes to the ears of King Níthuth that Vølund is alone with his treasures; with his men he goes to Wolf-dale, binds Vølund while he is asleep, steals his treasures, and takes him away captive. After this, Níthuth wore a wonderful sword that Vølund had made for himself, and gave his daughter Bøthvild a costly ring which Vølund had made for his love. The wicked wife of Níthuth sees that Vølund is meditating revenge, and, taking her advice, Níthuth hamstrings Vølund, and he is put to work at his forge on a small island, where none but the King can come to him. Here Vølund still plots revenge, and successfully. He murders the two young sons of the King, who go to see him all unbeknown to their father. He makes drinking vessels for Níthuth of their skulls, and ornaments of their eyes and teeth for the Queen and Bøthvild. He shames the King's daughter, who comes to him without her father's knowledge, and finally he flies away, after having revealed all to Níthuth. The poem does not tell us how he gets the means to fly.

The language of the poem, its poetical expression and relation to several poems written by Norwegians, show us clearly enough that, in the form in which we have it, it is written by a man whose mother tongue was Norwegian. But in order to decide in which Norwegian district the poet was born and grew up, I will first consider the statement in the prose prologue that Vølund and his two brothers were the sons of a King of the Finns. On this point tradition in other countries is silent. This is therefore, in all probability, a Northern addition, which occurs, not only in the prose prologue, as most of the German investigators seem to think, but also in the poem. In the first place, this must be concluded from the fact that one brother is called Slagfinn (Slagfiðr), not only in the prologue, but in the poem. This name does not occur, as do the names Vølund and Egil, in the legend anywhere but

in the North, and we may therefore conclude that it was the invention of a Northern poet. It is true that German and Dutch scientists (Kögel, Jiriczek, Sijmons) have maintained that the name Slagfiðr is a German, and not a Northern name, and they have explained it as coming from the old High German, *slagifeðhera* (Schwungfeder). Even were this the correct explanation, it was not therefore necessary for the name to be German, as *slagfjeder* is also a Northern word. But I conclude that this explanation is false, for these reasons :—

(1.) *Slagfiðr* is not represented in the "Vølundarkviða" as winged or experienced in the art of flying; had he been able to fly he would naturally, when pursuing his bride, have made use of the art; instead of which he set out on his *ski* (*skreið*).

(2.) No other Germanic tale knows anything about a brother of Vølund being able to fly.

(3.) Not even Vølund (Weland, Wieland) is represented in the "Vølundarkviða," or in any other Germanic tale, as being from birth or by nature winged or able to fly. It is only modern learning which, wrongly and unsupported by any ancient proofs, has credited him with these attributes.

Slagfiðr is in reality a regular nominative, of which the accusative form is *Slagfinn*. That the Icelanders in the Middle Ages understood this is proved by the fact that the name, in the Arnamagnæan MS., is written *Slagfinnr*.

This name, therefore, which the poem has given to one of Vølund's brothers, states that he was a *Finn*. As the verb *slá* (to strike) can be used especially in the sense of "to strike with a hammer," "to forge," the name Slagfiðr denotes "The forging Finn." This fits in well with the saying in an old French poem that Galand's (*i.e.*, Vølund's) two brothers were also mighty smiths. It also fits in well with Vølund's speech in the "Vølundarkviða," in which he says that all the three brothers, when they lived together, had costly things of gold. In Norwegian Sagas

the Finns are mentioned often as being clever weapon-forgers.

The fact that the poet observes of each of Vølund's brothers that he *skreið* (*i.e.*, ran on *ski*) also supports the idea that he considered them to be the sons of a chief of the Finns. For this was considered a characteristic of the Finns (or Lapps), who therefore, in very ancient times, were called *Skriðfinnar*.

Our poet has made Vølund's beloved embrace his *white* neck; but he may very well have imagined Vølund (though a son of the King of the Finns) white and fair. It is not necessary for Vølund to be of pure Finnish blood. The author of the poem was, therefore, a man who knew the Finns (*i.e.*, Lapps), at least by hearsay, and knew them as runners on *skis* and forgers of weapons, and also as hunters, for Vølund and his brothers are represented as mighty hunters. Even this tends to prove that the author of the poem was a Norwegian, born and brought up in the north of Norway; but it does not quite preclude other possibilities, as, for example, that he may have been an Icelander. I shall therefore produce other arguments to locate the home of the author with greater certainty.

There were several reasons why the Norwegian who composed the Lay of Vølund and his brothers should have laid the scene in the land of the Finns. In the first place, Vølund is called, in the Norse poem, "King of the Elves." In my opinion, this title has been accorded him outside the North—in England.[1] It assumes the original Germanic idea of forging elves, but it has most likely some foundation in the saying that Vulcan is Lord of the Cyclops; Norwegians mixed up their ideas on elves practised in the art of forging, with their ideas on Finns; "finn" is, like "elf" (*álfr*), the name of a dwarf. It was, therefore, natural that a Norwegian poet should make Vølund, Elf King, King also of the Finns. It must be

[1] Cf., *on aluisc smið . . . þe wes ihaten wygar*, who is said to have made Arthur's cuirass ("Layamon's Brut," Madden's edition, ii, 463).

noticed especially that in the tradition, Egil, Vølund's brother, was known as a marvellous archer and a mighty hunter. This, together with other things, may have given rise to the fact that the Norwegian poet made Vølund and his brothers come in contact with the Finns, who made their living out of hunting wild animals on *skis* with bow and arrow. The mythical personages, Ull and Skathi, are also ski-runners, hunters, and archers, and Skathi is located in the most northern district of Norway, Hálogaland. Side by side with what I have pointed out, may be mentioned that, even in an Old English poem, Weland is made to suffer in a "wintry cold" place. But I wish especially to draw attention to the following:—The South German poem, "Friedrich von Schwaben," of the fourteenth century, tells us that this hero, under the name of Wieland, sees three doves come flying to a well, where they intend to bathe. When they touch the ground, they are transformed into maidens. They jump into the water, leaving their clothes on the bank. Wieland steals these, and thus wins one of the maidens, Angelburg. This shows that the legend of Vølund, or Wieland, as it was known outside the North, also has made maidens in birds' feathers (either of doves or swans) come flying; they leave their feather-coats by a well, or at the brink of a lake, where Vølund (Wieland) also finds the one feather-coat.

The Norwegian lay begins by saying that through Mirkwood (the dark wood) three maids from the South came flying, and they rested on the brink of a lake. One of them had the wings of a swan. And in the prose we are told that the maidens had laid their feather coats beside them. Here I find a sufficient reason for the laying by the Norwegian of the scene of his tale in the land of the Finns. The poet did so because he knew the singing swan spent its summer in the interior of the countries of the Finns or Lapps, where it built its gigantic nest on the brink of the lonely lakes. In my opinion, the poet, in all probability, knew this himself,

for he was evidently so impressed thereby that he decided to lay the scene of his poem by one of these lakes. I think the poet lived in Hálogaland, Norway's most northern district. He wandered by the shores of the lonely inland lakes, where the swans abode through the short summer, and where the Finns ran on *ski* when the snow lay on the ground. The vivid and fresh descriptions of scenery in the poem all support this theory. The lake, on whose shores the swans sit to rest, lies in Wolfdale, and is called in the prose prologue *Ulfsjór* (Wolf-lake). The brothers leave their home on *ski* when the swans have flown away. Vølund, who stays at home, is occupied with forging, and lives by the chase. He comes home with a brown she-bear which he has shot, roasts the flesh by the fire, skins the animal, and lays himself down to sleep on its hide. This tallies exceedingly well with the life in those Northern parts, where the Finns lived by the chase (as is told in the "Historia Norvegiæ," found in Scotland), and where there were innumerable wild animals, especially bears and wolves. The Icelandic scientist, Björn Olsen, who defends the opinion that the Edda lays are written by Icelanders, quotes various Icelandic poems to prove that forest bears were known to the inhabitants of that country, though not found in their forests, that they knew they were hunted, and had a heavy hide which was good to sit on, and that their flesh was good to eat.[1] But I consider it impermissible thus to pick a poetical picture to pieces. It must be viewed in its entirety, as the poet has presented it to us. And this picture an Icelander who had not lived in Hálogaland could not have created. It has taken its shape in the mind of the man who himself lived in Finnmarken's forests, by the still lakes of the land of the Finns.

When Vølund wants to roast the bear flesh, he lights a fire—

[1] In the treatise "Hvar eru Eddukvæðin til orðin?" in *Timarit*, 15th year (1894), p. 53.

ár brann hrísi
øll þar fura.[1]

(Soon a whole fir tree blazed,
Kindled by the fagots of birch.)

So he puts a whole fir tree on the fire when he roasts a whole bear. He lights the fire with fagots, presumably of the birch; the forests in the interior of Finnmarken still consist of birch and fir. Thus I consider I have proved that the Norwegian Lay of Vølund was composed by a Norwegian, who dwelt in Hálogaland, and who had intercourse with Finns in the interior.

II.

I will now investigate the source whence the poet obtained the legend. Vølund is not a man evolved by the fancy of a Norwegian poet, for the stories of this person Vølund, Weland, Wieland, or Galans, were, as I said before, spread over the various countries of the North, over Germany (especially the north-west), England, and France. It has been universally acknowledged, and rightly so, that the tales, as related by the various peoples, tally to such a degree as to make it impossible for them to have been preserved independently of one another from a time so obscure and far off that it cannot be traced. On the contrary, we must presume that the legend of this wonderful smith has been transmitted, most likely in poetry, from one people to another. It is universally acknowledged that the "Vølundarkviða" was composed about the year 900. This conclusion has been arrived at on account of the poetical peculiarities of the lay, as well as those of the language. And I have shown above that

[1] The MS. has, *allþvr fura*. Finnur Jónsson has altered this to *allþurro fúrr*. This is, in my opinion, incorrect, for we are then forced to consider the following lines—

viðr enn vindþurri
fyr Vølundi—

as not genuine, in spite of the fact that they seem genuine enough. Besides, *fura* is, from its meaning, just the word we should expect in this place.

the poem was composed by a Norwegian from Hálogaland. To find from which foreign race the Lay of Vølund, as known to the poet, was brought to the Norwegians, we must seek to ascertain with which of the races possessing at that time a knowledge of the legend of the wonderful smith the Norwegians (especially those of the northern part of Norway) had intercourse, and with whom they had previously been in contact; we must also strive to ascertain from whom they received their moral and intellectual impulses. Evidence which may be obtained from England regarding this legend has therefore the highest importance for our purpose.

In the Exeter Book, which was probably written early in the eleventh century, is found a short Anglo-Saxon poem, a lyrical epic, which has been called "Déor's Lament," or "The Singer's Solace." This is divided into stanzas, and has a refrain. This poem, evidently much older than the Exeter Book, mentions that Weland lived in solitary exile, bore hardships and sorrows, was confined in a pit teeming with serpents during the depth of the winter. To these woes were added those resulting from Niðhad hamstringing him.[1] Beadohild sorrowed less over the death of her brothers than over her own

[1] *Weland him be wurman wræces cunnade. Be wurman* must mean "with the worms." Weland was therefore cast by Nîðhâd into a snake-pit, as several mythical heroes were cast according to Norse Sagas. According to the MS. we should read—

Siððan hine Nîðhâd on
nêde legde
swoncre seonobende
on sŷllan mon.

Swoncre seonobende must mean, "with an elastic band which was bound round his sinews," or, "with an elastic band made of sinews." But on account of the expression

sum on fêðe lêf
seonobennum séoc,

in the poem "Wyrde," and on account of "Vølundarkviða," I prefer to read *swongre seonobenne* (the last word according to Grein), *i.e.*, by cutting his sinews, which hampered his walk. The name *Nîðhâd* I will, in what ensues, write *Niðhad.*

shame. In the Anglo-Saxon poem of "Waldere," Widia, the son of Weland, is called Niðhades mæg (*i.e.*, daughter's son). In the epic of "Beowulf," Beowulf's coat of mail is mentioned as being Weland's work.

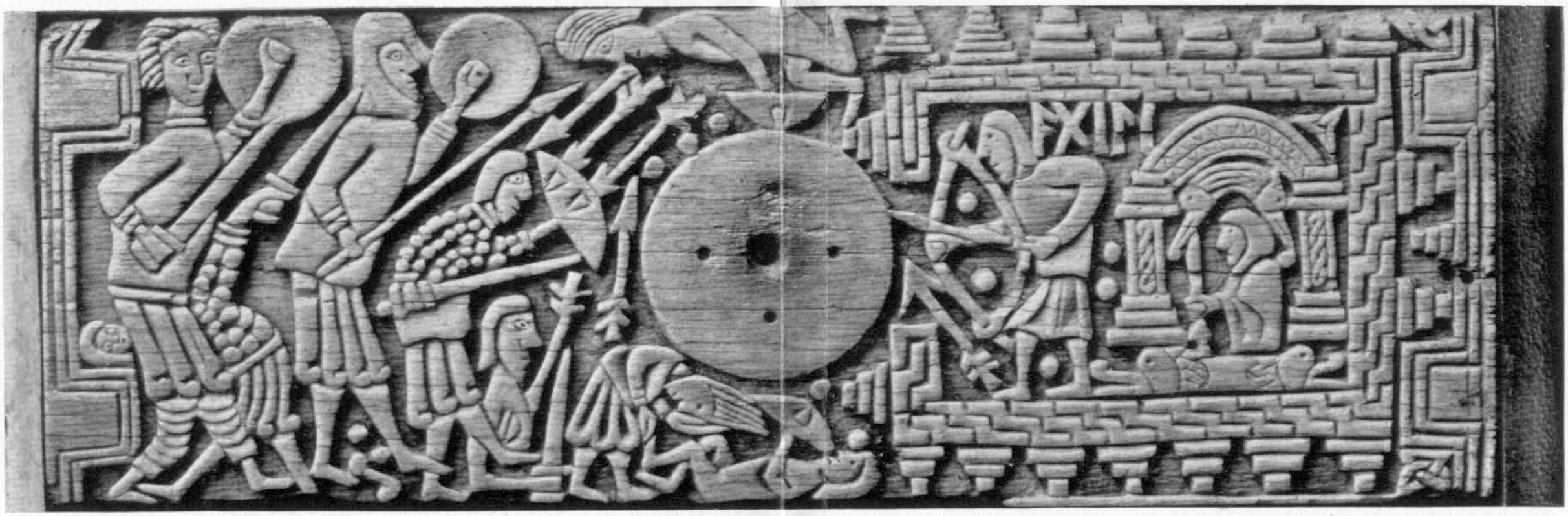
King Alfred translates Fabricius by Weland, and calls him "wise," and "a goldsmith, a man who in the olden days was most celebrated." Till very recent times a tale was told in Berkshire of an invisible smith called Wayland, who had his abode in an old stone monument, known as his smithy, and this place is mentioned in an old charter, dated 955, as Welandes Smiððe. Even in a charter dated as far back as 903, a place in what is now Buckinghamshire is called Welandes Stocc.[1] We notice that chap. lxi. of "Thithrik's Saga" mentions that Velent fells a tree and hollows out the trunk into a boat. He gets into this boat (which is called a *stokkr*), and takes with him his tools, food, and drink. In it he drifts out to sea, and arrives at the land of King Nidung.[2] I here pass over several evidences found in later writings of the widespreadedness of the legend of Weland in England.

We have an important contribution to the knowledge of how early and how widely the Lay of Weland was known to the English in some carvings on a box made of whalebone, now in the British Museum, and known as "The Franks Casket."[3] It was bought in France, and

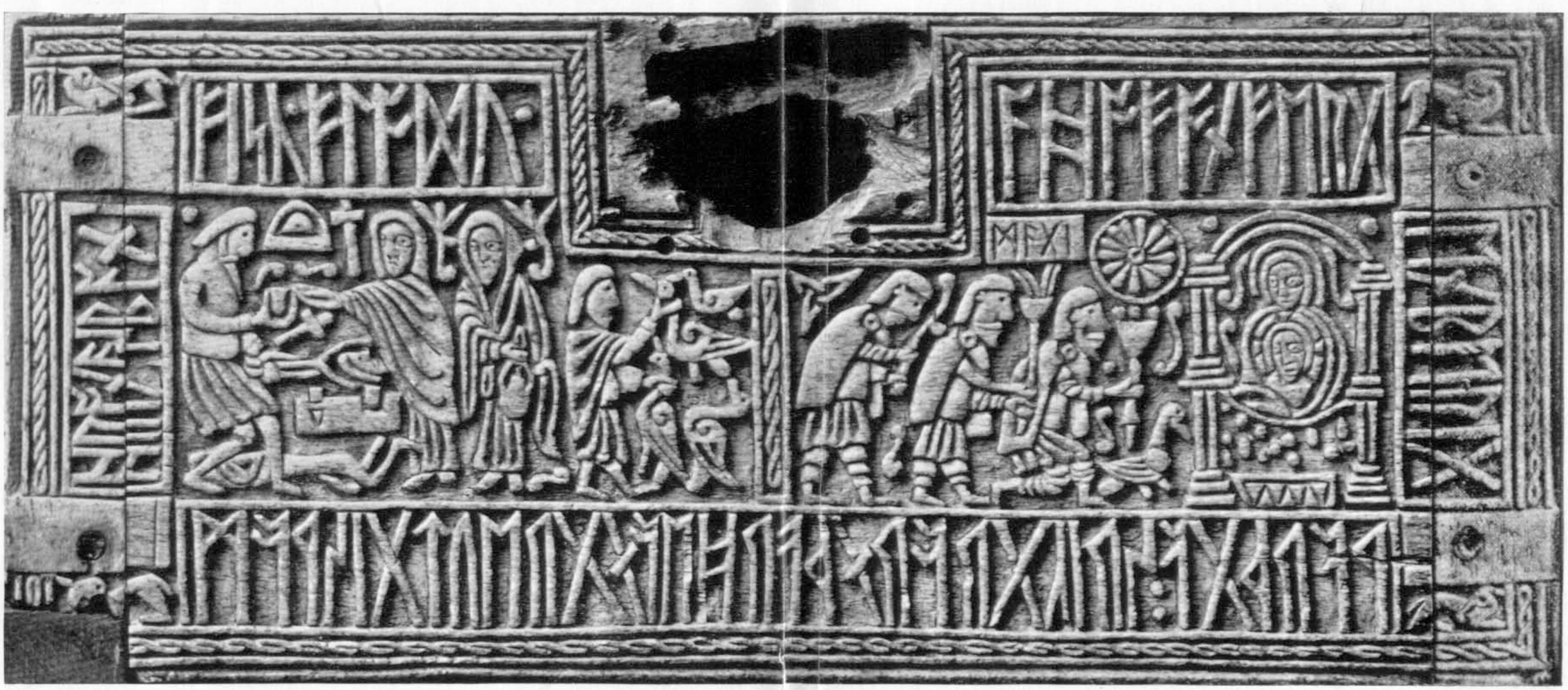
[1] Bintz, in Sievers' "Beitr.," xx., p. 189.

[2] It is not my opinion that a tale which agreed in all its details with that of "Thithrik's Saga" was known in England in the year 900. In the name *Welandes Stocc*, *stocc*, like the Old Norse *stokkr*, might also denote that staff on which the anvil rests.

[3] Reproduced in Stephens's "Runic Monuments," vol. i., pp. 474, 475. [Also in "English Miscellany," where Prof. A. S. Napier subjects it to a learned and exhaustive examination, but principally with the object of explaining the Runic inscriptions engraved on it. The casket itself is one of the most remarkable finds of recent years. It is a rectangular box, 9 in. long, 5 in. high, and 7½ in. wide. It is covered in high relief on sides and lid with pictorial representations from the Wayland Lay, the legend of Romulus and Remus, and the visit of the Magi. Borders of Anglo-Saxon runes enframe each picture, except that on the lid, but it is not known what was on the part now gone. The carvings, which are about ⅛-in. deep,



PORTION OF LID OF THE FRANKS CASKET: FULL SIZE.



E. Dossetter photo.

FRONT OF THE FRANKS CASKET: FULL SIZE.

West, Newman, imp.

was formerly in Clermont Ferrand in Auvergne. It has on it carved representations and inscriptions, some in Runic, some in Latin characters, and the Runic inscriptions are (with the exception of one short Latin word) in the English language. Several of the linguistic peculiarities in these inscriptions cannot be of later date than the eighth century, and even the beginning of that century. On one side of the casket, the front, is seen a smith, seated, and forging at an anvil. There are two hammers in front of him, to emphasise more clearly the fact that he is a smith. This is Weland, as I first proved in Stephens's "Runic Monuments" (Preface, p. 69 fol.). The sitting posture of the smith tallies well with the tale of the hamstringing of Weland. In his left hand is a pair of tongs, by which he holds a human head over the anvil. This is the head of one of King Niðhad's sons, out of which Weland is making a drinking-vessel. At the feet of the smith is a headless corpse, that of one of the King's sons. Before the smith stand two women, Niðhad's daughter and her serving-maid. With his right hand the smith is giving something (probably a piece of jewellery) to the one nearest to him. The other woman is carrying

are vigorously drawn, and almost as sharp for the most part as when first wrought. The date of the casket, as Prof. Bugge states, is about the beginning of the eighth century, judging from the language, which is in the Northumbrian folk-speech of that time. The pictorial representations afford excellent details of the contemporary dress, weapons, and house-building. It is supposed that the casket was at one time mounted with plates of silver, which are now lost. It was purchased by Mr. A. W. Franks, of a Parisian curiosity dealer, in 1857, and had been the property of a private individual at Clermont Ferrand in France, where it had served the purpose of a work-basket. How it came into France is mere matter for conjecture. Probably it formed a portion of the plunder captured by Vikings in Northumbria, and was by them conveyed thence to Normandy. When Mr. Franks purchased the box, it had been broken into pieces, and the parts obtained by him were the four sides and the bottom. Subsequently a part of the lid was found in the Barcello Museum at Florence, which had recently received it by legacy. The rest of the lid, it is supposed, may have been metal adornments, but its character is unknown. The casket, with casts representing the recovered parts, is now on show in the British Museum.—Ed.]

a sort of bag, and this is, presumably, a sign that she is a serving-maid, who in the Old Norse language is called *eskimær*, *i.e.*, she who carries a casket, into which her mistress puts her most valuable possessions. A plant is depicted on each side of the serving-maid's head. Perhaps this has reference to chap. lxxiv. of "Thithrik's Saga," which says that the ring of the King's daughter broke as she was walking with her maid in the garden (*í grasgarði*). It must be noticed that the representation on the casket tallies with "Thithrik's Saga," but not with the "Vølundarkviða." There is no serving-maid in this. In the Saga, the King's daughter comes first alone to Velent, and afterwards they both come. In what follows I will speak about other representations on the casket which have some relation to the Lay of Weland.

In the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* (vol. xli., pp. 138-9), the Rev. G. F. Browne describes a sculptured cross-shaft in the parish church at Leeds, Yorks, as having a panel containing the pincers, hammer, bellows, and anvil of a smith. The same panel contains an obliterated figure, probably intended for a human being. Attached by bands to the sides of the figure are two wings, while above what should be the head is the figure of a woman in a long dress, who is being held by the back hair and the tail of her dress by the human figure. Mr. Browne supposed this to represent Weland (Vølund) carrying off a swan-maiden. But this interpretation seems very doubtful, though it appears not improbable that it is Weland who is here represented; the fact that the attributes of a smith and a pair of wings appear in the same carving speak for it. Maybe the woman is Beadohild, whom Weland intends to shame. As he is depicted below her, his smithy may be underground. The wings are presumably those which Weland has made for himself and with which he is going to fly away.

We have thus proved that the legend of Weland was widely and generally known in England before the poem "Vølundarkviða" was written by a Norwegian from

Hálogaland, while we have no such ancient proofs that the legend was generally known at such an early period in Germany, or any other country. But even if the legend were known so early in North Germany, there is every reason to suppose that, judging by the usual direction of the flow of culture in the ninth century, this Lay of Vølund, which a Norwegian poet from Hálogaland treated in his poem "Vølundarkviða," came to the Norwegians from England, and not by way of Denmark from North Germany.[1] In the ninth century, when a race of Slavs dwelt on the Baltic and in the eastern part of Holstein, and when the Saxons were on a lower level than the English, both morally and socially, only a very feeble stream of culture from North Germany reached the west and north of Norway. And, on the other hand, with the ninth century began a new epoch in Norway's relations with the British Isles. From the north many Viking ships and peaceable merchant vessels set out for the west. Certainly the expeditions of the Norwegians went more to Scotland and Ireland, and those of the Danes to England. But the Norwegians also had frequent and lively intercourse, both friendly and hostile, with the English. As early as 787 Norwegian Viking ships came to England; the Scandinavians also came into contact with Englishmen in Scotland and Ireland, which is seen by the fact that the legends and language of old Irish tales are influenced by Scandinavian and English. English life and culture largely affected the Norwegians, not only directly but also through the medium of the Danes, especially those with whom the Norsemen were brought into contact in the British Isles. In the tenth century, according to the Saga, Harald Haarfagre sent his son Haakon to the English King to be brought up, and Harald's elder son, Eirik (who was once King of Norway),

[1] The oldest testimony from Germany is the expression *Vuelandia fabrica*, of Walthari's mailcoat in Eckehard's "Waltharius," from about the year 930. But this does not prove any knowledge of the Saga of Weland in its entirety.

afterwards became King in York. From this it is clear that even in the ninth century there must have been intercourse between Norway and England; a supposition supported by many facts as, for example:—Thorolf, the son of Kveldulf, according to the Saga of Egil, sends a merchant vessel to England from Hálogaland (this seems to have taken place in 874). And we have historical proofs of the statement that Ôhthere or Ottar of Hálogaland entered the service of King Alfred, presumably in the early part of the reign of Harald Haarfagre. In my opinion the probability of the Lay of Vølund, as treated by a Norwegian from Hálogaland in the "Vølundarkviða," having come to the Norwegians from England, a probability supported by general reasons, becomes a certainty when the poem is examined more closely.

III.

I will here investigate several details, which show that the author of "Vølundarkviða" obtained the legend from an English source.

(1) The King, who imprisons the smith, is called in the "Vølundarkviða," *Níðuðr*, gen. *Níðaðar;* in England, *Niðhad;* but in the "Thithrik's Saga," in the German tale, he is called *Niðungr*, and in the "Anhang des Heldenbuchs," *Hertwich* or *Hertnît*. I acknowledge that this argument is not decisive, as the King might have been known in Germany, at an earlier period, by a name more like *Níðuðr*. (2) The King's daughter is called in the "Vølundarkviða," *Bøðvildr;* in England, *Beadohild;* but in "Thithrik's Saga" she is called *Heren*. This may be a Germanic form of *Arienne* or *Arianne*, as *Ariadne* is called in Latin MSS. of Servius from the early Middle Ages.[1] (3) The English poem, "Déor's Lament," uses of Weland this expression—

[1] *Cf.* for the sound change, the old High German *helfantbein* from Latin *elephantem;* and Dutch *keper* from Latin *caprea;* Anglo-Saxon *glædene* from Latin *gladiolus*. The *H* in *Heren* may be added by the influence of Germanic names in *Here-*.

hine Niðhad on
nêde legde.

(Niðhad placed bonds upon him.)

In the "Vølundarkviða," 11, those bonds which are laid on Vølund to bind him are called *nauðir*,[1] which is the same word as the Anglo-Saxon *nêde;* and in "Vølundarkviða," 12, Vølund asks, "Who are you who (*á logðu*) placed bonds on me?" The verb here used, *á logðu*, is the same as *on legde*, which is used in the Anglo-Saxon poem. (4) With reference to the pregnancy of the King's daughter, the adjective used in Norwegian (*barni aukin*, stanza 36) is the same as the Anglo-Saxon (*héo éacen wæs*). (5) There is also a similarity, which can hardly be accidental, between *æva skyldi* (it should never have been so), in Bøthvild's answer to her father in the last stanza of "Vølundarkviða," and the words used of Beadohild, with which the part concerning Weland concludes in the English poem—

æfre ne meahte ðrîste geðencan hû ymb ðæt sceolde.

(She never dared think boldly of what would happen—*i.e.*, with regard to her pregnancy.)

It is worth noticing that in the same stanza of the "Vølundarkviða" occurs—

ek vætr hánum vinna máttak

(I had no strength to resist him),

i.e., *máttak*, denied, the same verb as *ne meahte*, used in the English poem in the same place. Niedner, who has pointed out the last three similarities, remarks with reason[2] that the Norwegian poem hardly presupposes the existence of the short lyrical Anglo-Saxon effusion. As we know now, from sources other than this short lyrical

[1] *nauðir* is not used elsewhere in Old Norse with this meaning, except in "Sigrdr.," i., where Sigrdrífa's bewitched sleep is called *følvar nauðir*.

[2] "Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Alt.," xxxiii., p. 36 fol. I had, independently, noticed these similarities, with the exception of No. 5.

epic, that the legend of Weland was known in its entirety in England, the only probable explanation of the similarities we have mentioned is this—that both the "Vølundarkviða" and the short Anglo-Saxon lyric, "Déor's Lament," have been modelled on a longer Anglo-Saxon epic concerning Weland. The carvings on the whalebone casket also point to such an Anglo-Saxon poem.

Many investigators, especially those of German nationality, have come to the conclusion that that common source from which the "Vølundarkviða," and the Anglo-Saxon poem, "Déor's Lament," were taken, was a Low German poem; but this is to make a détour for which there is no reason. Several reasons, given as conclusive, for the "Vølundarkviða" having its origin in one or even in two German sources have been proved false. The name Slagfiðr, which I discussed above, gives no such proof. It is said that the swan-maidens flew through *Myrkvið*. This word has been explained by German investigators to mean Saltus Hercynius, and their opinion is that the name has been preserved from a Saxon poem. But *myrkvið* only denotes "the dark forest," and several places in Norway have borne the name Myrkviðr.[1] Similarly, no valid proofs that the Anglo-Saxon poem, "Déor's Lament," had a Low German origin, have been produced. The name of the King's daughter, Beadohild, is, of course, no proof of this, as in German originals she is never called by any name which could correspond to this, but in "Thithrik's Saga," *Heren*. The King's name, *Nîðhâd*, is a genuine Anglo-Saxon name, the second part of which is also found in the masculine names, *Wulfhad*[2] and *Wighaad*. Why cannot the Low German name, *Nîdung*, of the King, in "Thithrik's Saga," be a German corruption of the Anglo-Saxon name, *Nîðhâd?* Several names and expressions in "Vølundarkviða," due to the influence of Anglo-Saxon poetry, also prove that the

[1] In Fritzner's "Dictionary of the Old Norse Language." 2nd edition.

[2] *Cf.* Searle, "Onomasticon."

Norwegian author of the poem knew and imitated an English poem on Weland.

In stanzas 4-8 of the "Vølundarkviða" it is said of Vølund—

Kom þar af veiði veðreygr[1] *skyti.*

(From the chase came the weather-eyed marksman.)

We do not find this epithet applied to a marksman in Norwegian, but we still say in English, "to have a weather-eye," "to keep one's weather-eye open." But when we compare with the Norwegian lines, lines in the Anglo-Saxon poems such as, *Þonne hie of wâðum wêrige cwômon* ("Gûðlâc," 183) (as they came weary from their wanderings), and *wêrige æfter wâðe* ("Andreas," 593) (weary after the wandering), we see that the Norwegian poet has had an English poem as model, and that he, where the Anglo-Saxon poem had *wêrig* (weary), has in his poem used *veðreygr* (weather-eyed), which had quite a different meaning, but was akin to the Anglo-Saxon word in sound.[2] We see at the same time that the English which the Norwegian used as his model can hardly have been written in the Northumbrian dialect, for *wêrig* was in Northumbrian *wærig*. Stanza 5 says of Vølund forging—

hann sló gull rautt við gim fástan.[3]

(He forged the red gold towards the sparkling jewel),

[1] The MS. has, in the first place, *vegreygr*.

[2] In Old Norse the same name is pronounced either *Þjóðrikr* or *Þjórikr*.

[3] The MS. has *gim fástaN*. If *fástan* is here the superlative of *fár*, and denotes "the most radiant," it was, in all probability, pronounced as a tri-syllabic word as *faastan*. We might, however, consider *fastan* elliptic accusative, which must be translated adverbially as "incessantly." Many have understood *við gim* to mean "by the fire," from the neut. word *gim*, "fire." But this word is never found in the Old Norse prose literature, nor in the oldest, more popular poems, whose metre is more free, but only in the artificial Icelandic poems later than about the year 1000. The origin of the word remains unexplained. I suppose that *gim* (neut.), "fire," has arisen from the fact that in "Vølundarkviða," 5, *gim* has wrongly been explained to mean "fire."

i.e., he set the jewel in gold.[1] This *gim*, acc. of *gimr* (jewel), from which *gimsteinn* is formed, is a borrowed word, from the Anglo-Saxon *gimm*, which, again, presumably through the Irish *gemm*, comes from the Latin *gemma*. In stanzas 6, 13, and 30, *Níthuth* is called *Niara dróttinn*. Hitherto no explanation of this expression has been found. To explain it I must touch briefly on the origin of the legend, without here giving a real proof of my conception of it. Vølund, or Velent, the marvellous workman, is, as a punishment, kept by force on an island by a fierce King, to whom he came from a foreign land, and whose anger had been aroused. Dædalus, the marvellous workman, is kept by force by King Minos on the Island of Crete, to which he had come from a foreign land. In the oldest Greek writings Minos is mentioned as a just King, but the Alexandrians call him fierce and unjust. Servius calls him *crudelis*, and speaks of *Minois sævitia*. The fact that, in this, the Germanic legend tallies, not with the oldest Greek, but with the later Græco-Roman tale, is, in my opinion, one proof among many that the connection is not founded on original relationship, but on later transmission. In "Thithrik's Saga," Velent, like Dædalus, comes flying over the sea to the strange King, who receives him as a friend and whose service he enters. We may compare the story in "Thithrik's Saga," that Velent fells a tree, hollows out the trunk, and sails in it away over the seas, with the Greek tale that Dædalus was the first to invent axe, saw, and sailing-ships.

One remarkable likeness between the Vølund legend and the Dædalus myth is the following:—Both make for themselves wings to get away from the King who keeps them back, and both fly away on those wings they have made for themselves. In the face of this similarity it is arbitrary to refer Vølund's flying powers—quite contrary to the statement of the legend—to his supposed quality as a spirit of the air. This would make the cutting of his

[1] *Cf.* "Hygin. Poet. Astr.," ii., 5.—*Corona. Hæc existimatur ariadnes fuisse . . . Dicitur etiam a Vulcano facta ex auro et Indicis gemmis.*

sinews meaningless. The King's name (Norse, *Níðuðr;* Anglo-Saxon, *Nîðhad;* Old German, *Nîdung*) denotes that he was malicious, just as Minos, in the later story, was described as fierce.

The prototype of Níthuth being Minos may possibly explain to us that he was called *Niara dróttinn.* Servius on Virgil's "Æneid," vi., 566, has—*Rhadamanthus Minos Æacus filii Jovis et Europæ fuerunt; qui postea facti sunt apud inferos judices.* This note has gone over to the "Mythograph. Vatican.," ii., 76, where we have, *qui facti sunt apud inferiores judices.* I have proved before that both Servius's "Mythological Notes" and the "Mythographs of the Vatican" were in the early Middle Ages known in Britain, and that some features in Northern myths have their origin in them.

A literal Anglo-Saxon translation of *inferiores* is *neoðran* or *neoðeran.* The Old Norse *Njárar,* from *Njaðrar* (cf., *hvárir* from *hvaðrir*), answers in sound to the Anglo-Saxon *neoðran.* When the Norse poet calls Níthuth *Niara dróttinn,* he has, according to this explanation, taken this from an Anglo-Saxon poem which called *Niðhad* the King of *Neoðran.* But the Anglo-Saxon poem could not have preserved any traces of the fact that the Latin expression (of which the Anglo-Saxon was a translation) denoted the awful King as a king who afterwards became a judge in Hades.[1] Stanza 10 calls Volund *álfa ljóði,* and in stanzas 13 and 32 *vísi álfa; ljóði* must therefore denote "lord," "prince." The word occurs nowhere else in the Norse language; it is taken from the Anglo-Saxon *léod* (prince). The alteration in the form from the Anglo-Saxon word is caused by the necessity which the Norwegian felt for distinguishing the word from *ljóðr* (people), and marking it as a derivation of this.

[1] I have also considered the possibility of the correct expression in "Vølundarkviða" being *Njørva dróttinn,* and of *Njórvar* being a poetic description of the people who bind, lame, and imprison Vølund. *Cf.* Anglo-Saxon *nearu,* angustus, angustiæ, and Old Norse *Njørvasund*—really, "The Narrow Sound."

When Vølund wakes after having been bound, he asks (in stanza 12), "Who are the men who placed bonds on me?"

Hverir ro jøfrar
þeir er á løgðu
besti "byr" síma
ok mik bundu?

Here there is no sense in the text of the manuscript. It should in all probability be—

þeir er á løgðu
besti ýr síma (bonds of bast).

The form *besti* for *bast* (Dat., *basti*) is not found elsewhere in Norse. I opine that this form is taken direct from the Anglo-Saxon Dat. form, *bæste*, in an English poem on Weland. In the same way the expression, *á stræti*, in "Hamðismal," xii., has, according to Zimmer, been taken from the Anglo-Saxon, *on strâte*, where *strâte* is the Dat. of the feminine *strât*.[1]

In stanza 17 the wicked Queen advises the hamstringing of Vølund—

snîðið ér hann
sina magni.

The second of these lines seems, in its Norse form, metrically irregular, as in Norse the first syllable of *sina* is short, but the Anglo-Saxon form, *seonwa*, suits the metre; and therefore here also the Norwegian poem seems to have had an English model.

In stanza 18, l. 7-8, Vølund says of the sword which he made for himself, but which Níthuth stole from him—

sá er mér "frā" mækir
æ fjarri borinn.

[1] Finnur Jónsson reads in "Vølundarkviða," *bestesíma*, but this does not explain *byr* in the MS. We find in several places in "Vølundarkviða" traces of later work, which consists of inserting in the first of the two alliterated lines, two alliterations instead of one, which has injured the meaning. Thus in 2, 3: *føgr mær fira*, instead of *føgr mær Íra;* 9, 3: *hár* (for *ár*) *brann hrísi;* 34, 7: *ok undir fen fjøturs* (for *sjøtuls*).

All editors[1] have understood *frā* to be *frann, i.e., fránn* (burnished). But in the last stanza of "Vǫluspá" this word is written *fraN*. But in "Brot of Sigurðarkviðu," xii., 1, we find *frā=fram;* in the prose which precedes "Grîp.," *frā vís*. And therefore in the "Vølundarkviða," stanza 18, we should read—

Sá er mér "fram" mækir æ fjarri borinn;

fram is here most likely preserved from the English model, with the meaning of *frá*, in spite of the fact that *fram* used as *frá* does not occur in Old Icelandic.[2] The accentuated and alliterated *fram* here governs the preceding *mér* (*cf.* Anglo-Saxon, *he hine feor forwræc mancynne fram*, "Beowulf," cx., where *feor* is used in connection with *fram*). The two words, *feor, fram*, are used in Anglo-Saxon in conjunction, where the accentuated *fram* can bear the alliteration. As the sword is characterised by Vølund in the preceding lines, the designation here of that same sword only as *sá mækir* (that sword) is stronger than a new addition, *sá fránn mækir*.[3]

The word *kista* (coffin), which is used in stanzas 21 and 22, and also elsewhere in Norwegian, is a foreign word, coming from the Latin *cista*, though it is not necessary that this should have come to Norwegian through the medium of English (Anglo-Saxon, *ciest*). Stanza 24 tells us that Vølund has murdered Níthuth's young sons—

und "fen fiøturs"·
fœtr um lagði.

The expression is repeated in stanza 34, when Vølund

[1] Even the editors of the "Phototypic and Diplomatic Reproduction of the MS."; *cf.* p. 47.

[2] But, on the other hand, in Swedish (see Kock, "Arkiv.," vi., 31-34, and Noreen, "Altschwedische Grammatik," p. 189, § 248, 3, Note 2.

[3] As *fram* in general was not used in Norse as in "Vølundarkviða," 18, and as *fránn* (burnished) was a suitable epithet to a sword, the words *sá er mér fram mækir*, "Vølundarkviða," may perhaps have occasioned the expression *þann inn frána mæki* in "Fáfn." i.

relates what he has done. No satisfactory solution of the expression has yet been given. Vølund's hamstrings were cut, but he was not bound in the smithy, therefore "ancle-chains" cannot here be the meaning of *fiøturr*.

On the English casket we see a headless corpse at Weland's feet. I think the original expression is—

und fen sjøtuls
fœtr um lagði.

He laid the feet of Níthuth's sons deep down in the mud, at the place where he sat: *sjøtuls*, Gen. of Anglo-Saxon *setl*, *seotl*, *setol* (seat). As the word was not used in Norse in this sense, *sjøtuls* (either by verbal or written transmission of the word) was changed to *fjøturs*. The word *jarknasteina*, Acc. pl. (25, 35), a sort of shining stone, which also occurs in "Guðr." i., 18, and iii., 9, is borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon *eorcnanstân* or *earcnanstân* ("Crist." 1196).

In stanza 28 Vølund says—

Nu hefi ek hefnt
harma minna
allra nema einna
"iviþ giarira."

The last word in the manuscript may also be *giarira*, altered to *giarna* or *giarnra*, with *rn* interlaced. This word contains, as its first syllable, *ivið* (malice), which is not found elsewhere in Norse, and is borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon *inwid (inwit)*. Here the writer seems to mean *iviðgjarnra (cf.* Old Saxon, *inwiddies gern)*. F. Jónsson remarks with reason that *iviðgjarnra* is not an epithet which harmonises with *harma*. He inserts, therefore, *iviðgjørnum*, but Sijmons prefers *iviðgjarnri*. One of these expressions is probably the original. But it seems to me to be possible that *iviðgjarnra* may be a faulty transmission to Norse of the Anglo-Saxon poem's *inwid-gyrna*, from *gyrn* (sorrow); *cf.* Anglo-Saxon, *inwitsorh*. The transmission may have been caused by *gyrn* not being found in Norse, and by Anglo-Saxon *gyrne*=

georne, gyrnes=geornes, and other similar dialectic forms.

In stanza 29 it is said of Vølund that directly after he had completed his revenge he flew away laughing. The stanza begins thus:—*Vel ek, kvað Vølundr. Vel* is not found in Norse used in this way. Here *Vel* is the same as the Anglo-Saxon joyful exclamation *wel,* as in *wel lâ!* (Lat., *euge*), and in *wel him ðæs geweorces.* This exclamation suits *hlæjandi,* which follows, very well.

The King, when Vølund has confessed all to him, says, in stanza 37, "You could have said nothing which could have caused me greater sorrow, or for which I would *níta* you worse, Vølund."

né ek þik vilja, Vølundr!
verr um "níta."

Here *níta* has no sense. I suppose that an English poem on Weland had *nâtan* or *genâtan, i.e.,* oppress, downtread, torment, and that the Norwegian poet has preserved this as *neita.* But as the Norwegian word *neita* (to deny) has the by-form *níta, neita* was here changed afterwards to *níta.*[1]

In the above I think I have proved that the "Vølundarkviða" is a transplanting of an English poem on Weland,[2] and that this transplanting was effected by a Norwegian from Hálogaland, who, just as did Ôhthere, who was in the service of King Alfred, spent some time in England.

IV.

In order that we may more clearly decide the time in and the circumstances under which the "Vølundarkviða"

[1] This *neita* (as I have supposed it found in "Vølundarkviða") differs from the Old Norse *hneita,* "Fms.," iv., 58:—*kallaði Óláfr sverðit hneiti; því at honum þótti þat hneita ønnur sverð fyrir hvassleika sakir,* which Fritzner translates, "to hurt, to put aside." Moreover, in a modern Norwegian dialect, *neita,* "to hurt, offend" (Aasen); especially "irritate by sharp reproaches; to sting, to prick" (Ross).

[2] Long ago, N. F. S. Grundtvig, in "Nordens Mythologi eller Sindbilled Sprog" ("The Mythology or Parables of the North"), 1832, p. 176, said, "Evidently the Lay of Völund . . . is translated from the Anglo-Saxon."

was composed, I will enquire into the race of the "swan-maidens." The Norwegian poet describes them as coming from a foreign land. The first stanza of the poem tells us that the maidens came flying from the South, and that the *Southern* maidens sat down to rest at the brink of a lake. Here follows a stanza which throws light on their race. Hlathgunn and Hervør were daughters of Hløðvér, Ølrún was Kiar's daughter.[1] In old Icelandic writings the Frank name Hlodoweo (Chlodewich or Ludwig) is given with this name Hløðvér. From this Müllenhoff[2] has supposed that these two swan-maidens were daughters of a Frank King. The third swan-maiden, Egil's wife, is said to be Kiar's *dóttir* ("Vǫlundarkviða," 15; in the prose prologue, *Kiar's dóttir af Vallandi*). This mythical King is also named in "Atlakviða," where Gunnar says that he owns helm and shield from Kiar's hall (*ór høll Kiars*). In a verse in the "Hervarar Saga"[3] he is said to have been of yore ruler over the Valir.

Ár kváðu ráða . . . Vǫlum Kiar.

Who is Kiarr? As he is said in olden times to have ruled over the Valir, and as Câsere (*i.e.*, Cæsar, the Roman Emperor) is said, in the Anglo-Saxon poem of "Wîdsîð,"[4]

[1] I insert after stanza 1, stanza 15, and read as one stanza:—

(2a) *Hlaðguðr ok Hervør*
borin var Hløðvé,
[en] kunn Olrún
var Kiars dóttir,
Ein nam peira
Egil at verja
føgr mær "fira"
faðmi ljósum.

Sijmons inserts stanza 15 between stanzas 2 and 3.

[2] "Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Alt.," xxiii., 167 fol.

[3] Bugge's edition, pp. 265, 346.

[4] "Wîdsîð," ed. Grein, v., 76 ff.:—

mid Câsere
se þe wînburga geweald âhte
wiolena and wilna and Wala rîces.

to have ruled over the kingdom of the Wealas, some scholars[1] consider that Kiarr is the same name as Cæsar. But at such an early date the people of the North must have got the name Cæsar either from the Kaisar of the Goths or from the Câsere of the Anglo-Saxons, and I am unable to explain how either of these forms could have got to the Norse Kiarr[2]; I therefore turn to another supposition.

Müllenhoff compared the name *Kiarr* with the Irish masculine names, Cearmad, Ciarmac, Cearbhall, Ciaran, Ciarvaidhe, etc., and has come to the conclusion that Kiarr was a Breton King, or what he found less likely, a King in the British Isles.[3] But Müllenhoff was unable to prove how a Breton King could bear a name only to be found in Ireland. Besides, he is at fault when he thinks that the Irish name Ciaran has the same root as Cerball. I think that Müllenhoff was, however, partly on the right track here, though he was not himself able to reach the goal.

The King, who in the poem has become Kiarr of Valland, must have been a real historical person, of whom the Norwegians had often heard. He is mentioned together with Hløðvér, who, as I mentioned before, is a Frank ruler, Ludwig. And in the "Hervarar Saga," Kiarr is called King of the Valir immediately before Alfrekr, or, according to other transcriptions, Alrekr enn frœkni, King of the English. In him Müllenhoff[3] has already recognised Alfred the Great.[4] The fact of Kiarr being men-

[1] Holtzmann, "Altdeutsche Gramm.," i., 99, and Heinzel, "Über die Hervararsaga," p. 506 (=92). I had myself, quite independently, reached the same result.

[2] The relation between the Old Norse forms, *îsarn*, *iarn*, and *járn*, can give no assistance to an explanation.

[3] "Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Alt.," xxiii., 168.

[4] In "Flateyjarbók," i., 25 (="Fornald. s." ii., 2), we find *Alrekr hinn frœkni* a son of *Eirekr hinn málspaki*, and father of *Vîkarr*. By the influence of the name of this Northern Saga-King, the English name *Ælfred* was changed to *Álfrekr* or *Alrekr*. In a similar way "Saxo Grammaticus" has confused the names *Gautrekr* and *Goðrøðr* when he writes, "Gotricus qui et Godefridus est appellatus" (p. 435).

tioned together with Ludwig of the Franks and Alfred the Great of England shows us who Kiarr most probably was.

In the "Landnámabók"[1] are named, among the Kings in foreign lands at the time Iceland was becoming inhabited, the Emperor Hløðver Hløðversson, *i.e.*, Ludwig II., who died 875 (876 ?); and then Elfráðr enn ríki in England (871-901) and Kjarvalr in Ireland. This last-named is Cerball (a name which was later written Cearbhall), King of Ossory, in Southern Ireland. In 847 he began the strife against the Scandinavians in Dublin, and killed many of them. After the Norwegian Óláf Hvíte became King in Dublin (in 853), Cerball united himself to the Danes and won with them a great battle against the Norwegians in Tipperary. In 858 and 859 he fought together with Ivar, Óláf Hvíte's brother. About 860 he fought against the Normans, led by Rodolf or Rolf, King of Waterford; and in the following years he fought first with, and then against the Normans. Cerball died in 887 or 888.[2] Icelandic sources, probably less authentic, make Kjarvalr King in Dublin, and relate that several of his daughters married Norwegians.

The fact that Kiarr of Valland is in one verse mentioned together with Álfrekr (*i.e.*, Alfred) of England, and in another with the Frank Hløðvér (*i.e.*, Ludwig, probably Ludwig II.), leads us to believe that Cerball (Cearbhall), whose daughters married Norwegians, is the historic model for the Kiarr of Valland of the Norwegian poem, the Kiarr whose daughter married Egil, Vølund's brother. In my opinion, a Norwegian poet has altered the Irish name Cearbhall to *Kiarr Valr*, or Kiarr of Valland (acc., *Kiar Val*[3]; Kiarr has two syllables). The name Cearbhall

[1] "Ísl. s." i., 25.

[2] For information concerning him, *cf.* especially Steenstrup, "Normannerne," vol. ii., and Todd, "Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh."

[3] We may compare this mistake with another: that Pontius in Pontius Pilate was, in the Middle Ages, understood to be derived from Pontus, and was therefore translated by Anglo-Saxon, *se Pontisca*, and Old Norse, *enn Pondverski*.

is quite distinct from the root *cíar*, *i.e.*, dark, from which comes Cíarān, and from Ciar, the ancestor of Ciarraighe (Kerry), in Ulster. But a Norwegian about the year 900 might very easily confuse these two roots, just as the learned Müllenhoff has confused them in the nineteenth century. In the language of the Icelandic Sagas, Valland denotes North France. Properly, the name Valir should denote the Bretons. The English used the name Wéalas of the inhabitants of Wales, and Cornwéalas of those of Cornwall. And Anglo-Saxon *wealh* denotes generally a slave, just as *vala mengi* (in "Sig.," 66) denotes slaves. There are traces that the Norwegians at the beginning of the time in which they became acquainted with the people of the West, used the word *Valir* for all Celtic people, and in a less restricted sense than was the practice later; it was also used for the Irish. *Valþjófr*, *i.e.*, slave from Valland, is the name of a son of the Icelandic settler Ørlyg, who was brought up in the Hebrides; *Valþjófr*, a grandson of Helgi Magri from Ireland. Vali (or Váli) the Strong is the name of a Norwegian who was first the man of King Harald Haarfagre, and who afterwards took up his abode on the Hebrides. In any case a Norwegian who had no intimate knowledge of the Celts might easily transform *Cearbhall* to *Kiarr Valr* (acc., *Kiar Val*), and my opinion seems to gain strength from the fact that in the second stanza of "Vølundarkviða" it is said of Kiar's daughter—

Ein nam þeira
Egil at verja
føgr mær "fira"
faðmi ljósum.

Finnur Jónsson explains this:—"*mær fira*: eine Umschreibung der Frau=die Tochter der Menschen" (a rewriting of the word "woman"=the daughter of man). But this gives us an artificial and hardly distinctive expression, scarce befitting this poem, the method of expression of which is otherwise so direct and natural. I therefore opine that the original expression is *føgr mær*

Íra,[1] *i.e.*, the fair maid of Irish race; cf. *þursa meyjar* ("Voluspá," 8); *dís Skjøldunga* ("Helga kv. Hundingsbana," ii., 51).

When the swan-maiden, in spite of the fact that her father is Kiarr of Valland, is called an Irish maiden, my opinion that Kiarr of Valland is modelled on the historic Kjarval or Cearbhall of Ireland is substantiated. In the poem he is made the father of one of the swan-maidens; the poem is therefore not older than the ninth century. But a King who died in 887 or 888 could hardly have been so used by a poet before the year 900 or thereabouts. This can be said with so much more certainty because that poet who changed Cearbhall into Kiarr Valr could not have known him intimately. We have, therefore, here, in my opinion, the important fact that the date of the "Vølundarkviða" cannot be much earlier than about 900. Neither does the date of the poem seem to be much later.[2] I dare not deny the possibility of the Norsemen having known the name Vølund before the "Vølundarkviða" was conceived, but we have no proof of this.

The author of the poem must have become acquainted with the name Kiarr, or rather Kiarr Valr, either in England or elsewhere in the West. Here he also learnt the name of Hløðvér, King of the Franks, or perhaps even on a voyage to France. In this connection we can lay stress on a few unessential similarities in expression between the poem "Vølundarkviða" and an Irish poem. In stanza 40 Níthuth asks his daughter, "Is it true, Bøthvild, what they have told me?" (*Er þat satt, Bøðvildr, er søgðu mér?*) And she answers (stanza 41), "True it is, Níthuth, what they have told you."

Satt er þat, Níðaðr!
er sagði þér.

[1] For the metre cf. *dýrt lín spunnu*, stanza 1, l. 8, and Sievers in Paul-Braune, "Beitr," x., 523.

[2] Here I agree with F. Jónsson, "Den Oldnorske og Oldisl. Litteraturs Historie," i., 212.

In a verse inserted in the Irish tale about the battle of Ross-na-Ríg, Conchobar asks, "Is it true what the men say?" (*In fír an atfiadat na fir?*) and Iriel finishes the verse, which gives the answer with, "It is true what they say" (*Is e a fír a n-arfiadat*[1]). Níthuth says to his wicked wife, who counselled him to harshness towards Volund, and who thereby occasioned the death of his sons (stanza 31)—

> "Joyless I watch, little I sleep after the death of my sons;
> Cold is it in my head, cold to me are your counsels."

In the Irish tale of Ronan, who killed his own son, which is first found in the "Leinster Book" of the twelfth century, Ronan, by reason of the backbitings of his wife, lets himself be persuaded to have his own son, her stepson, and the foster-brother of his son killed. He sits by his son's corpse and wails out verses to her, among which we find—

> "Cold is the wind by the warrior's house; dear were the warriors 'twixt me and the wind . . . Sleep, Echaid's daughter. There is no rest for me, e'en if you do not sleep, for I see my son in his garments soaked with blood."[2]

I dare not insist that these likenesses must necessitate historical connection. But we cannot but acknowledge, in contemplating the second comparison, that the spirit of the Norwegian and the Irish poem are closely connected.

In stanza 39, Níthuth's best slave is called Þakkráðr. This name, which is not Northern, the poet may have learnt in England[3] or North France, as it was common in Normandy in the form of Thankred.[4] When Volund is waking in his bonds, Níthuth asks, "Where did you, Volund, King of the Elfs, obtain our treasures which we

[1] Hogan's edition, p. 38. [2] *Revue Celtique*, xiii., 388.

[3] See Thancred in Searle, "Onomast. Anglos."; Hruschka, "Zur Ags. Namenforschung," ii., p. 245.

[4] *Cf.* Joret, "Patois Normand," pp. 21, 65, 93.

found in Wolf-dale?" Vǫlund answers, "This gold[1] was not on the road of Grani; I thought our land was far from the rocks of the Rhine." Here it seems that Níthuth's home was laid near the Rhine. This does not tally with the prose prologue which says that Níthuth was King of Sweden. It likewise does not tally with the Norwegian poem's location of Vølund's home in Finnmarken, for Níthuth and his men cannot ride from the Rhine to Finnmarken in a couple of nights. Neither could the report that Vølund is alone then have come so quickly from Finnmarken to Níthuth. Therefore Níthuth's location in the Rhine lands seems to be older than the introduction of the poem into Norway. Therefore the tale of the gold that the Wælsing gained on the Rhine was known in England as early as the ninth century. But why did the Anglo-Saxon poem, as I suppose it has, place Niðhad's home in the Rhine provinces? I find the solution in the fact that he, as I have supposed in the above, was made King of the Neoðran. This was a translation of *inferiores*, "the inhabitants of Hades." But, later, this was supposed by the English to mean, "the lands on the Lower Rhine." The legend of Sigfrid or Sigurd was, in my opinion, located on the Lower Rhine as early as the ninth century. In the "Niebelungenlied," the name of Siegfried's and Siegmund's kingdom on the Rhine is Niderlant.[2]

None of the heroic poems preserved in the Edda seem to be older than the "Vølundarkviða"; in fact, hardly so old. This lay owes no influence to any still preserved in the Norwegian tongue. There is freshness and originality in its poetic diction. The artificial transcriptions, *kenningar*, are here entirely wanting. The usual poetic expressions for "King" (*buðlungr*, *skjøldungr*, etc.), which previously had an intrinsically different, a more special meaning, and are found, among others, in the "Helge

[1] *gull var þat* (in MS., *þar*) *eigi*.

[2] *Cf.* Sijmons, "Heldensage," in Paul's "Grundriss," ii., (*a*) p. 33, (*b*) p. 65.

Lays," are also wanting. The metre in the "Vølundarkviða" shows, by its greater freedom, that it is more original than that in most of the other poems of the Edda. It is, on the other hand, to be noticed that several of the poems of the Edda show much similarity with the "Volundarkviða" in poetic style and in single expressions of epic forms. This proves either that these poems were influenced by the "Volundarkviða," or that they originated in the same poetic school. A Norwegio-Icelandic myth of the gods, the myth of Odin and the holy drink of poetry, seems to have been influenced by the Saga of Volund. But I will not here investigate all these questions concerning the influence of the poem of Vølund on other Norwegio-Icelandic poems.

V.

It is pretty certain that the Norwegians received from the English, about the year 900, not only those points of the legend which are treated in the "Vølundarkviða," but at the same time other points, not necessarily in verse form. I here mean especially the story of Vølund's brother Egil. "Thithrik's Saga," whose information concerning Velent is based chiefly on Low German tales, tells us in detail of Egil, in connection with Velent, and of his prowess in archery. When we read (p. 91), "People call him Olrvnar Egil," this is not taken from that version of the tale of Velent which the author of the Saga obtained from North Germany, but from an older Norwegian tradition, for here only do we find Ølrún mentioned.

In "Vølundarkviða" we read that, when the three brothers lived together in Wolf-dale, they hunted, and it is proved by a poetic name for arrows[1] which occurs in a stanza composed in the year 976 by Eyvind Finnsson Skaldaspillir, that Egil was renowned in Hálogaland at that time as a marvellous archer. Then the Icelandic poet, Hallfreth, talks of Egil the Archer, in a verse which

[1] *hlaupsildr Egils gaupna*, in "Haralds Saga gráfelds," at the end.

seems to have been composed about the year 987.[1] The tale concerning him was rife in Iceland[2] for many years in the Middle Ages; maybe also in Norway, which we may perhaps conclude from the expression quoted in "Thithrik's Saga." We must suppose that this tale also (of Egil the Archer) was brought to Norway from England, because the tale of Weland's brother, the marvellous archer, and the hunter Ægili, was (as can be proved, and which I shall here proceed to do) known in England at a time when the "Vølundarkviða" was not thought of.

Many English names of places begin with *Ægles*,[3] among them *Ægleshurg* (Aylesbury), not far from *Welandes stocc*. On the afore-mentioned Franks casket of whale-bone, the date of whose Anglo-Saxon Runic inscriptions is the eighth century, there is represented, as a part of the same carving, and to the right of the two women, who represent Beadohild and her maid coming to Weland, a man, with his back turned to the women. In his hands he holds by the neck two out of four birds, probably geese, which are to be seen before him. This carving is explained by the story of "Thithrik's Saga," that Velent's brother Egil catches birds of various kinds to provide wings for Velent. Here also the carving on the casket has a point not found in the "Vølundarkviða." Jiriczek ("Deutsche Heldensage," i., 19 ff), and with him Sijmons, on the other hand, explain the carving which shows us the person holding the birds to mean that King Niðhad's young sons, when chasing birds, come to Weland's house. In my opinion, this explanation is wrong. Nowhere does the epic tale mention, as an important point in the story, that the King's sons caught birds, or held them in their hands. The Saga says only that they came with their bows to Velent to get him to make arms for them, and

[1] Snorra Edda, edition A.M., i., 422.

[2] In a verse in "Ragnars Saga Loðbrókar," in "Fornald. s.," i., 279, the arrow is called *Egils alnar leygr*.

[3] See Kemble, "The Saxons in England," i., 422; Binz in Sievers' "Beitr.," xx., 190.

afterwards that, as they did not return, the King thought they had gone to the forest to chase birds and animals, or to the shore to fish. The fact that the person represented has his back turned to the women, also argues against his being one of the King's sons. It is true that Sijmons thinks that this means that the King's sons, as is said in "Thithrik's Saga," walked backwards when they went to Velent the second time. But this is impossible, for at the time they walked backwards, early in the day, before the sun had risen, and came to Velent to get him to make arrows for them, they had none, and could therefore not possibly have had the time or the means to shoot birds. And besides, those two birds represented on the casket, which he is not holding in his hand, remain, in this case, unexplained. And, on the other hand, the fact that, according to "Thithrik's Saga," Egil catches birds, whose feathers he brings to Velent, is an important point in the story, and it is therefore quite admissible to consider it represented on the casket by that person who holds two birds in his hand. Finally, I will bring up the following in refutation of Jiriczek. If the person with the birds on the casket is explained to be Weland's brother, the representation of the chronological sequence of events in the story is correct; farthest to the left is the corpse of one of the King's sons, to the right of this stand the two women, and farthest to the right is the fowler. By this it is indicated, and correctly, that the murder took place first; then Weland meets the King's daughter and her serving-maid; and, finally, his brother obtains for him wings for flight. If Jiriczek's explanation were right, the artist would unhappily have separated the dead son from the living by the two women.[1]

I think I have proved in the above that the English tale of the eighth century, from which we first became acquainted with the legend of Weland and his brother

[1] The reason of the fowler being smaller than the figures on the left, is simply that there was not enough room for him on the casket, and this can give no support to Jiriczek's explanation.

Ægili, is unanimous with "Thithrik's Saga" in saying that Weland, while with Niðhad, made wings for himself of feathers brought him by his brother Ægili. On another side of the same casket, *i.e.*, on the lid, we see represented a man drawing his bow to shoot an arrow from it. Over him is written in Runics, "Ægili." Now both the North German and the Norwegian legend knew Egill, Velent's (Vølund's) brother, as an archer and a hunter. I have especially laid stress in the above on the fact that the carving on the front of the English casket shows that the English tale of that time knew Weland's brother as a fowler. No other old English or Germanic hero of the name of Ægili (Egill) is known. It is therefore certain that Ægili the Archer on the casket is Weland's brother.[1]

We cannot reconcile the story in which Ægili is represented on the casket with those points in the legend which we obtained elsewhere. We see several warriors step forth from left to right towards the archer. Farthest to the left a man armed with sword and shield marches on. Behind him is a man clad in a cuirass, sword in hand, bending his head and his body from the waist upwards, probably because he is wounded. To the right we see a man, armed with spear, shield and helm, stepping towards Ægili; to his right is another cuirassed warrior, holding his sword in his right hand, and in his left a shield, with which he covers himself. The shield is struck by two arrows, which must have come from Ægili's bow, as no one else in the carving has one. A third arrow is in flight towards the warrior's head. On his right is a man armed with a sword. He has sunk down, having been struck in the breast by an arrow.

I will pass over, for the present, three persons in the centre of the carving.

Ægili the Archer stands before a house. Behind him, inside the door, we see the upper half of some person, probably a woman. She also is looking at the attackers,

[1] This is denied by Jiriczek and Sijmons, without sufficient reason, and without their being able to give any other explanation.

and holds in her hand an upright staff, or something of that sort (it can hardly be an arrow). The explanation of this scene seems to be that Ægili is defending himself, his house and his wife against an advancing attack. It is pretty certain that we know of no other such story from any other country telling of Weland's (Vølund's, Velent's) brother Ægili (Egil), but I think I shall be able by comparison with another tale to make it probable that the solution just given of the carving on the casket is the right one.

In "Thithrik's Saga," chap. lxxv., this story is told of Egil, Velent's brother: that in the presence of the King he shoots an apple from his little son's head. In an English ballad we are told the same story of the apple about an English archer, William of Cloudesley. This ballad is printed in "Bishop Percy's Folio MS.," vol. iii., p. 76 ff., and by Child, "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads," v., No. 116. The last scholar who has examined the story contained in this ballad is Klockhoff (in "Arkiv f. Nord. Filol.," xii., pp. 191-9). This same ballad tells us the following: William of Cloudesley, an outlaw, was married, and his wife Alice lived in Carlisle. Once he visited her there, but an old woman whom, out of charity, he had taken to live in his house, told of his coming to the Justice of the County. Accordingly, the house was surrounded on all sides. William seizes his bow, and his wife a battle-axe. He first of all defends himself by shooting arrows—

> "Cloudesle bent a wel good bowe
> That was of trusty tre,
> He smot the justice on the brest,
> That hys arrowe brest in thre."

The house is set fire to, and William exhausts his arrows—

> "William shott soe wonderous well
> Till hes arrowes were all agoe."

He thereupon, when his wife and children are safe, dashes out of the house, only to be overpowered.

I have mentioned above that the tale of an archer shooting an apple from his son's head has been told both of Velent's brother, Egil, and of William of Cloudesley. We have especially noticed above that the archer represented on the casket is Weland's brother. In my opinion, therefore, the tale represented on the casket shows that another tale (besides the one of him shooting an apple from his son's head) was told of Ægili; a tale which was afterwards also told of William of Cloudesley. I explain the carving on the casket, therefore, as follows:— The warriors of a hostile King (probably Niðhad) advance, armed, on the house where Weland's brother, Ægili, lives with his wife. It is the intention of the attacking party to take Ægili prisoner. But when he sees the enemies advance he places himself with drawn bow to defend himself. Behind him, in the house, sits his faithful wife. We see how he, like William of Cloudesley in the ballad, wounds one of his enemies in the breast with an arrow. This same carving has three other figures which I have hitherto not discussed.

At the top, and in the very middle, seemingly suspended in mid-air, we see a naked man in a horizontal position; his face is downwards, and he has a shield before him. This can be no other than the flying Weland, as Hofmann correctly surmised. As the flying Weland is represented in front of Ægili, who stands with drawn bow, the artist must have known this point in the story, told in "Thithrik's Saga," that Egil (Ægili) was ordered to shoot at Velent (Weland) as he was flying. But the relation of this to the story of Ægili has been rather unhappily represented, because the artist, in order to get in as many as possible of the events of the story, has, on the front of the casket, shown on the same level events which did not occur simultaneously.

In the middle, furthest down on the lid, just under the man hovering in the air, we see a naked man on his back, with his shield before him. I can give no certain explanation of this man. But he, like the one in the air, is

naked, and, as taken all in all, he is represented answering in every particular to the first man, except that he is on his back on the ground, we cannot deny that the artist possibly has here intended to represent what is told in "Thithrik's Saga," that Egil fell to the ground when he attempted to fly.

Finally, to the left of the recumbent figure, we see a clothed but unarmed person, his head bent forward. His one hand is held to his forehead. Presumably only on account of lack of room, he is placed quite close on the recumbent figure, so that the top of his hair is under this one's shield, and his one hand touches the foot, and the hand he holds to his forehead is close to one knee of the recumbent figure. This bending man has two peculiarities which demand our attention. The artist has treated his hair quite differently to that on any other figure on any side of the casket—for it is standing on end. And suspended in the air over the head of this person is an arrow, which, strangely enough, has its head turned upwards. Each of these peculiarities must have a special reason. Just by the arrow's point are represented three small round articles; we see two of the same over the man who is on his back, and five of them round Ægili. The art which has been at work here is so naive and helpless, that we can easily find various meanings in the carvings; I shall therefore assert nothing positively as to what the artist intended, and what I say must be considered only as a supposition. I think that the bent figure is Ægili's son, from whose head he had to shoot the apple, as he did according to "Thithrik's Saga," and as William of Cloudesley did according to the ballad. By the upward-turned arrow, the artist naively, and not very happily, tried to show that the arrow did not touch him, and in that case the round things by the arrow point are apples. The artist has amused himself by drawing many of these as ornamentation. The hair standing on end, towards which he is reaching with his hand, presumably denotes the fright which seizes the youth after the shot has

successfully removed the apple; he touches his head to assure himself of the fact that the apple has really gone. I will lay stress on yet another detail in the carving. In front of Ægili is an arrow which he cannot yet have used; this turns our thoughts to that point told us in the Icelandic MS. (A.B.) of "Thithrik's Saga," that Egil, when he has to shoot the apple from his son's head, places another arrow beside him. (The Norwegian vellum, however, tells us that he had two arrows, besides the one he used to shoot the apple from his son's head.)

The explanations which have been given of the carving on the English casket are not all certain, but I consider the following to be so. The English artist who executed these carvings, not later than the eighth century, knew those points which were also in "Thithrik's Saga," *i.e.*, that Ægili brought his brother Weland those feathers of which he made wings, and that Ægili was ordered by King Niðhad to shoot at the flying Weland. The artist knew also other tales of Ægili's prowess as an archer, especially that he, like William of Cloudesley, defended himself with arrows against advancing foes, who attacked him in that house where his wife was. According to this, the tale in "Thithrik's Saga" of Egil's prowess as an archer cannot, as Klockhoff thinks, have been borrowed from the Norwegian tale of Heming. As we know that, as early as the tenth century, Egil was known in Norway as an archer and ski-runner, the Saga of Heming must, contrariwise, have been borrowed from the tale of Egil, which was brought to Norway from England.

In the Middle Ages a tale was told in France of a marvellous forger of arms, *Galand* (*Galans*), who was said to have made several famous swords.[1] This name of the smith was brought to the French by the Normans. This is proved by the vowel *a* in the first syllable, and especially, as Jiriczek remarked with reason, by the fact that the

[1] As found in Depping and Michel, "Vêland le forgeron"; "Altdeutsche Blätter," i., 34-47; W. Grimm, "Heldensage," Nos. 28, 29, 30; Jiriczek, "Deutsche Heldensage," i., 23.

oldest French chronicle, dating from the first half of the eleventh century, and telling of fights against the Normans in the second half of the tenth, has the name *Walander* with the Norwegian nominative ending. In a French tale Galans is mentioned as one of the three brothers who were all marvellous smiths. But the name of the one brother, *Ainsiax*, seems to have come to the French from the Germans. This circumstance, that the name *Walander* came from the Normans to the French, makes it probable that the tale of Vølund, or Walander, was widespread in England, not only among the Norsemen, but also among the Danes; *Walander* is rather Danish than Norwegian.

VI.

In the prose prologue to the "Vølundarkviða," Níthuth is said to be King of Sweden (Svíþjóð). This I consider a later idea, to be ascribed to the Norwegians of Hálogaland. This makes it necessary for Vølund's home to be supposed to be in Finnmarken. Níthuth could not in reality, as in the poem, have come to this place from the Rhine lands in a few nights. The Norwegian, therefore, found it necessary to place Níthuth's home nearer to Finnmarken. In the ninth century Finnmarken was bounded by the countries of Ångermanland and Jæmtland, the former of which was, at that time, reckoned to *Helsingjaland*.[1] Up to the heights there came, from the West, Norwegians, and from the East, *Kylfingar* (*i.e.*, Swedes, according to Gustav Storm), who held markets with the Finns, and demanded tribute from them. Then there were often fights between the Norwegians, to whom the Finns were subservient, and the "Kylfingar," for these two nations accused each other of unlawfully taking tribute from Finnmarken. It became strife to the death, with no quarter. The later, peculiarly Norwegian form of the

[1] See "Egil's Saga," chap. xiv., and G. Storm, in "Akademiske Afhandlinger til S. Bugge," p. 73 ff.

legend of Vølund, makes Níthuth, King of Sweden, attack, take prisoner and maim Vølund, son of the King of the Finns, in Wolf-dale, in the wilds of Finnmarken, and makes him accuse Vølund of having stolen treasures, which belonged in reality to Níthuth. This reflects, therefore, in accordance with what I said before, historic events in Finnmarken about the year 900.

The old Norse poem, "Haustløng," assumes a knowledge of the poem of Vølund. This poem, "Haustløng," is generally allocated to the year 900 or thereabouts, but is, in my opinion, not older than the second half of the tenth century. The fact that the giant Thjazi is, in this poem, called "*Níðuðr*[1] of the Stone," proves that a knowledge of the tale of Vølund is assumed. As the country of the giants is called, in a closely related poem, "Cold Sweden," *Svíþjóð kólga*,[2] we might from the expression, "*Níðuðr* of the Stone," for a giant, be led to suppose that the author of "Haustløng" also knew Níthuth as King of Sweden. But this conclusion is less certain.

From Norway the tale of Vølund has passed to Sweden, and has become naturalised there, which was made easier because Níthuth, in the Norwegian tale, even before this passed to Sweden, was said to be King of Sweden. In Richard Dybeck's "Runa" (New Series, folio, 1870, i., p. 39) the following is stated:—"In the parish of Misterhult, in the East of Småland, by the lake of Götmarn, is a forest-clad mountain range called Fjälla and Gullstrecket. In the lake of Götmarn is an island called Gullholmen, which, according to a remark on a map of the beginning of the eighteenth century, was previously called Bågön (Baugöen, *i.e.*, the island of rings). Another small island in the lake is called Silfverholmen. Close to this place, in the same parish, a valley stretches to the lakes of Göten and Rammen, and there lies the village of Ulfvedal, which has given to a part of

[1] *grjótníðaðar* (gen.) Snorra Edda., ed. A.M., i., 312.

[2] Ibid i., 298, in "Thórsdrápa."

the parish the name of Ulfvedalsgränd. . . . By the lake of Götmarn is the farm Vällehorfva, close to which a small stream runs down into the lake. The bridge over this is called on a map Verlebro. It is said that in olden days there lived by the lake a famous smith, by name Silvernagel, who, whenever he wished, went into the mountains and fetched gold, which he found there in long bars. This he wrought, and yet he himself did not become rich." In this tale we have, as I agree with Dybeck and Svend Grundtvig ("Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser," iv., 592) in thinking, a probable scene of the story of Vølund. But I do not think that the collector of the "Sæmundar Edda" knew these Smaalandish tales, and therefore made Níthuth King of Sweden. I think, on the contrary, that the Norwegian legend, which gives the name of the place as Ulvdale, and makes Níthuth King of Sweden, passed to Sweden. It has been allocated to East Smaaland because the name Ulvedal was found there, and there it was fused with an originally North German form of the legend which called the smith Veland or Verland.[1]

The fusion of a more specially Scandinavian form of the legend, most closely related to the English, and of the one imported from North Germany, can also, quite apart from "Thithrik's Saga," be traced in Denmark. In the Danish ballad of "Kong Diderik og hans Kjæmper" ("King Diderik and his Champions") (Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser," ed. by Svend Grundtvig, vii., B. 15), Vidrik says—

"*Verland* is my Father's name,
A clever[2] smith was he;
Bodil was my Mother's name,
A beautiful King's daughter."

[1] The names of places, Vällehorfva and Verlebro have, of course, their origin in the name of the brook, and not in the name of the smith. But popular superstition seems to have connected these names with Veland and Verland. The name Gullholmen has not necessarily its origin in the legend, but may have been connected with it at a later date. Dybeck's explanation of the name Bågön is hardly correct.

[2] I correct *køn* (clever) for the word *skøn* in the MS.

The name of the smith's mother, *Bodil*, bears no likeness to any name that we know Weland's mother to have had in Germany. The vowel *o* in the first syllable clearly proves that it did not come from Germany. *Bodil* is evidently a corruption of the Norwegian name of Vølund's mother, *Bøðvildr*, taken from the English name, *Beadohild*. But we are not able to prove more concisely how the name *Bøðvildr* has come to the Danish ballad as *Bodil*.[1]

[1] I have proved elsewhere that the ballad, "Ridderen i Fugleham" (The Knight in Birds' Feathers), which has been sung in Denmark ("Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser," No. 68), in Sweden ("Arwidsson," No. 112), and in the Faroe Isles, has been influenced by the tale of Vølund. See Sophus Bugge and Moltke Moe, "Torsvisen," p. 108.

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KING EIRÍK OF YORK.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

THE object of this paper is to show that the "Heimskringla" and the English chroniclers have the same story about the death of Eirík, last king of York, and therefore mean the same person; also to collect material towards a fuller account of his reign.

I. Icelandic Stories of Eirík Blódöx in England.

"Egil's Saga," written 1160-1200, at or near Egil's home at Borg, has much to say about Eirík Blódöx, son of Harald Hárfagr. Of his rule in England it tells us (c. 59, Rvk. ed. 1893; chap. lxii. of the Rev. W. C. Green's translation) that he was driven from Norway by his brother, Hákon the Good, and then went to Orkney, Scotland, and finally England, where he was met by King Æthelstan, who did not fight him, but gave him the government of Northumberland, to defend it against the Scots and Irish. Later on (c. 67) the Saga says he was killed in the west during one of his raids (*i vestrvíking*), about the time when Eadmund became king of England.

Snorri Sturluson, who lived for a while at Borg, where he must have known all the legends of Egil, wrote about 1200-1241. He had no occasion to mention Egil in the "Heimskringla," but tells us more about Eirík ("Hákonar Saga Góda," c. 3-4), namely, that Æthelstan gave him the kingdom because of old friendship with his father, and on the understanding that he should become Christian and protect the land from Danes and other Vikings.

Egla says, "Scots and Irish," for the Vikings came from Dublin and Galloway. Eirík, he says, used to make summer raids out of Northumbria into Scotland, the Hebrides, Ireland, and Wales. When Æthelstan died, a report came that Eadmund disliked the Northmen, and meant to turn him out. So he retired from York and buccaneered in the west with Arnkel and Erlend. He ravaged the South Isles, Ireland, and Wales, and then "sailed south under England"—"eptir þat sigldi hann sudr undir England." He went far inland—"hann gekk lángr á land upp"—plundering and chasing the people before him. There was a king named Olaf, appointed by Eadmund to guard the country, and he got together a large host, and went to meet Eirík. In the great battle that followed, many English were slain, but where one fell there came three into his place down from the land—"af landi ofan." Towards evening the Northmen were overcome and slaughtered, and at nightfall Eirík fell, and with him five kings, namely, Guthorm and his two sons Ivar and Hárek (Henry), with Sigurd and Rögnvald (Regnald), also the two Orkney earls, Arnkel and Erlend. Gunnhild and her children were with Eirík's ships at a port in "Northumberland" (anywhere in the north of what we now call England), and they sailed to Orkney with the few who had escaped.

Here, as elsewhere, Snorri is wrong on many points of chronology, topography, and English politics. For example, from Wales Eirík could not go south and find any part of England under a King Olaf, who can only be Olaf Cuaran, king of Northumbria under Eadmund and Eadred. It is evidently he who is meant, if not by Snorri, by the story which Snorri is quoting, and colouring up to the taste of his audience. Again, "down from the land" is a stock phrase, implying that the Vikings were raiding from their ships only a little way in shore; but Snorri has it that Eirík went a long way inland. These errors, natural in a writer 250 years after the event, trying to make history interesting, or writing with much pic-

turesque feeling, do not invalidate the information he supplies, especially when he is corroborated, as we shall see this account is.

In the "Drápa," said to have been made by Gunnhild's order after the death of Eirík, the five kings are also mentioned. "Orkneyinga Saga," written before 1225, records the coming of Eirík to Orkney, and the death of Arnkel and Erlend in battle as his followers (c. 1 and 4). The Saga of Olaf Tryggvason repeats "Heimskringla" in part, and the Norwegian monk Theodoric ("De Regibus Norwegiæ") also says of Eirík, "Ad Angliam navigavit et a rege honorifice susceptus ibidem diem obiit."

II. The Danish Prince Hring.

Lappenberg, in "England under the Anglo-Saxons" (vol. ii., p. 125, note: Thorpe's translation, 1845), quotes Adam of Bremen's statement, that Harald Blátönn, King of Denmark (about 940-985), sent his son Hiring to England, "who, an [or the] island having been conquered by the Northumbrians, at length was betrayed and killed." That is the sense of the words with the punctuation given by Lappenberg, who continues: "The English historians must have overlooked these passages, when they unanimously make this Eric, the son already mentioned of Harald Hárfagr, king of Norway. The Icelandic fragment ('Fornm. Sögur,' bd. xi., p. 418) cited by Turner in favour of his view, is, as it acknowledges, an excerpt from Adam of Bremen."

The passages referred to are:—

"Anglia, ut supra diximus (i., 41, 'Gudredus Nordimbriam expugnavit') et in gestis Anglorum scribitur, post mortem Gudredi a filiis ejus Analaph, Sigtrih et Reginold per annos fere centum permansit in ditione Danorum. Tunc vero Haroldus Hiring filium cum exercitu misit in Angliam. Qui subacta insula tandem proditus et occisus est a Nordumbris" (Adami, "Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiæ Pontificum," ed. Pertz, 1846, lib. ii., cap. 22). This quotation, kindly supplied by Dr. Jón Stefánsson,

differs somewhat from Lappenberg's. Dr. J. Stefánsson remarks that in the context Adam makes "Hartildus" rule Denmark and Norway after Hákon Jarl's death, which discounts his testimony on Northern antiquities.

"Fornmannasögur," xi., p. 418 (communicated by the same) says: "Hér [*i.e.*, in Adam] segir ok sva, at Haraldr konungr sendi son sinn til Englands, þann er Hringr hét, med her, því at Danir höfðu haft þar jafnan vald of 100 vetra, síðan er Guðröðr vann eyna ok er Hringr hafði unnit eyna var hann svikinn ok drapinn af Nordimbrum."

"Flateyjarbók," written between 1387 and 1394, quotes, "or Kristnisögu meistara Adams," almost exactly the same words.

Canon Raine ("York," *Historic Towns Series*, p. 39) follows Lappenberg in making Eirík to be son of Harald, King of Denmark. Hodgson Hinde ("Introduction to the Pipe-rolls of Cumberland," etc., 1847, p. xiv.) merely says, "Eyric, of Danish extraction, was its last king."

On the other hand, Skene, who gave much weight to the Sagas, and Haliday, who compiled with diligence, though his posthumous work was not thoroughly revised by its editor, accept the story of "Eric Bloodaxe." Haliday ("Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," p. 69, note) hints that this Hryng was the Viking earl Hring from Wales, who is said in Egla to have fallen in the battle of Vinheiði, which, in spite of the difficulties, we can hardly doubt to be a romantic travesty of Brunanburh. Symeon of Durham says, under 937, "Æthelstanus rex apud Wendune pugnavit"; and ("Hist. Eccles. Dunelm.," ii., 18), "Weondune, quod alio nomine Ætbrunnanwerc vel Brunnanbyrig appellatur"; showing that Brunanburh was Wen-dun, if not Wen-heath; and there is nothing in English or Irish annals to suggest a great battle like that described in Egla at the date there given, *i.e.*, about 926, except that Sigtrygg died, and his sons Ragnvald, Guthferth, and Olaf (not Olaf the Red), left for Dublin, and Constantine, Owain, Ealdred, and the rest, came to Dacor to submit to Æthelstan, without mention of

fighting. Egla is a romance in which real incidents are treated as a child treats engravings in making a scrap-book, arranging and colouring them fancifully: but the incidents may be none the less true.

Now in the "Annals of Clonmacnois" it is said that at Brunanburh fell "the king of Dannach's [Denmark's] own son." Haliday misreads this, and tries to identify a previous name, Imar, with Hring, and this with both Earl Hring of Egla and the Hiring of Adam. It is not worth while trying either to prove or disprove the suggestion. Hiring must have been very young, and Earl Hring, says Egla, was "not young." But the mention by so independent an authority as an Irish annalist of the fall of the king of Denmark's son, shows that Adam was perhaps right in sending Hiring to England; though the inference that this Hiring became king of Northumbria is far from proved.

The idea may have sprung from the romance of Sigurd Hring, who was fabled to have conquered Northumbria two centuries earlier; and his legend may have been attached to a young adventurer who never did more than seize a small island off the coast. Others of similar name were "Eohric, king of Barbarians," who "went to Orcus" says Ethelwerd in grim joke (902)—poor Yorick! —and the "Annals of Clonmacnois" mention Arick mac Brith (Eric, son of Barith or Bardi) as killed at Brunanburh. Haliday, by what seems an error, says that "Eric, son of Harald Greyfell," was in Northumbria and Ireland in 947; meaning that Eric's grandfather, Eric, son of Harald Hárfagr. But none of these can replace Eirík Blódöx as king of York; and since Adam of Bremen says he founds his account on English annals, we must turn to them, and see which claim they support.

III. The Story of the Times in English Chronicles.

The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" is the best, though its annals were kept in monasteries of the South, and as long

as the North was alien ground, Northern affairs were less noticed. Florence of Worcester, who died 1118, edited the old chronicle a hundred and fifty years after the death of Eirík. Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury wrote about 1135, and Roger of Wendover, who died 1237, collected additions from various sources. Beside these South countrymen are the Northern writers, Symeon of Durham, born about a century after the death of Eirík, and doubtless in possession of local traditions; the author of "Libellus," written about 1125, who may possibly be Symeon himself; and Roger of Hoveden in Yorkshire, who tried to improve on Symeon and the old chronicle at the end of the twelfth century.

None of them mention Eirík during the lifetime of Æthelstan, who died Oct. 27th, 940, three years after Brunanburh. It seems as though that great victory had scared away the Vikings for the time, though Malmesbury says that Aldulph, apparently an Angle of Bernicia, tried to dispute Northumbria with Æthelstan. But when Eadmund came to the throne at the age of 18, the people of the North thought it a chance for recovering independence. After the turn of the year, Olaf Guthferthson came back from Ireland, and they made him their king. He was killed fighting the Scots after a year's reign, and Olaf Cuaran succeeded him. Eadmund drove him out of York, and also ravaged Cumbria, after which he seems to have held the North until his death on May 26th, 946. His brother Eadred, who succeeded, at first received the submission of the Northumbrians and Scots; but then the period of confusion begins. The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" says:—

947: Archbishop Wulstan of York and the Northumbrian *Witan* swore to Eadred at Taddenes-scylf, but soon belied their oath.

948: Because they had taken "Yric" to be their king, Eadred ravaged Northumbria, burned Ripon Minster, and marched away. But his rearguard was slaughtered at Chesterford by the men of York, and he returned to crush

them. Then they forsook "Hyryc," and made compensation to Eadred.

949: Anlaf Cwiran (Olaf Cuaran) came to Northumberland.

952: Eadred imprisoned Archbishop Wulstan, and massacred the people of Thetford. The Northumbrians expelled Anlaf (Cuaran), and received (restored) "King Yric Haroldson."

954: The Northumbrians expelled "Yric." Eadred got the kingdom, and died 955.

On this Lappenberg remarks: "The dates are lamentably confused; the reception of Eric being recorded under the latter (952), and his expulsion under the former!" (948)—a curious error on his own part, but one that seems to have been shared by most of the early writers; for they try to simplify the story by giving Eirík only one tenure, instead of the two which the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" distinctly allots to him. The table opposite shows how they shifted the dates in a vain attempt to improve history. Henry of Huntingdon is omitted, because his chronology can be gathered only from the length he assigns to reigns.

Symeon of Durham (ed. Hodgson Hinde; Surtees Society, 1868) says:—

948: Eadred overran Northumbria, and the people swore fidelity to him, but then made a certain Dane, Eiric, their king—"quendam Danum, Eiricum, præfaciunt regem."

950: Eadred ravaged Northumbria; his rearguard was attacked; he returned to crush them; they expelled their king and gave compensation to Eadred.

952: "Defecerunt hic reges Northanhymbrorum et deinceps ipsa provincia administrata est per comites."

954: Earl Osulf appointed to the earldom of Northumbria.

In the "Historiæ Continuatio" it is said: "Ultimus regum provinciæ illius fuit Eiricus"—the last king of that province was Eiric, whom the Northumbrians, violating

A.D.	Hoveden, about 1180.	Symeon, about 1100.	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.	Florence, about 1100.	Wendover, about 1200.
946	Eadmund succeeded by Eadred		Eadmund succeeded by Eadred	Eadmund succeeded by Eadred	Eadmund succeeded by Eadred
947	Taddenscliff oath EIRIC elected		Taddenscliff oath (YRIC elected)		EILRIC elected
948	Ripon & Chesterford EIRIC expelled	Eadmund died [Eadred Northumbria swore to EIRIC elected	Ripon & Chesterford HYRYC expelled		Ripon & Chesterford EILRIC expelled
949		Eadred's invasion, rearguard slaughtered	Olaf Cuaran came to Northumberland	Taddenscliffe oath IRC elected	
950				Ripon & Casterford IRC expelled	EILRIC killed by Macon at Steinmor
951					Wulstan imprisoned
952	Wulstan imprisoned	Last king (EIRIC) expelled	Wulstan imprisoned Olaf expelled YRIC restored	Wulstan imprisoned	
953	Wulstan released	Osulf, Earl of all Northumbria			Wulstan released
954			YRIC expelled Wulstan released	Wulstan released	
955	Eadred died	Eadred died	Eadred died	Edred died	Eadred died

the oath they had sworn to Eadred, made king over them. For that reason the king was offended, and ordered the whole province to be devastated. Then the Northumbrians —"illico Northymbrenses, expulso rege suo atque occiso a Maccus filio Anlafi"—when their king had been expelled, and killed by Maccus, son of Olaf, appeased Eadred, and the province was given to Earl Osulf.

"Libellus" says: "When Eadred came to the throne, the Northumbrians, contrary to the oath they had sworn, recalled Onlaf to the kingdom from which Eadmund had driven him. Then Eadred ravaged Northumbria, and expelled Onlaf. But when Eadred retired, the Northumbrians gathered themselves together and cut off his rearguard, and made Eric king—"quendam Ericum filium Haroldi sibi regem constituerunt." Then Eadred returned, ready to exterminate them all—"unde illi perterriti Ericum, quem sibi præfecerant expellentes"—they appeased Eadred, and from that time there were no more kings in Northumbria.

The "Chronicle of Melrose" also says that Ericus, son of Harold, was the last king.

Roger of Hoveden tells his variant of the usual story, but he adds, without dates, that "the last king of Northumbria was Eiric, whom the Northumbrians expelled. They also slew Amancus son of Anlaf, and with oaths and gifts appeased Eadred, who made Earl Osulf governor of the province."

Florence of Worcester tells how they elected in 949, "quendum Danica stirpe progenitum Ircum nomine," and mentions Eadred's ravaging next year, as the "Chronicle" does.

William of Malmesbury says that Eadred after his accession in 946 nearly exterminated the Northumbrians and the Scots, because they broke their oath to him, and made Iricius their king.

Henry of Huntingdon sees that Olaf Cuaran must come in; he makes him reign first for four years; then, "with their usual fickleness," the Northumbrians expelled him,

and elected Eric, son of Harold, who after a reign of three years was turned out, and Eadred invited "of the people's free will," in the eighth year of his reign over England.

Roger of Wendover makes "Eilric's" tenure like the first in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," and kills him off early, but adds interesting facts :—

950 : King Eilric, by the treachery of Earl Osulf, was slain by Prince Maco—"a Macone consule"—together with his son Henry and brother Regnald, in a lonely place named Steinmor ; after which King Eadred reigned over Northumbria.

It was remarked by Sharon Turner, and admitted as probable by Lappenberg, that these two companions of Eirík's, Henry and Regnald, were the Hárek and Rögnvald, named by Snorri. But the coincidence between the two accounts goes a little farther, and the inference to be drawn from it is conclusive against Lappenberg's view. The "lonely place" was, of course, not known to Snorri, but he says it was "far up the country," and Steinmor can hardly be any other place than Stainmoor, the well-known pass on the old main Roman road, by which any-one approaching Yorkshire from the west would travel. Eirík must have been coming from the shore of the Irish Sea, to attack the country under King Olaf (Cuaran), which was Yorkshire ; and this is the road he would take, and the place where he would be met and resisted. His opponents would be Oswulf of Bamborough and any remains of Olaf Cuaran's party, united for the occasion with the people of the neighbourhood, the Cumbrian Welsh, to make a great opposing force, which alone could crush his large body of Vikings. Snorri has it that Olaf was the chief opponent ; Wendover says that Oswulf managed matters, but that Eirík was actually slain by Prince Macon. Symeon knows the story better, though he says less ; he tells us that *Maccus, the son of Olaf*, killed Eirík, and Hoveden that Amancus, the son of Olaf, was afterwards killed by the Northumbrians, thus getting rid

of both Viking dynasties, Olaf having gone to Ireland. Wendover is wrong about the relationship of Hárek and Rögnvald to Eirík, mistaking perhaps Rögnvald for that brother whom Eirík had already killed, and misreading "Guthorm and his sons, Ivar and Hárek," or the corresponding passage in the authority he had before him. That authority could not be Snorri, who was writing in Iceland at the time when Wendover was writing in England; but they both copy from some earlier account; and Symeon seems to have known the story too, by his casual mention of the slaying of Eirík by Maccus. That is to say, the tradition of the fall of Eirík Blódöx at the battle of Stainmoor can be traced back to a little over a century after the event; and it becomes evident that the English chroniclers in naming Eirík are certainly referring to Eirík Blódöx, and not to the Danish Hiring.

IV. Sidelights from Legends. (1) *Egil.*

These English accounts, while they support the Icelandic traditions as to the person in question, differ as to the time and circumstances. The "Heimskringla" says that Æthelstan invited Eirík, and that Eadmund drove him away. Snorri, or his authority, seems to base this idea upon an inference: that as Eirík left Norway 937—so the "Islenzkar Annálar" say (see Vigfússon's "Sturlunga Saga," vol. ii.)—he must soon after have arrived in England; and that as Æthelstan was known to favour the Northmen, talking their language and giving his sister Eadgith in marriage to Sigtrygg, he would be likely to invite Eirík.

But Snorri seems to forget that by his own story Æthelstan was the friend of his foster-son, Hákon, who had driven Eirík away, and would be therefore the last man in whom Eirík would confide. Similarly he tells us that Eadmund hated Northmen, but that he appointed Olaf Cuaran his vicegerent. The fact is, that Snorri knew very little about English history 250 years before his time,

and soon gets out of his depth; but when he is merely setting down the stories he had heard, is not unworthy of consideration.

So about "Egil's Saga." The dates are hopeless, as Valdimar Asmundarson, the Reykjavík editor, confesses, while contending for the historical value of the incidents in the story against the school of critics who reject them on account of evident blunders and insertions of folklore. For example: Egla says that in the same summer Hákon went to Norway (933: "Islenzkar Annálar"), and Egil to Iceland; and after telling of this return of Egil's, it continues, "Þat var þá um haustit," etc. (chap. lviii., Rvk. ed.)—"It chanced in the autumn . . . that Skallagrím died." Then it says, "Enn þann vetr annan er hann bjó at Borg eftir andlát Skallagríms" (chap. lix.)—"During the second winter after Skallagrím's death, Egil became melancholy, and when the summer came" he went to England, and met Eirík in York; that is, according to the usual chronology, in 935, when Eirík was not in York, even if we accept the idea that he came straight there on leaving Norway. The truth is, that the words "It chanced in the autumn" begin a new episode, and the context is merely the work of the compiler. We need not refuse to believe the story because the compiler blundered in his framework of chronology in either case. Eirík may have been ten years in Orkney and Scotland, reaching York only after Æthelstan and Eadmund were dead, as the English chroniclers give us to understand; and Egil may have gone there at a much later date than the Saga time-table makes out. The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" aims at giving dates, and little else; the Sagas give incidents, and little else. We find in the case of the battle of Stainmoor that there is a real correspondence between English and Icelandic accounts, and unless we have good reasons to the contrary we need not hastily reject anecdotes which may well have been preserved for a couple of centuries at the home and in the family of a famous man like Egil Skallagrímsson.

(2) *St. Cathroë.*

The Latin "Life of St. Cathroë," an Irish work of the eleventh century (printed in "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," ed. Skene, p. 116), describes the saint's visit to Dovenaldus, commonly called Dummail or Dunmail, who "conduxit (Cathroën) usque Loidam civitatem (Leeds) quæ est confinium Normannorum atque Cumbrorum, ibique excipitur a quodam viro nobili Gunderico, a quo perducitur ad regem Erichium in Euroacum urbem (York) qui scilicet rex habebat conjugem ipsius divini Cathroë propinquam." Eirík's wife, it says, was a relation of Cathroë, elsewhere said to be an Irishman of royal birth, son of Faitheach and Banias his wife. This is hardly possible, for Gunnhild was Norse, and Eirík's only wife. But both the Olafs had Irish wives. Possibly the biographer wrote *Erichium* for *Olavum*, but that could only be because Eirik's fame, a century later, was the greater. The visit of Cathroë is stated to have taken place during Eadmund's reign, which adds to the argument that the king he saw was Olaf.

But much later Eirík was well remembered. In the time of Edward I., when the English Government was approaching the Pope on the subject of the Scottish claims, and trying to prove that English kings and their lieutenants in the North had always received the homage of the Scots, it was Eirík they mentioned in this connection. "Item: Edredo Rege Anglie Scoti sine bello se subdiderunt; et eidem Regi Edredo, tanquam domino, fidelitatem debitam juraverunt; quodam Yricio Rege super ipsos Scotos statuto" ("Chron. Picts and Scots," p. 224). We do not gather from the "Annals" that Eadred regarded Eirík as other than an enemy; but finding him there, he may have treated him as representing Northumbria, until it was desirable to remove him. At any rate, the official historians of a later date chose to think so.

(3) *Stainmoor and the Reycross.*

The "Annals of Ulster," under A.D. DCCCCLI., which corresponds with 952 or later, have the entry: "Cath for firu Albain 7 Bretain 7 Saxanu ria Gallaib"—a battle against the men of Alban and Britain and Saxony by the Galls; *i.e.*, an attack by Vikings on a combined army of Anglo-Saxons and Cumbri and Scots. The "Ulster Annals" mention English battles only when they were very important, and if this means Eirík's last fight at Stainmoor, it was one of the decisive battles of English history, for it ended the kingdom of Northumbria, and made England one realm.

We have seen how the accounts of this battle point to a last effort on Eirík's part to regain York, by landing on the west coast, at Ravenglass or Ellenborough, and going up the Roman road past Appleby, ravaging Cumberland and Westmorland, until Earl Oswulf gathered his own men, together with the aggrieved Cumbrians and the rival followers of Olaf Cuaran, who was closely connected with the Scots, and may have had Scottish forces at his command; how they trapped Eirík on Stainmoor, and left only a few to flee back to the ships and Gunnhild. It was evidently a great battle; and it is curious that there was not only a local tradition of a great battle at Stainmoor, as stated by the late Canon Simpson at a meeting on the spot in 1880, but also, as the Rev. Thomas Lees pointed out, a mediæval romance about the battle of Stainmoor. It is in "Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild" (Ritson's "Metrical Romances"), a fourteenth century poem, which tells how three kings from Ireland, Ferwele, Winwald and Malkan, ravaged Westmorland and advanced against Yorkshire. Hatheolf, the Angle prince of North Yorkshire, met them at Stainmoor, where a great battle took place, in which Ferwele and Winwald perished with 60,000 men. Hatheolf slew 5,000 with his own hand, but was beaten down by the Irish with stones, and stabbed by Malkan, who escaped with thirteen men, only

to fall eventually by the hand of Horn, the son of Hatheolf.

This is a variant of "King Horn," both founded on traditions of the Viking Age, like "Havelock" and "Beorn Buzecarl" and "King William" and others. They are the English analogues of the thirteenth and fourteenth century Sagas in Iceland, giving with much fantastic matter the reminiscences still current of a great romantic period. In this the names are altered, and much of the story is upside down; but Hatheolf corresponds in some measure with Oswulf, whose near ancestor bore that name; Malkan may be for Maelchon, Macon, Maccus, Amancus, Magnus, Olaf's half-Gaelic son; Winwald, a fanciful word, perhaps meaning the Leader or Ruler of his Friends, "Vina-valdr," evidently the non-Celtic person in a Gallgael host, might stand for Eirík. But the circumstances of the battle are more similar to our accounts of the real fight, and may be—as much as many stories—"founded on fact."

The Reycross has always puzzled antiquaries, but as shown in "Early Sculptured Crosses of the Diocese of Carlisle" (by the late Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., ed. W. G. Collingwood, pp. 264-268), it is one of a series of grave-monuments of the tenth or eleventh centuries. Since it is not in a churchyard, it must commemorate the burial of some great person at Stainmoor. We cannot say that this was the only fight which was fought there in those times, but it was the most famous; and possibly, though there is no conclusive evidence, it may have been raised to the memory of one of the heroes who fell in the last battle of Eirík Blódöx.

PAGES OF EARLY DANISH HISTORY,

FROM THE

RUNIC MONUMENTS OF SLESWICK AND JUTLAND.

BY THE REV. PASTOR A. V. STORM.

OUR forefathers were men of deeds rather than words, and wielded the sword with greater readiness than the pen. We have therefore few records of their deeds dating from their own days. Most of our knowledge of them is drawn from later sources, and in particular from Saxo's "Chronicle of Denmark" and the Sagas. A leading characteristic of the latter is, that they contain throughout few love songs and romances, but the songs of the sword are their constant theme. To the Northern mind, battle and fighting abroad were more glorious than a life of ease at home. But these hardy men have left behind them truthful records of some of their doughty deeds, carved on the lasting material of the stone of their land—short commemorations of friend or husband, or faithful wife or mother. For to these men the good opinion of succeeding generations was highly esteemed. No mean, self-seeking spirit theirs, but the burden of the runes is of fair or manful strivings, either by man or woman.

A special value therefore attaches to these old memorial stones, of which a number have come down to us. Many are lost, and we are the poorer for the loss. For not only do they gratify our love of fatherland and its welfare, but they also yield priceless historical data, enabling us to correct and supply deficiencies in the Sagas and other

historical records. In general, the Runic stones were reared by the raisers to those who had been their contemporaries. No legendary glosses, therefore, had as yet had time to cluster around and obscure or exaggerate their meaning. The deeds recorded by the runes are briefly and tersely put, for stone is an awkward material to work, and favoured the record rather of facts than of fiction.

For an insight into the rise and meanings of runes much is due to, among others, the Danish professor Wimmer. His treatise in the festal publication of the University of Copenhagen, on the occasion of the Golden Wedding of King Christian and Queen Louise in 1892, is here made use of, together with the noble work of the Anglo-Dane, Professor Stephens. The period treated of is that great Viking time when the men of the North first make their entry on the great stage of history. It is this heroic period of which little is known, but on which the research of the last century, happily for us, has cast such a flood of light, that the events of 1,000 years ago are often clearer to us than even to those who stood but a century or so away from them. Many of the figures which thus are made to pass anew before us will be dear to all who love to trace the footsteps of their forefathers, and we shall see men and women whom neither Anglo-Saxon nor Dane needs to be ashamed of, and with regard to them we may even repeat Tennyson's greeting to the beloved consort of the King when she first came to these shores—

"We are each and all Dane in our welcome of thee, Alexandra,"

when we recall the fact that she who now sits on England's royal throne has descended in an unbroken line from that king and queen of Denmark whom we shall treat here—King Gorm and his queen Tyre, the latter of whom will be ever lovingly remembered by every Danish man and woman because of the name she received 1,000 years ago of "Danmark's Bod"—"Denmark's

Salvation"—she having been instrumental, with her husband, in building the rampart called the "Danne-virke," near the old town of Sleswick, which guards the old-time Danish border against the South.

It is to that part of Denmark in the year 900 that we turn our attention. The first Runic stone to be considered is called the "Vedelspang Stone I." (Fig. 1). It was found in 1797 by a farmer of Vedelspang, a place situated one mile south of the town of Sleswick. It had originally been reared on a gravehaugh, as the inscription shows, but at some period it was removed to serve as a landmark near a ford over the shallow waters of the Sli, hard by Sleswick. Time and the weather have laid their rough hands on it. It was broken into two pieces, but the parts were found together. The stone is 7-ft. 6-in. long, and 2-ft. 4-in. broad at the middle, and the runes are on an average 8-in. high. There is another engraved mark on the stone, which it is thought may have been there before the runes were cut. It is a circle with a line through it, which Professor Stephens explains as meaning "eternity"; so in all probability the stone had already some religious significance before it was used as a memorial stone to King Sigtrygg. For that is what the stone was raised for, as the runes read—

Asfriþr : karþi : kumbl : þaun : aft : Siktriku : sun : sin : aui : Knubu.

(Asfrithr karved kumble [gravestone] this after Siktriku son hers and Gnupa's.)

For a long while it was unknown who this Asfriðr was, for the name is an uncommon one, and as a rule most of the rune-stones are raised to men. It was therefore for a time the general view that for Asfrid should be read Osfred, which name, at the beginning of the ninth century, is frequently met with as a man's name. But Wimmer maintained that the character of the runes on the stone pointed to a period towards the middle of the tenth century, and not the ninth.

In 1887 another rune-stone (Fig. 2) was found in the

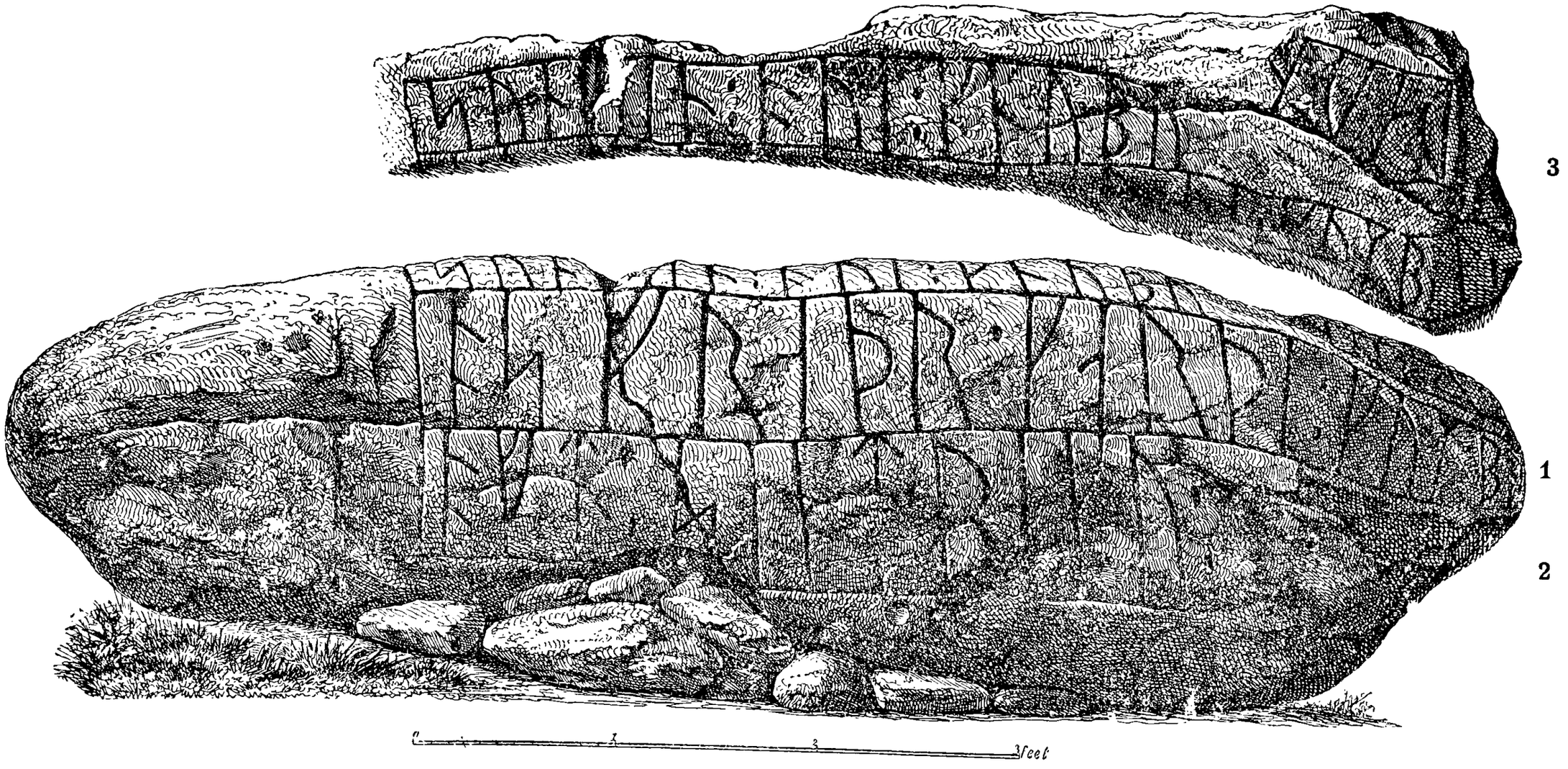

FIG. I.—FRONT AND TOP SIDE OF VEDELSPANG STONE I.

(Runes read from left to right in the rows as numbered.)

(Reproduced by permission of Dr. L. F. A. Wimmer.)

town of Sleswick itself, which explained the first. This new find is called the "Vedelspang Stone II.," and is kept in the Museum at Kiel, while the first is preserved at Louisenlund. The second stone is only 4-ft. high, and 1-ft. 4-in. broad, the runes being $\frac{3}{5}$-in. long, and covering three sides of the stone :—

Ui : Asfriþr : karþi : kubl : þausi : tutir : Uþinkars : aft : Sitriuk : kununt : sun : sin : auk : Knubu.

(*Vé* [holy] Asfrithr carved kubl [gravestone] this daughter Othinkar's after Sitriuk, king, son hers, and Gnupa's.)

It must strike the eye at once how like the two inscriptions are to each other. Yet here the form of the runes differs from that of the other stone. On the one stone (Fig. 1) they have a likeness to the Swedish form ; on the other (Figs. 2 and 2*a*) they are purely Danish.

But who are the people whose names are thus recorded ? Who is this Gnupa, who married Odinkar's daughter Asfrid ? And who is their son, King Sigtrygg, over whom the devout mother raised this monument ?

"Olav Tryggvasson's Saga" gives us the first key to open the secret. We read there :—

"King Gorm [of Denmark] marched with his army into that kingdom in Denmark which was then called Reiðgotaland, but now is called Jotland,[1] against a king who then ruled there. His name was Gnupa. They fought several fights together, but at the end Gorm overthrew that king, and took his whole kingdom . . . and Gorm was always victorious. . . . He slew all the kings towards the south as far as the Sli." [2]

Many learned men had ridiculed this old Saga on account of the reference to this "Gnupa," whom Gorm overthrew. It was affirmed that the Saga-writer was an ignorant man, and that there never lived a king of that name ! But here are no fewer than two stones which plainly tell us not only that he existed, but also that he had a good wife and a royal son. Wimmer is convinced that the Saga speaks the truth, and that the statements of other docu-

[1] South Jutland is the oldest Danish name of Sleswick.

[2] The fjord near Sleswick.

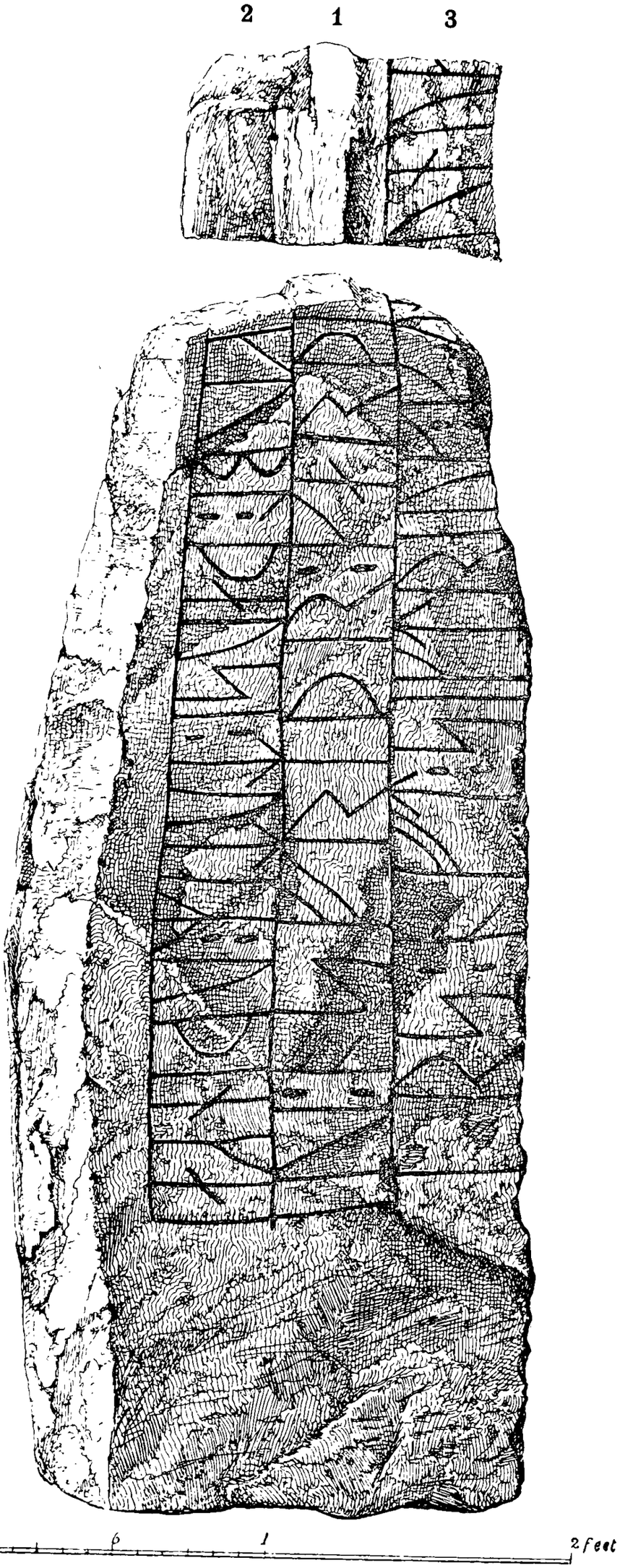

FIG. 2.—FRONT AND LEFT SIDE OF VEDELSPANG STONE II.

(Runes read from bottom of first row upwards, down the second row, up the third, and down the fourth and up the fifth rows on the next plate.)

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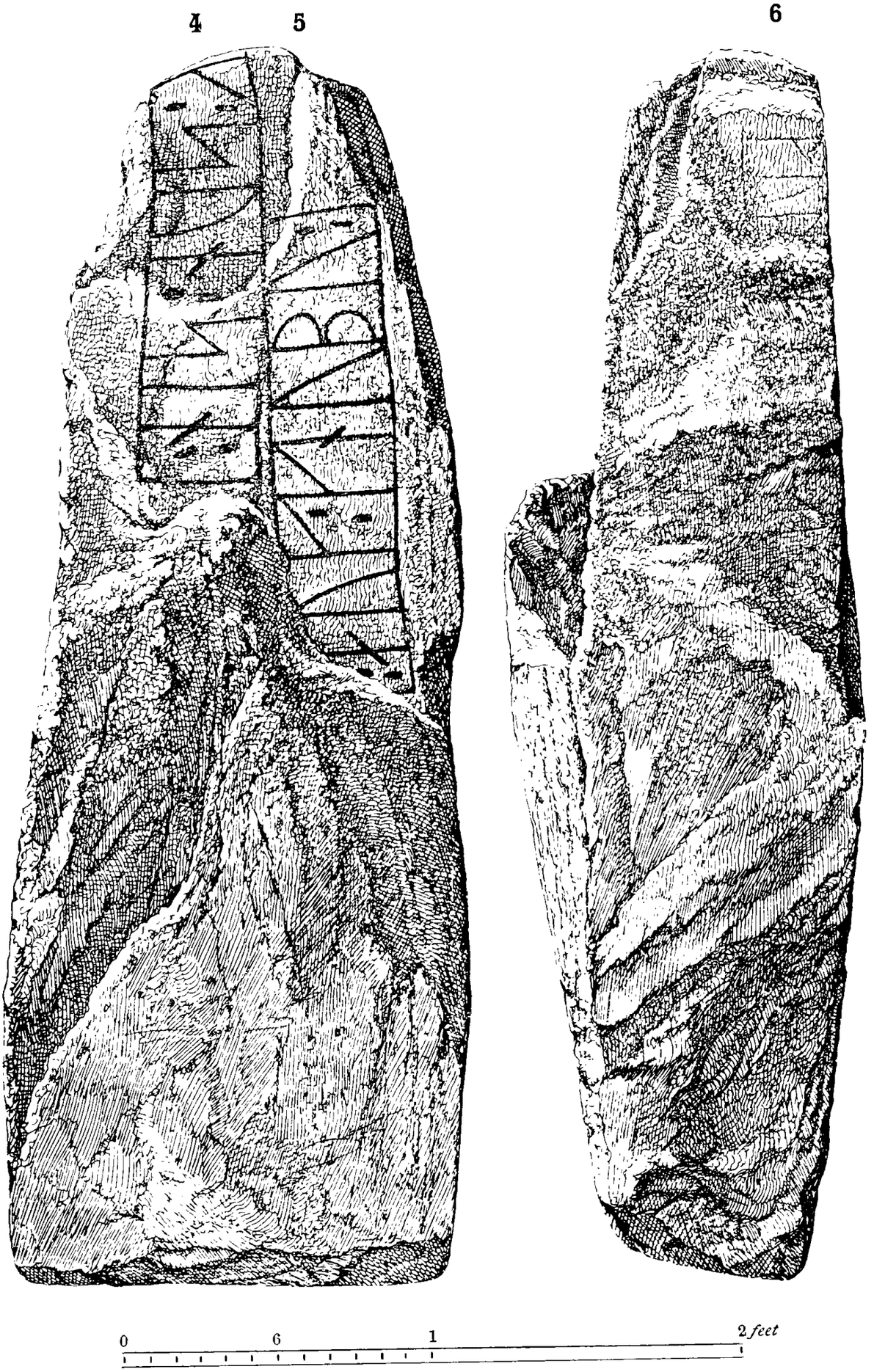

FIG. 2*a*.—BACK, AND REPRODUCTION OF LEFT SIDE WITH UNDECIPHERABLE RUNES, OF VEDELSPANG STONE II.

(Reproduced by permission of Dr. L. F. A. Wimmer.)

ments must be made to conform to the record of the Saga.

The next witness is the Saxon monk Widukind, who wrote in the annals of his monastery of Corwey, under the year 934, that the Old Saxon king, Henry I.,

> after having subdued all nations around him, attacked the Danes, who had harried the Frisians from the sea, and he subdued them, and made them pay taxes, and compelled their king, Chnuba, to be baptised.

That this Chnuba is the same person as the Gnupa of the rune-stones seems clear enough.

Yet another important source from which we may learn somewhat of our early unrecorded history is Adam, canon of Bremen, who wrote about 100 years later, and who got much information from Sven, king of Denmark. Adam says that Olaf of Sweden conquered a part of Denmark, and after his death "Chnob and Gurd, his sons," ruled. In another part of his writings he tells us that Olaf and his sons were followed by Sigerich.

These several records had been the subject of hot dispute until the period of the discovery of the last Runic stone, which brought order into the chaos, and set forth the truthfulness of the older historians, both in the Sagas and in the annals. We can now understand what actually took place. A fleet put to sea 1,000 years ago from the Swedish coast, with Olaf as leader. The Vikings kept this time within the Baltic, and steered towards the important town of Sleswick, which they took, and in which they established their strength. A son of Olaf, Gnupa, married Asfrid, the daughter of the mighty Danish Jarl, Odinkar. Their power so grew that it alarmed the Saxon king, Henry, who fitted out an expedition against them. Gnupa was defeated, and forced to become a Christian. Hereupon Gorm, king of Denmark, became anxious. He was unwilling to relinquish so fair a part of his kingdom as South Jutland to this Swedish conqueror, grown stronger perhaps by alliance with Henry. Gorm therefore gathered his Danish host, and overthrew and slew Gnupa, as the Saga records. The foreign in-

vader was thus checkmated, and the inviolability of Danish soil vindicated. But Gorm went further. To secure the frontier of Denmark from further assault, he determined to strengthen the old border defence works towards the South. The "Dannevirke," a new and stronger rampart, was raised just south of Sleswick, and it can still be seen. But to his good queen, Tyre, who perhaps was a Jarl's daughter from South Jutland, like Asfrid, tradition, for some reason, has given most of the honour. The rampart took three years to build, and when completed, the Danes, possibly because of the special help she had afforded to its completion, gave her

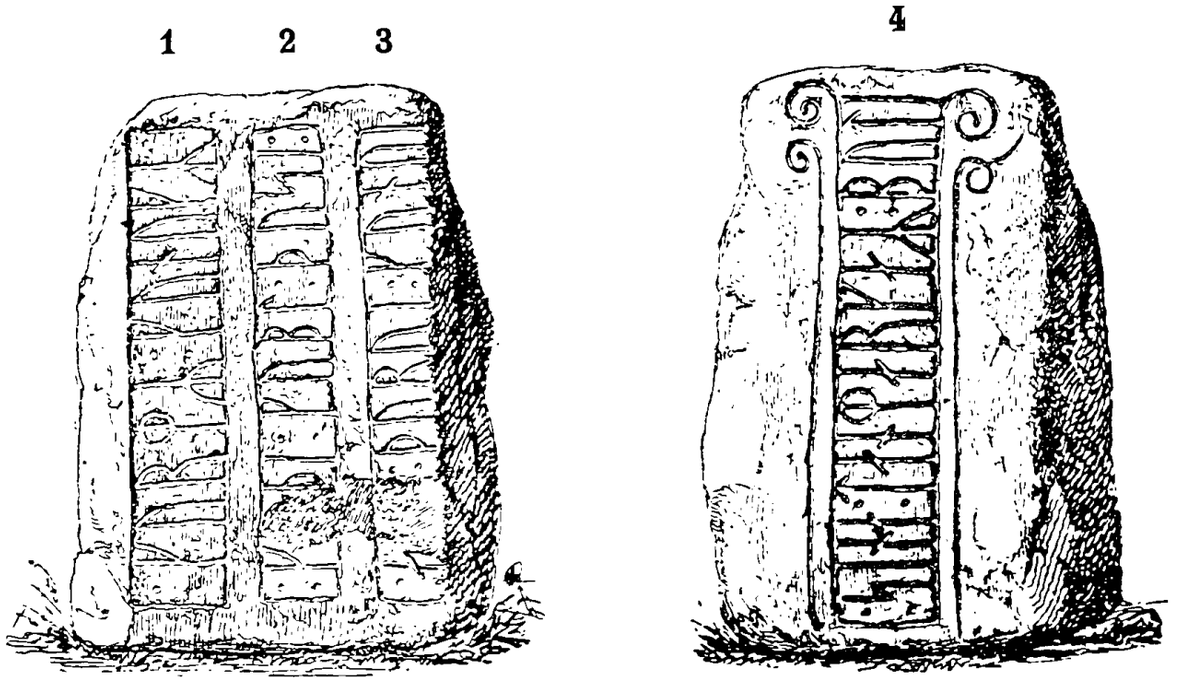

FIG. 3.—FORE AND HIND SIDES OF THE SMALL JELLING STONE.
(Runes read from the bottom upwards of the rows as numbered.)

the proudest title any Danish woman could bear—that of her country's saviour, "Danmark's Bod," and this is recorded in runes on the "small Jelling stone" (Fig. 3), set up by her husband at her death to the following effect—

Gurmr : kunukr
k[ar]þi : kubl : þusi
[aft] : Þurui : kunui
sini : Danmarkar : but.

(Gorm king carved kubl [gravestone] this after Tyre queen his Denmark's Saviour.)

This stone is 9-ft. high.

But there is yet one other strong and unconquered woman in South Jutland left to notice. This is Asfrid, daughter of the mighty Jarl Odinkar, with whom she took shelter while the storm which carried away her husband Gnupa burst over her head. On his defeat by Gorm, and death, she first rallied his scattered forces. Then she raised a noble gravehaugh over the body of her husband, whereon she set up a rune-inscribed stone in his honour, consecrating it all in the name of the gods as "Gnupa's sacred gravehaugh." She thus defied both the Danish king and the new spiritual King whom Gnupa had been compelled to confess. Hence she is called "the devout" —this according to the old religion. But her intentions were not yet fulfilled—she bided her time and meant to take revenge. The death of Gorm, king of Denmark, furnished her with an opportunity. There was still left to her a son, Sigtrygg, and she gets her mighty house—Odinkar's—to acknowledge him as king, and steps were taken to establish his power. But the new king of Denmark, Harald Bluetooth, had also not forgotten what his father and mother and the whole nation had worked for in overthrowing the Christianised Gnupa and the Saxon intermeddler, and in rearing the "Dannevirke." King Harald found no difficulty in raising an army, and Sigtrygg, like his father, was killed in battle. Thus did Harald justify the praise accorded him on the "greater Jelling stone" (Figs. 4, 4*a* and 4*b*)—"He won himself all Denmark." All that is left to note is the high-spirited woman Asfrid, in her motherly grief. Just as she did to her husband, so she raised a monument over "her and Gnupa's son," Sigtrygg, whom Harald killed, and set it up alongside that of her husband's on "Gnupa's sacred hill," and these are the important Runic stones we have considered. We can feel for Asfrid, for the sufferings and disappointments of her life; while her devotion to her old faith and to her husband and son are praiseworthy.

We have in Tyre and Asfrid, both from South Jutland, two noble female presentments of the Viking time, but



FIG. 4.—FORESIDE OF GREATER JELLING STONE.
(Runes read from left to right, the bottom row being continued on Figs. 4a and 4b.)



FIG. 4*a*.—LEFT SIDE OF GREATER JELLING STONE.



FIG. 4*b*.—HINDSIDE OF GREATER JELLING STONE.

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of varying fortunes. Tyre is elevated to the royal throne of Denmark, accepts with her husband the new faith of the "White Christ," laboured with her husband for the consolidation of her country, furthering his efforts to build the great national defence work, the "Dannevirke," and finally, after a successful life, is laid to rest in queenly state at Jellinge, with a monument raised above her by her husband, King Gorm. Asfrid, as noble and strong as Tyre, married an invader, who brought the kingdom of Denmark into danger, refused the new faith, tried to make her son king, suffered repeated defeats, and finally could only raise her sorrowful memorials to her slain husband and her son, the latter of whom she still styled "king"; while, in the course of time, her own name and that of her husband are forgotten, and have passed out of popular remembrance for nearly 1,000 years, until in these latter days they are accidentally brought to light by the finding of these memorial stones she set up, which enable us to sympathetically recall her deeds and her personality.

For undoubtedly most important are these two Runic stones set up at Jelling in North Jutland. Jelling is now an ordinary village, but 1,000 years ago it was a notable royal city, being situated just half way betwixt Sleswick and Viborg, on the old ox road between those important towns. At Jelling are two mounds, still called after the names of Gorm and Tyre respectively, and between them the Runic stones were raised. Gorm and Tyre doubtless lie buried beneath these mounds, which are about 70 feet in height and 700 feet in circumference. The greater Runic stone (Figs. 4, 4*a*, and 4*b*) is about 8 feet high. On its back and side are two figures—Christ, with outstretched arms and the halo around His head, the mighty and merciful Lord, and beside Him the well-known Northern dragon, around whose whole body the serpent twines itself. On the foreside of the stone an inscription begins and is continued on the other two sides, which reads—

Haraldr : kunukr : baþ : kaurua
kubl : þausi : aft : Gurm : faþur : sin
auk : aft : Þeurui : muþur : sina : se
Haraldr : ias : sem : uan : Denmaurk
ala : auk : Nuruia : auk : Danmark : kristne.

(Harald, king, bade carve kubl [gravestone] this after Gorm, father his, and after Tyre, mother his, the same Harald who won himself all Denmark and Norway, and Christianised the Danes.)

On the lesser stone (Fig. 3), which now stands beside the greater, but formerly stood on the northern mound, are engraved, on its two sides, the memorable words to which I have already referred: "Gorm, king, made this gravestone after Tyre, his wife, Denmark's Saviour."

There is no doubt as to the meaning of these inscriptions, and as to their importance in the history of Denmark, but we have already glanced at that in connection with the two Vedelspang stones. We will therefore turn to the next two stones, which also bear upon the Danish connection with England at the end of the tenth century —the "Hedeby Stone" (Figs. 5 and 5*a*) and the "Dannevirke Stone" (Figs. 6 and 6*a*).

Hedeby is the old Danish name of Sleswick. We have already seen the important events that took place there 1,000 years ago, when Gorm and Harald overthrew the foreign invaders. And the events narrated on these two Runic stones also centre around Hedeby, or Sleswick. Nowadays Sleswick is a very quiet town, but 1,000 years ago it was a bustling shipping haven. The merchandise which came from Russia and the East passed by ships from Gotland to Sleswick, the long, narrow fjord of the Sli affording a safe anchorage for the boats. From Sleswick the merchandise was borne overland across South Jutland to Ribe, on the western coast, and thence shipped to England, Holland, and France. On the other hand, the rich products of Italy and France were by the same route carried down the Rhine to Holland, and thence over to England or to Scandinavia through Ribe and Sleswick. It was therefore a rich and important town.

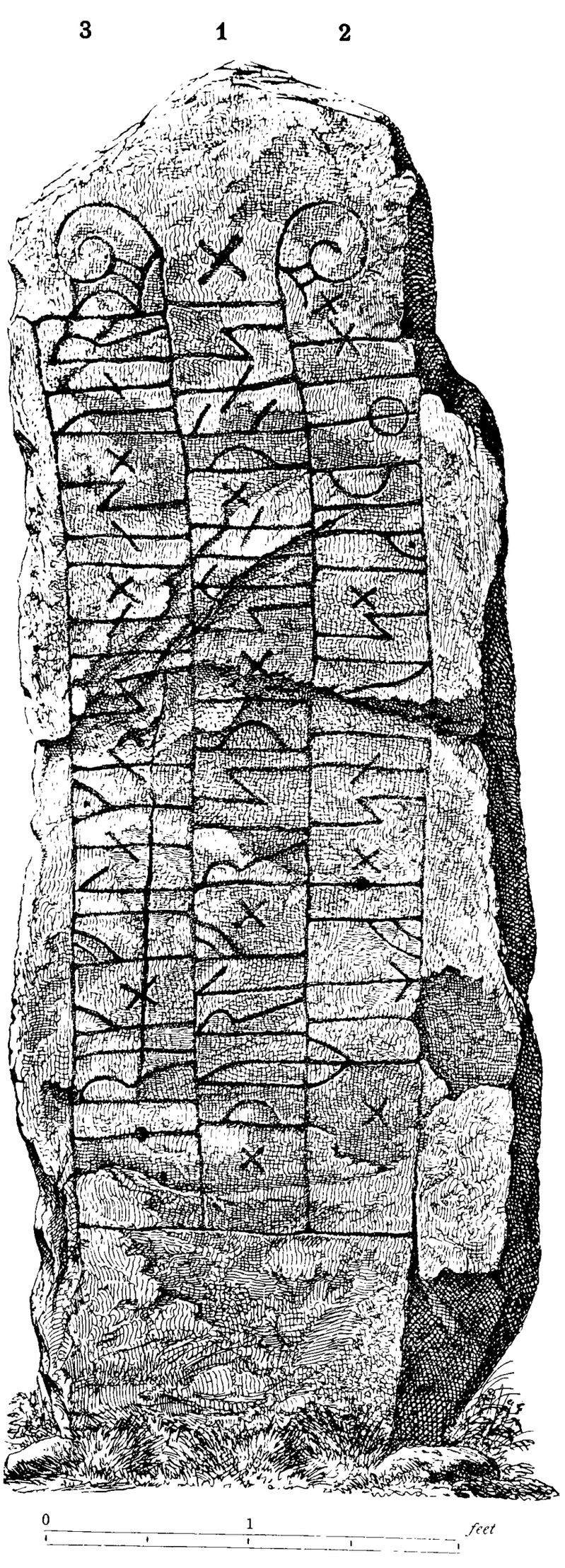

FIG. 5.—FORESIDE OF HEDEBY STONE.

(Runes read from bottom of first row upwards, down the second row, up the third, down the fourth, and up the fifth and sixth in the top portion of the next plate.)

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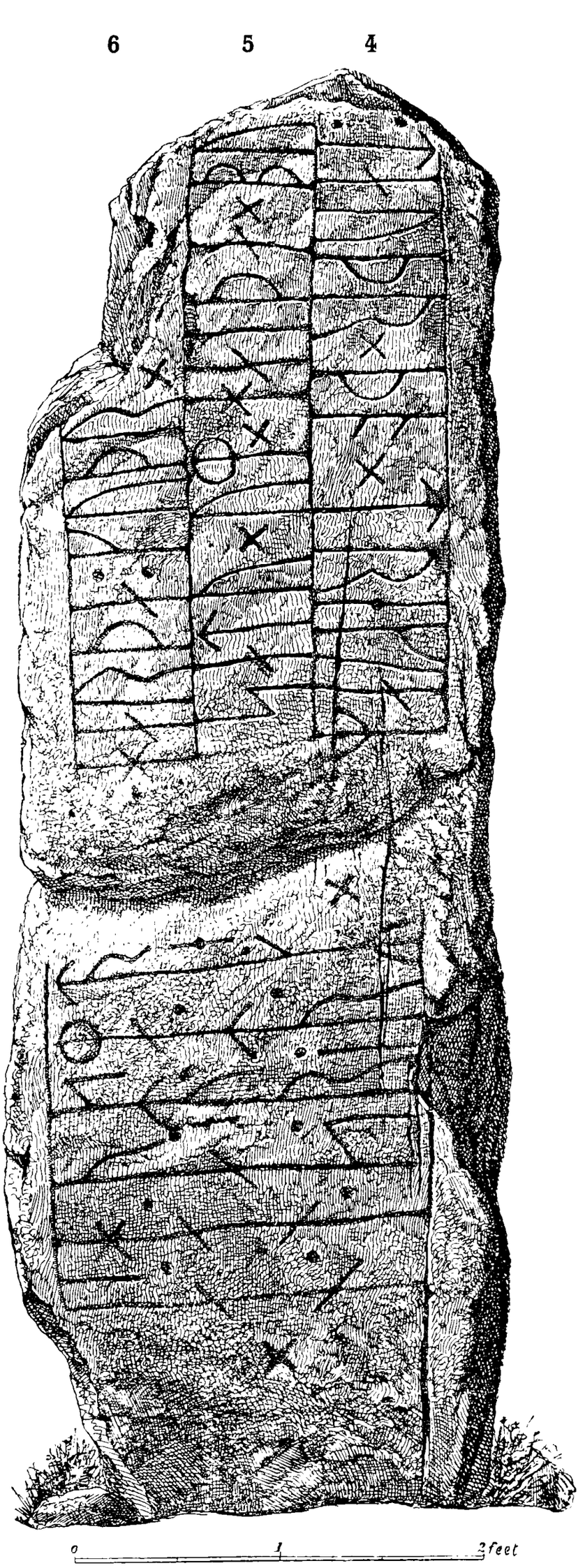

FIG. 5*a*.—HINDSIDE OF HEDEBY STONE.

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And it was thither that Ansgar, "the Apostle of the North," came in 826, and set up the Christian Church at Hedeby; so that Sleswick is the cradle, so to speak, of the Danish and Northern Church. These facts show the importance of the place, and explain how Swedish chiefs more than once cast longing eyes upon it.

Now these regions are occupied by Danes and Germans. But at that time the Germans had not reached the Baltic. All the shores were held by Slavs and Wends. Only on the western coast of Holstein was there a Saxon or Frisian people, and the Saxons had at that time been much reduced by Charlemagne. Little connection was there therefore between Denmark and her Southern neighbours. There was nothing to learn from the Wends, and little from the rough Saxon. Civilisation was indeed on a higher level in Scandinavia than there, for there was a lively intercourse among the Northern kingdoms themselves, and the superior mental and material civilisation existing in England, Ireland, France, and Holland was reflected back on to Scandinavia by means of the raiding Viking seafarers. Then as now the path of the sea was the highway of progress, and open to all who had the courage and enterprise to dare its perils. But between Denmark and Germany there were impassable marshes, thick forests, wild animals, and perhaps wilder men and robbers. Hence our forefathers preferred the sea, and, happily for us, brought back more than material wealth.

If we speak of foreign influence at this period—the tenth century—it is mostly English. Ansgar, it is true, came from the north of France, but he was sent from a Saxon monastery. His good influence, however, never sank very deep. But when it is remembered how far and wide were the Viking raids, it can be understood whence the strongest influences were derived. In Normandy, England, and Ireland was then a living Christianity. King Guthrum, with 30 men, received Christianity from the hands of King Alfred in Wessex, and Saxo calls King

Gorm "the English." Our two last Runic stones bear this statement out to the full.

The older of the two was found in 1796, by the same man who discovered the "Vedelspang Stone I." It is called the "Hedeby Stone" (Figs. 5 and 5*a*), and is also kept in the park of Louisenlund. Its inscription records—

Þurlf : risþi : stin : þansi
himþigi : Suins : eftir
Erik : filaga : sin : ias : uarþ
tauþr : þa : trekiar
satu : um : Haiþa : bu
ian : han : uas : sturi : matr : tregr
harþa : kuþr.

(Thurlf, Suin's housethegn, raised this stone after Erik, his fellow, who died when war-men sat around Hetheby; but he was a steersman, a hero most gallant.)

It is 7-ft. high above ground and 2-ft. 6-in. broad and 1-ft. 10-in. thick, and the runes are about 7-in. high.

The second (Figs. 6 and 6*a*) was discovered in 1857 near old high road through Sleswick, hard by the "Dannevirke." It was, happily, not removed, but the Danish authorities took care to place it on its original site, where it still stands. It is 6-ft. 2-in. high and 3-ft. broad and 1-ft. 4-in. thick, and the runes on the foreside are 7 to 9-in. high, and on the side ranging down to 5½-in. It tells us that—

Suin : kunukr : sati
stin : uftir : Skarþa
sin : himþiga : ias : uas
farin : uestr : ian : nu
uarþ : tauþr : at : Hiþa : bu.

(Suin, king, set stone after Skartha, his homethegn, who was faring westward, but now is dead at Hetheby.)

This monument is called the "Dannevirke Stone," because it stands by that thousand-year-old rampart.

By the help of these stones we now take up the thread of history which we left when we showed how Harald killed "King" Sigtrygg. Harald died in 985, and his son Sven (Forkbeard) became king of Denmark. Under him the Danish Vikings grew strong in England. In 994

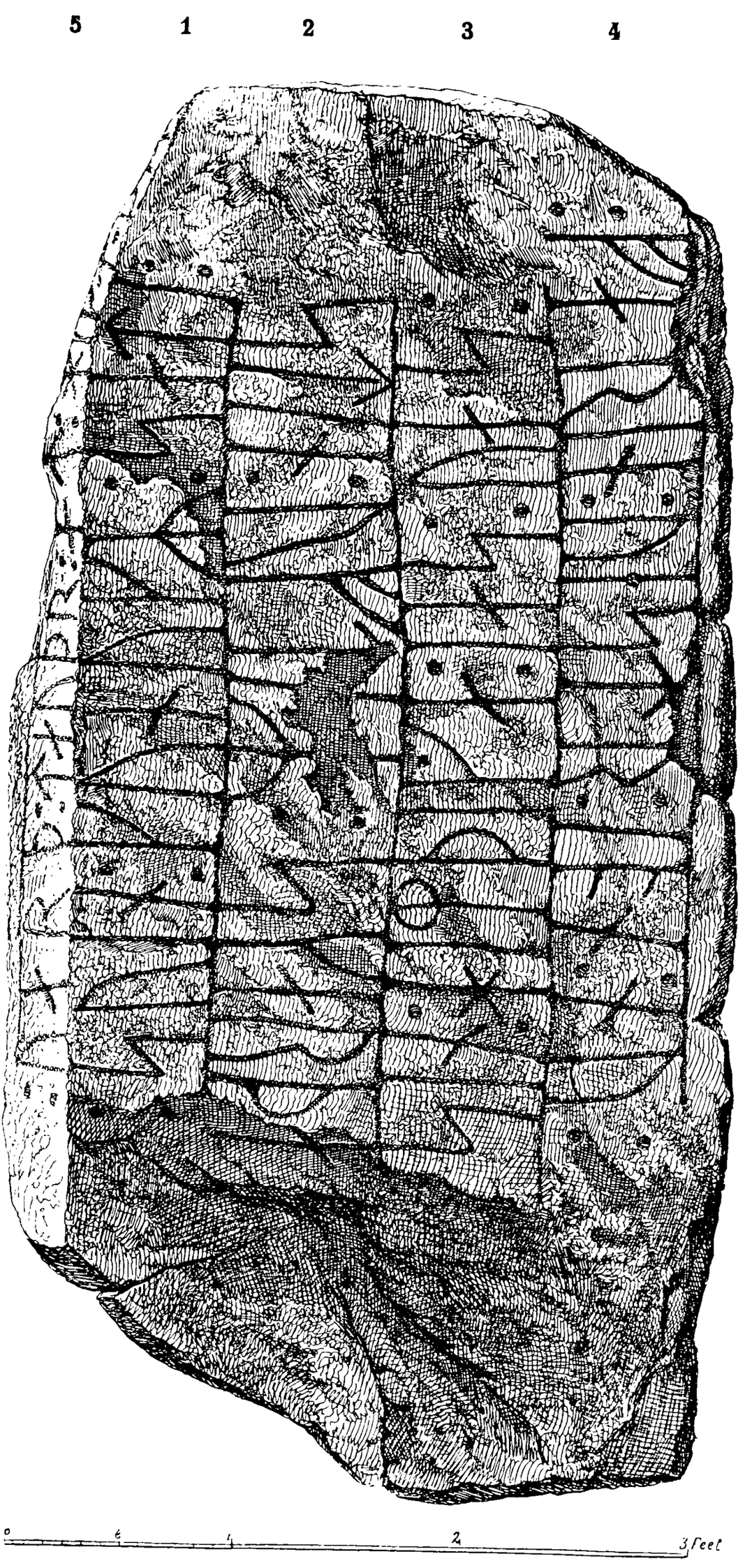

FIG. 6.—FRONT OF DANNEVIRKE STONE.

(Runes read from bottom of first row upwards, down the second, up the third, down the fourth, and up the fifth on the left side. The fifth row is repeated in next plate.)

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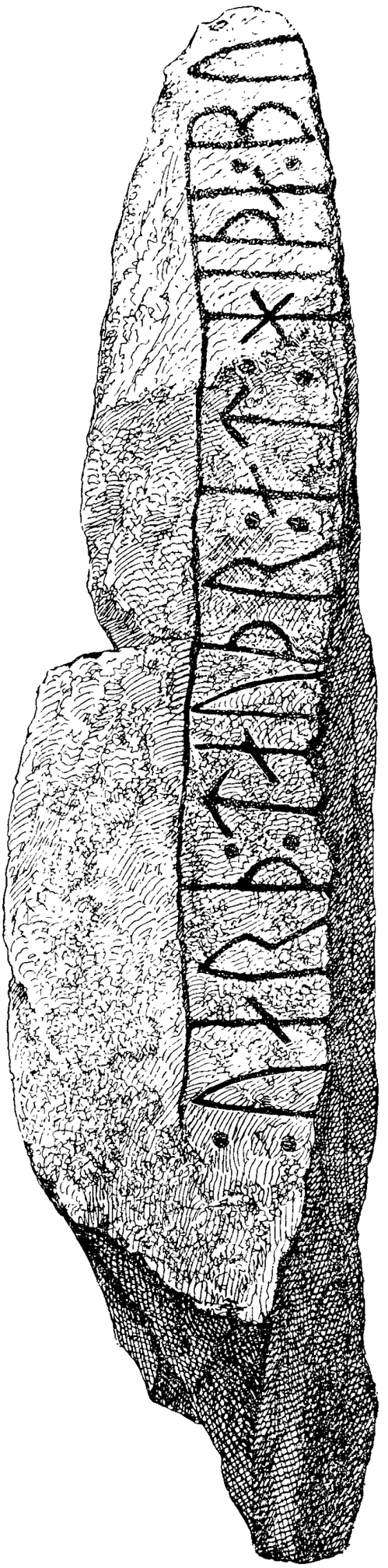

FIG. 6*a*.—LEFT SIDE OF DANNEVIRKE STONE.
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Sven attacked London, together with Olav Tryggvasson, king of Norway. Olav soon made his peace with King Ethelred, but Sven continued his raids. Now both the Runic stones mention a King Sven who must have fought a battle before Hedeby. How are these statements to be harmonised ?

We know from German annals that the Bishop of Sleswick had to leave that place about the year 1,000, as Vikings had harried it; and the Viking leader was no less a person than the king of Sweden, Erik the Victorious. This king followed the track of Olaf and Gnupa, and took Hedeby, or Sleswick. King Sven of Denmark was in England, full of many plans for the future; but as soon as he heard of the foreign invaders in his land he hurried home. Very likely he landed at Ribe, and in quick marches through South Jutland he reached Sleswick, where he had to lay siege to the town, which King Erik held and had fortified. Many men fell while "war-men sat around Hedeby," and one of them was named Erik, and another Skarde, the latter being of King Sven's body-guard. The upshot of the struggle was that the invader was overthrown and driven out, and Denmark again freed. After the battle, Erik's name is commemorated by his friend Thorlfr, and King Sven himself raises a stone in memory of his faithful man Skarde.

It is a delightful picture for a Dane to behold: King Sven leaving behind the wealthy land of England, where he might have set up a new kingdom, in order to return to his native land, which was dearer to him than the land in the West. It is likewise well worth noticing why the two fallen heroes are commemorated. Erik was a "steers-man" and "a gallant hero," and Skarde had gone "west-ward" (to England, of course). Of the same type as these two who fell were the many who settled in England in the following and preceding years; worthy forbears of those who "rule the waves." They were steersmen and gallant heroes. Surely we all owe a debt of warm grati-tude to the Runic stones for their few but true words.

THE CONVERSION OF ICELAND TO CHRISTIANITY, A.D. 1000.

By EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A.

IN the month of June this year (1900) the people of Iceland celebrated the anniversary of the conversion to Christianity of their heathen forefathers, 900 years ago. By that time, with the exception of the Scandinavian Peninsula, the whole Occident, from Novgorod to Ireland, from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean to the Baltic and the Skagerack, had been incorporated, more or less effectively, in the vast empire of the Conqueror of Golgotha. Wheresoever the Northern Viking came in contact with mankind south of his own native land, he found himself confronted by the Christian religion, allied to a stately, dignified, and solemn ceremonial; and wherever he met Christianity, there, too, a higher state of civilisation and culture presented to him a bewilderingly engaging face. By this time the ferocity that characterised the first Viking raids had greatly softened down. Christianity had now become the uncompromisingly aggressive, paganism the passively resistant, actor in the great contest for the spiritual destiny of mankind. This, in the nature of things, was bound to come to pass. Christianity, with a revealed ideal of salvation, of eternal hope, was destined to conquer the heart of man; paganism, with no such ideal to lead and to inspire it, was bound to fall back, and eventually to evacuate an untenable position.

Even the history of the conversion of Iceland, as we shall see, is, on a small scale, of course, an illustration in

point. Of that history I propose to give you an outline to-night, hoping that to some of the members, at least, of our Club the subject may have a certain interest; especially since, so far as I know, there exists no connected account of it in any English work.

It is a fact, though seldom, if ever, pointed out, that Christianity had an asylum in Iceland long before the first arrival of the Norsemen in the island, about A.D. 860. The father of Icelandic historiography, Ari the learned, in his "Libellus Islandorum," tells us that the new-comers found dwelling there Christians, whom they called "Papar"; who, because they would not abide here in fellowship with heathen men, thereupon went away, leaving behind them Irish books, bells, and crosiers, wherefrom it could be concluded that they were Irishmen.[1] To this the "Landnámabók" adds: "And in English books mention is made of journeys between the countries [Iceland and Great Britain] in those days."

We have an independent evidence of the accuracy of this statement of Ari's. An Irish monk named D cúil wrote, about 825, a book on geography, which he called "De Mensura Orbis Terræ." In this work he states that some 30 years before—that is to say, about 795—he had had a conversation with some clerics returning from an island in the extreme North, which he took to be the *ultima Thule* of the ancients. He gives a very clear statement of the information his clerical friends imparted to him; and their account not only fits no island on earth save Iceland, but, as far as it goes, it is the most correct description we have of that country from so early a period. The clerics had been in the island from February to August. "They told me," says Dicuil, "that at the summer solstice, and during the days immediately preceding and succeeding it, the sun, going down, vanished as if he went behind a little mound, in such a way that no darkness befell during this short hour,

[1] "Islendingabók," chap. i.

and any work might be done. If they had only ascended some high mountain on the island, the sun would probably never have vanished out of sight." This is unmistakably a description of Iceland.

The additional statement of the "Landnámabók," which doubtless owes its origin to Ari himself, that English books make mention of intercourse between Iceland and Britain in those ancient days, finds also its corroboration in a still existing English book of great antiquity.

Among the many works by the Venerable Bede that have come down to us, is a commentary, entitled, "In libros regum quæstionum triginta liber unus." One of the questions debated is the miracle recorded in 2 Kings xx. 9, 10. Jehovah promises King Hezekiah a further span of life, of 15 years' duration. Hezekiah wants a token showing that Jehovah is in earnest. The Prophet Isaiah, being the interpreter of Jehovah's purpose on the occasion, asks the king: "Shall the shadow [on the sun-dial] go forward ten steps, or go backwards ten steps?" Hezekiah answers: "It is a light thing for the shadow to decline ten steps; nay, but let the shadow return backwards ten steps." In discussing wherein lay the miracle that Hezekiah demanded, Bede takes the opportunity of bringing before his readers the following fact:—"For the people who dwell in the island of Thule which is beyond Britain, or in the outermost regions of the Scythians, observe that it happens for some days every summer that the sun, on setting, though to the rest of the 'orbis' he has his position beneath the earth, is nevertheless visible to themselves all the night through; and that it may be clearly seen how he goes slowly back from west to east, even as the stories of the ancients, as well as the people of our own time who come hither from those parts, set forth most abundantly."

Of islands beyond Britain (*ultra Britanniam*) there is not one to which this statement can apply, except Iceland. The distinction made between those dwelling in the island of Thule and those in the outermost regions of the

Scythians, makes it impossible that Bede thought of Thule as an outermost part of Scythia. So here we have a new evidence to the fact that Iceland was the dwelling-place of human beings who were in the habit of journeying over to Britain in Bede's lifetime, with true stories about the striking solstitial phenomena observed in that island at midsummer. But Bede died in 735. How long before that date he wrote this commentary, I am not in a position to say. His words give clearly to understand that to his readers he was not aware he was conveying any strange or striking novelty by saying, "qui in insula Thyle . . . degunt." So the conclusion would seem warrantable that the facts he was referring to were generally known in Britain at the time he wrote them down. That takes us back to some time before Bede's death. And since the dwellers at that time in Iceland could have belonged to no other race or class of men than did the clerics from Iceland with whom Dicuil conversed 60 years after the death of Bede, or the men whom the Norwegians found in the island on their arrival some 45 years after Dicuil wrote his interesting account, I do not regard myself as liable to the charge of drawing on imagination in maintaining that Iceland had afforded Christianity a home from, say, A.D. 700, or for some 170 years at least before the Norse occupation of the country began.

Bede's extremely important statement that "qui in ultimis Scytharum finibus degunt . . . illis de partibus adueniunt," *i.e.*, to Britain, with stories of the midnight sun, pointing to intercourse existing between Scandinavia and Britain anterior to the earliest recorded Viking raids to the west, I must pass by on this occasion as irrelevant to the subject I am dealing with.

It is clear, judging from the objects the Keltic Christians left behind them in Iceland, bells and crosiers, that they must have been living in monastically organised communities. But their occupation of the island seems to have been confined to its south-eastern parts. There, at the place which from the beginning of the colonisation

period has been called Kirkby, and where the "Landnámabók" says Papar were dwelling before that movement began, they seem to have left behind them a minster or church, for that fact would account most naturally for the name of the place. This humble homestead in the western bailiwick of Skaptafell (Vestr-Skaptafellssýsla) has one distinction to boast of: it is the oldest Christian home not only in Iceland, but also as compared with any in Scandinavia or Denmark. From, possibly, 700 A.D., it has never sheltered a heathen occupier. From 1186-1550 it was a convent of Benedictine nuns.

It was probably Ingolf, the first real settler in Iceland, who first frightened the inoffensive anchorites away. He landed just in the parts where they had their chief settlements, and on exploring the coast westward in quest of the pillars of his high-seat, must have seen the blue peat-smoke of their abodes rising against the background of lava and glacier, and made personal acquaintance with them, pleasant or otherwise; but whatever the cause, the flight of the recluses must have been precipitate, since they left behind some of the objects they must have set the greatest value on.

Among the early settlers of Iceland not a few were Christians. They all came from Sodor, *i.e.*, the Hebrides, and Ireland. The majority of them were of Norse descent, who, having been settled in the West for various lengths of time, had adopted the religion of the community among whom they dwelt. Others of the same stock were born Christians in the West, and in the veins of some of these settlers ran the noblest blood of the Norse race.

In this respect we must draw special attention to the descendants of the famous war-duke from Sogr in Norway, Ketil Flatnose, who left Norway early in the turbulent reign of Harald Fairhair, and with his children and other kinsfolk made Sodor his home, where he became a man of great might and influence. Ketil had five children, four of whom brought with them Christianity to Iceland. His son, Helgi Bjóla, went to Iceland early in the land-

settling period, and spent the first winter in the country with Ingolf, Iceland's first settler, at Reykjavík, and next spring received from him, on what terms we do not know, landed property about Keelness, some ten miles to the north of Reykjavík. A famous daughter of Ketil was Aud the Deepminded, queen of Olaf the White, king of Dublin. After her husband's death, about 870, Aud went with her son, Thorstein the Red, together with other relatives and a large retinue, to Scotland, where Thorstein carved out for himself an extended dominion. He was at last treacherously slain by the Scots, and his mother betook herself with her seven children first to Orkney, then to Faro, leaving behind in either place a married granddaughter, and at last to Iceland. There she appropriated to herself the wide countryside called Dales, at the head of Broadfirth in western Iceland. Another daughter of Ketil was Thorunn; she was married to Helgi the Lean, son of Eyvind Eastman, of Swedish descent. Helgi's mother was Princess Rafarta, the daughter of King Cearbhal of Ossory in Ireland. Helgi betook himself with his wife to Iceland, and appropriated to himself the whole district of Islefirth, hallowing for himself the possession of this wide tract by kindling beacon fires at every river mouth throughout it. He set up his family abode or manor house at Christness, and dwelt there till his death. A third daughter of Ketil Flatnose was Jorunn; she had a son called Ketil, his father's name is not on record. He went from Sodor to Iceland, and took up his abode at Kirkby, which I have already mentioned. "There," says the "Landnámabók," "the Papar had had a seat before, nor might Christians ever abide there." Ketil was evidently the immediate successor of the Papas to this property. The name of the place is a proof positive that he found the church of the anchorites still standing on his arrival; for local names frequently draw their origin from existing peculiarities or facts.

One more Christian relative of Flatnose was his nephew Orlyg the Old, son of his brother Hrapp. He had been

brought up by a Bishop Patrick in Sodor. On breaking the news to the Bishop that he wished to go to Iceland, the prelate provided him with timber to build a church, and an iron bell, a "plenary," and hallowed earth to put under each of the corner pillars. Orlyg sailed to Iceland accompanied by a number of Christian friends, and settled within the landtake of his cousin Helgi Bjola, and built a church at his homestead of Esjuberg.

A number of Christians of less account, some of them evidently Irish, are mentioned by name, especially in the district of Burgfirth, directly north of Reykjavík; but no doubt there were many of whom no record is left. Many settlers were married to Irish wives, and must have had a more or less clear idea as to what Christianity was like. Numerous Irish slaves as war-booty found their way to the country; they were all Christians, but in most cases not a refreshing illustration of that profession of faith.

Now we have before us the fact that already in the early period of the colonisation of Iceland all the descendants of Flatnose, so far as we know, had cleared out of Sodor and settled in each of the four quarters of the land: Helgi Bjola in the south, Aud the Deepminded in the west, Thorunn with her mighty husband Helgi in the north, and Ketil, Flatnose's grandson, in the east. There must have been some serious cause for the emigration of this one family *en bloc*, as it were, from Sodor. We are not left in doubt what that cause was. About 870, Harald Fairhair, worried by the Viking raids from the Western Isles upon his kingdom of Norway, led an expedition against these Viking lairs, and slew the Vikings right and left, and drove the rest away, and incorporated in the kingdom of Norway both Orkney, Sodor, and Man. The family of Flatnose shared the fate of the rest of the king's enemies, and therein lies doubtless the reason why it emigrated from comfort and affluence to an uncertain destiny in barren Iceland. The time of Harald's expedition makes it certain that the emigration of this nobility of Christians to Iceland must have taken place early

during the 60 years over which the colonisation period extends, from 870-930.

All the ancient records agree in the statement that the Christian settlers or their immediate descendants lapsed from Christianity into heathenism. No cause is assigned, but the impression is left that this happened because paganism was preferred. Nothing is left on record to show that there existed any state of religious hostility between pagan and Christian settlers. All the more strange therefore, at first sight, appears the general apostasy of the Christians. But when we look below the surface we shall find a natural explanation of the fact in the evolution of society in the island during the colonising process.

On arrival in Iceland, the head of each ship's company hallowed for him, according to recognised sacred rites, as much land, where land was unoccupied, as satisfied his ambition for landed lordship. Of the men who thus took possession of unoccupied land, but few were Christians, the overwhelming majority heathens. In most cases, the extent of the appropriated territory exceeded vastly the personal or immediate requirements of any one family. For obvious reasons it was a matter of paramount importance to the primary possessor to dispose, on advantageous terms, of as much of his landed property as he could not turn to profit by his own efforts. Whether spare land was disposed of in such a manner to a Christian by a heathen, or *vice versâ*, was a matter of indifference to the owner. If he sold the land, or if he let it out to tenants, the purchase money and the rents were equally serviceable, no matter whether the purse they came out of belonged to a Christian or a heathen. This mutuality of interest between men of different confessions of faith explains to a large extent, as I think, the peaceful relationship which obtained between Christians and heathens during the period of Iceland's colonisation. There were other causes tending to bring about the same result. Paganism in the North was not an aggressive, proselytising religion, as I have said before. A heathen might think about the gods

whatever he pleased, as long as he did not publicly blaspheme them. Ingolf, for instance, was a devout heathen, and a zealous sacrificer to the gods, while his foster-brother, Hjörleif, would never sacrifice. Sundry heathens of historical fame surnamed "The Godless" are on record. Numbers of instances might be adduced, showing how weak a hold the heathen belief had on the heart of men when the day of history broke over the North. Such instances, however, are chiefly confined to men who from youth upwards had spent a life in daring exploits over lands and oceans, and had come out of the ordeal victorious believers in their might and main. Perhaps the real explanation of the unbelief of such men is that they were far-travelled, had seen more of civilised life than the folk at home, and grasped the fact that Christianity was everywhere allied to a higher civilisation, yet that for the profession of the sword, the success of which depended on assiduous training, the one religion was as useful or useless as the other.

But as concerning Icelandic paganism specially, I cannot help thinking that it presents one phase peculiarly its own, and strikingly indicative of the softening of the national temper as compared with Norway. I refer to the intensely deep veneration the people bestowed on the landvættir (landwights), the guardian spirits of the land, to which no parallel is found in Norway. If I misread not the old records, the religious belief of the people, on coming to that strange land of ice and fire, shifted its basis so far that, beside the old gods, who received the formal national worship, the landvættir became the real objects of the deepest, most tender devotion. It is really touching to consider what an ideal of timid delicacy, tenderness, innocence, and purity, the devout heathen made of these hidden agencies in Nature's mysterious laboratory in the new land. No fetid smell must come near to them, no living thing must be destroyed, where fields or fells were hallowed for them, their precincts must not be looked at by a man with an unwashen face. When Christian mis-

sionaries pour their Holy Water over their stony abodes, they can only wail and bemoan their sad fate. To the believers in them they are faithful "unto death"; they multiply their flocks, turn out with them into the dangers of the sea, and follow them to the perilous contests at law in courts of Parliaments, general and local. They become revengeful only when they know for certain they are threatened with wholesale desertion. The best evidence of the national worship accorded to these beings is the preamble of the first code of law of the Commonwealth, framed by the first Speaker of Iceland, Ulfljot, 927-929. According to the "Landnámabók," this preamble provided that ships with figure-heads should not be taken into the ocean from abroad; but if they were, the figure-heads should be taken down before the ships came in sight of land, and on no account were men to sail to the land with gaping heads or yawning snouts, lest the landvættir should take fright thereat.

We should have expected that the law began by a declaration that the new community would continue to worship the divinities of their forefathers, but in reality it declares that a new faith has arisen in the land, the faith in the landvættir. I do not think I am far wrong in surmising that the hard-hearted, stepmotherly nature of the country was the cause of this national resignation; for, after all, it is the resigned heart of man these beings reflect, and it is a religion of resignation we have here before us.

Now, to return again to our topic, the causes that brought about the general apostasy of the Christians, we have to consider what it meant for the head of a family or the captain of a ship to take with him to Iceland a shipload of immigrants. As the heathens were overwhelmingly the most numerous, we will take the example from their class.

On board ship the captain was the head of the crew, no matter what blood relationship there was between him and his shipmates. The crew was the tribe of which he

was the head. On landing he hallowed for himself what extent of land he deemed he wanted, and partitioned out of it to his men such holdings as they wanted on various terms of tenure. The first duty after landing was, as soon as circumstances allowed, to build a temple for the new community, the site of which was the manorial property of the chief. For this purpose he, no doubt by arrangement, levied a tax upon the community; not a temporary, but a permanent one. The temple, in the larger communities, was a spacious edifice, divided in two portions: an inner one, where there stood a stall after the fashion of an altar, whereon there lay a ring, weighing, in some cases at least, twenty ounces. On this ring all men must take their oaths, and it was the chief's duty to have it on his arm at all meetings of a public character. Round the stall were arranged the images of the gods, and under it was the consecrated earth from the old temple in Norway, which, if the chief happened to have been a temple priest there, he took with him to Iceland. On the stall stood a bowl, with a sprinkler in it. Into this bowl was let flow the blood of such beasts as were sacrificed to the gods at the appointed feasts, and with the sprinkler that blood was sprinkled about the temple and the congregation. The outer and larger portion of the temple was the festal hall, where the temple priest feasted the community at the three great yearly festivals. In this part were found the pillars of the priestly high-seat, and into them were driven the *reginnaglar*, or nails of the gods. And this place was a great sanctuary.

Now when a captain had erected such a temple in his lordship, he became the *goði* of his people in the full sense, and his *power* or *sway* over his people was called *goðorð*; the two terms convey about the same idea as *pontifex* and *pontificatus*. The *goði*, as such, was not a territorial magnate—he was only a lord of power. Therefore the *Grágás* (code of the Commonwealth) says that a *goðorð* cannot be taxed in tithe, "for it is not property, but power." This is the reason why *goðorð* is a term synonymous with

mannaforræði, or rule over men. The power of the Pope of Rome is, to some extent, an apt illustration; he sways over men, but rules over no territory. A *goði's* might and influence depended entirely upon the number of men who yielded him allegiance. His liegemen, as a rule, were most numerous in his own immediate neighbourhood, but any man was free to become the liegeman of any *goði* he chose. The liegemen, in return for the protection afforded them by their *goði*, were bound to respond to his call whenever he wanted them, whether to swell his retinue at public assemblies, or to strengthen his force for military purposes, defensive or offensive.

Now when we consider that the heathen leaders of crews to Iceland took, after landing, the earliest opportunity they could to erect a temple and to set up as *goðar* (sovereign chiefs), we see at once what fate the Christian chiefs saw awaiting them. Unless they could provide temples to their heathen liegemen, who, of course, were in overwhelming majority as compared with the Christian retainers, the heathens would go in a body over to neighbouring heathen chiefs in quest of religious comfort at their temples, and the power of the Christian lords would diminish to such an extent as to count for nothing. What then was the Christian lord to do? become from a high-born ruler of men a nobody among a swarm of heathens, and eventually a liegeman of some heathen chief who, out of compassion, should take him under his protection; or, compete with his heathen fellows in the free market of liegemanship, to save his family from social extinction? About his choice there could be no hesitation in a tribal state of society. He must, in any case, preserve his prestige as a chief. But that he could do only by offering his liegemen of the heathen persuasion the same religious comfort under the heathen cult that any of the heathen chiefs could afford them. This meant that he must bind them to him by erecting a temple for them, and become their *goði* on the heathen system. These social exigencies must have been the main causes which

led to the general apostasy of the Christian colonists in Iceland, or, at least, of their immediate successors, although the old historians are silent on the point. To be or not to be—that was the question.

Excepting the Kirkby district in the east, the country was wholly heathen from about the beginning of the tenth century until towards the latter end of it, or more precisely speaking, until 981, when missionary enterprise from abroad heralded in the change which was consummated in the last year of it.

But in the course of these 80 years changes had taken place in the constitution of the country which were destined to have a peculiar effect on the course of the missionary progress.

About the year 965, Thord, surnamed the Yeller, a great-grandson of Aud the Deepminded, carried, at the Althing, a constitutional scheme, according to which the country was divided into four Quarters, which generally bore the names of the Southlanders', the Westfirthers', the Northlanders', and the Eastfirthers' Quarter, each of which was to have its superior court of appeal at the Althing. Each of these Quarters was divided into three so-called Things, or jurisdictions, except the Northlanders' Quarter, in which there were four Things. In each Thing, again, there should be three *goðorð*. Consequently the number of *goðar*, or chiefs, in the whole land was now fixed at 39. Into the hands of these chiefs fell the whole government of the country, to the exclusion of every other claimant. Practically speaking, this meant turning into a monopoly the free competition in liegemanship which hitherto had obtained. When this change came in, *goðar* existing in excess of the number of 39 must be disfranchised ; aspirants to the dignity outside the league of the 39 could look forward to no share in the government of the country, even if they succeeded in forming a community of adherents numerous enough to count for a *goðorð*. Men of ability and ambition finding themselves thus beset by disabilities constitutionally enforced, would

naturally chafe at such a state of things, and widespread discontent could not fail to follow. This constitutional experiment had been on its trial for only sixteen years when the first missionaries made their appearance. Among the malcontents they would be certain to find ready-made allies when the main body of the 39 made a dead set against the introduction into the country of the new faith.

The first attempt at converting the Icelanders to Christianity was made by a native of the country, named Thorvald, known in history as Thorvald the Far-travelled. He was the son of Kodran, a franklin who lived in the north country district called Waterdale, and was descended from a famous race of men who were known as the Skidungs, descendants of Skidi the Old, son of Bard in Al in Norway.

Thorvald, about whom we have a special Saga, began life as a disfavoured child of his father. But he had the good luck to be taken up by a kindly soothsayess of the neighbourhood, who gave him a loving fostering until he attained the age when, for a well-born Icelander in those days, it was the fashion to go abroad and approve one's self a doughty Viking, worthy of a place among a king's bodyguard. According to the Saga of him, he was a singularly noble type of a Viking. His biographer informs us that he was a peculiar favourite of King Sweyn, the father of Knut the Great, for he was a man of much counsel, well endowed with bodily strength and of a valiant heart, highly skilled in the craft of weapons and keen in battle; he was free and open-handed as to money, approved for faithfulness and trusty service, engaging of demeanour and well beloved among all the war-host, and not undeservedly so, for although yet a heathen, he acted with a generosity that surpassed other heathens: his share in the loot he would bestow upon the needy, or spend in ransoming prisoners of war, or succouring those afflicted by misery; if his loot happened to consist of captives of the stricken field, he would send them back to their parents or relatives, even as those whom he had

ransomed with money. As a reward for his dauntless valour in battle, his fellow-soldiers conferred on him the privilege to choose his own share of the war-booty before it came to general division, and his choice fell on the sons of mighty men, or on such other objects as were most missed by the losers, but least coveted by his comrades; and such captives and keepsakes he would send back to parents and owners respectively. After having spent some time in Viking raids, he came to Germany, and there made the acquaintance of a Bishop named Frederick, a man of singularly sweet disposition and inexhaustible Christian forbearance. By this Bishop Thorvald was baptised and converted to Christianity, which he embraced with such ardour that by incessant prayers he at last prevailed on the Bishop to undertake with him a journey to Iceland, in order to preach God's errand, and to convert his father, mother, and other relatives. They came to Iceland in the year 981, and remained in the country for five years. During this time they christened the family of Thorvald, whose brother, Orm, however, would have nothing to do with the new faith. They undertook missionary journeys, not only in the neighbourhood of Thorvald's immediate relatives, but also went north to Skagafjord, and even as far north as Eyjafjord. They also made their way westward as far as the Broadfirth Dales, the old landtake of Aud the Deepminded, where the *goði* at this time was Thorarinn, the son of Thord Yeller. In the beginning it seems that the mission was favoured with considerable success. Many were baptised, others received the *prima signatio*, the sign of the Cross, a preliminary ceremony to baptism, and Thorvald's father-in-law, Olaf of Hawkgill, even set up a place of Christian worship, which indicates that in his immediate neighbourhood there existed already a congregation numerous enough to support a parish church. But when the heathen priests, collecting their temple tax, came to learn that the Christian converts refused to pay it, they soon combined to make the life of the missionaries and their

converts one of trouble and even danger. And Thorvald, always stronger in the provocative argument of the sword than in the soothing persuasiveness of the Gospel, brought the situation to such a point of peril, that he and the gentle Bishop had promptly to leave the country. Of Thorvald it is said, with what truth we know not, that he founded a monastery out in Russia, at a place called Drafn, having been sent on a missionary errand to that country by the Emperor of Byzanz.

The next mission to Iceland took place in 996, under the ægis of Olaf Tryggvasson, King of Norway. The missionary this time was Stefnir Thorgilsson, a great-grandson of Helgi Bjola, who has been mentioned before. Converted to Christianity in Denmark, while on one of his Viking cruises abroad, he soon afterwards fell in with Olaf Tryggvasson, and became his man when Olaf seized upon the kingdom of Norway, 996. Stefnir, as a missionary, was an apt pupil of imperious Tryggvasson. When he came to Iceland, he went about with a company of nine sturdy men at arms, preaching the gospel; but if he failed to persuade, he would wreck temples and burn idols when and where he got the chance. This kind of missionary proceeding necessarily led to the heathens banding together to resist with might and main this Christian marauder, who with difficulty got away from his incensed pursuers, and took shelter with his kinsmen within his great-grandfather's landtake of Keelness. As Stefnir came out to Iceland in the summer of 996, his missionary doings must belong to that summer and the following autumn. When the Althing assembled in the month of June next year, a bill was promptly passed making blasphemy against the gods and any injury done to idols a criminal offence, not against society in general, however, but, tribal fashion, against the family of the offender. Therefore it was made obligatory only on such members of the offender's family as were related to him in the third, fourth, and fifth degree to prosecute him at law for such a crime. Christianity now was termed *frænda skömm*, or family disgrace; recep-

tion of it covered the confessionist with infamy within his family. The penalty was outlawry, and forfeiture to the prosecutors of the convict's property.

In the light of the fact that in the tribal state of society existing in Iceland at this time the bond of blood-relationship was sacred and inviolable, not only in consequence of long traditional custom, but actually by law, as we know from the ancient chapter on *weregild* in "Grágás," called "Baugatal," this new enactment, carried through by the compact body of the privileged heathen *goðar*, spoke an unmistakable language as to how ruthlessly these men were in earnest, and must have sent terror and dismay into the heart of the people at large throughout the land. For us, strangers to such a state of society, it is almost impossible to conceive these feelings in all their intensity. It would almost seem as if the malicious aim of this law was socially to annihilate the family of any prominent man who by lending support to Christianity proved himself an enemy of the old *goðar*. Otherwise it is difficult to understand how the exposure of this new-made crime should be made a family concern and not a concern of society at large. In any case the law served as a direct incentive to men of unscrupulous avarice to conspire against wealthy relatives in order to possess themselves of their property. Such a purpose would be more surely effected by the very provision that the prosecution was made obligatory on the more distant relatives of the offender, who naturally would not realise the tenderness of the bond of blood-relationship as keenly as those of closer kindred. The first to be prosecuted under this law was the man who was the primary cause of it, Stefnir himself, the plaintiffs being the sons of Osvífr (the father of Gudrun, immortalised by William Morris), who were descended from Ketil Flatnose in the fifth degree, while Stefnir was the fourth in descent from him.

But the law was destined for a short sway. As matters turned out, it had a run of only three years, and during that time seems to have been put only twice in operation.

For now Olaf Tryggvasson began in full earnest to throw the enormous weight of his uncompromising influence into the scale. The same summer, 997, that Stefnir had to quit the country an outlawed criminal, King Olaf sent his own court chaplain, a German, named Thangbrand, to Iceland to convert the people. Thangbrand was a high type of Teutonic brusqueness, a pompous cleric, dauntless in argument, and fearless of clinching it with his sword if need be. Appointed priest by King Olaf to the first church he set up in Norway, in the island of Mostr, Thangbrand, by extravagant living, speedily ran through the endowment of the benefice; then promptly gathering men together, he made Viking raids upon heathen people, and by the plunder procured in that manner adjusted the wrong side of his balance-sheet.

Thangbrand landed in Swanfirth (Alptafjörðr) in eastern Iceland, and took up his abode at the house of Hall o' Side, a scion of a royal race of ancestors, a man of much wisdom and equability of temper, generous-hearted, forbearing, yet firm in his dealings with men. Thangbrand converted Hall and all his household to Christianity in the course of the winter. Next summer he started on his first missionary journey, with Hall o' Side, as he went in the capacity of a *goði* to the Althing. In this journey Thangbrand baptised many men, and whole families in some cases. And as the majority of those who are mentioned as having been baptised resided some near to, others at no great distance from, the Christian community of Kirkby, their ready acceptance of baptism may possibly be accounted for as being due to the influence which that community had for a long time exercised upon the heathens in those isolated parts of the country. In this journey was baptised Nial, the hero of the story of Burnt Nial, who, as we learn from the Saga of him, had long been persuaded of the excellence of the Christian faith above the heathen.

No general movement hostile to Thangbrand was organised among the heathens. Individuals came for-

ward to try conclusions with him, but his sword prevailed; in one duel he came off victorious although, instead of a shield, he bore only a rood-cross. Poets lampooned him, but his sword untaught them the provocative art for ever. In disputes on the relative merits of the two religions he proved superior to all comers. Asked if he knew that White-Christ had not the courage to fight a duel Thor had challenged him to, he answered, "I know that Thor was but mould and ashes when it pleased God he should live no longer."

When he came to the Althing, the Parliament of the people, he "pleaded dauntlessly God's errand," and many people out of the Southlanders' Quarter were christened. An attempt on the part of the relatives of one of his victims to wreak revenge on him was frustrated by Nial, backed by the men of the Eastfirthers' Quarter, that is to say, Hall o' Side and other chiefs of the eastern parts.

About Thangbrand's movements after the Althing of this year, 998, until the next year, 999, when he returned to Norway, some confusion prevails in the old records, but it is a confusion of no real importance, as it only affects the order in which his various trips through the land took place. Enough to say, that he travelled over the greater part of the island, and christened a great many people, among whom it may suffice here to mention Gizur the White, and his son-in-law Hjalti Skeggjason, both of whom take henceforth a most prominent part in bringing about the change which was to become an accomplished fact in the course of less than two years.

Thangbrand went back to Norway in the summer of 999. At the Althing that summer our Sagas mention that a great discussion took place at the diet on the new faith. But we have no details of the debates on the subject. That they must have been of an excited character may be inferred from the fact that both Thangbrand and Hjalti Skeggjason were outlawed, the former under the common law for manslaughter, the latter under the above-mentioned blasphemy law. Hjalti left the country, accom-

panied by Gizur the White, and both betook themselves to the court of King Olaf Tryggvasson, who accorded them a gracious welcome. But when about the same time Thangbrand appeared on the scene, and told the king that the Icelanders had received his missionary errand with hostility, and that they would never accept the Christian faith, the king lost his temper in so royal a fashion that he threatened to mishandle and to kill all the heathen Icelanders who then happened to be in Norway. But, fortunately, Gizur the White had a true story to tell of Thangbrand's success, and the courage to add that in Iceland, as in Norway, Thangbrand had behaved in too riotous a manner, taking the lives of sundry persons, and to abide by such a conduct on the part of a foreigner the Icelanders deemed a hard matter. On the other hand, knowing how the Christians joined hands with the discontented great families in Iceland, and how both made a common cause against the league of the privileged 39 *goðar*, he was able to assure the king that, by wisely conducting affairs, Christianity would prevail in the island. In this manner the king's rage was assuaged. Gizur and Hjalti bound themselves to do their best to bring the conversion of their people to a successful issue; while the king arbitrarily seized and retained as hostages the sons of four Icelandic chieftains who were among the mightiest lords in each Quarter of the island. All the Icelanders who at this time were at the mercy of the king were baptised.

Provided with seven priests, Gizur and Hjalti started from Norway early in the summer A.D. 1000. They did not reach the Westmen's Isles till the 19th of June, the day before the session of the Althing was to begin. They got themselves ferried, at their speediest, to the nearest shore, where, after some difficulty thrown in their way by the liegemen of the staunchest of the heathen chiefs, Runolf o' Dale, they got horses and rode at their speediest towards Thingvellir. On their way they gathered to them such following of Christians as they could pick up, and when they came to a place called Springdale (Laugadalr),

a short distance east of Thingvellir, Gizur prevailed on Hjalti to remain there, and not present himself, an outlaw, within the hallowed precincts of the Althing. Gizur proceeded with his following to a place on the lake of Thingvellir, called Vellankatla, or Boiling Cauldron, where he encamped, and sent messages to relatives and friends gathered at the Thing to come and join him. The messages were readily responded to, and now the Christians rode in a compact body to the Althing, the impetuous Hjalti Skeggjason having suddenly joined them at the last moment, and thus broken his parole to his father-in-law, and at the same time the law of the land, by entering, himself an outlaw, the precincts of a hallowed assembly.

When the Christian host made its appearance on the scene, the heathens ran together, all fully armed, and such was the excitement that for a while it looked as if a general battle could not be avoided. But it would seem that passion did not run so recklessly high on the part of the heathens as appearances seemed to warrant; for there were men of influence among them who endeavoured to prevent things coming to the issue of the sword, and their attitude seems to have brought about so much wavering that the day closed without the arbitrament of the sword having been resorted to. Thus matters stood on Saturday the 22nd of June, A.D. 1000. A peace-hallowed Thing was now converted into two hostile camps. What the next day would bring forth no one knew.

Early next morning, Sunday, the 23rd, the Christians assembled to a solemn service on the slope overlooking the meads of Thingvellir. When Mass had been sung, the whole congregation went in a procession to the Rock of Laws, led by Thormod and his six priests, all in sacerdotal robes, preceded by two large crosses, each of the priests swinging a censer.

Now Gizur and Hjalti stepped forward and declared their errand in language which created general admiration. King Olaf Tryggvasson's interest in the matter was insisted upon with great effect, and when the speakers had come

to the end of their harangue, so awe-inspiring had it been that none of their opponents had the boldness to argue against them.

But the effect on the assembly generally was disastrous, for Christians and heathens now took witnesses that they would live no longer under one common law. Henceforth, then, the nation was to be divided: the heathens abiding by their law, the Christians by such laws as they should think it fit to frame henceforth. This shows that the Christians were already confident that the heathen party was too weak to enforce their will by physical force (*i.e.*, force of arms). The attitude of the Christians was defiant and revolutionary, that of the heathens constitutionally passive.

At this juncture a traveller rushed excitedly into the assembly, saying that a volcanic eruption had taken place in the neighbourhood of the manor of Thorod, a heathen *goði*, in the landscape called Olfus, and the lava threatened to destroy his house. "No wonder," answered the heathens, "that the gods should be angry for such language as we have now been witnesses to." "But," promptly retorted Snorri *goði*, "what made the gods angry when the earth burnt whereon we stand now?" After this both parties went away from the Rock of Laws.

The Christians now organised themselves into a constitutional assembly of their own, appointing Hall o' Side their Speaker-at-Law, and requesting him to draw up a constitutional charter for the Christian community. But he backed out of the difficult task by, strange to say, arranging with the Speaker-at-Law of the heathens, Thorgeir, the chief of the men of Lightwater (Ljósavatn), in the North Country, to frame the Christian constitution for him, and this he undertook, for a moderate fee, according to some authorities.

This was a singularly cleverly conceived stratagem on the part of the acknowledged chief of the Christian party; for if the Speaker-at-Law of the heathens failed to satisfy his own side, a disastrous split in the heathen party was

certain to follow, giving the Christians all the greater chance of victory. If he failed to give satisfaction to the Christians, then matters stood where they were; the Christians, with the powerful support of the king of Norway, fully matched their opponents. If he should satisfy both parties, the volcano on which both now stood would become extinct without any explosion, and mutual peace and concord would settle upon a distracted land.

According to the "Saga of Olaf Tryggvasson,"[1] Hall o' Side, Gizur and Hjalti stipulated with Thorgeir beforehand that whatever form he should choose to give to the law he had undertaken to frame, the following three paragraphs must be included in it :—

1. All folk in Iceland to be Christian; those not yet christened, to be baptised.
2. Temples and idols not to be recognised by law.
3. Sacrifices, if proved to have taken place, to be punishable by outlawry.

After this, Thorgeir went to his booth and lay down, and spread a fell over his head, holding converse with no one; and thus he lay till the same hour the next day, Monday, the memorable 24th of June, A.D. 1000.

In the meantime the heathens resorted to a device which clearly indicated how despairing a view they took of the situation. They convened and held a crowded meeting, at which it was resolved to make a vow to the gods to sacrifice two men out of every Quarter of the land, to the end that they should not allow Christianity to spread over the country. On learning this, Gizur and Hjalti called together a meeting of their Christian followers, and declared that they too wished to have a human sacrifice, no less in number of persons than their opponents; and Hjalti spoke thus :—

"The heathens sacrifice the worst men they can find, and thrust them over rocks or precipices, but our choice shall be according to virtue, and we shall call it the

[1] "Fornms.," II., 236-7.

triumphal gift to our Lord Jesus Christ ; let our vow be to live better and pay more heed against sinning than before."

This apparently meant that the triumphal gift should consist of eight men who vowed to lead a life of exemplary Christian conduct ; monastic recluseness was scarcely contemplated, as no member of this triumphal gift is known to have taken any conventual vows. Gizur and Hjalti came forward at once for the Southlanders' Quarter, Hall o' Side and Thorarin of Crosswick for the Eastfirthers, Hlenni the Old and Thorvard the son of Spakböðvar for the Northlanders, but for the Westfirthers' Quarter only Guest Oddleifsson came forward at first ; however, after some hitch, Orm, the brother of Thorvald the Far-travelled, the missionary we have had to deal with before, stood forth, saying, "If my brother Thorvald was now in this land, a man would soon be forthcoming for this purpose ; but now I shall offer myself, if ye will accept me." They agreed, and forthwith he was baptised.

Having spent 24 hours in his booth in the manner already mentioned, Thorgeir rose up, and sent out word, calling all the people to the Rock of Law. The people having assembled, he stood forth among them in his place of authority, and spoke, saying : "Things will have come to a hopeless pass when the people of this land shall no longer have one common law to abide by" ; and he set it forth to the people in many ways, how that such a thing should not be allowed to take place, avowing that it would lead to a state of hostility from which people might be sure would rise internal fighting such as would bring about the ruin of the land. He related the story how certain kings in Norway and Denmark had been at wars and battles each with the other for a long time, until the people of each country settled peace between them in spite of their unwillingness ; a settlement which resulted, in a short time, in their sending each other precious gifts, and in that peace lasting as long as both kings lived. "Now it seems to me also a good counsel," said he, "that even we prevent having their will those who are most eager to go at each

other, and that we so equalise matters between them that to either side such concession be made as that we may all have one law and one faith in common. One thing is certain : if we tear up the law, we shall tear up the peace also."

The speech had the effect that the whole assembly agreed to having one law in the land, and declared themselves ready to abide by Thorgeir's framing of it.

The law, as formulated by Thorgeir, consisted of the following three paragraphs :—

1. All men in the land should be Christian ; those still unbaptised should be baptised.
2. As to the casting out of children, and eating of horse-flesh, the old law should remain unamended.
3. Those who preferred might sacrifice in secret, but if they were found out, the punishment should be outlawry.

By this compromise Christianity and paganism changed places ; henceforth the former was a recognised national, the latter a tolerated private form of worship.

Not a voice was raised against Thorgeir's decision. All the people assembled received the *prima signatio* or *signaculum crucis*, a ceremony preliminary to full baptism ; many were baptised then and there ; but many excused themselves from going into cold water,[1] and so were baptised in a warm spring in the neighbouring Springdale. The whole assembly was baptised on the way home from this memorable Althing. In this way Christianity became the State religion in Iceland.

It seems incredible how the heathen chiefs, who only two days before would hear of nothing but wiping Christianity out in blood, should now, without a murmur, accept it. But when we look more closely into the matter we can discover various reasons whereby to account for the sudden change. When the Christians in a compact

[1] This statement must be taken *cum grano salis*, the cold water meant is that in the rifts or the river (Øxará) at Thingvellir, the coldest water I have ever bathed in.

body boldly galloped in on Saturday, the 22nd of June, the first effect upon the conservative heathen chiefs was a burning sense of indignation at seeing the defiant front of their hated and despised antagonists. But, as the records give to understand, there were among them men of cool heads and moderation, and to them it was due, that the matter in dispute was not at once put to the decision of the sword. To these men the position of the heathen chiefs must have presented itself as a peculiarly perilous one. Within the land the Christian party was already a very strong one, and was led by men of high character, ability, and determination. Abroad this party had now the formidable support of the everywhere-triumphant missionary potentate Olaf Tryggvasson, who held as hostages the sons of some of the greatest chiefs in Iceland, and was well known to the Icelanders by rumour as one who brooked no nonsense when dealing with refractory pagans. If he should receive bad news from Iceland of Gizur and Hjalti's mission, the heathen chiefs might with certainty count on news worse for themselves from Norway in return. (They did not know that the king had less than three months more to live.) It could not escape their mind that, behind his present interference in the internal affairs of their country, possibly far-reaching political schemes might be lurking—schemes aiming at their own independence and at the independence of their own land at the same time. Harald Fairhair's (Olaf Tryggvasson's great grandfather's) attempt to inveigle the country into subjection by means of Uni the Dane's diplomacy, was not yet forgotten.

In such circumstances it would naturally suggest itself to thoughtful men that one simple device would save the perilous situation: let all the privileged chiefs who were heathen still, accept Christianity. By doing so, all religious quarrel with Christians at home would be at an end; the king of Norway would be deprived of all pretext for further meddling in Iceland's internal affairs; and the political privileges which the constitution of 965 had conferred upon the 39 chiefs would remain uninterfered with, they

continuing in their old power Christian chiefs of Christian liegemen.

That considerations to this effect must have suggested themselves to Thorgeir while he lay under his fell reviewing in his mind the various phases of the situation, may be taken for granted ; that he should have found means to quietly communicate them beforehand to the heathen chiefs, and thus prepare them for what was coming, seems to have at least probability in its favour. And then the sudden and peaceful conversion to the new faith of the whole assembly at Thingvellir becomes perfectly natural.

Christianity won a swift and signal victory. Of course it was a victory in a worldly sense. The heart of the great mass of the people remained what it was before. But the field was now open to the sower. The reaping of the fruits of that sowing was reserved for the future.

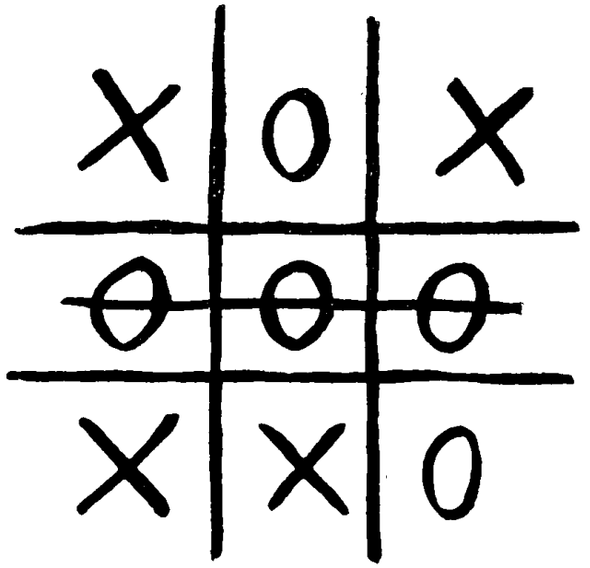

FIG. 1.—OUGHTS AND CROSSES.

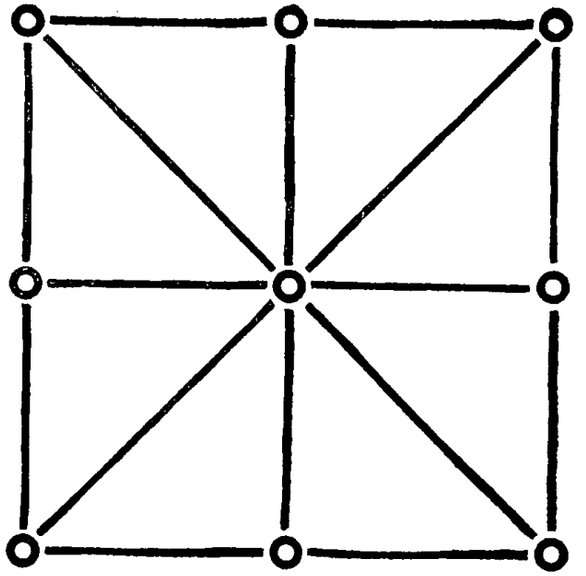

FIG. 2.—NINE-HOLES.

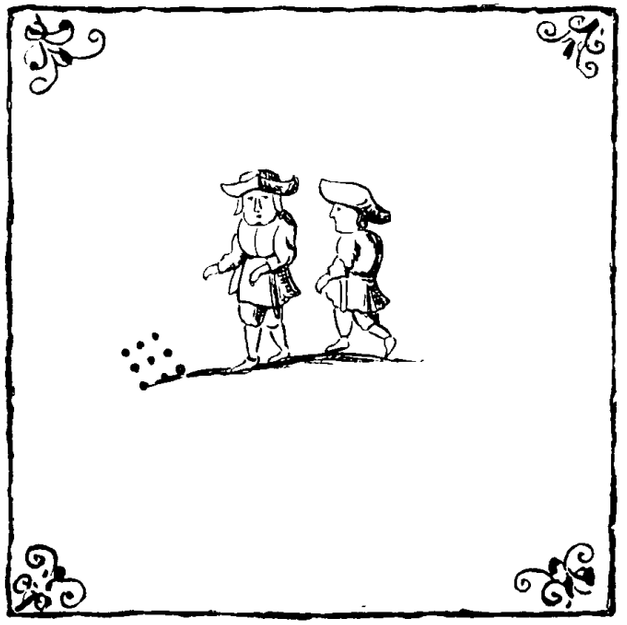

FIG. 3.—DUTCH TILE.

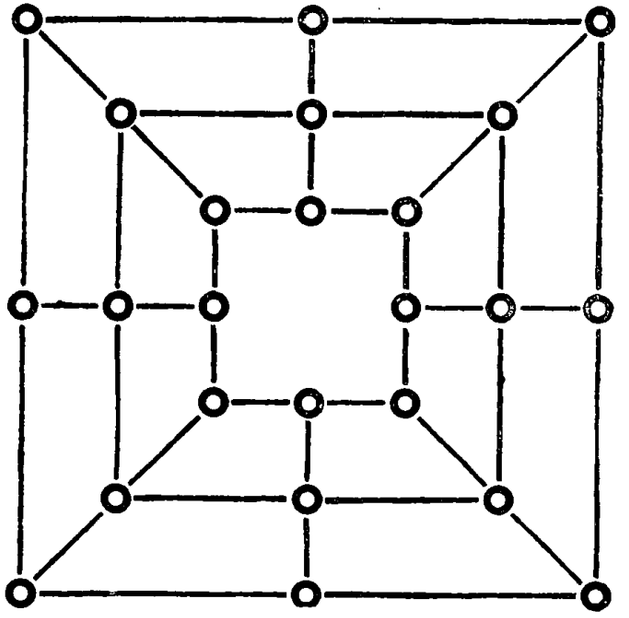

FIG. 4.—NINE MEN'S MORRIS.

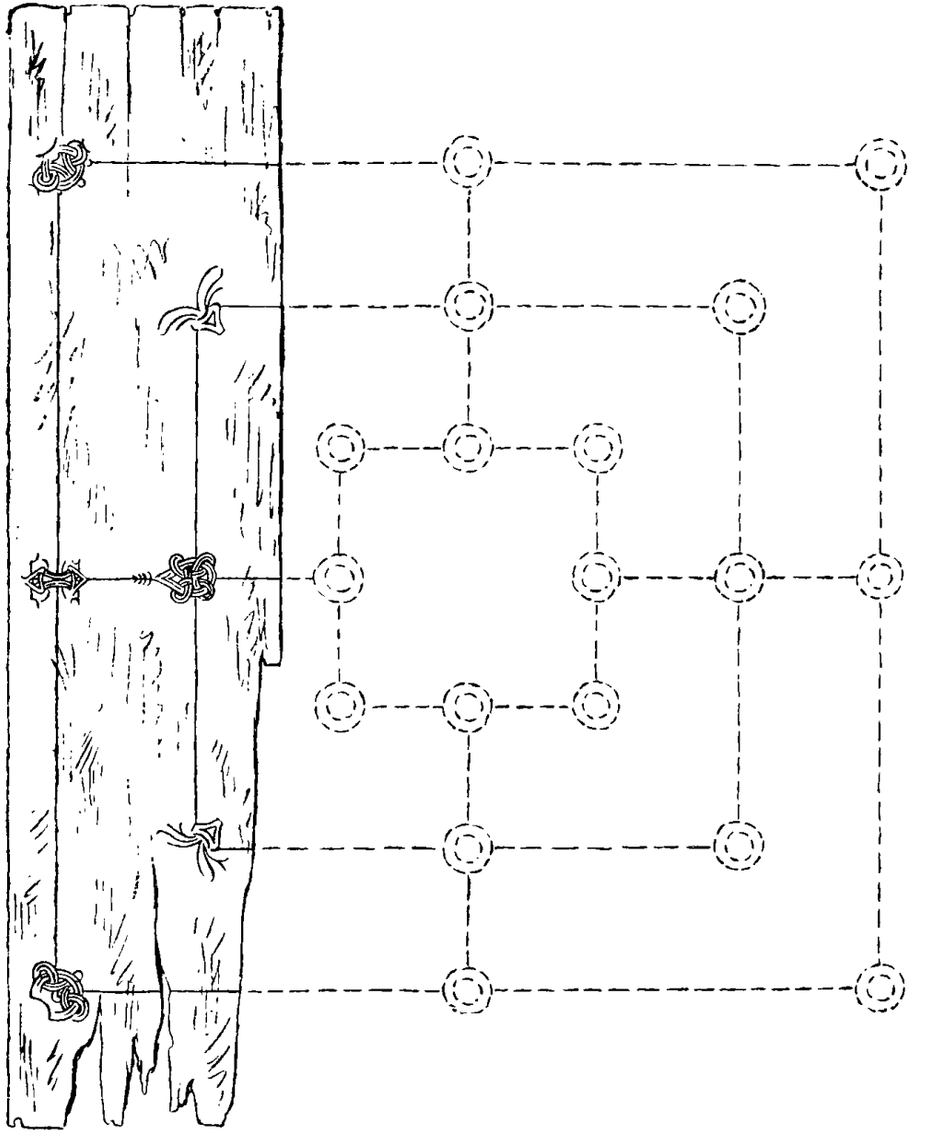

FIG. 5.—BOARD FROM VIKING SHIP.

NINE MEN'S MORRIS:

An Old Viking Game.

By A. R. GODDARD, B.A.

"The nine men's morris is fill'd up with mud;
And the quaint mazes in the wanton green,
For lack of tread are undistinguishable."
"*Midsummer's Night's Dream*," *Act II., Scene* 2.

THE recurrence in widely-separated parts of the world of certain similar games and sports goes to furnish us with yet another proof that "all mankind, the warld o'er, are brithers a' for a' that." The early Oriental forms of chess and draughts and kindred table games, the singular animal sports of the native Indians of Guiana, the lines scratched on pavements at Rome and Athens, or on the stone benches of our mediæval monasteries, all tell us that "to play" is as widely human as "to err."

It was the writer's good fortune to chance upon a pleasant little discovery about eighteen months ago, by which an interesting game, known to be mediæval and Shaksperean, was proved to be centuries older than was suspected, and found to have been a table game amongst our Viking forefathers. When these sturdy adventurers swept the seas with their long ships, braving the perils of the unkindly ocean, "that broad way of daring on which no footprints linger," as it was called by an old Saxon writer, they carried with them, it is suggestive to know, their sports to beguile their leisure hours: wherein their descendants are like unto them, faring to all the ends of the earth, and revelling in their strenuous recreations, even under the hail of the enemy's bombs.

If the question were asked of most persons, even those of fairly wide reading, "What is 'Nine Men's Morris'?" the answer would probably be, "It is a game mentioned in Shakspeare, and said still to be occasionally played to-day by rustics in out-of-the-way places." This statement summarises such information as students of Shakspeare will usually find appended in footnotes to the passage at the head of this article, in which Titania is describing the effects of a flood in an English rural district. Hitherto, therefore, the game has been an obscure detail, all but lost in the mass of Shaksperiana, although of recent years attention has been called to it by interesting matter in *Notes and Queries* and in the *Archæological Journal*.

Nine Men's Morris belongs to the class of "three-in-a-line" games, which is larger than most people would imagine. The simplest example of the class is the "Oughts and Crosses" of the English schoolboy. Have we not all of us memories of odd moments whiled away, perhaps even during school hours, in waging this battle on our slates with our next neighbour? The illustration will sufficiently recall the game and the manner of playing it, by scoring an alternate cipher or cross, until the first uninterrupted three placed in line secures the victory.

Probably few lads who play at Oughts and Crosses are aware that English boys played practically the same game long before slates came into use in our schools, under the name of "Nine-holes." Drayton in his "Polyolbion" describes how

> "The unhappy wags which let their cattle stray,
> At Nine-holes on the heath while they together play."

And again in his "Muses"—

> "Down go our hooks and scrips, and we to Nine-holes."

The object of this game appears to be the same as in the previous one—that is, to place three men in unbroken line, and to prevent the enemy from doing it. In an old Dutch tile in the writer's possession the holes are cut in

the ground, and the players are about to place their pieces. This would seem to show that the game was known and played in Holland two or three centuries ago.

The same game was played by the lads taught in our old monasteries, or perhaps by the monks themselves in their idle time, for in many of our Cathedral cloisters the lines or holes belonging to it are found scratched or cut in the stone seats. These occur in both the second (Fig. 2) and the third (Fig. 3) form at Westminster, Canterbury, Norwich, Gloucester, Salisbury, and elsewhere, and there is an interesting example cut on a stone in the old graveyard of Arbory, Isle of Man.

It is possible that invaders from Imperial Rome first taught the ancient British how to play this game, for Ovid evidently describes something very similar in his "Art of Love." He refers to it as a pleasant means whereby lads and lasses might make progress in one another's affections. Let us read a paraphrase of the passage, and relegate the text to the footnote. "A little board," he writes, "receives small pebbles, three to either side, and the way to win is to range them in unbroken line. Crack a thousand jokes! For a lass not to know how to play is a shame. In playing, love is ever forwarded."[1] There is also another reference to the same game in his "Tristia." It is evident, therefore, that this three-in-a-line game was a source of amusement to young folks in very early times. In the British Museum, in the Egyptian department, there may be seen a small red-brick tablet, with nine shallow hollows, in which stand pieces of red and black tile; this has all the appearance of a Nine-holes board. The game was also played in England for something more than mere love. Herrick, in his "Hesperides," makes this clear, when he refers to the gains made by a certain player—

[1] "Parva tabella capit ternos utrimque lapillos,
In qua vicisse est continuasse suos.
Mille facesse jocos; turpe est nescire puellam,
Ludere, ludendo sæpe paratur amor."

"*Art of Love*," *III.*, 365.

Compare also "*Tristia*," *II.*, 481.

"Raspe plays at Nine-holes, and 'tis known he gets
Many a tester by his game and bets."

Such then was the simplest of the three-in-a-line games. One authority, Nares, in his "Glossary," says that Nine Men's Morris is only another name for Nine-holes, and gives the plan shown in Fig. 2 as an example he had seen cut on small boards. This is not quite correct, as may be seen by examining the board on which our game is usually played, which is also the form found in the fourteenth century, as Strutt tells us in his "Sports and Pastimes." Dr. Hyde considers that the game was known to the Normans, although he gives no authority for the statement. In the light of later evidence it is likely enough, and we derive a second name for the game, "Merelles," from a French source, from *muraille*, or the Latin *muralis*, because of the fragments of brick or tile sometimes used for the pieces. Merelles was also played as a table-game. An old edition of Petrarch's works, dated 1520, gives a quaint woodcut of two monkeys playing it in this shape.

In this more developed form, each player has nine men, and plants or "pitches" them down alternately, as at Nine-holes, and with the same object, to get three in a row, and to hinder the opponent from doing the same. When a three is made, the player may take one of his enemy's men off the board. When all the nine men on both sides are placed, they are then moved one place at a time, still with the aim to secure continuous threes, until by constant removals one player is left with only two, when the game is lost. It is a surprisingly good game, and much more skill is needed to play it well than one would think. The wrestles and deadlocks, the strategy in occupying useful stations to secure the threes, and the stiff fight between players at all equal before victory can be scored, must be experienced to be understood.

This is the game to which Shakspeare refers. It is little known in England, except amongst the rustics in country districts, who are of all people those who best conserve old customs and immemorial tradition. The

ease with which men and table can be extemporised has also something to do with it. The lines or stations of the board may be cut in the turf of the common, or scratched on the top of the corn-bin, or chalked on the pavement or floor; whilst the men may be made of anything at hand—sticks and stone, beans and oats, or chalk and coal. Various contributors in *Notes and Queries* write of the game as being known and played in Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Norfolk, and other counties. The name also varies according to local pronunciation. Thus in Dorset it is known as "Marnull" or "Marells"; in Norfolk as "Nine Stone Morris"; while in Wiltshire it has many forms, such as "The Merrils," or "Madell," or yet again, "Medal." Thus, "Elevenpenny Madell" is played on the full board, as in Fig. 4; in "Ninepenny Madell" the diagonals are omitted; "Sixpenny Madell" is played on three triangles, one within the other; and "Threepenny Madell" requires only one square, and is, in fact, the Nine-holes form. The word "penny" refers, not to the coin, but to the pins or pieces.

John Clare, the peasant poet of Northamptonshire, in his "Rural Muses" (1835) speaks of the game as played on the leys, or on the grass at the end of ploughed fields, in a sonnet, "The Shepherd Boy":—

"Pleased in his loneliness he often lies
Telling glad stories to his dog, or e'en
His very shadow, that the loss supplies
Of living company Full oft he'd lean
By pebbled brooks, and dream with happy eyes
Upon the fairy pictures spread below;
Thinking the shadowed prospects real skies
And happy heavens, where his kindred go.
Oft we may track his haunts where he hath been
To spend the leisure which his toils bestow,
By nine-peg-morris nicked upon the green,
Or flower-stuck gardens never meant to grow,
Or figures cut on trees his skill to show
Where he a prisoner from a shower hath been."

The lines for this more advanced game also appear on the stone seats in cathedral cloisters. Mr. St. John Hope

and Mr. Micklethwaite, in the *Archæological Journal*, quote many examples, with woodcuts. Some have the diagonals, some are without. They are found at Norwich Cathedral and Castle, Gloucester, Canterbury, Winchester, Salisbury, and there is a fourteenth century example at Scarborough Castle.

A yet more interesting case comes from Athens, where Mr. Leveson Gower describes a similar board cut in the steps of the Acropolis, and elsewhere in that city. It is not suggested that these incised game-tables in Greece come down from old classic days. It is more likely that they were wrought by the same hands that cut the Runic scroll on the Lion of St. Mark's on the top of the column at Venice, when that animal stood on his original site in the Piræus. The inscription in the scroll has been said to point to the Varangian Guard, and they may have cut the familiar recreation too, to supply them with a favourite table-game.

However that may be, evidence is forthcoming from a most unexpected quarter to connect our old game with the Scandinavians, and to put the date of it four or five centuries further back than anything hitherto known. Many will remember the interest awakened by the discovery of the great Viking ship at Gokstad in 1880, of which a model was exhibited in the "Healtheries" Exhibition held at Earl's Court two or three years later. Within the ship was found a rich store of furniture and equipment to help us to fill in the romantic picture of the life of the old Norse sea-rangers. Professor Nicolaysen, of Christiania Museum, published a full account of the excavation, and a detailed record of all found therein, in a most valuable monograph, with exact and beautiful engravings of all the objects, drawn to scale.

Amongst these illustrations is one called a "Fragment of a Game-board," with incised lines and ornament on both faces of it. On one hand the game was evidently some form of draughts, with many more squares to the line than we have on our modern boards; on the other,

the lines and ornament were not recognised as belonging to any known game. The engraving of it was reproduced in Du Chaillu's "Viking Age," where it figures as "A Fragment of Wood from the Gokstad Ship." A finely-turned playing-piece of dark horn, in the shape of a helmet, was also found hard by the board, together with a candle-stand, the old rover's wooden bedstead, and a number of other personal items and fittings. When the lines and the tiny scrolls at intersecting points are examined, there can be no doubt as to the game that was played on the board. So much is given, that, with the fixed proportions of the squares which decide the playing-table, it is easy to restore the whole. The result may be seen in the illustration (Fig. 5). We have here the earliest trace yet known of our old game of Merelles, or Nine Men's Morris.

We have, therefore, one detail the more to enable us to realise the life of those great seafarers who found King Alfred so much to do in his time; the ninth century being the date assigned by Professor Nicolaysen, for reasons given, to this interesting ship and burial. Brave old adventurer! With hard fights before him in strange lands; with the storm-wind whistling through his spars and rigging; with chronic rheumatism racking his veteran joints—for the doctors report a bony enlargement of them from this cause—he was careful not to lose the chance of sport on his *taflbord*, and carried it with him on his sundry expeditions, even in that last great voyage of all, when he sailed forth into the Great Unknown. And there it lay interred under the clay of Gokstad, with the bones of its worn-out old master.

The Sagas tell us that the hot spirit of the players was shown in their games, no less than in their fighting. They, like certain descendants of theirs, did not take kindly to defeat. King Knut, at Roeskilde, in playing chess with one of his jarls, lost a knight, and wished to have it back; but his antagonist was bent on "playing the game," and rather than yield the point, he lost his

temper, upset the *tafl-bord*, and went off in a fume. On another occasion, Sam Magnusson wanted to withdraw a piece he had exposed, but Thorgils Bodvarsson, his opponent, objected. A friend looking on, who acted as referee, said it was surely better to concede than to quarrel; but Thorgils did not see it in that light. He knocked the game over, put the men in a bag, and smote Sam a blow on the ear that made the blood flow.

As we have seen, the Vikings bore their games with them in their ships. Thus they, no doubt, conveyed them into their new settlements beyond the seas. Was this the way the game came to be known in Greece? Did the Normans derive it from their forefathers of Scandinavia? Do our rustics unknowingly owe their simple sport to those hard years of raid and ravage, when the Norsemen rode through Saxon England with much the same celerity that their Dutch descendants are found displaying to-day in South Africa? There is one old possession of theirs to which they certainly bore it. When the modern board, as figured in Fig. 4, was shown to Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, at Cambridge, he said, "Why, we have this game in Iceland, and we call it 'Mylla'; only in our boards we have not the diagonals at the corners." That is to say, in Iceland, they play the same game that the Vikings took with them to the island. Even in mediæval England we did so too, for several of the examples on the cathedral seats also lack the diagonals; and for the name "Mylla," or "The Mill," Brand mentions that in certain parts he found the game was known as "The Shepherd's Mill."

That fragment of board turning up in the ship at Gokstad justifies us in calling the Nine Men's Morris an old Viking game, and there it must be left. Whether they received it from some earlier civilisation, perhaps from the East, has yet to be ascertained.

In the modern story of the game, it should be mentioned that it was played with living figures at a Floral Fete held at Saffron Walden in connection with Lord

Winchelsea's "Order of Chivalry." It may safely be said that it can never have been played on so large a scale before, as the outer square was 45 feet each way, drawn in lime-white lines on the pleasant green turf of a garden. Nine boys in black, with red sashes and caps, were matched against nine girls in white, with sage-green sashes and bands round their straw hats, and the victory rested with the lady who marshalled the girls. The first four diagrams served as banners, and may be seen in the picture taken at the time, on June 24th, 1897, eighteen months before the further light was shed on the subject by the recognition of the game in the monograph on the Viking ship.

ON A PASSAGE OF "SONAR TOREK" IN THE "EGIL'S SAGA."

By the REV. W. C. GREEN.

READERS of "Egil's Saga" will remember the scene in chap. lxxi., where Egil, in deep grief for the death of his son Bodvar, after refusing to eat or speak for two days, is beguiled by his daughter Thorgerdr into taking food, enduring life, and composing a poem on his son's death. The result is "Sonar Torek," a very remarkable poem, indeed the most remarkable of Egil's poems, and different in much from most Icelandic verse in the Sagas. It has less of war, blows, and bloodshed; it is pathetic, a tone of melancholy runs through the whole. The old father can hardly sing, he says, for grief, is powerless to avenge such a death on the sea that has reft him of his son; he is reminded of his earlier losses of brother, father, mother; his kindred are now as a wasted forest, his friends fail him. Now his loved son is lost, his best and only hope. Odin, god of battles, faithful erewhile, is faithless now: he will worship him no more. The gift of poetry is his only solace; patiently he will wait and welcome death.

In the poem there are difficult and puzzling passages, some doubtless corrupt. Of one curious phrase I am now to put before you an explanation which occurred to me when translating the Saga: an explanation different from what I find in printed commentaries. In stanza 17 is this:—

Byrr er býskips
í bæ kominn,
kvánar son
kynnis leita.

My son is gone
To the home [dwelling,
buildings] of the beeship,
My wife's son
To seek his kin.

Bodvar is gathered to his fathers, is gone to the other world, to the dwelling of departed spirits, to Valhalla, or the like. So much is plainly meant. But what exactly is this word *býskip?* And why is the spirit-world *býskip?* —a word only found here, one may remark.

Vigfússon's Dictionary gives: "*Býskip*, the ship of the bees, *the air, sky* (dubious)." And some think that for the dubious word *býskip* there should be some *personal* name, of Odin probably, so that "to Odin's home" is meant. Those who acquiesce in the word *býskip* explain that "ship of bees" means "home of bees," that which contains the bees; hence, "the upper air, heaven, the region of the happy dead." But air and sky are the abode of so many other things, just as much as, indeed more so than, of bees. And then "ship" is an unusual term for "home or dwelling," and is a curious thing to compare heaven's vault to. Northmen were, it is true, great ship-farers, but yet they did not dwell much upon or make homes of their ships. However, far-fetched comparisons are found not unfrequently, one must own, in Icelandic poetry.

But it occurred to me that *býskip*, if granted to be the text, might be otherwise interpreted. "Skip" and "skep" are old *English* words still in use, with quite other meanings than "ship." "Skip" is a measure for corn or the like; "skep," a basket; especially is "skep" an ordinary old-fashioned straw *beehive*. In many provinces "skep," or "beeskep"—and, I believe, "beeskip"—would be at once understood for "beehive." Is it not possible that Egil's *býskip* may be simply "beeskep," "beehive"?

It appears from dictionaries that it is not so used now. There is *skeppa*, a measure = Dan. *skjeppe*, but no *skip*, except the nautical one. Yet the word *býskip* may surely have been intelligible to Icelanders in this sense; it may have been so used, I urge, by a poet. For the simple word *býr*, "bee," is, according to dictionaries, obsolete in Icelandic, having been supplanted by *býr-fluga*, "bee-fly." But certainly the poet Egil uses *býr* in stanza 15 of "Höfud-lausn," and he uses it metaphorically, as he uses *býskip* here metaphorically. The lines in "Hfdln." are—

Jöfurr sveigði ý, Flugu unda býr. "The king bent his yew, Flew wound-bees"; *i.e.*, his arrows were as stinging bees. Or—

> "King Eric bent his bow of yew,
> Like stinging bees his arrows flew."

"Bee" might be quite intelligible to an Icelander (as any name of a foreign creature might be in England), though he had no bees in Iceland. The word "bee" might be common enough, though imported; so might, as I think, "beeskep" or "beeskip" (it would not matter much to Icelanders whether they used *skep* or *skip*, the more familiar word to them; and very likely all the lot—skep, skip, scoop, skiff, σκαφος, and ship, belong to one stem). And certainly the Icelanders trafficked with England, and one especial article brought by them from England was honey, the produce of bees. Egil, our poet, had twice been in England for a considerable time. So that he may very well have taken the word *býskip* and used it for beehive, as his ships certainly did take honey from our bee-fostering isle.

But now, when Egil says that his son is gone "to the home (or dwelling) of the beehive," there still remains the question, Why does he call the realm of the departed the beehive? He may indeed, possibly, mean (as it has hitherto been explained by commentators) the airy home, the clear sky of the happier plains of heaven, which *largior æther lumine vestit purpureo* (Virgil); Virgil indeed speaks elsewhere of the bees delighting in a *ver sudum*.

But even so, the "*beeskip*=*bee*HIVE" is surely a better figure for the vaulted dome of the sky than "a ship, a travelling vessel," of quite another shape.

If, however, Egil in *býskip* thought of a "beehive," my idea is that he meant to suggest the *swarming number* of the ghosts or spirits tenanting that region or abode. For the multitude of these is a point dwelt on by several poets. Virgil, Dante, Milton, and newly-discovered Bacchylides, all lay stress on these; the ghosts are numerous as leaves in autumn, as migrating flocks of birds: nay, in one case, Milton says of the host of evil spirits in Satan's hall that they swarmed

> "As bees in spring-time, when the sun with Taurus rides,
> Pour forth their populous youth about the hive."

The dead are indeed sometimes termed the *plures*, the majority. And this explanation suits, I think, the tone of the whole poem. The old man mourns the loss of his kin, gone one after another: now Bodvar, his last hope, gone to join the rest.

> "To the dwellings of the swarming beehive
> Is my boy gone.
> My goodwife's child,
> Gone to reseek his kin."

So, in brief, I suggest that by *býskip* Egil means, not the place (air) where *our* earth-born *bees really are*, but the place where, *like bees*, swarm the happy dead.

VIKING NOTES.

THE Viking ship discovered in Tottenham marshes, to which mention was made in the last *Saga-Book*, has not proved, in the upshot, to justify its ascription. It will be remembered that the portion first uncovered was broken up and carried away by a mob. Two-thirds of the ship remained, however, in the ground, and by the kind courtesy of Mr. C. W. Sharrock, in charge of the works of the East London Waterworks Co., on whose ground the vessel was found, the Hon. Editor and a number of Vikings were invited to be present at the unearthing of this latter portion. When completely uncovered, it was found to be a vessel of about 50-ft. length, 9-ft. beam, clinker-built, and its timbers nailed together by strikingly similar nails and rivets to those found in King Gorm's tomb in Denmark and in the Gokstad ship. The sum of the investigations made was, however, unfavourable to its Viking ascription. In the first place, its bottom was moulded much flatter than were those of sea-going ships of the Viking period, which variation was evidently adopted to fit it for navigating shallow waters such as must have been those of the Lea when not artificially confined to a single channel. Further, no signs of rowlocks or oar-holes were to be found. And, finally, the inside ½-in. floor-boards were from 10 to 12 inches in breadth, and evidently saw-cut, whereas the planks of ships of the Viking period are much narrower, thicker, and apparently not saw-cut. Some crockery found with the vessel belonged to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The sum of the evidence consequently pointed to a much later date than the Viking period, and the vessel was probably either a trading barge used formerly to supply the wants of the towns along the Lea and Thames, or else an eel-boat. Under these circumstances its interest to Vikings vanished, and the exhaustive illustrated article which it was intended to devote to it has not been written.

FROM a notice in the daily papers, it appears that what is termed a "Viking" ship was discovered at the latter end of last year (1900) near Lebe, in Pomerania. The vessel is stated to be 43-ft. in length, and was found embedded in swampy ground, the lower part, resting on sand, being well preserved, but the upper part considerably decayed. It has been deposited in the museum at Stettin. Another "ship of the Vikings" is reported to have been found at Satrupholz, near Kiel. She is stated to be about 13-ft. long and 1½-ft. broad, and to have been hollowed out of an oak trunk. The "Viking" origin in this case does not seem very obvious. A dug-out was also discovered at Tottenham marshes, near where the reputed Viking ship was unearthed. It is to be deposited in the British Museum. It is to be observed that the usual ascription of these dug-outs to the British period is not always warranted, for such vessels were made and used by the Anglo-Saxons so late, at least, as the ninth or tenth centuries, as is seen by the reference, in the "Thithrik Saga" version of the "Lay of Wayland," quoted by Prof. Bugge (p. 288), to Velent felling a tree, hollowing out its trunk into a boat, in order to sail away in it over

the sea. Only, one would opine, there was very little seaworthiness in so shallow a craft.

OUR energetic Herath-umboths-man for Hougun and Westmorland, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, is engaged, in connection with the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, in the preparation of a volume of "Pipe-Rolls," or Sheriffs' Annual Accounts, for the two shires named. These pipe-rolls afford invaluable evidence regarding pedigrees, place-names, and local circumstances in the Middle Ages, and it were much to be wished that similar work were undertaken for other parts of the United Kingdom. The volume is being produced by subscription.

READABLE articles by non-members are published from time to time, among which have come under my notice "Wool-spinning in Shetland," by S. B. Hollings, of Calverley, near Leeds, which appeared in the *Wynberg Times*, Cape Colony, and "Women of the Fair Isles," Orkney, published in No. 149 of *Chambers' Journal*. I should be indebted to Vikings throughout the Empire who would call my attention to the occurrence of any such publications. A Miss Muriel A. C. Press has also published a translation of the "Laxdæla Saga" (Dent & Co.).

THE long-delayed work of compiling the Index to the first volume of the *Saga-book* is now in a fair way to be finished, and Vikings will receive it before the end of the year.

DEATH-ROLL.

THE Club has to deplore the loss by death of the following members:—The Chisholm, Jarla-man, a member since 1895; Alex. Sandison (of Lund), J.P., a member since 1892; and J H. Rossal, M.A., a member since 1894.

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