Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. IV.

Saga-Book

OF THE

Viking Club,

OR

SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH

FOUNDED IN 1892 AS

THE ORKNEY, SHETLAND, AND NORTHERN SOCIETY.

VOL. IV.

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ERRATA.

Page 23, line 11. For "Nicholson" *read* "Nicolson."

Page 127, line 14. For "1851" *read* "851."

Pages 147 and 148, lines 20 and 9. For "Colly" *read* "Colley."

Page 151. Add the following at the foot of the page after "over-"—

"lap, when the symbols of the Norse mythology were"

Page 153, line 1. For "harmonized" *read* "homologized."

Pages 155, 156 lines 33, 35, and 1. For "Hatton's Cross" *read* "Halton Cross."

Page 252, line 18. For "Haken" *read* "Hakon."

Page 252, line 20. For "of Halogaland" *read* "or Halogaland."

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VOL. IV. PART I.

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"Reports on the Survey of Norwegian Place-Names."

THE AUTHOR.

"Fortegnelse over de til Bergens Museum i 1903 indkomne Sager ældre end Reformationen." By Haakon Schetelig.

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"Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland." By Gilbert Goudie, F.S.A.Scot.

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"Vikingerne: Billeder fra vore Forfædres Liv." By Alexander Bugge.

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"King William the Wanderer: An old British Saga from old French Versions." By W. G. Collingwood, M.A.

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"The Fisherman's Nautical Almanac and Tidal Tables. A Directory of British and Foreign Fishing Vessels, Steamers, etc." By O. T. Olsen, F.L.S., F.R.G.S.

G. M. ATKINSON.

"Description of the Viking Vessel discovered at Gokstad." By Bryce-Wright.

THE AUTHOR.

"A Ramble round Thetford." Reprinted from *The Antiquary*.

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"Extracts from the oldest Registers of the Parish of Syderstone, Norfolk." Reprinted from the *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society*.

By the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.

OTHER ADDITIONS.

"Singoalla. A Mediæval Legend." By Viktor Rydberg. Translated from the Swedish by Josef Fredbärj. (The Walter Scott Publishing Company.)

"Scottish Fairy and Folk Tales." Edited by Sir George Douglas, Bart. (The Walter Scott Publishing Company.)

"The Nibelungenlied and Gudrun in England and America." By Francis E. Sandbach, B.A., Ph.D. (David Nutt.)

"Traces of the Norse Mythology in the Isle of Man." By P. M. C. Kermode, F.S.A.Scot. (Bemrose & Sons.)

"English Medicine in Anglo-Saxon Times." By J. F. Payne, M.D. (Clarendon Press.)

"The Annals of Scottish Natural History." April, 1904.

VIKING BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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

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"A Hebridean Pilgrimage." Article in *The Reliquary*, October, 1904.

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"Tree and Pillar Worship." Article in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Literature, 1903.

"A Ramble round Thetford." Article in *The Antiquary*, 1903.

By Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D. :—

"Jónas Hallgrimsson et ses Travaux Zoologiques." Paris.

"Tilraunin Danakonunga til að selja Ísland." Article in *Tímarit hins Íslenzka Bókmentafélags.*

"The Constitutional Struggle in Iceland." Articles in *Verdens Gang*, Christiania; *Aftonbladet*, Stockholm; *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin; and *The Times*, London.

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"Landnâm i Norge: en Utsigt over Bosætningens Historie." By Dr. Andr. M. Hansen. Kristiania.

"La Saga de Fridthjof le Fort traduite de l'ancien Islandais. Précédée d'une Étude sur la Saga de Fridthjof et accompagnée d'un Commentaire et d'une Notice sur les *Rímur*." By Félix Wagner, Docteur en Philologie Germanique. Louvain.

Articles by Gudmund Schütte :—

"Über die alte politische Geographie der nicht-klassischen Völker Europas" in *Zeitschrift für Indogermanische Sprach und Altertumskunde*, 1903. Strassburg.

"Anganty-Kvadets Geografi" in *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi*, 1904. Lund.

"Om Racenavnet og Racetanken" in *Norden*, 1904. Copenhagen.

Articles by
Miss B. S. Philpotts on "Surt," and by
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REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

TWELFTH SESSION, 1904.

MEETING, JANUARY 15TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

THE President gave his inaugural address on "Research," which is printed on another page. The address was followed by a conversazione, at which Mr. E. Swain showed some Norwegian woven work and carvings, and various members and friends played and sang.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 12TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

A paper by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., F.R.S.L., on "Scandinavian *Motifs* in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Ornamentation," was read, and is reproduced in this issue, together with the discussion thereon.

A paper by the Rev. E. Maule Cole, M.A., F.G.S., on "The Place-Name Wetwang," was also read, and is included in this number.

MEETING, MARCH 11TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

A paper by Mr. E. Hailstone, F.R.Hist.S., on "Traces of Danish Conquest and Settlement in Cambridgeshire," was read.

A paper by Mr. M. Mackenzie Charleson, F.S.A., Scot., on "Some Anthropological Notes from Orkney," was also read.

Both papers, with the discussion upon them, are printed in this number.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 15TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 15th, 1904, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1904 were presented to the meeting and unanimously adopted, and are printed on pages 12-17. The Officers of the Club for the ensuing year were also elected.

Dr. J Lawrence then read Part II. of his paper on "Metres in the Sæmundar Edda," which was followed by a discussion, in which the following took part: Messrs. G. M. Atkinson, A. F. Major, J. P. Emslie, the President and the Lecturer.

The complete paper is unavoidably held over till the next SAGA-BOOK.

ANNUAL DINNER, APRIL 18TH.

The Annual Dinner was held at the Inns of Court Hotel on Monday, 18th April, 1904, at 7-30 p.m., the following being present:—Dr. J. G. Garson, President, in chair; Vice-Chairmen, Messrs. G. M. Atkinson and E. M. Warburg, Vice-Presidents; the Lady Abinger and Friend, Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., and Mrs. Wason, Mrs. Garson, Mr. and Mrs. Bishop, Mr. G. Goudie, Vice-President, Miss Müller, Miss Leslie, Mr. and Miss Rücker, Mr. A. W. Johnston, Mr. Leveson Scarth and Miss Scarth, Mr. Ingram Moar, Mr. Alfred Noyes, the Hon. Mrs. Randolph Clay, Dr. and Mrs. Pernet, Mr. Otto Hagborg, Mrs. and Miss Warburg, Mrs. Atkinson, Colonel Hobart, Vice-President, Mr. Brækstad, Vice-President, and Mrs. Brækstad, Miss Olive Bray, Mr. and Mrs. Major, Miss Ragnhild Lunde, Mr. W. F Kirby, Mr. E. Sloper, Dr. Laughton, Miss M. Hodgson, Mr. F. W. Downing, Mr. D'Arcy, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, and Mr. J. P. Emslie.

The dinner was followed by an entertainment, at which the following assisted:—Mrs. A. F. Major and Mr. Man-

sell Stevens (piano), Miss Ragnhild Lunde (Norwegian songs), Mr. Robert Dennant (baritone), Mr. Charles Bulwar (conjurer).

VISIT TO CAMBRIDGE, MAY 28TH.

On Saturday, May 28th, 1904, a party of about fifty members and friends visited Cambridge under the direction of Mr. E. Sloper, F.G.S., Excursion Secretary. The party was received on arrival by the Rev. J. W. E. Conybeare, Mr. J. E. Foster, Hon. Secretary of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Miss Foster, and other members of the Society. Under the guidance of Mr. Conybeare, who kindly acted as cicerone to the party, visits were paid to the FitzWilliam Museum and the Museum of Local and General Archæology, where the Curator, Baron von Hügel, exhibited the fine collection of Saxon and other antiquities. A visit was then paid to St. Benet's Church, where Mr. Conybeare drew attention to certain features of the building which probably dated back to pre-Norman times, and read a paper on the "Saxon and Danish Antiquities of Cambridge and its Neighbourhood." The University Library was next visited, where Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, Vice-President, exhibited some rare manuscripts of the Sagas, early printed Sagas, and other treasures of the library, and gave a brief discourse on Danish and other Scandinavian palæography. Luncheon was served in the Common Room of St. John's College, by permission of the Master and Fellows of the College. In the afternoon visits were paid to King's College Chapel, Trinity College Library, the bridges and backs of the Colleges, and other features of interest. By the kind invitation of Mr. and the Misses Foster, members had tea in their charming garden, secluded in the very heart of the town. After tea Mr. E. Sloper read a paper on the Danish settlement at Cambridge.

The paper read by the Rev. Mr. Conybeare is included in this issue. Mr. Sloper's paper will appear in a future number.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 18TH.

DR. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Vice-President, read a paper on "Ship-building and Nautical Terms of Old in the North," which is reproduced in the present issue.

VISIT TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM, DECEMBER 10TH.

On Saturday, December 10th, 1904, a special visit to the British Museum was paid by members of the Club and friends to the number of nearly fifty, under arrangements made by Mr. Edwin Sloper, F.G.S., Excursion Secretary. After assembling in the Great Hall the Coin Room was first visited, where Mr. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., exhibited and described the coins in the collection likely to be of special interest to members of the Club, such as coins struck in England by the Danish kings of Northumbria, in imitation of Anglo-Saxon coins, as well as other English coins of the Viking Age. The Gold Ornament Room and the Anglo-Saxon Room were afterwards visited, and Mr. Reginald A. Smith, B.A., exhibited and remarked upon the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon jewellery of the Viking Age in the collection, and other relics of the period, including the fine collection of Scandinavian swords found in the Thames.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING, DECEMBER 10TH.

DR. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

A Special General Meeting was held in the King's Weigh House Rooms, on December 16th, 1904, at 8 p.m., when the following resolutions were passed:—

(*a*) That (1) Entrance Fee of 11/- be charged from January 1st, 1905. (2) Life Subscription of £10 to include Entrance Fee. (3) Members who have

paid 5 and 10 Annual Subscriptions may compound for £8 and £6 respectively. (4) Members to be allowed to pay Life Subscription by instalments, and Libraries to compound for a limited number of Annual Subscriptions, as shall be fixed by the Council. (5) Members ceasing to belong to this Club before completion of their Life Instalments, may, upon re-election, resume and complete same.

(*b*) All Entrance Fees, Life Subscriptions and Instalments, and Compositions, to be invested in an Endowment Fund, in the name of Trustees, in Government or other approved stock, and the interest to be alone available for the Annual Expenditure of the Club.

(*c*) That there shall be one or more Hon. Editors, that the office of Honorary Convener shall be included in that of Honorary Secretary, and the various duties be re-arranged by the Council.

(*d*) That the Council amend the Law-Book in accordance with the foregoing resolutions.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., Vice-President, then read a paper on "King William the Wanderer," which is reproduced in this issue.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL.

METHODS OF WORK.

During the year 1903 the work of the Club included:—The holding of seven Meetings for the reading and discussion of Papers on Northern subjects; a visit to Lambeth Palace Library, etc.; the social function of the Annual Dinner; adding to the Library and Museum; the appointment of District Secretaries and a Committee for the Survey of Orkney Place-Names; and the continuation of the Book Agency.

The Council recommend that the work of the Club should be continued on similar lines during the forthcoming year.

MEETINGS.

The following Meetings were held and Papers read during the year 1903:—

January 9th.—Old Yule Meeting. Reading of the late Miss Beatrice H. Barmby's Play, "Gísli Súrsson," founded on the Icelandic "Gisla Saga."

January 23rd.—"The Saga of Gunnlaug Ormstunga," with original ballads founded on the Saga. Rev. W. C. Green, M.A., Hon. District Secretary for East Anglia.

"Some Account of a Danish Camp on the Ouse (Bedfordshire), with a hithe or naust." A. R. Goddard, M.A.

February 22nd.—"The Oriental Character of the Havamal." W. F. Kirby, Vice-President.

March 20th.—"Metres in the Sæmundar Edda." J. Lawrence, D.Lit.Lond.

April 24th.—"Orkney Folklore." George Marwick, Hon. District Secretary for Sandwick, Orkney, and A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., Hon. Treasurer, etc.

November 20th.—"Discovery of a Pre-historic Sun-Chariot in Denmark." Dr. Karl Blind, Vice-President.

December 18th.—"Some Notes on the Norsemen in Argyllshire and on the Clyde." R. L. Bremner, M.A., B.L.

"The Lay of Thrym," translated from "Þrymskviða." The late Miss Beatrice H. Barmby.

SUMMER VISITS.

Special notice will be sent to Members of such visits as may be arranged.

ANNUAL DINNER.

The Annual Dinner was held on Monday, April 27th, 1903, at the Criterion Restaurant, and was attended by forty Members and friends. The chair was taken by Dr. J. G. Garson, President; and Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Vice-President, acted as Vice-Chairman. The

dinner was followed by a selection of vocal and instrumental music, contributed by Miss Tora Hwaas (Swedish Folk Melodies), Dr Pernet (songs), Mr. A. W. Johnston (Orkney songs), and Mr. W. Mansell Stevens (pianoforte solos).

SAGA-BOOK AND PUBLICATIONS.

The *Saga-Book* for 1902 has been issued to all Members for 1902 and to Members elected in 1903.

The *Saga-Book* for 1903 is now in the printer's hands, and will be issued in April, to Members who have paid their subscription.

A Prospectus will be issued for the Second Volume of the Translation Series.

A Prospectus will be issued for a Bibliography of Northern Literature by Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Members having works to publish should communicate with the Hon. Secretary.

The following Members have been appointed a Publications Committee: G. M. Atkinson, W. G. Collingwood, Dr. J. G. Garson, A. W. Johnston, A. F. Major, F. T. Norris.

PAPERS FOR MEETINGS.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. A. F. Major, "Bifröst," 30, The Waldrons, Croydon, will be glad to hear from any Members who are prepared to read Papers before the Club, or to receive suggestions as to Non-Members who might be invited to read Papers; also to be informed of any works or articles by Members, or others, bearing on the studies of the Club.

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

The collection of books and antiquities remains in the temporary charge of Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., as Hon. Librarian. A catalogue is in preparation, and will be issued to Members when completed. The Hon. Librarian will be glad to receive gifts of books and antiquities to the Library and Museum, and cases for books and exhibits.

BOOK AGENCY.

The Book Agency for the sale (to Members) of new works on Northern subjects has proved useful and profitable, and is now fully established. Printed lists of works will be issued periodically.

The Council have arranged with Mr. Francis Edwards, Bookseller, 83, High Street, Marylebone, London, W., to supply Members with works out of print and general literature.

HONORARY DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

The following have been appointed Honorary District Secretaries for the districts named:—

Aberdeen—Archer Irvine-Fortescue.
Iceland—Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Norway—Miss M. Rohrweger.
,, Haakon Schetelig.
Orkney—Rev. Alex. Goodfellow.
Shetland—Thomas Mathewson.

SURVEY OF ORKNEY PLACE-NAMES.

The Council appointed a Committee of Members to consider a proposal made by Mr. A. W. Johnston for the survey and collection of Orkney place-names. The Committee met in Orkney in October, and approved the scheme. The Ordnance Survey Department have placed copies of their maps at the disposal of the Committee. Printed forms for collection will be supplied by the Club. Committee:—*Chairman:* J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A.Scot., Kirkwall. *Vice-Chairman:* Magnus Spence, Deerness, Orkney. *Members:* W. P. Drever, J. G. Moodie Heddle, of Cletts; Dr. J. Jakobsen, A. W. Johnston, J. Johnston, of Coubister; Duncan J. Robertson, W. G. T. Watt, of Breckness.

MEMBERSHIP.

During the year 1903 the Club has not lost any Members, while fifty-one Subscribing, five Honorary and two Honorary Corresponding Members, and five Honorary District Secretaries, a total of sixty-three Members, have been added to the roll, and the exchange of *Proceedings* arranged with two Societies.

The issue of the Prospectus in 1903, costing £30 12s. 1d., resulted in a gain of fifty-one new Members, contributing £36 10s. in subscriptions and £39 3s. for back works, or a clear surplus of £45 0s. 11d., while providing a permanent revenue of £25 10s. in annual subscriptions.

The following is an analysis of the present Membership of the Club:—

Elected.	*Non-Subscribing Members (Honorary Members and Hon District Secretaries).*	*Subscribing Members.*	*Societies Exchanging Proceedings.*
1892	12	4	—
1893	9	4	—
1894	4	29	—
1895	3	7	—
1896	2	3	—
1897	2	5	—
1898	2	5	—
1899	1	4	—
1900	3	2	—
1901	2	14	3
1902	2	40	2
1903	12	51	2
1904	0	2	2
	54	170	9
TOTAL	...	... 233	

There are twenty-seven Hon. District Secretaries, fourteen of whom are non-subscribers, seven Honorary Members are regular subscribers, so that there are 177 subscribing Members in all, two of whom have compounded for life.

The ordinary income and expenditure of the Club is therefore estimated as follows:—

INCOME.	£	s.	d.	*EXPENDITURE.*	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions, 175 at 10/-	87	10	0	Working Expenses	36	0	0
Interest on Compounded Subscription & Reserve	1	0	0	Printing *Saga-Book*	71	0	0
Gifts	5	10	0				
Interest on Bank A/c. Sale of Back Works Profit on Book Sales New Subscriptions	13	0	0				
	£107	0	0		£107	0	0

The Council would impress upon Members the importance of enlisting more Members. An increase of Members, while not materially augmenting the working expenses of the Club, would provide funds for enlarging the publications. Names and addresses of others interested in the work of the Club, and printed lists of Members of other Societies, should be sent to the Hon. Convener.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year ending December 31st, 1903, is appended.

The Club Banking Account has been transferred to the Birkbeck Bank, in order to obtain 2 % allowed on current account when not drawn below £100.

Adopted by the Council,

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Chairman.*

March 4th, 1904.

Adopted by the Annual General Meeting,

J. G. GARSON, *President.*

April 15th, 1904.

ACCOUNT OF THE FUNDS OF THE VIKING CLUB.

FROM JANUARY 1st TO DECEMBER 31st, 1903.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance from 1902—Bank	155 0 7	
Cash in hand	0 16 10	
		155 17 5
Subscriptions, 1899 (1)	0 10 0	
,, 1900 (1)	0 10 0	
,, ,, 1901 (1)	0 10 0	
,, 1902 (8)	4 0 0	
,, 1903 (138)	69 4 8	
,, 1904 (49)	24 12 6	
		99 7 2
,, Gifts 1903 (15)	9 0 2	
,, 1904 (4)	2 19 2	
		11 19 4
,, Interest Deposit Account, Feb. 20th—March 31st ...		0 0 10
,, Compounded Subscription (1)		10 0 0
,, Subscription in Advance to Publications Account...		0 12 6
,, Sale of *Saga-Books*		46 18 0
,, Subscriptions to Translation Series, Vol. I. (6)		1 10 0
,, Reprints from *Saga-Book*, Vol. III., Part II.		5 11 6
,, Annual Dinner, Sale of Tickets (43) ...		11 16 6
,, Sale of Books		59 8 6
,, Cash advanced by Hon. Treasurer ...		4 18 8
		£408 0 5

By Working Expenses:—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Bank Books and Cheques	0 6 0	
Bank Charges	0 2 3	
Commission to Trade for Collecting Subscriptions	0 10 6	
Miscellaneous Printing and Stationery	18 10 6	
Postage, etc.:— £ s. d.		
Hon. Treasurer and *Librarian* ... 8 6 2		
Editor 0 10 0		
,, Convener 1 3 8		
,, Sec., 1902 and 1903 ... ... 3 8 2		
Assistant Sec. 5 16 0		
	19 4 0	
Fire Insurance Premium	0 18 0	
Assistant Secretary's Honorarium	2 2 0	
Rent of Rooms, Nov., 1901—May, 1903... ...	3 6 6	
Refreshments at Meetings	2 0 3	
		47 0 0
Library, Catalogue Outfit.	1 1 0	
Purchase of Books	0 16 5	
		1 17 5
Translation Series, Vol. I., for Subscribers ...		22 10 0
,, Expenses Annual Dinner, including Printing, etc....		9 18 6
,, *Saga-Book*, Vol. II., Part III., Engraving ...		7 0 2
Vol. III., Part II., *Printing*, Illustrating, and Posting		51 8 9
,, Reprints from *Saga-Book*, Vol. III., Part II. ...		8 3 3
,, Purchase of Books for Sale		53 11 4
Prospectus (13,100 copies), Printing	15 2 6	
Postage and Addressing	15 9 7	
		30 12 1
,, Balance in Bank, Current Account	145 18 7	
,, Deposit	30 0 4	
		175 18 11
		£408 0 5

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

The Books of the Club have been examined and found correct, February, 1904. W. V. M. POPHAM, J. STIRLING ROSS, } *Hon. Auditors.*

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31st, 1903.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
To *Saga-Book*, Vol. III., Part III., Printing, Illustrating, Postage, and Reprints	71	0	0
, "Thing-Steads," Printing and Illustrating (Horsford Fund)	47	6	0
"Saga Studies" (Major Fund)	5	0	0
,, Purchase of Books for Sale	1	10	0
Rent of Rooms, November—December, 1903 ...	1	0	0
Compounded Subscriptions (2)	20	0	0
,, Subscriptions and Gifts for 1904 paid in 1903	27	11	8
Subscription in advance to Publication Account ...	0	12	6
Cash advanced by Hon. Treasurer ...	4	18	8
Balance, being Surplus at December 31st, 1903, of which for :—			
Library, Museum, Stationery, Blocks, etc.... ... ... £162 15 0			
Books for Sale in Stock ... 6 6 11			
Saga-Books in Stock 239 0 0			
Balance to 1904 ... ... 8 8 1			
	416	10	0
	£595	8	10

ASSETS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Subscriptions, 1902 (2)	1	0	0			
, 1903 (14)	7	0	0			
				8	0	0
Interest on Current and Deposits Bank Accounts to December, 1903				1	15	6
Books Sold				0	14	2
, *Saga-Books* Sold				0	18	4
, Balance in Bank				175	18	11
, Library, Museum, Stationery, Blocks, insured at				162	15	0
, Books for Sale in Stock at net cost				6	6	11
Saga-Books in Stock				239	0	0
				£595	8	10

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Hon. Treasurer*

REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

ENGLAND.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

THE Rev. Canon J. Clare Hudson, District Secretary, Horncastle, sends us, with the kind permission of the author, the following outline of a paper read by the Rev. Alfred Hunt, M.A., Vicar of Welton by Lincoln, before the British Association at Cambridge in August last on:—

BRUNANBURH: IDENTIFICATION OF THIS BATTLE SITE IN NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE.

NO modern historian of repute is able to name the site of this famous battle of the tenth century—fought between the Saxon king Athelstan on the one hand and Anlaff the Dane and Constantine, King of Scotland, on the other—though most are agreed as to the importance and greatness of the battle. The numbers engaged are supposed to have been over 120,000, and the result of the battle was to raise England in the councils of Europe to a position never reached before. The present paper suggests reasons for the belief that this battlefield is to be found in North Lincolnshire, at the hamlet of Burnham, in the parish of Thornton Curtis, within four miles of the Humber.

Geographical considerations send us at once to the river Humber and district in search of the lost site, while many of the old writers agree in saying that Anlaff entered the mouth of the Humber, and that the battle was fought near by, though silent as to where Anlaff landed and encamped. Now, as is evident from the form of the river Humber, this landing must be placed between Spurn

Head and the junction of the Ouse and the Trent, either on the Lincolnshire or Yorkshire side; and it is probable, from the statements regarding the number of Anlaff's vessels (615) and troops, that he divided his forces, sending a portion against the Saxon outpost at Brough (the Roman Petuaria), on the Yorkshire side, and also effecting a landing at Barrow Haven, a tidal and navigable stream on the Lincolnshire coast.

At Barrow Haven there are extensive earthworks of the usual Danish form of construction for an entrenched position, covering an area of eight acres, and locally called Barrow Castles. It is suggested that these were thrown up by Anlaff on landing. South of Barrow Castles, and four miles away, is the hamlet of Burnham, believed by the writer to be the true site of the Battle of Brunanburh.

At Burnham extensive lines of entrenchments, covering over sixty-four acres, of a totally different character from those at Barrow, are still to be seen, while local tradition has always said this was a great battlefield. There is a perennial stream at the rear of the camp, which was the only surface-spring known for seven miles across the Lincolnshire Wolds. In Domesday Survey this hamlet is entered as Brune in the parish of Thornton Curtis, while in the "Welsh Chronicle of the Princes" and in the "Annales Cambriæ" the battle is called the Battle at Brune. Adding to this name the possessive termination, *an*, together with the Anglo-Saxon "burh" (camp or earthwork), we at once have the long-lost word Brun-an-burh.

From this camp, burh, or earthwork the two main Saxon roads from the west and south of England, called Ermine Street and Fosse Way, are available for Athelstan's support. At Castlethorpe, a few miles south-west, and near the present town of Glamford Brigg, which commands the only place of crossing the river Ancholme, are extensive earthworks of a similar nature to those at Burnham. Here was discovered, in 1884, a Danish raft, constructed like the famous Gokstad boat, or Viking ship.

The best geographical description of the land and place

of battle is given in "Egil's Saga." This tells us Athelstan came northwards to repel the invasion by the Humber; that the battle took place by Vin-heath, or Vinwood; and that the land sloped towards the north. North of the heath stood a town occupied by Anlaff and Constantine. South of the heath was another town, to which Athelstan came, and to which he returned after the battle.

All these conditions are fulfilled in the case of Burnham. The town in the north is Barrow, that in the south Glamford Brigg; the ground slopes north from Burnham; there is still one field of Vin or Whin left; while the whole of the south and west of England would be open for the arrival of Athelstan's supporters.

The battle was a final struggle for supremacy between the North and South, resulting in favour of the South.

East Anglia.

The Rev. W. C. Green, M.A., District Secretary, writes:—

I CAN only give a few notes this time, more or less Vikingian in character.

Boasting Matches.

Mann-jafnaðr, "comparisons, boasting matches." Those who have read the Saga of King Sigurd, who travelled to Jerusalem, will recollect how he and his brother Eystein had a dialogue, comparing their respective exploits in war and peace. The match ended in both becoming angry: neither thought himself beaten.

But it is curious that such boasting matches appear to have been the practice in other lands. A short time ago, in a note of Professor Kirkpatrick on Psalm cxxvii. 5, "They shall not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate," I read this: "Professor Bevan suggests that the allusion may be to 'boasting

matches,' like the *Mufachara* of the Arabs. Even in times of peace it was a common occurrence in Arab society for poets to engage in such rivalries. In such contests the strength of a family would naturally form an important element."

I think that the Psalmist most likely means (as Dr. Kirkpatrick says) that a father of stalwart sons runs no risk of being wronged by powerful enemies through the maladministration of justice: but it is interesting to know that there was in the East something corresponding to the *Mann-jafnaðr* of the North.

INVULNERABILITY.

One reads of Berserks and the like, upon whom weapons would not bite. Swords in those days, say some, were of poor, ill-tempered metal, and not keen. Very likely. But legends of men with bodies that could not be wounded are found long before the Saga period, and in other lands. Ovid (in "Metam." xii. 84) tells of Cycnus, whom Achilles could not wound:

> His spear steel-pointed all in vain he shot
> He smote the breast with shock, but pierced it not.

And again, when Cæneus is assailed by the Centaurs:

> No blood they draw; Cæneus, unpierced by all,
> Unwounded stands; their weapons blunted fall.

PICTURE-WRITING.

A girl in a neighbouring village, some sixty years since, having received a letter from a swain asking her to walk out with him o' Sundays, being a slow penwoman, enclosed in an envelope a straight little stick and a wisp from a sheep's fleece, meaning: "I wool."

A proverb told me by a farmeress here a few months ago: "Dream of eggs, sign of anger." Why?

SOMERSETSHIRE.

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

BATTLE BURIAL, PROBABLY OF DANES.

IN the course of opening out a new heading for the quarry close under the ancient hillfort near Combwich, on the Parrett, presumably built to guard the ford once existing there, a further disinterment of skeletons was necessarily made. It may be remembered [1] that this site is claimed by Dr. Clifford and his adherents as the most probable location of the battle of "Kynwich castle," where Hubba was defeated and slain by Alfred's Devon levies. Some seven skeletons in all were uncovered and, as in cases already reported, the evidence of battlefield burial was well marked. The interments are in long shallow trenches, and the bodies have been carelessly, and apparently hastily, thrown in. They overlap here and there, and are occasionally reversed. One or two of the crania bore evident proof of the cause of death, the temporal bone in one case being gashed by some heavy weapon, either sword or seax, wielded from behind and by a left-handed man; in another case an arrow had perforated the base of the occipital bone while the man must have been retreating uphill. The local tradition of a rout of the Danes here, which bears out the statements of the chroniclers, would therefore seem to be correct. No wargear is found with the slain. Probably they were stripped by the victorious Saxons, or else by their own reserves, who are recorded to have "held the field," though they were too late to prevent the disaster. The soil, however, is not of a nature to preserve metal. The skeletons are all of well developed and most muscular men, several being over six feet in height. In two cases the skulls were of extreme thickness, and I should be glad to know if this peculiarity has been re-

[1] SAGA-BOOK, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 165-166, 174-175.

corded in the case of Danish interments of similar date elsewhere.

LATE USE OF RUNES IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

Although unconnected with this district, I should like to draw the attention of the members to what I think is an unnoticed statement of some interest in Gibson's notes on Cumberland, in his edition of "Camden's Britannia" (Page 843, ed. 1695, folio).

In discussing the inscriptions on the Bewcastle Cross he prints in full a letter on the subject from Dr. William Nicholson, written in 1695. The writer, after giving his own translation of the runes, adds as an instance of the persistence of superstitions derived from their "Danish" pagan ancestors among the Borderers, that

> A Gentleman in the Neighbourhood showed me a Book of Spells and Magical Receipts taken (two or three days before) in the Pocket of one of our Moss-troopers. Wherein, among many other Conjuring Feats, was prescribed a certain remedy for an Ague, by applying a few barbarous characters to the body of the person distempered. These, methought, were very near akin to Wormius's RAMRUNER, which he says differ wholly in figure and shape from the common Runae.[1]

He then adds a quotation or two from Wormius, on the use of Ramruner, and concludes—

> I shall not trouble you with a draught of the spell, because I have not yet had the opportunity of learning if it may not be an ordinary one, and to be met with in Paracelsus or Cornelius Agrippa, and among others of the same nature.

This omission is greatly to be lamented. It is far more probable, as indeed the writer would seem to think, that the mosstrooper used an ancient and traditional copy of actual runes, than that he had transcribed from the classical writers mentioned. If so, the letter is a valuable proof of the persistence of written runes, among other "Danish" superstitions, at a far later date than one has imagined possible, at least in England; though perhaps there is

[1] Olaus Wormius, "Fasti Danici," lib. i., cap. i.

no reason why we should not have used them in the Norse-settled counties contemporaneously with the manufacture of the Runic stave calendars of Scandinavia.

SHETLAND.

UNST.

Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby, Vice-President, District Secretary, Baltasound, sends the following report on:—

SACRED SITES IN A SHETLAND ISLE.[1]

TRADITION has it that there were at one time about twenty kirks in the Isle of Unst. This island is about fourteen miles long, and about seven miles broad at its widest. For centuries its population has been sparse. The people were poor, the isles insignificant; superstitious rites and beliefs held sway over the natives. They hated alien races, and had good reason to suspect later teachers than their heathen ancestors. The neighbouring Isles of Yell and Fetlar are said to have been as well supplied with kirks as Unst. We speak of those three as the "North Isles." If the mainland and its adjacent isles are also crowded with kirks I do not know. But it is evident that ancient usages, language, superstitions and beliefs lingered longer in our North Isles than elsewhere. It is also plain that contact with other folk was not so continuous, and did not influence our part of Shetland so much as it did the rest of the isles.

People have a careless way of interpreting folklore. I have always doubted the assertion that there were "twenty Christian chapels in Unst," and I think recent investigation bears me out in this. I discussed these interesting themes with our local antiquary, Mr. Andrew Anderson, and Mr. John Fraser, an Orcadian, whose keen observation and patient research have been rewarded by valuable discoveries here and elsewhere. Our frequent and ardent exchange of ideas led us to decide that we

[1] We have just learned that this Report has also been sent to *The Antiquary*, where it appears as an article in the number for April, 1905.—ED.

would make pilgrimage to the reputed kirk "steedes" (sites), and gather such fragments of folklore and other remains as might yet be found in these localities.

It is true that many had been before us to those sacred "steedes"; some in search of buried treasure, others to grab such relics as report had it were there; many to appropriate stones for building purposes. But, as far as I can ascertain, only a very few had made careful observations for the pious purpose of preserving for the future those remains of a buried past. Indeed, such learned men as visited these sites seem to have set the worst example of any, for they excavated and turned over cairns and standing-stanes, kirks and brochs, and replaced nothing, nor took any steps to preserve the ruins. I cannot ascertain that any person has prosecuted such research with patient intelligence, and given the result to the world in a permanent conclusive form. I speak of what has to do with Unst only. And now to return to our kirks. I append the notes Mr. Fraser made on the spot, supplemented by those of Mr. Anderson, who helped me to finish the circuit after our Orcadian coadjutor was obliged to leave. Interspersed with these notes are a few of my own independent observations.

I.—Bartle's Kirk, Norwick.

Most northerly known in Shetland, situated on slope of hill, amid cultivated land. Foundation, owing to running down of soil, many feet below surface. Four upright stones at site, probably Norse. No well-dressed stones in neighbourhood, only a few stones from Braewick about. Braewick stone is a fine sandstone of a slatey nature, much valued for "sharpening-stones," etc. It is easily worked and shaped. There is a stone basin, supposed to be a baptismal font, built in yard dyke. Basin two and a half feet long, oval, scolloped out, about a foot in depth, and two feet long, by fifteen inches wide. Another stone basin, supposed for holy water, is shown. It is broken, and was used for a pig's trough.

A "holy well" existed twenty yards below site of chapel. It is now filled up, as dangerous for children. There were steps down it. Many stone relics were found here, such as handle of what appears to be a stone axe; a stone with incised hole and rough moulding; a square clibber-stone dish, circular inside, nearly complete. There was also found a lump of clay with clear impression of man's naked feet, short and broad. This clay model was covered with a flat stone, and had an upright stone at end to protect clay from pressure. There is no clay in the soil, so that used for this purpose must have been brought there. The folk surmised this was the foot-print of some holy man.

About fifty yards from chapel an empty kist was found, formed of four stone slabs, short and deep, as Norse kists are. Bones and ashes were found at some depth below foundation of chapel. No trace of Christian burial. A family named Henderson live in the cottage adjoining, and being very intelligent people, they have preserved such relics as they found. Some of these were purloined from the old man by a laird.

II.—Kirk o' Virse, Norwick.

The foundation is clearly traceable in the burying-ground, which the people still use. Walls of surrounding cottages contain large numbers of well-dressed stones from Braewick, which is a place at some distance from Virse. There are a number of crosses in the burying-ground. One good specimen with incised crosses, one with raised cross; all of very ancient type. Several fine ones have disappeared, been stolen. One antiquarian thief was caught in the act, and compelled to bring back the stone. Minute bits of broken pottery and burnt bones have been found at a depth below site of chapel as well as elsewhere in the enclosure. Outline of ancient circular wall can be traced in part. Kirk o' Virse was in use long after Bartle's Kirk was in ruins.

III.—Kirk o' Boden, Haroldswick.

Burying-ground is still in use. Foundation of chapel quite distinct. One old tombstone inside chapel walls was uncovered by Mr. Fraser. This stone seems to have escaped observation previously. The lower end is broken, but otherwise the stone is intact, and the raised carving is clear and beautifully formed. There are two angel-figures, each having a hand outstretched with a scroll, and these nearly meet over what seems a cherub of the usual type—infant head, with wings attached. There is a large lying tombstone in the graveyard, raised from the ground on freestone pedestals. It is engraved with what we conjectured was a coat of arms. St. Andrew's cross in right panel. There is a lengthy inscription in raised letters, but not decipherable. Below the inscription death's head, crossbones, and hour-glass quite distinct. This is the reputed grave of a laird, who was cursed by a widow he had evicted. She prayed that his name might perish, and grass never grow on his grave. Though the stone is raised from the surface of the tomb no grass grows beneath. The man's name is lost.

IV.—Cross Kirk, Clibberswick.

This chapel was in use one hundred and twenty years ago. Foundation of chapel still distinct. Long a place of pilgrimage. Coins found quite lately in the wall. No trace of burial near the surface. I think that examination of the steede might well reward the investigator. Not far from Cross Kirk is Crusgeo,[1] where Mr. Fraser found what (for lack of a more descriptive term) he called a Viking cup.[2] Later research rewarded us with interesting remnants, such as burnt bones (human and animal), scraps of pottery, and human bones, that had *not* been subjected to fire. We found no shell-fish or fish-bones,

[1] Crusgeo. So pronounced, but evidently a corruption of "Cross-geo."
[2] See Saga-Book, vol. iii., pp. 21, 22.

as are usually found in ancient middens here. There is a circular steede near the brow of the cliff at Crusgeo.

V.—KIRKHOOL, BALTASOUND.

There is nothing here to indicate that a chapel ever existed. The name only tells that some sort of holy place was there, but of what age it is impossible to guess. Kirkhool is situated at the head of the Voe terminating Baltasound, amid crofts, etc., and the whole neighbourhood has been so long under cultivation, the stones removed for building with, and tradition suppressed, that we can only say the name implies that a kirk, or temple, was on, or near, the knowe ("hool" means "knowe").

VI.—KIRK O' BALIASTAE, SCRAEFIELD.

This kirk was in use as late as 1822, but when it was first built is another story. The building is of different periods. In Hibbert's admirable book on his visit to Shetland he says, "I arrived on the Sabbath morning, the natives of the vale were all in motion on the way to the kirk of Baliastae." He attended the service, and describes at length what he calls "the convulsive fits to which the religious congregations of Shetland are subject."

This kirk, like others, had a saint's name. One authority gives one list of saints to whom the Unst kirks were dedicated, and another wiseacre gives a different list. The Protestants who quietly possessed themselves of the Shetland kirks would doubtless ban the saint's name, and so it would be lost. Perhaps a correct list could be got from Norway, as Shetland was long, ecclesiastically, under the bishops of that country.

No ancient relics have been found in this kirk or kirkyard, but close by, at the Ha' o' Scraefield, there existed, till a few years ago, the site of an ancient lawting (Hibbert saw it). The three concentric circles, the tumulus in the centre, the burned bones found under debris, clearly show this to have been one of the important

temples of heathen times, of which Hibbert correctly says: "These sites of ground were intended for popular juridical assemblies religious rites were also mingled witn the duties of legislation." No vestige of the lawting is left now: of late years the stones were taken for building.

The folk say that there was another kirk at Baliastae. Some curious little chambers were accidentally found some years ago in that neighbourhood, but no examination was made. There is a croft there called Broch, which indicates that there was a broch near, but I can hear of no tradition connected with it.

VII.—Kirk o' Sandwick.

Traces of foundation of reputed chapel on shore beside the sands. The spot is called Milya-skera. Encroachments of the sea on loose soil has removed most of the foundation. West end remaining. Lot of ashes under foundation. Further north along shore is the steede of a house, with a midden beside it. These were disclosed by the great tidal wave and tempest of February, 1900. Midden is rich in animal and fish bones, ashes and shells. Two coins and a comb of ancient pattern were found in the midden, but we could not trace who has these now. Tradition says that the kirk o' Sandwick was carried one dark night across the bay to where the later kirk stands.

VIII.—Our Lady's Kirk.

North of Sandwick, and surrounded by a burying-ground, still in use. The walls of the chapel are very thick, at west end about five feet thick. The chapel is narrow, and most disproportionally long; in fact, it seems to have been twice added to in length, and I think these more recent portions have been added *after* the kirk became a ruin, and were utilised as family burying-places. Bruces of Mooness (of hated memory) are buried in east end of chapel. A lying tombstone, supported on four pieces of freestone, is there, and is known as

"Bruce's tombstone." There is a coat of arms engraved on the stone, with inscription in raised letters, visible but illegible. With little trouble this might be restored enough to be read, I think. There is another large lying tombstone on the south side of the chapel, inscription entirely effaced. Four, and possibly more, "keel-shaped" lying stones are in the burying-ground. They are about five feet long. No similar stones are found in other Unst kirkyards, except one I found at Virse. No inscriptions have ever been on these "keeled" stones, and tradition says they were there in the time of the Vikings. Many crosses by our Lady's chapel are like those known as the Norwick crosses.

IX.—Glitna Kirk.

At side of new road north of East Uyeasound. This foundation is much more square than any other we saw, and encloses larger space. Tradition says the building was never completed. The Catholics possessed themselves of a trow-hoose (temple of Thor?), and commenced to build a kirk on the steede; but what they built one day was thrown down by invisible agency during the night. There is no trace of burying-ground within the steede. Remains of broken urns, with ashes and burnt bones, were found close by when the new road was constructed. There is the site of an ancient circular enclosure to the west of the kirk, as if it had surrounded the spot at one time. The road may have cut into the circle. It is matter for regret that local authorities never interest themselves in such finds, and so permit history, writ on stones, to be lost.

X.—Kirk o' Wick, Lund.

I remember this kirk being called St. Ole's Kirk. No pre-Christian relics found here, as far as we can ascertain. The place belonged to successive lairds, who, taking no interest in such things themselves, selfishly prevented more intelligent persons from investigating. Kirk o'

Wick now belongs to a different sort of folk, and I hope their love of all that pertains to our country's old story will lead them to search for relics of the past. The story is told that a laird of Lund, annoyed at people crossing his land *en route* to church, dressed up a half-witted servant to personate Satan, and sent him into the chapel during service. Amid excitement, hysterics, etc., all rushed from the spot save the clergyman, who cursed the laird after the manner of his kind in those days. The curse was to extend to the ninth generation. No service was held in Kirk o' Wick after that day. The laird's family is extinct. While it lasted it "carried the curse." The burying-ground here is in use.

The sites of two imposing brochs are not far distant from the spot, and might tell a tale, if opened.

XI.—KIRK O' COLVIDALE.

Foundation still visible, but no tradition obtainable. Circular steedes in vicinity, and some upright stones.

XII.—DA KIRKHOOL, GUNYESTER.

Stance of building not now known, only conjectured, but circular steede not far from knowe.

XIII.—THE KIRK AT UNDERHOOL AND KIRKAMIRE, WESTING.

Below house. House supposed to be built on chapel stance. Crossbister is between the Gunyester chapel and chapel at Underhool. From Crossbister both were visible. On this spot the people crossed themselves.

XIV.—KIRKABY, NEWGORD, WESTING.

The enclosure is still called the kirkyard. The foundation of building stands east and west. Steede surrounded by traces of a circular wall, and some upright stones about two feet in height. We found these were sunk possibly many feet below the surface. The prejudices of individuals prevent (in many cases) examination.

XV.—KIRKAKNOWE, NEWGORD

Above the beach. Stance of chapel about one hundred yards below a house on the knowe, and near an old mill. Traces of foundation found when delving, and this confirmed tradition. This kirk was always referred to by fishermen as the "boun-hoose,"[1] a sea-term for house of prayer. There are remains of an old building on the sloping bank at Taftens. The stones very large. Apparently there had been two circular enclosures. Traces of ashes under foundations. Some ancient dishes (stone) were found about two hundred yards north-east some years ago when the road was constructed.

XVI.—KIRKAMOOL, CLIFF.

This is a pretty sequestered spot on east side of a lake, and is pointed out as the site of a long-forgotten kirk. There are slight indications of a circular wall, enclosing as much land as we found within the foundations of other kirkyards, but there is nothing to show that any chapel stood in the centre, and no excavations have been made which might throw light on the subject.

Across a tiny ravine rises a bold bluff, called the Mool, and on its summit we found evidence that a circular wall, possibly a broch, had existed there. In very early times this district seems to have been well peopled. The land is fertile, the little vales sheltered and picturesque. Until thirty-five years ago it was the abode of a dozen families. Now it is given up to sheep.

XVII.—KIRKARIG, BURRAFIRTH.

Three or four stones by the roadside mark this spot. Tradition says a kirk was there, but no relic has been found to confirm the statement. On the brow of an adjacent cliff stands the Broch of Burrafirth. Its outline is well defined. Careful delving might well reward the explorer. That this was an important broch I think we

[1] "Boon" = prayer, A.S. and N.

may believe, since it gave its name to the fiord over whose turbulent waters it frowned.

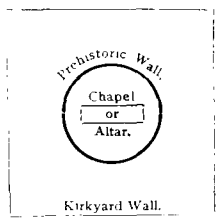
Other Possible Sites.

I think there must be some sacred steedes at Skau which would complete the circle of our island kirks, but as yet I cannot hear of any in that district, which has been almost depopulated for many years.

There are other places in Unst which were undoubtedly burying-places, where burned bones and funeral urns have been found, but these spots were never known as kirks.

The kirks that were usurped by the so-called Reformed Church lost their saints. St. Bartle's, Our Lady's, and Cross Kirk probably remained in possession of the Catholics till the fathers in charge died, for there was no violent transfer in Shetland, as in Scotland. Thus the three kirks in Unst that do not seem to have been occupied by Protestants have retained their patrons' names, and are so styled by some old folk.

We noted that all the authentic kirk foundations stood with the gables east and west, after the usual fashion, and that all the earlier yard-walls were circular. Thus there stood an oblong within a circle, which again was enclosed at a later date by a square. It is said the



burnt bones and pottery found in such places have been discovered only inside the chapels, or with debris displaced from them, and much below their foundations. Certainly *our* small finds were so. I fancy the astute Catholic fathers, finding that the people clung to their

ancient beliefs and usage with a tenacity beyond the power of priests to shake, or superficial conversion to alter, judged it politic to graft the new faith on the old. So they built their Christian kirks amid the ruins of heathen temples. They identified the great Yule festival with the Mass of Christ. They adopted the sun-worshipper's obeisance towards the east as one of their own religious acts. They consecrated the spots which the people held sacred, and they buried the baptised dead beside the cremated ashes of their ancestors.

In consequence of such clever policy time would obliterate all the old associations with those places. As the older language became merged in the new; as the Christian faith spread, and paganism passed away, the memory of the heathen gods, with all their savage rites, became superseded altogether. But superstition—as immortal as the soul of man—transferred a great many of the old observances to the new creed, and kept the old sacred sites sacred still. The Church had, as we have seen, helped in this. Thus the holy term "kirk" was applied to all such spots, whether there had been a chapel there or not.

Everywhere one finds the steedes of circular walls. All such places were regarded as "trowie"—associated with the mysteries of the spirit-world. They were haunted, or holy, or horrible, or health-giving—Helyabrün, Crushafiel, Wullvershool, etc., names linked with the unseen and the unknown. I cannot help thinking that many of the twenty chapels of Unst were never chapels at all, but Troll-haunted Temples, and that the few authentic kirks were built on the sites of some of these.

Pre-Norse Christianity.

The finding of a few Ogham stones in Shetland has led some persons to assert confidently that there was a Celtic-Christian Church in our isles prior to their invasion and settlement by the Vikings. One swallow does not make a summer. One flower gathered in a place where no botanist would expect such a blossom to be at

home does not prove that plant a native of the spot. A few isolated memorial stones, engraved in a manner common to Celt and Scandinavian alike, do not give sufficient data for asserting that our isles were Celtic-Christian before the Norsemen came, though it is likely that a few individual Christians may have found a refuge and a rest in the south isles of our group. It would be a delightful surprise to find that the cross was in Unst before Thor's hammer. Possibly excavations might unearth an Ogham in Unst, which would add a much-desired link to a chain I have striven to weave regarding the prehistoric race that once peopled our isles; but one would like to be satisfied that the few Oghams found elsewhere in Shetland have not been brought from Orkney. Meanwhile all research that has been made has shown cremated remains below the foundations of almost all our chapels, etc., which seems conclusive evidence that a heathen creed immediately preceded that of the Norse Roman Catholics.

If the builders of our brochs, the mighty men who raised our standing-stanes, were ever a Christian people, some more evidence must be forthcoming before we can accept the statement as fact.

ORKNEY.

SOUTH RONALDSHAY.

The Rev. Alexander Goodfellow, District Secretary, writes:—

DURING the last two years three things of some antiquarian interest have been found here.

UNDERGROUND DWELLING.

First, at a place in the South Parish, generally known as the "Cairns o' the Bu'," or occasionally the "Cairns o' Flaws," an underground house with passage, to all appearance like a Pict's house, or a weem, has been dis-

covered. The situation is on a rising slope, with a beautiful outlook towards the east, or German Ocean, where, in the olden days, the sea-robbers might have been sighted at a long distance, and the people on the shore be prepared for any attack. Although the contour of the cairns might have suggested something important to the observant eye, yet no one ever suspected that there were buildings underneath. Farmers, when ploughing near the spot, have at different times come across stones, bones, shells, etc., but the cairns was supposed to refer only to a gathered heap of stones, and not to any built walls. It looks as if there has been a subterranean passage in connection with Windwick Bay, which is not far away. The part of the building opened up was the passage, the walls of which were built mostly with stones taken from the quarry of Oback, near by, while large boulders brought from the shore were laid across, as cover or roof stones for the passage. Each of these boulders (there were three whole, one broken, and probably more) were fully 5 feet in length, and about 2 feet in breadth and thickness. One wonders by what means such stones had been brought up there. The walls themselves were well built, being 6 feet deep, while the width of the passage was $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There were dividing stones to strengthen the structure, as well as to indicate chambers beyond. Across the passage was a wall, apparently a terminal wall, but on examination we came to the conclusion that the end had not yet been reached. Nothing very special was picked up during the partial excavation beyond two pieces of human bones, a boar's tusk, a deer's horn, a stone scraper, and shells. To open up the place fully men and money would be required, and as the tenant of the ground was unwilling to leave the hole open, it was filled up again.

Stone Implement.

Second, an old shore stone was found in the quarry of Oback, that has all the appearance of being what is called

a stone breaker. In shape it is like a skull, or helmet, and weighs about 40 lbs., and in circumference it measures 34 inches. To antiquarians this stone must be of some value, seeing where it was got. Oback quarry is beside Oback burn, and in direct line with the cairns. The stones for building the cairns had been taken from this quarry. This must have been a long time ago, from 1,000 to 2,000 years. Lately, when some men were digging for stones at this place, they were under the impression that this was virgin soil, but afterwards they discovered from certain marks that the ground had been previously opened, in fact, they were reopening an old quarry. Beneath 5 or 6 feet of earth they came to the rock, and lying there was this boulder, which must have been brought from the shore, as there was no other stone like it near at hand. From its shape and size, as well as from its position when found, along with certain marks on it, the workmen were forced to conclude that this was a stone used for breaking the rock, namely, a stone hammer. Most likely the people who had built the cairns had used it for that purpose, and after their work was done left it lying on the face of the rock as found.

Cremation Mound.

Third, another thing of interest has been the discovery of a cremation mound on the Nave Hill of the Red Head at Sandwick. The word "Nave" is said to be from the Icelandic "nef," meaning a nose, while in Faröese it refers to a long jutting-out headland. In Unst the word "niv" is used, and the Scotch "nieve" is applied to the hand or fist. Sometimes the people use "niv" instead of "nave." No one had ventured to disturb this mound, so far as known, until recently some lads removed the turf and stones and dug into the heart of it, and were rewarded by finding a small stone cist at the east side of the mound, which was 2 feet 9 inches long, and 18 inches wide, while inside of the cist was an urn. As the lads were inexperienced in such work the urn was care-

lessly broken, but a fragment has been preserved which shows that it belongs to an early period. And in the same mound were found three large stones, rough and unhewn, as if taken from the shore, standing stones, 5 feet in height, most likely meant to be memorial stones in honour of the dead. Roughly speaking, the mound was 60 feet in circumference, and 20 feet in diameter. No bones were found, but burnt stones and very black earth were plentiful. There is another somewhat similar mound with a cairn of stones not far away, while in the same district there are eight or nine mounds of a smaller size, like "fairy knowes," or may be "barrows"—burial places to all appearance. Some of these are oblong, and measure 15 feet by 5 feet. One cannot tell how they came to be in this part of the island, unless they have been connected with the old Pictish castle, the ruins of which are not far away. There is also a big standing-stone in the district. Formerly a Popish chapel, called Halyrude, was in existence here. In fact the whole surroundings are full of historic interest.

FARÖE.

Dr. Jakob Jakobsen, Ph.D., District Secretary, sends the following:—

REMARKS UPON FARÖESE LITERATURE AND HISTORY.

IT goes without saying that in the case of a little group of islands, which in the year 1800 had only about 5,000 inhabitants altogether, and in the centuries immediately preceding still fewer, we can only in a very limited sense speak of its history and literature. Add to this the scantiness and incompleteness of sources for a history, at any rate when one is outside purely administrative affairs; and further, that with regard to those affairs and persons to whom *oral* tradition in Faröe clings most

closely, there is often an entire lack of written records. Apart from the short history of the old time, it is really not till after the Reformation that there can be any question of a continuous historical tradition: the period covered by the Middle Ages is to a very great extent shrouded in darkness.

The greatest part of what one can call the history of Faröe in a proper sense only consists of a recital of certain administrative measures which have taken effect and been abrogated again in the lapse of years, and of a longer series of names of magistrates about whom there is little or nothing beyond to relate. But, as a kind of flesh and blood about the dry skeleton, there gather a multitude of old folk-tales and stories about persons who in one or another way have stamped themselves or made an impression on the events which are related.

Of any really connected history with a claim to any great general interest there can thus, in the case of Faröe, be no mention; but still there are a few short periods, or rather a few considerable personages appearing in these periods, that gather, or tend to gather about them, more than a mere local interest. Thus, especially, the ancient period of the islands, with the two chief figures known from the Færeyingasaga, Sigmund Brestesson and Thrond of Gata (about the year 1000); later on (in the sixteenth century) the sea-captain and adventurer Magnus Heinesen, who for a time put an end to the ravages of sea-rovers among the Faröes, and finally (about 1800) the free-trade agitator and satirist Poul Nolsö.

The Saga Period.

The history of the old time, the Færeyingasaga, which belongs to the old Icelandic Saga literature, has not survived as an independent whole, but only as a series of sections scattered in Olaf Tryggvason's and Olaf the Saint's Sagas. These sections concerning the Faröes were

collected and edited by Professor C. C. Rafn in the year 1832. Many circumstances—as, for instance, the fact that the fragments, when put together, form a particularly well rounded off whole, and that there is a reference plainly made in some passages to a "Færeyingasaga"—suggest that there originally was such an independent Saga, which was introduced in sections into the two above-named King's Sagas, and has since been lost. (The Færeyingasaga thus divided up is most fully contained in the great Icelandic vellum MS., "Flatey Book.")

That the Færeyingasaga, though the subject must be due to stories from the islands, yet in the form in which we have it was not written with the pen in the islands themselves, appears for one thing from a confusion between two islands of a very different natural character (Great Dimun and Skuø), a confusion of which no Faröese would be guilty. The description of Skuø in the Saga, in the account of how the chieftain Ossur was attacked and overcome by Sigmund Brestesson, suits rather Dimun, which is approachable only with great difficulty. Skuø was the island of Sigmund's birth, and here was his farm. The Færeyingasaga is a particularly well-told, clear and entertaining saga. It begins with the colonisation of the islands by the Northmen in the ninth century; but its real pith is the conflict between the shrewd Thrond and the warlike Sigmund for the overlordship of the islands. In spite of the fact that Sigmund gets support, first from Hacon Jarl and afterwards from King Olaf Tryggvason, by the promise to hold the islands as a fief from Norway, yet Thrond, by his cunning, succeeded in holding his own, and raised higher both his own lordship and—at any rate with partial success—the independent position of the islands; only on the question of the introduction of Christianity was he obliged to give way in face of Sigmund. After the slaying of Sigmund, King Olaf the Saint seeks to make the Faröes a skatland (tributary) of Norway, but without result. The first two ships with his deputies were lost, never being heard of again;

the third deputy was killed at a Thing in Thorshavn, and the saga allows it faintly to be seen that this was due to Thrond's design. Not till after Thrond's death (about 1035) did Leif Øssursson take the islands in fief from King Magnus the Good, and herewith the saga ends.

Later Periods.

Magnus (Mogens) Heinesen, beheaded 1589, is known for one thing from Mogens Frii's historical romance of that name, and from Troels Lund's historical study, which gives a living picture of him. Poul Nolsø has been described by the author of this article in the "Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift," Sixth Series, Part III. Many other men could easily be named who have been of great importance to the Faröese community, alike material and spiritual, especially in the last century and a half, but the interest attached to them is far more local than in the cases named above.

Influence of Icelandic Sagas.

In the old time the Faröes stood in close communication with the surrounding world, especially with the motherland Norway, as well as with the Shetland Isles and Iceland ; [1] the life of the Viking Age preserved the connection ; but when this died away there set in greater stagnation—the islands' remote situation compelled the little community dwelling there to live its own life. Yet there is much evidence of the intercourse continuing in the Middle Ages between the Faröes and the lands lying about them, not only trade connections (between the Faröes and Norway, especially Bergen), but also marriage connections and intellectual intercourse, in which last the Faroes must be the side that specially benefited. Many old documents bear witness to the Norse-Faröese marriage

[1] In the saga literature the settlement of Icelanders in the Faröes is sometimes mentioned, for instance, that of the famous lady Droplaug with her little son Herjolf at the end of the tenth century, from the Droplaugssons' Saga.

connections. The many Faröese lays still preserved (by word of mouth) dealing with subjects from Icelandic sagas, such as the lays about Gunnar of Hlîtharendi ("Gunnar's last fight," Njal's Saga), about Kjartan Olafsson (Laxdæla Saga), about Tormann the Skald, that is Olaf the Saint's Court-skald, Thormod Kolbrunarskald ("Thormod's Journey to Greenland": Fostbræðrasaga) and others, together with the many lays founded on subjects from the romantic sagas, bear witness to the intercourse with Iceland. Part of the Faröese songs are prefaced with words such as: "*Ein er ríman (søgan) úr Íslandi komin* (or *Fróði er komið frá Íslandi) skrivað í bók so breiða*," that is, "A poem, or story, is come from Iceland, written in a book so broad." The expression "Book so broad" (book of great bulk) cannot well refer here to anything but old Icelandic saga-manuscripts, vellum manuscripts, which have reached the Faröes, and to whose contents part of the Faröese songs may be referred back. The words "*En vise er kommen fra Island*" (A poem is come from Iceland) need not therefore be taken quite literally, but mean in all likelihood merely that the subject itself, the subject of the song, is Icelandic, so much the more as in place of the word "vise" (poem) there sometimes stands "saga," or "tale." In all likelihood it points also to the old saga-manuscripts, when in the Faröese song, prefaced in the above-mentioned way, about Saint Olaf and the Trolls in Hornelen, it is said, "Have you heard of the king who stands written of in a book?"[1] That Tormod the Skald's

[1] There are still a few old phrases used in Faröe, which bear witness to a far greater knowledge of Icelandic saga literature in former times than is the case now-a-days. Of a person with a weird staring look which makes one uneasy, it is said: "He (she) has eyes like Glaam" (*hatta hevir eyguni sum í Glámi*). The Glaam here used as a comparison is only an empty name now-a-days in Faröe; but the person is evidently no other than the ghost, or rather vampire, *Glámr*, mentioned in Grettis saga, with whom Grettir wrestled. The sight of Glaam's wide open and horribly staring eyes, as he was lying on the ground vanquished, was so terrible that—according to the account in the saga—this was the only thing that

journey to Greenland has been sung in the Faröes, and the lay about him so well preserved, ought to be looked at in connection with an old Faröese story, according to which the Northmen, when in old days they made trading voyages to Greenland, used to put into one of the two Faröese harbours, either Vaag in Bordø (North Islands), or Vaag in Sudero. This gave the Faröese an interest in everything that concerned the old Icelandic colony in Greenland, which afterwards was so unhappily ruined. In view of the thorough agreement between the Faröese lay and the account in the Icelandic Fostbræðra-saga, the former clearly relies upon the latter. A recollection of the old journeys to Vinland (America) is contained in the lay of "Finnur hin fríði" (Finn the Fair), which in other points cannot be verified by historical methods. In this lay journeys out and back between Ireland and Vinland are mentioned.[1]

Norwegian Literary Influence.

As the song dance and lays originally came to the Faröes from Norway, it is easily understood that various

during the whole of Grettir's life had given him a fright. After this struggle with the vampire, Grettir had always visions, and was afraid in the dark. The Faröese phrase quoted is no doubt very old; it cannot originate from the reading of any printed Grettis saga—in this respect the printed editions are too young, and Faröe people's knowledge at present of the old Icelandic saga literature, or their present interest in it, are too slight—nor is it likely to originate from any lay. There is no *old* Gretti's lay preserved in Faröe, and the quite young ditty about Grettir, composed about 1850 by the manager of the trade-monopoly, Jacob Nolsø (a younger brother of Poul Nolsø), must be disregarded in this connection. Although the "troll" with whom Grettir wrestles is mentioned here, he is not called by any name, and is not described.

In the North Isles of Faröe some old ruins of houses go by the name of *Íslendingabúðir* or *Íslendingatoftir* ("the Icelanders' booths or tofts").

[1] The journeys here talked of between Ireland and Vinland are, perhaps, not altogether groundless. In the Icelandic "Landnámabok" there is mentioned a "Whitemansland," also called "Ireland the Greater," lying out west in the sea, near to Vinland the Good: "it is said to be six days sailing westward from Ireland."

Faröese lays deal with subjects specially Norse, not to speak of the many romantic poems that have wandered from the south, which have come to the Faröes through Norway as a channel and in a Norse form. The best known of these is certainly the cycle of lays about Sigurd Fafnisbane, and next to this that about Karl the Great and his twelve peers. The kings Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf the Saint appear in many Faröese lays, and especially in the character of exterminators of trolls; anything really historical about them is not found in the lays; they stand out as half mythical persons. The lay of Erling the bonder at Jadar ("Edlindur bóndi á Jaðri") deals with the famous Erling Skialgsson from Olaf the Saint's Saga, but does not come from the saga, since it gives traditions which are not found in the latter. The lays of "Hermund the Evil" and "Margrete of Nordness" go back to Norse ditties on the same subjects. In many Faröese lays—for the most part mythical—to which no parallels are to be had, and which thus escape comparison, the action is placed in Norway.

That a theme treated of in a Faröese lay is peculiarly Norwegian does not, however, by any means exclude the possibility, or probability, that it was taken from Iceland. Two chief currents cross each other at the Faröes in the Middle Ages, one Norwegian and one Icelandic; and since the latter occupies itself to such a high degree with Norwegian subjects, and exercises besides a great influence through its rich written literature, the Faröese in this way often receive Norwegian traditions (and to some extent Danish also) in an Icelandic mould. The ditty about St. Olaf and the Hornelen trolls ("Trodlini í Hodnalondun") begins, although the theme is very peculiarly Norse, with the words: "A ditty (or tale) is come from Iceland," etc. Olaf's fights with the trolls are certainly mentioned in Icelandic sagas, but without any close local connections; but there is found a Norwegian legend about St. Olaf's fight with trolls linked to the mountain (cape) Hornelen, the *Hodnaland* of the Faröese

lay. A ditty from Denmark on the same subject is also known ("Troldene i Hornelumme"), which is certainly Norwegian in origin. No Icelandic ditty on this theme is known. Nevertheless since the Faröese ditties in all the various versions begin with remarks on its descent from Iceland, there may have been a corresponding Icelandic ditty; but the commencing words may also, and with much likelihood, refer to the bare fact that the Icelandic saga about Olaf the Saint was well known in the Faröes in the Middle Ages (*cf.* the expression about Olaf: "The king who stands written of in a book," just cited in the Faröese ditty above named). In the Faröese lay about "Geyti (Hemingur) Áslaksson," which contains a variant of the Palnatoke legend, and whose action takes place in Norway, King Harald Hardrada appears. The theme is dealt with in the "thattr" about Heming Aslaksson in the Icelandic collection of sagas, "Flatey Book," and also in a Norwegian folk-song about "Hemingen"; but the Faröese lay stands considerably nearer to the Icelandic tale than does the Norwegian. The Faröese lay, "The Jomsvikings" (or in Faröese, "Jómsvikingarnir"), treating of the fight in Hjorungavaag," agrees closely (though with some distortions of names) with the Icelandic Jomsvikingasaga.

The existence of an Icelandic saga parallel to a Faröese lay is not always decisive, however, as to the origin of the Faröese lay in question. As there is still a considerable number of Norwegian ballads unpublished, while very many have undoubtedly been lost, whereas comparatively few old Icelandic sagas have been lost and all the known sagas are published, a comparison between the Faröese lays and the Icelandic sagas is far more easily instituted than a comparison between Faröese and Norwegian lays. Often an old Faröese lay must be considered to have originated in a fusion of various traditions come from various parts. "Sniolvs kvæði," one of the longest Faröese lays (in several parts), and the lay about "Ásmundur Aðalsson," both have paral-

lels in Icelandic sagas, the saga of "Asmund Kappabani" and that of "Asmund, King of the Huns," respectively; but there are discrepancies which make one suppose that the Faröese lays do not originate solely, or direct, from the said Icelandic sagas. A tale corresponding to the saga of Asmund Kappabani is told by the ancient Danish historiographer, Saxo Grammaticus, and the same subject is found dealt with in ancient German heroic legends (about Hildebrand and Hadubrand). The chief motive is the hero fighting and killing his half-brother without knowing him; in the Faröese lay ("Sniolvs kvæði") it is the father who kills the son. British influence can be traced in the lays about "Bevus," corresponding to the English lay, "Sir Bevis of Hampton," and also to the Icelandic "Béfus rímur." Some lays belonging to the Arthurian cycle, or traces of some of these lays, are also found in Faröe),[1] but they have come through various channels.

Native Traditions.

Of old lays which handle specially Faröese subjects there is only a single one in Faröese, "Sigmund's kvæði," that is to say, the *older* Sigmund's lay (a subject from the Færeyingasaga), and even then that contains scarcely anything wholly derived from native tradition; here again the Icelandic saga-writing exercises its mighty influence. A couple of incidents—the mentioning of, first, the priest Thangbrand's mission to Iceland and the Faröes (Olaf Tryggvason's Saga), and, second (in a single copy), of a certain Harald, named in "Flatey Book," but elsewhere unknown, as a companion of Sigmund on the latter's expedition against the chieftain Ossur, go to show that the author of the lay had saga manuscripts before him. The lay, however, avoids

[1] There is a confusion between the names *Atli*, *Artala* and *Artan*. Atli is "Attila" and Artan must be "Artus." *Artala* seems to be a welding together of the two names.

the shifting of places of which Færeyingasaga is guilty. When the action in "Finnboga Ríma" (the song of Finnbogi), a lay originating in the Saga of Finnbogi the Strong, is placed in Sando among the Faröes, where Finnbogi's opponent, Alf the Bonder, is said to live (in Skopum), there is a confusion of places, since Alf, according to the saga from which the lay takes its material, lived at the island of Sandø, lying off the coast of Halogaland in Norway. This Norwegian Sandø has, by a misapprehension, been understood by the Faröese to mean their own native Sandø, and the action of the lay has been changed to the Faröes. When the chief persons in the Færeyingasaga are left out of account, all the heroes of Faröese lays are drawn from outside the boundaries of the islands.

Danish Literary Influence.

Of the Faröese lays which deal with Danish subjects the greater part, especially the older ones, may be taken to have come through Norway. Not till modern times does a more direct intercourse with Denmark occur. The lays framed on Danish subjects are, taken on the average, younger than those framed on Norwegian and Icelandic (Faröese) subjects, the first few dating from the time immediately after the close of the Middle Ages. Their form of speech is generally younger, and besprinkled with Danish ways of expression; sometimes the form of speech is half Danish and half Faröese. Some of these songs treat of famous historical persons, for instance, the lays about King Waldemar and Tova ("Valdimann og Tóva"), and about Queen Dagmar ("Frú Dagmoy"). I disregard here the many folk-songs, in exclusively Danish speech, which have maintained themselves in the Faröes, and which for the most part spring from, or are affected by, printed sources (Anders Sorenson Vedel, Peder Syv).

Later Icelandic and other Influences.

So late as the sixteenth century have the Faröes been under a strong Icelandic influence. The long religious poem, "Ljómur," composed by Iceland's last Roman Catholic Bishop, Jón Arason of Hólar (in thirty-eight ten-line verses), was transplanted to the Faröes, where it has maintained itself to the present day through oral tradition, and under the circumstances in a particularly well preserved shape.[1] With regard to this poem a superstition prevailed in the Faröes that one who knew the poem should always omit a verse thereof, if he communicated it to another, otherwise he would meet with disaster (perish at sea). This led to the poem becoming fragmentary. So much the more remarkable is it that, in spite of this, in the nineteenth century one has been able to get the whole collected except about two verses. The fact is also of interest in a linguistic sense, in that it shows that the Faröese must have stood a great deal closer to the Icelandic in the sixteenth century than now; such a complete oral appropriation of so extensive an Icelandic poem in the Faröes would in any other case have been unthinkable.[2] With the commencement of modern times, however, the Icelandic influence on the Faröes decreases more and more in contrast with that coming from Norway and Denmark, which is supported

[1] The best preserved Faröese version, published in "Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," Copenhagen, 1869, has thirty-five verses.

[2] In passing it may be observed that the characteristic Icelandic "Rime-Literature" (narrative poems), which blossomed in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, have also left their trace in the Faröes, although there is now-a-days only a little of this remaining. As an example the Faröese, or Icelandic-Faröese, Rime "Korald's Kvæði" (the lay of Konrad, the Emperor's son), improperly called "kvad" (lay), may be cited. It has the Icelandic "Rimur's" own ways of representation and of paraphrasing designations, and the same metre (a sort of end-rhyme metre, *runhenda*), which distinguishes a number of younger Icelandic Rimur. There are some Icelandic "Konráðs Rimur" about Konrad, the Emperor's son, preserved, but the Faröese version cannot spring from these.

by a regular trading connection with those lands. After the Reformation Danish became predominant as the official speech in the islands, especially as the church-speech, and as the speech in which religious instruction was given. There is no mention of any regular Faröese system of parish schools until far on in the nineteenth century; a Latin school, however, existed in Thorshavn down to 1804. A proof of the strong intellectual influence from Norway, even in the eighteenth century, is the fact that several poems by the Norwegian folk-poet, Peter Dass (published after his death, in 1708), were so widely spread, and took root so firmly in the Faröes, that there are still to be found a number of Faröese who know great portions of "Nordland's Trumpet" and several of Dass's scriptural songs by heart, mostly from oral tradition. Of modern Danish poetry, from the Reformation to our day, Thomas Kingo's hymns alone can be said to have become in the same way the spiritual possession of the Faröese people. The greatest part of the Faröese folktales are in their present shape fairly young, the majority being of Danish and Norwegian origin. Not till 1814, with the separation of Norway from Denmark and its union with Sweden, does the influence from Norway fall wholly into the shade before that of Denmark, by reason of the political conditions and the closer connection of the Faröes with Denmark.

Political History.

In a *political* respect the Faröes consisted from the first of a single law-district, that is to say, were ruled by one Lawman, who was chief officer of the islands and president of the Lawthing or Assembly of Laws, which was held in Thorshavn in Stroumø.[1] The Lawman again was under a royal Sheriff. The islands were a part of Norway until 1709, when the Danish-Norwegian

[1] Thorshavn is mentioned as the meeting-place of the Lawthing as early as in Færeyingasaga.

king, Frederick IV., placed them under the county of Sealand (Denmark). Not till 1816 were the institutions of Lawman and Assembly of Laws given up and the islands made into a separate district in the Danish kingdom. They shared in the constitution of 1849, and have since sent two members to the Danish Parliament, to the Folkething and Landsthing respectively. In 1852 the Faröese Lawthing was re-established, but in another shape than before, as a District Council with enlarged powers, among others with the initiative in proposing laws for the islands.

In an ecclesiastical aspect the Faröes were until the Reformation a bishopric, under the see of the Archbishop of Throndhjem (the bishops had their seat at Kirkebø in Strømo), and later on a deanery. Among the bishops only Erlend (at the close of the thirteenth century), founder of the never completed stone cathedral at Kirkebø, need be mentioned.

Monopoly of Trade.

The most important points in the history of the islands in modern times are the years when the trade passes from one hand to another as a monopoly, most frequently burdensome. Throughout the Middle Ages the trade had been free, although it had fallen more and more into the hands of the Hanseatic merchants in Bergen. In the latter half of the sixteenth century it became a monopoly, first of two Copenhagen and afterwards of a Hamburg merchant, and it was in succeeding ages in the hands of merchants, now of Copenhagen, now of Hamburg or Bergen.

For a short series of years (about 1580) the Faröese Magnus Heinesen had the privilege of trade, and the right to fit out a ship as a man-of-war, in order to rid the Faröese seaways of pirates. About his exploits in battle against the pirates there are still legends. Magnus Heinesen soon lost his privilege, being accused of various irregularities; a short time after he was imprisoned in

Copenhagen for piracy (the capture of an English merchant ship), and was beheaded in 1589; but the year after he was honourably acquitted, the sentence was annulled, and Heinesen's corpse was honourably buried. In the seventeenth century the trade was carried on, first by the so-called Icelandic Company in Copenhagen, and next by the royal Secretary of State, Christoph von Gabel, who received the islands in fee, and after him by his son Frederik von Gabel, until 1709, when the trade became a royal monopoly. As such it continued for about a century and a half.

Poul Nolsø and Free Trade.

In 1804 the Faröese shipmaster, Poul Nolsø, raised a strong agitation for free trade, as the only means of placing the islands upon something of an economic footing; but in this he found but slight support among the population, which, although it lived under very burdensome conditions, was yet fearful of a new state of things. The local authorities placed all possible hindrances in his way; amongst other things an action for smuggling was brought against him. It may be observed here that the leading officials themselves at this very time carried on a smuggling trade. As a sort of revenge, Nolsø composed his satire, "Fugla kvæði," "The Lay of the Birds," in which he represented the officials in the likeness of birds of prey (the Administrator of Trade is, for instance, a raven); the birds of prey persecute the small birds (the common people), as whose protector the oyster-catcher (Nolsø himself) comes forward. On Nolsø's early death in 1809—he was lost at sea—everything returned to the old grooves. The monopoly lasted thus until 1856, when the trade at last became free.

Results of Free Trade.

After the introduction of free trade the little Faröese community, hitherto so shut off and oppressed, came into full contact with the surrounding world. One trading

place after another rose up, one fishing ship after another was built, and a new period begins whose chief characteristics are the quickly advancing material and economic development of the islands. The population grew in maturity and fitness for self-government. But one thing which could not be avoided was that the new ideas which came from outside and set a new impression on the way of life and mode of thought of the population, worked the undoing of the existing individualistic Faröese culture. Men began to lose interest in and to forget the traditions handed down through the centuries. Intellectual life in the Faröes before the free trade period was to a very great extent maintained by the so-called "Kvældsæder," evening seats or evening gatherings, which took place in the winter, when folk, after the close of the day's work, gathered together in their houses. Here were revived the old legends and stories which had been handed down from the elder generations orally through centuries—legends and stories concerning the history of the Faröes and life in the islands in earlier times. The elders took turns to narrate, and the youth listened. Here, likewise, Faröese lays and Danish folk-songs, handed down orally through the centuries, were sung, and thus it came about that it was not exclusively the old mediæval "song-dances," still linked to them, which preserved the native lays from oblivion. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Faröese public culture and intellectual life was then in the main dependent on and maintained by these winter-evening gatherings. When we look at the question apart from religious instruction, we see that here youth received its special culture. But when the many trading-steads arose in the several districts (before 1856 there were only four trading-places in all in the Faröes, and before 1836 only a single one, namely Thorshavn) gatherings in the warehouses began to displace as a means of recreation the "Kvæld-sæder," until these latter altogether disappeared, and therewith the special life linked to them—a very grievous exchange. The handing down of earlier tradition, once so rich, is

now but a shadow of what it used to be. The lays are even now frequently sung for dances; but half of them are known to the younger generation, taken on the average, scarcely much more than by name, and some have quite died out.[1]

Satire and Modern Lays.

In connection herewith must be named a characteristic local form of poetical composition: satirical and mocking songs, the so-called "Táttar," in lay-form, and generally with a refrain.[2] These, which take for their target people in some comic situation or other, are sung pretty generally to dances, and have not seldom occasioned poetic quarrels. This form of poetry still puts forth constantly new shoots. A younger contemporary of P. Nolsø, namely, Jens Christian Djurhuus, has with great success composed lays in the style of the old hero-songs, on subjects from the Færeyingasaga.

Work of Recording.

The special recording of Faröese lays did not begin till 1781. It was the son of a Faröese priest, Jens Christian Svabo, who made the beginning. Afterwards many continued the work in the nineteenth century, among them specially two Faröese farmers, Johannes Klementsen of Sandø and Hans Hansen of Fuglø, and the work was brought to a conclusion by Dean V. U. Hammershaimb. The whole of the vast material in a transcript made by Svend Grundtvig and Jørgen Bloch is now preserved in the Great Royal Library in Copenhagen. The recording of legends was not commenced

[1] I speak here of the specially Faröese lays, folk-songs in Faröese speech; because, as already hinted, a number of Danish folk-songs are also sung by the Faröe people as accompaniment to their dances, and these, at all events in the Northern islands, have been far better preserved than the Faröese. The Southern islands are, at the present day, the special home of the Faröese lays proper, but here also they are being driven out.

[2] To these belongs the "Fugla-kvæði" mentioned above.

till the nineteenth century, when it was undertaken by a clergyman (J. H. Schröter). The collecting of legends was continued by Dean Hammershaimb, who is also the real founder of modern Faröese prose literature. By the side of the old traditional composition of satirical songs a Faröese poetry of modern make has now sprung up among the latest generation. It consists mainly of lyrical poems, songs and hymns. There are also dramatic experiments, built partly on local themes. For the rest, the Faröese speech has been used in the local press side by side with Danish for about fifteen years, and has been thereby developed for journalistic use.

NORWAY.

Mr. Haakon Schetelig, District Secretary, Bergen, writes: —

THE SHIP FIND IN SLAGEN.

AMONG the archæological novelties of this year in Norway, one discovery has been of such great importance, and has taken so predominant a part of the public interest, that all others must be put aside as common and indifferent compared with it. The discovery of the new Viking ship in Slagen, close to the old town of Tonsberg, is really one of those rare and lucky incidents by which our knowledge of the old times gets a larger addition than by years of difficult and assiduous researches. Though this find, as belonging to the eastern part of Norway, is not within the district of which I have been especially appointed Secretary, I have been exhorted by the Hon. Editor of the SAGA BOOK to give a short account of this exceedingly interesting find. During eight weeks I worked in the digging as the assistant of Professor Gustafson, the special excavation of the ship itself having begun just before my arrival, and being finished the same day I left the place. Consequently I was able to study from personal observation the arrangement of the grave,

its furniture, and the ship itself; but, as I have not at present the opportunity of giving a more precise description of the archæological results, I must content myself with relating the general features of the excavation and of the find.

Circumstances of the Discovery.

On the ground of the farm Oseberg there was in earlier times a very large mound, situated close to the little brook which runs past the church at Slagen to the bay of Traela, east of Tønsberg. Though it is now at a distance of about 3 km. from the sea, old people of the parish always told, as a tradition from their forefathers, that a ship had once been buried in the said mound, and that traces were still to be seen of the channel through which the ship had been taken up from the sea. I heard of this tradition from Doctor Grimsgaard of Aasgaardstrand, whose father was for a long time the clergyman of Slagen. During the nineteenth century the mound, used for supplying earth to the churchyard, had been diminished by about one-half of its height, and had consequently totally lost the appearance of a funeral monument. But during the work of digging and transporting the earth the peasants often observed that the ground had on this spot another consistency than elsewhere, the mound being throughout composed of regular strata of sods, and that it consequently must have been artificially built. As is common in such cases, rumours about hidden treasure were not missing, and some years ago they induced a peasant of the neighbourhood to buy the ground, with the special purpose of digging up what might be resting in the interior of the mound.

During his digging in October last year he soon met with the top of a mast, and by following it downwards made his way to the centre of the grave, just at the same place where other robbers, many hundred years ago, had broken the roof of the grave-chamber. The trench, made in a hurry, being not very large, he could see only a little of the larger oaken planks forming the roof, and a small

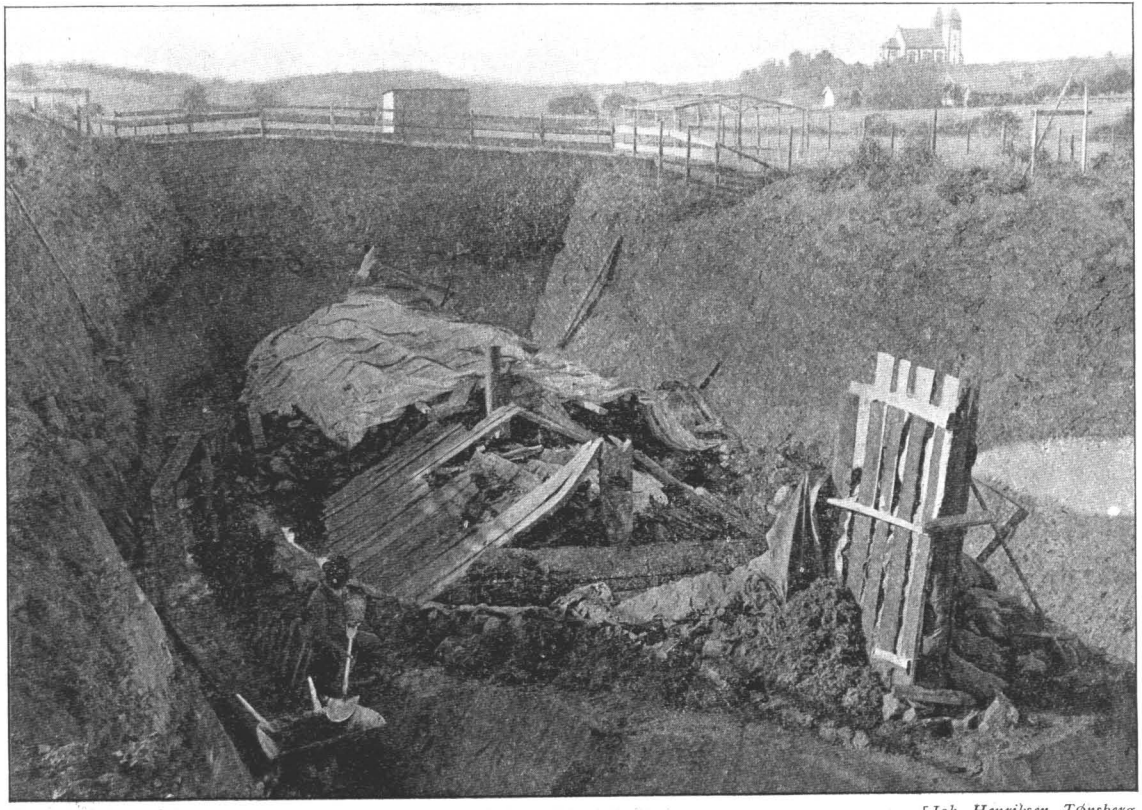
part of the bottom of the ship; he found, too, some fragments of carved wooden objects, but of course could understand nothing of it, especially as the interior of the mound seemed to be full of water, welling forth from the sides and the bottom of the trench. He then sent for Mr. G. Gustafson, Professor of Archæology at the University of Christiania.

The season being already far advanced no systematic digging could be begun that year, and an arrangement was made with the farmer, not without many difficulties, as the laws of Norway in such cases give a very unsatisfactory protection to the interests of science and national history. At last it was agreed that a complete excavation should take place the next summer, to be executed by the Professor of the University under the authority of the Government.

Method of Excavation.

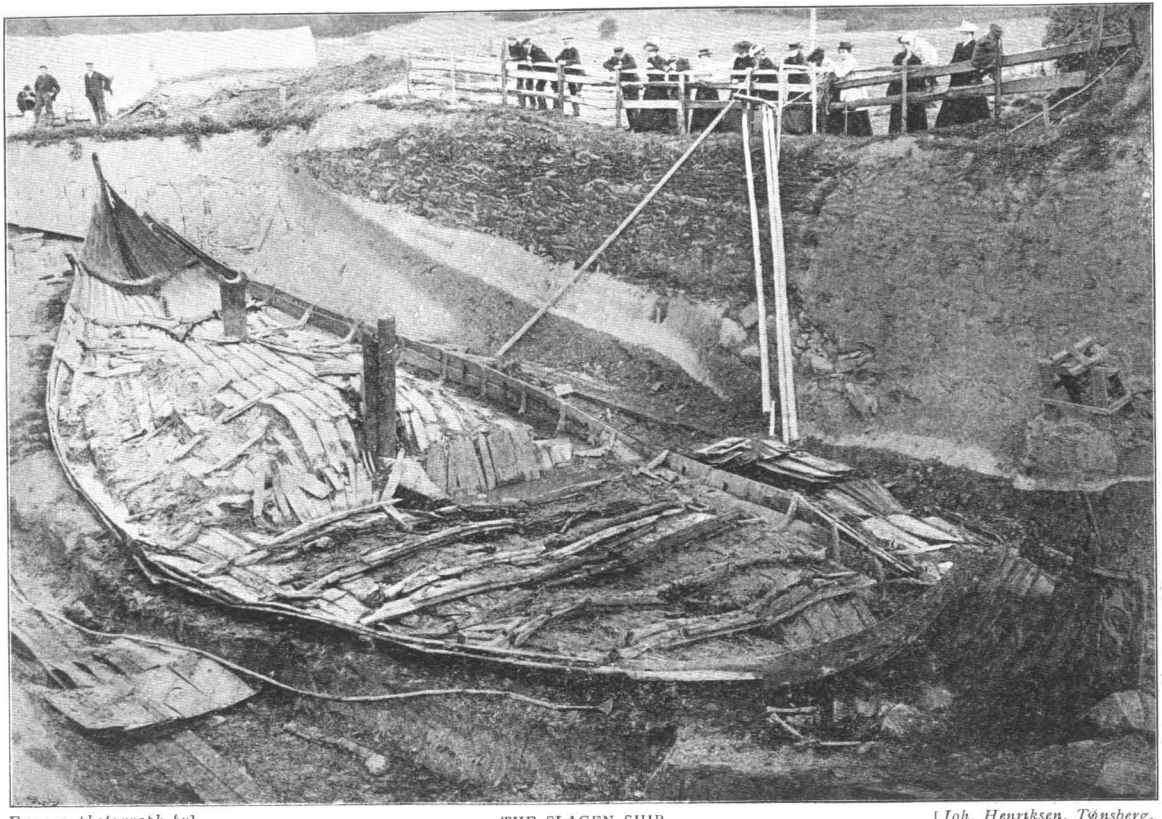
The mere technical part of the work was not without its interest, as unusually large quantities of earth had to be removed, the drainage to be regulated, and a supply of water to be procured for keeping the ancient wood moist, so that it should not crack and be warped by drying. The skilful solution of these questions does great honour to Professor Gustafson and his engineer assistant. The grave had its place in a natural recess of the clay soil, which had been for a thousand years full of water, a circumstance especially favourable to the preservation of the wood. The summer being very hot the water had to be kept there as long as possible, and by a clever arrangement it could be let off in portions whenever it became necessary for the progress of the excavation. Fresh water for sprinkling over the wood was procured through a conduit from the brook; the sprinkling was required several times a day, in spite of the excavated parts being always covered with moss and cloths.

As to the digging, a trench was made corresponding to the supposed dimensions of the ship, and it turned



From a photograph by THE SLAGEN SHIP. [*Joh. Henriksen, Tønsberg.*

1.—Partially excavated, showing the Grave-chamber. (Looking forward.)



From a photograph by] THE SLAGEN SHIP. *[Joh. Henriksen, Tønsberg.*

2.—Partially excavated and Grave-chamber removed.¼ (Looking aft.)

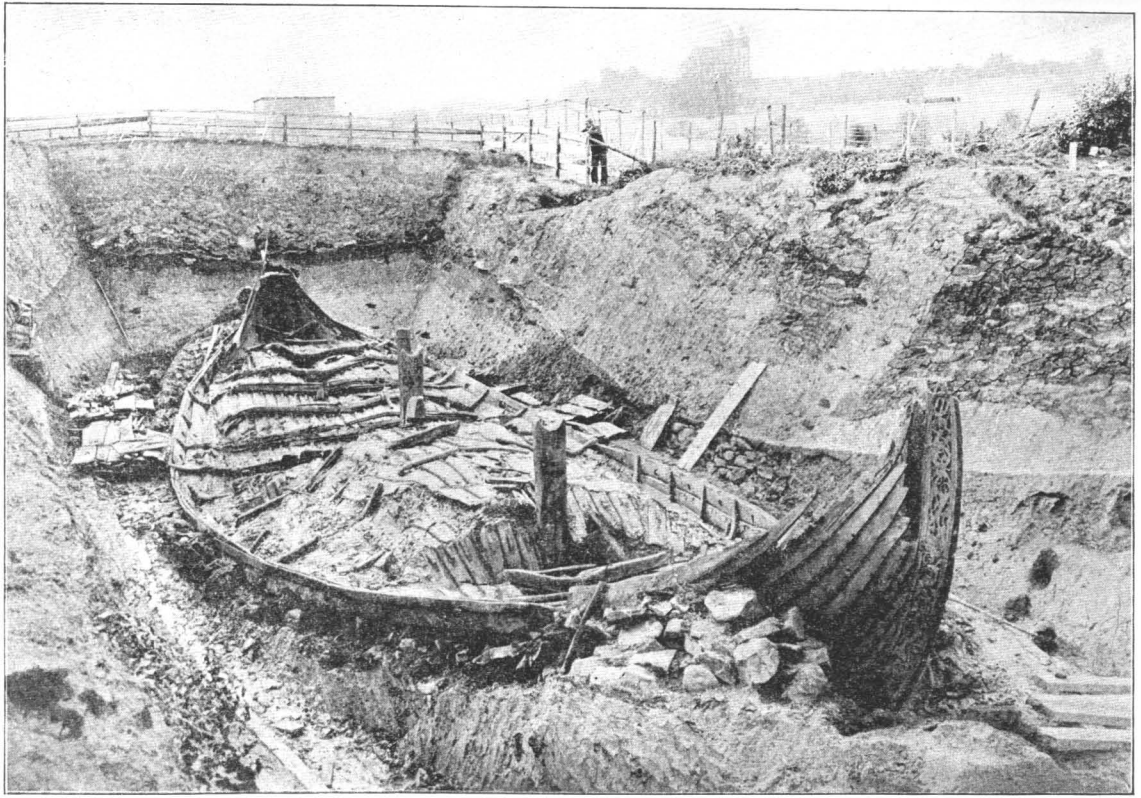
out to be as accurate as possible; no addition to it was required throughout the digging, and the space in the bottom of the trench was just as large as was necessary for completing the excavation. Very rarely is an archæologist allowed to enjoy so complete a verification of his presumptions, and the work as a whole exceeded all expectations.

Condition and Contents of the Grave.

The contents of the grave were without exception found in an astonishing state of preservation. When uncovered the wood had not only preserved its form, but had a quite fresh looking colour, which, however, soon darkened through the influence of air and daylight. The grass and other small plants, which had come here accidentally so long ago during the building of the mound, were found green and undisturbed, and a botanist could make a good collection of them for his herbarium. Some young branches of alder were taken up from the bottom of the ship, where they had been exposed to no pressure, with their leaves green and slightly curled as when still living. In such conditions of course not a piece of the things which had once come into the mound was missing through decomposition; but, in spite of this, the ship and its furniture were greatly damaged, in consequence partly of the strange arrangement of the grave, partly of a robbery executed probably at some time during the Viking age.

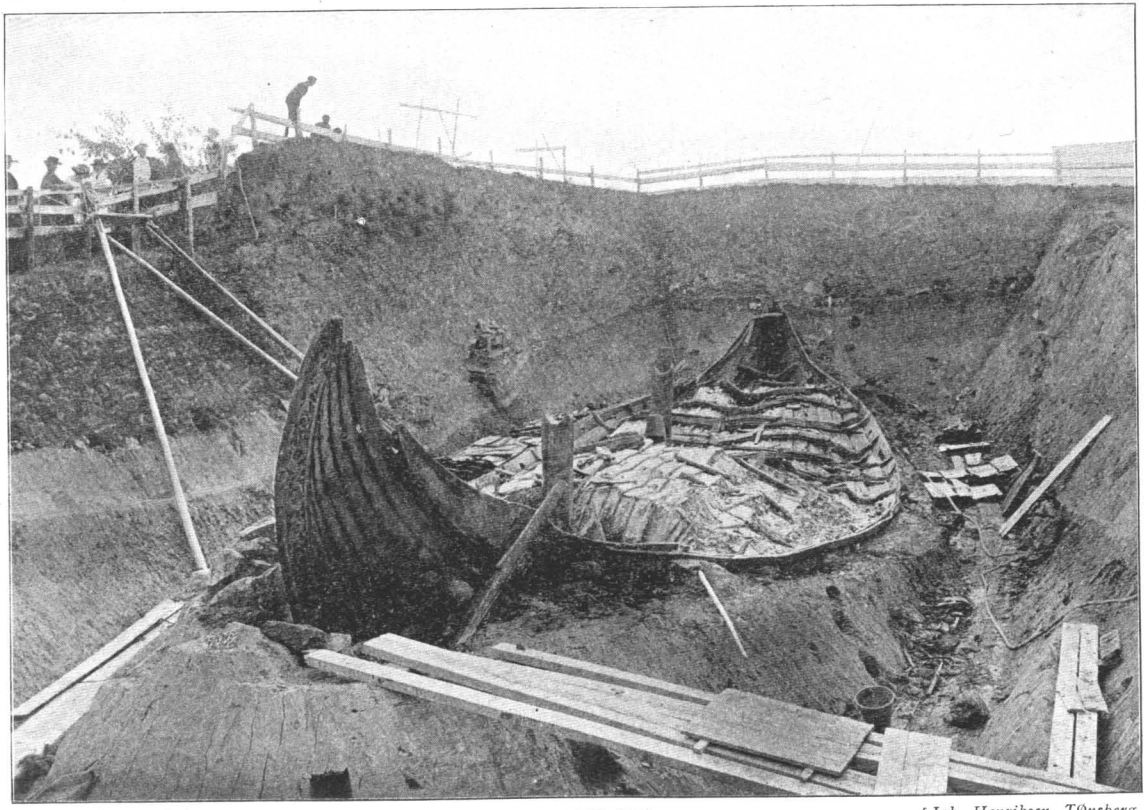
The arrangement of the grave was as follows: a ship, a little more than 21 m. long, had been placed upon the untouched clay soil, its sides being supported by a quantity of clay filled in under it after it had been brought to the spot. Behind the mast a chamber had been constructed of large oaken planks, the top of the roof being supported by two perpendicular beams, very solid, and resting upon the keel of the ship. Outside the chamber the whole of the ship was filled with innumerable objects: kitchen utensils, instruments of weaving, four sledges, a

large carriage, 28 oars, other large pieces of wood belonging to the outfit of the ship, etc. The whole grave, with the ship and all the other things, had then been covered with heaps of heavy and sharp-edged stones, thrown together without any care for the objects, and consequently most of them had been broken and damaged. The ship had been much deformed too by the pressure of the mound bending outwards the sides of the fore and hind-parts. The middle of the ship, protected against direct pressure by the solid chamber, had gone through a transformation still worse, as the clay soil, giving way to the pressure on all sides around the chamber, found here an open space not yet filled. The keel and the bottom of the ship, which could by themselves offer little resistance to such forces, were broken and pressed upwards against the roof of the chamber. This process probably began a short time after the funeral, it being certain at least that it was rather advanced at the time when the robbers broke into the grave. It was seen that they had at first made a hole in the roof close to the mast, as large as would give convenient passage for one man only, and then, probably finding the bottom already pressed up to such a height as to make it difficult to move under the roof, they had cut off the tops of nearly all the planks on both sides of the ridge. The chamber, however, must have been in some degree more accessible at that time than now; for instance, a chest, which it was now impossible to see, and far less to touch without removing a large part of the roof, had been broken and emptied by the robbers. Another chest placed close to the left side of the chamber was found unbroken and still having its contents—several instruments for women's work—in a wonderful state of preservation. We may conclude consequently that at the sides of the chamber the bottom had already at the time of the robbery been pressed close to the roof, thus preserving many objects from the fury of the plundering.



From a photograph by] THE SLAGEN SHIP. *[Joh. Henriksen, Tønsberg.*

3.—Looking forward from port quarter.



From a photograph by] THE SLAGEN SHIP. [*Joh. Henriksen, Tønsberg.*

4.—Looking forward from the starboard quarter.

Results of the Earlier Plundering.

The chief part of the furniture of the grave, having its place in the central part of the chamber, had been taken up and ransacked in the broad trench opened on this occasion through the mound. The bottom of this trench could now be distinguished by heaps of fragments and broken objects of the most various kinds, stretching downwards from the southern slope of the mound, touching the prow, the top of which has probably been cut off by the robbers, and from there in the direction of the centre of the mound straight towards the mast and the chamber. Fortunately its level is a little higher than the fore-part of the ship, which has in this way escaped devastation. The robbers seem to have worked in a great hurry and to have revelled in the destruction of all objects which they thought of no value; even some human bones, belonging to two persons, probably both females, were found among the other wreckage in the trench, the skulls knocked to pieces, and several of the other bones broken.

Naturally this part of the find has furnished no complete and instructive object, but some of the fragments found here have good carved ornament, and some others give informations which will be found remarkable, even compared with the untouched contents of the rest of the ship. These things, too, will always deserve study, as the only remains of the central part of the grave containing the person in whose honour a sacrifice so immensely expensive was made.

Human and Animal Remains.

The somewhat surprising circumstance of finding in one grave the remains of two persons buried is most likely explained by supposing that its chief occupant, no doubt a lady belonging to the highest class of society, was accompanied by her female servant. The same thing has been observed in other graves, for instance, in the remarkable find from Donnes in Nordland, where of two skeletons found, the one had its place in the hind-

part of the ship, the other outside, close to the stern; here also it was certainly a woman's grave.

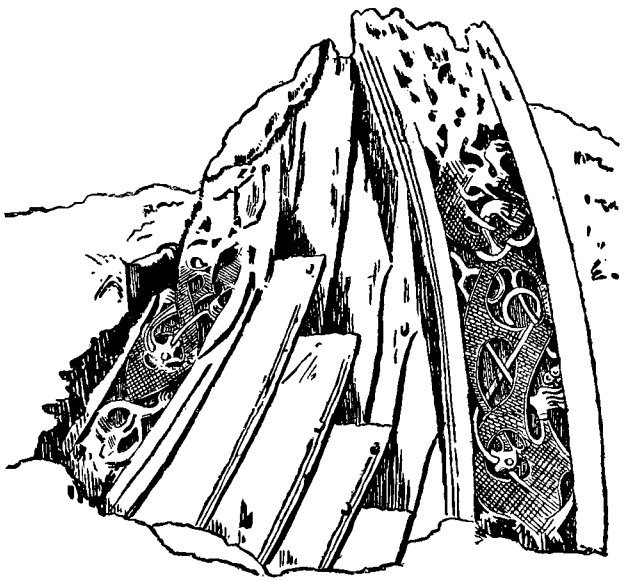
More common is the occurrence of beasts in graves from the Viking age, though none of them, except in the case of the Gokstad ship, has in this respect been so richly supplied as the ship in Slagen. In the hind-part, close to the stern, was found a young ox, placed upon a broad oaken plank; in the fore-part, ten horses, four dogs, and the cut-off head of an old ox, the last-mentioned carelessly placed in a richly-decorated bed belonging to the furniture of the ship; finally, three more horses were discovered outside on both sides of the prow. The horses and the dogs all had their heads cut off. Around the legs of the horses were found the ropes used for binding them when they were slain, so well preserved that they could still be unknotted; the dogs were provided with iron chains fastened to broad iron collars.

General Conclusions.

As remarked above, I have not the opportunity of giving a detailed description of the find until the report of the University has appeared. I can only mention that many of the objects, such as the sledges and the carriage, are quite new discoveries, showing forms and constructions seen by no human eye for the last thousand years, or which afford the explanation of old riddles which have hitherto puzzled the astuteness of archæologists. The most important point, however, about the find is the carved ornamentation, appearing on such a scale and with such refinement as no one would have dared to expect at that remote time. We have here an ornamentation not only excelling in fine and decorative patterns, but also in technical ability of carving never surpassed and rarely reached in the decorations of the *stav-kirke*.

As mentioned above, the ship was too much broken to be moved complete; it has now been taken up in pieces, and it is doubtful whether it will be possible to restore it to the original form. It was, however, measured and drawings made of it, while still *in situ*, by marine engi-

neers in State employment, placed at the Professor's disposal by the Government. Through this very carefully executed work we have exact knowledge of all the principal points respecting the ship. It was a little shorter than the Gokstad ship, nearly of the same breadth as that, but much lower above the water-line. It has consequently not been a ship meant for the open sea, and, though it is provided with a mast, it was no doubt intended principally for rowing, and not for sailing, as the



port-holes for the oars have no shutters. After all it must be regarded as a very large boat, broad and open, built for short journeys in the calm waters of the Christiania-fjord. Its elegant lines and rich decoration will be seen from the illustrations from photographs, taken the day when the excavation was completed, showing the ship cleared of all its contents. Such a ship could be built only for a person of the highest rank, perhaps for the personal use of a queen. The above figure shows on a large scale part of the carving on one of the stems.

Many things indicate that it was already an old ship at the time of its interment, and that it had been for a long time not much used, a circumstance which is easily explained with a luxurious vessel of this sort.

Find of Part of a Ship in Ryfylke.

From Western Norway I will mention a find giving a useful supplement to our knowledge about the ships of the Viking age, namely, the stern of a ship, which has probably been about 20 m. long, found at Søndenaa in Ryfylke. The piece is 4.10 m. long, and has a broad and highly pointed termination. That this form was common in the Viking age may be concluded from some simple drawings scratched on the boards of the ship of Slagen, and representing ships with sterns of the same characteristic form; it recalls, too, some of the boats still used in Western Norway. I think, then, that the stems of the Gokstad ship have been wrongly restored in the drawing in Nicolaysen's book, and that they originally were shaped somewhat in the same way as the new-found piece from Ryfylke. An account of it has been published by Mr. Hilliesen in the "Stavanger Museum's Aarsberetning, 1903."

The piece was found together with a fragment of the prow, showing a similar form, during the digging for the construction of a road. It rested upon the original clay soil and was covered with a stratum of moss 40 cm. thick. Mr. Hilliesen supposes that it was brought here by a flood of water, which is consequently supposed to have flooded a shipbuilder's yard somewhere in the neighbourhood, as the stem has no traces of ever having been actually attached to the ship's sides.

DENMARK.

Mr. H. A. Kjær, District Secretary, writes:—

My Report for this year will take the shape of remarks on some of the most interesting finds, not from sepulchral

tombs, belonging to the Bronze Age, which have been received in the last few years by the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen. A selection of these finds has been exhibited recently. It consisted almost entirely of objects deposited in the ground as votive offerings or deposits, and formed a remarkable series; it also bore witness to the fact that we in Denmark are yet very far from the time when the earth will have surrendered completely the objects which in days gone by have been committed to it. These somewhat considerable finds bear for the most part the peculiarities of the older groups of finds in the Museum; out of about fifty finds made during the last ten years, not less than thirty-five date from the latest period of the Bronze Age. Most of these finds have come from Jutland, from its northern districts especially, and from Zealand, while Lolland-Falster during these years has only yielded a single noteworthy find, two great trumpets (Lurer) from Radbjerg Moss. The following are the most noteworthy of the finds, either for their intrinsic value, or for their relationship to other finds and the new light they throw on them.

Hornbæk and Monsted Finds.

A plantation at Hornbæk, Zealand, yielded a foundry-find, consisting of cast objects that had been broken or were imperfect, obviously arranged with a view to their being melted up. This was dug up at a slight depth below the surface on the inner side of one of the encircling stones of a little Stone Age barrow. It consisted of celts, knives, fragments of arm and neck-rings, etc., eighteen pieces in all, and on the whole of a typical kind. Very peculiar is a find from Monsted, in Viborg county, Jútland, a little socketed celt of bronze, brought to light from a depth of about 0.30 meter, in a little sand-bank. Inside the celt had been placed eighteen small fragments of gold, including four spirals from gold arm rings. Over them, upon the celt, a cover of some perishable matter had evidently been placed, held fast by a little

pin or peg stuck through a little hole bored in the side of the celt. The find may be compared most nearly with a small series of finds in the National Museum, each consisting of a little bronze box, with two or more payment-rings made of a thin golden wire. These finds come down from the second of the four periods of the Bronze Age; the new find, which shows the custom when no longer in its purity, is a little younger, about from the third period.

Rye and Valsomagle Finds.

Two very characteristic and remarkable finds proceeded from Rye, near Hong, and Valsomagle, near Ringsted, both in Zealand, the first consisting solely of ornaments and other objects belonging to the equipment of a woman: three collars, three large belt-plates, and twenty-one arm and finger-rings, etc., making up in all about three complete sets; the other find was composed exclusively of objects which belong to a man. The find at Rye was made at no great depth in a gravel bank. Many of the objects are especially fine and beautiful, others are of slighter and not such careful work. Of its kind the find is the biggest hitherto known (about 40 pieces in all). But it has suffered no little, and is thus somewhat inferior to the remarkable objects in the find from Valsomagle, which include a sword, two spear heads, and two axes, the one big and very beautiful, the other one smaller, almost of palstave shape. This find was made near a large stone, not more than 85 meters from the place where an older find, almost similar, now in the Museum, was made, though the objects in the latter case were not of the same finished beauty. The sword and one of the spearheads, two weapons which, apart from the decoration, were elegantly and beautifully shaped, are ornamented on unusually fine elegant lines, the spearhead even with small figures of fishes. Moreover, all the objects are in such a remarkably fine state of preservation that they can vie with all the best from the Classical countries of the Mediterranean.

They are perhaps the most beautiful of all among the remains of Denmark's Bronze Age.

Serup Find.

Brief mention must be made of a find of eleven flat axes (celts) and three sickle-blades from Serup, 7 kilm. N.W. from Silkeborg, which were brought to light at the foot of a bank near a streamlet.

Deposit Find at Allestrup.

Next must be mentioned several finds of neck-rings from the Bronze Age, both of earlier and later date, which occur in pairs of a similar kind, one of those groups of finds about which it was first maintained, by Dr. Sophus Müller in particular, that they must be deposits made from religious motives. This series now numbers not less than thirty-three finds. A new one, of no less than three pairs of rings, has occurred under specially remarkable circumstances at Allestrup, in Aalborg county, Jútland. In a little marsh, which is filled up with stumps and trunks of acicular trees, lay a fir-trunk, across one of the large roots of a fir-stump that had grown on the spot, and just in the angle between the trunk and the branch stood the six rings arranged on edge, two and two. The interpretation of such rings as votive gifts must win substantial support from this. Over the whole there was a layer of turf one meter thick.

Deposit Finds at Sjørup and Ølsted.

Finally three finds of substantially the same kind, from the latest period of the Bronze Age, must be recorded, occurring at Sjørup in Viborg county, Olsted in Zealand, and Budsene in Møen. The find from Sjørup is the biggest, but consisted of objects of smaller artistic value, two so-called "hanging vessels," two neck-rings, buckles, arm-rings, etc., all deposited in the vessels, which were placed with their mouths together, surrounded by the neck-

rings. These things stood at the bottom of a little moss surrounded by banks. The layer of moss over them is of a dry form, not produced in water. The conditions also answered to what may be supposed to have been the case in our great moss-finds from the Iron Age. The Ølsted find consisted of objects very finely executed and decorated, a hanging vessel, a great belt ornament, two buckles, shaped like spectacles ○⌒○, and an arm-ring. The things were deposited in a clay vessel, one meter deep in the earth, beside a great stone.

Sacrificial Find at Møen.

The most interesting find of all is, however, the Møen find from Budsene, west of the Klinteskov, and near the Baltic. Thirty years ago a little winding watercourse was replaced by a straight ditch. While this was being dug part of a log of wood was found, containing within it some bones of animals. Last summer the ditch had to be cleaned out, and during this work they struck upon the log again, but found in it this time, besides the bones of animals, some beautiful bronze things: a "hanging vessel," wherein were deposited three spiral arm-rings, entangled in each other, covered first with a great convex belt-ornament, and over that with another smaller vessel, which was turned bottom up, so that the whole was almost spherical. The bones of animals were mostly those of oxen (three full-grown and two calves); some of sheep (two and one lamb), and a few of swine and horses. None of them bore marks of gnawing by dogs or beasts of prey. The bronze goods, as well as the animals' bones, were found inside the log, which was of alder wood, open above and below like a barrel. It was set round with stones, and was fully two-thirds of a meter broad, and half a meter high, though, since the uppermost part of it had already rotted away, the original height was probably a little more. This log had been in old days sunk through the layer of soil and a layer of clay, together about two-thirds of a meter deep, down to the

surface of a layer of dense, waterbearing quicksand, so that water could collect inside it. The water was unusually rich in mineral salts. The antiquities are reported by the finder to have stood about midway down in the log, and the whole dates from the period B.C. 600-400.

The animals' bones and bronze objects can scarcely be explained in any other way than as a sacrificial deposit, with its two characteristic features, the sacrifice of animals and the votive gift, the same combination that is so well known from the Classic soil as well as from our own less remote antiquity. Moreover, the fact that only the skeleton and selected parts of the animal were offered up answers also to the universal practice. For these there was space in the log of wood. The remaining parts were used for the sacrificial meal. That they bore no trace of burning, in opposition to the practice elsewhere, could also be reconciled with accounts we have of German offerings.

That the horse was known in the Bronze Age has indeed been long admitted; the latest instance is its appearance drawing the sun-disc [1]; nevertheless, its bones are very rare. A couple of teeth were found in the well-known Maglehøj-find, together with the rest of a "wizard's" equipment, weasel-bones, rowan-twigs, etc. In the neighbourhood of the trumpets from Radbjerg Moss, in Falster, mentioned above, among the bones of other domesticated animals, horse-bones were also picked up, though these lay so near the surface that hitherto antiquaries have omitted to take them into account. The find from Budsene has increased the probability of these horse-bones also dating from days of old. In Skaane a horse's skull has been found with a flint dagger embedded in the middle of its forehead. This animal was apparently not slain in the chase, but slaughtered, sacrificed, and must most likely be referred not to the Stone Age, but to a later period, maybe the Bronze Age itself. In several ritual and ceremonial uses the employment of

[1] See SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., p. 381.

flint was continued, without doubt, long after the Stone Age had ended, both within and without Europe. Everything points directly to the fact that the horse in the Bronze Age was a new and much valued domestic animal. In later antiquity it was certainly also the animal most esteemed and most generally used for sacrifices. Very much of the material which would enable us to draw a comparison between the practice in the Bronze Age and later periods is still lacking, even though one thing or another points to some continuity between the different periods of antiquity. Yet it is strange to find in a scholiast to Adam of Bremen a statement that there was a spring at the temple of the gods at Upsala, where the offerings of the heathen were made. Besides this, the sacrifice of horses is already known as extending over the whole cycle of Indo-European culture, from India, over Asia Minor, and through the Classical folk to the Germans; in some places it stood in connection with sun-worship.

Now whether the Budsene find can be explained precisely in this direction must remain for the present uncertain. That it is a votive and sacrificial find may be regarded as certain, but in that case it may be possible to conjecture, with regard to a great number of other deposits in fields and turf-mosses, that religious motives may have been contributory to the act of laying them away in the earth. It seems possible that the vast majority of these finds are in reality memorials of religious practices among our Bronze Age folk.

RESEARCH.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

By J. G. GARSON, M.D., President.

WHEN contemplating as to what subject I should address you upon this evening, it occurred to me that I could not select a more suitable or appropriate topic than "Research," which may truly be denominated the life-blood of any society having for its aim scientific work of a serious and solid character. I need hardly detain you to explain that by Research I mean the carrying out of investigations on a particular subject with the object of advancing our knowledge of that subject beyond the limits of what was previously known respecting it, just as the geographer does who makes an expedition into a hitherto unknown, or but partially explored country, for the purpose of ascertaining what information he can respecting it, and so advancing the boundary of knowledge with regard to that part of the world.

The analogy between the geographical exploration of a country and the investigation of an anthropological or a biological subject is really closer than may at first sight appear, notwithstanding that the former involves miles of travel, whereas the latter is conducted in the quietude of the laboratory or the study, and the requirements of the one may be used to illustrate those of the other. In the first place, it is essential to success that the Geographer and the Investigator should each be a thorough and exact observer and recorder of everything

that is to be seen or learned while conducting his own particular research. This means that, before they can profitably start on their investigations, each has to prepare himself for his work by previous general, as well as special, training in his particular science. Without this training a man cannot observe aright, or narrate, in a competent manner, the most salient phenomena observable in the course of an investigation or a journey. He requires to serve an apprenticeship, or, in other words, to discipline and educate his mind to the work, a process which requires time and application just as much as the acquisition of a foreign language does. Therefore the geographer must, amongst other things, learn surveying, mapping, and the use of the various instruments required in topography and geodesy, while the anthropologist requires to make himself familiar with the structural and comparative morphology and the embryological development of vertebrate animals, as well as with that of man, his physiology, teratology, pathology, and likewise his handiwork. But before starting on any special quest, each has to mature plans on which to pursue his research. The geographer has to make himself acquainted with the characteristics of the country adjacent to that unknown territory into which he is about to penetrate, so as to enable him, as far as he can, to prepare for the work before him and, to equip his expedition in the best possible manner, he must be able to take advantage of whatever information there may exist to assist him. So the anthropologist or biologist has to make himself acquainted with what is already known of the subject he proposes to investigate up to the frontier beyond which he intends to pursue his investigations, and he has to determine the general principles on which his investigations are to be conducted. Once started on their work, there will be ample opportunities for each to prove his capabilities to meet new and unforeseen experiences by modifying and adapting his plans and procedure to circumstances as they may arise. Indeed his ultimate success in wresting from Nature some new secret

will materially depend upon his skill and ingenuity in this respect.

But research does not end with massing together a large number of accurately made observations and descriptions, or records of experiments from which every source of error has as far as possible been eliminated. These are undoubtedly of the utmost value, and constitute the data from which the completed investigation must be ultimately constructed. Nevertheless they are, for the most part, but little more than the raw materials upon which the investigator must work, notwithstanding the vast amount of labour, time, and money which in many cases it is necessary to expend in procuring them. They have to be critically examined and analysed, and their meaning has to be reasoned out by a well-balanced and discerning mind. Thought and reflection upon the observations are as requisite in scientific research to determine their true significance, and the inferences which may rightly be drawn from them, as accuracy is in making and recording the observations themselves; and this concentration of the mind on the work in hand must be exercised by the investigator throughout the whole course of his research. To embark upon scientific research with any hope of success, therefore, requires much general and special training, as I have previously insisted, and high qualifications which can only be gained by diligent and prolonged study, as the skilled investigator is never born such, but has to work his way to eminence through college and laboratory. These statements apply not only to investigations and investigators in one branch of science, but in all, because, although the number of branches into which Natural Science has become specialised is great, and each has its own particular or specialised method of procedure, the underlying principles on which investigations are conducted are essentially the same in all, however divergent the appliances and special processes used in each may be.

It is only when research is conducted on the lines indicated that we can expect solid progress to be made in the

advancement of scientific knowledge, and the position attained by the investigator will materially depend on the closeness with which he adheres to scientific methods, his powers of improving his armament for observation, and the mental capability which he is able to bring to bear generally upon his work. Preconceived ideas must ever be rigidly and severely excluded from the mind of the investigator, as they have no place in research.

From what I have said it will be obvious that, for anyone to propose to take up research, without possessing previous training in science and scientific methods of work and thought, is to attempt the impossible, and can only end in failure and disappointment. I am constrained to allude to this, because I have known most estimable persons who sometimes, after years of successful engagement in business or other avocation, finding themselves in the position of having more leisure than formerly, and being interested in some field of science, have made attempts to pursue investigations therein. These, when brought forward, after an immense amount of labour has been spent on their production, have, to put it in the mildest form, not met with the success which their authors anticipated. The reason for this is often attributed to the "jealousy of a professional clique," or some similar cause, whereas the unhappy result has entirely arisen from defective methods being employed in the observations, absence of controls to eliminate error, defects in appreciation of the relative significance of phenomena observed, disregard of the general and well-established principles or natural laws dominant throughout the science, unjustifiable deductions and conclusions the result of imperfect knowledge of the subject, and not unfrequently because the so-called investigation has been taken up with a view to *prove* some theory entertained by the author, or to *disprove* the conclusions legitimately arrived at by some other person, but which do not fall in with the preconceived ideas on the subject of the would-be critic—in a word, absence of scientific methods of research, a defect readily

detected by the properly trained expert in science. It may be asked, Is there not a place in the workshop of science for such a man where his energy may be utilised? or must he be content ever to remain only an interested listener and reader of the works of others? Most assuredly room can be found for him in the temple of Athene, provided he will not endeavour to emulate Icarus, but will set aside all preconceived ideas, be content to begin work in the proper way, and to limit his attempts to what is within the reach of his attainment, relying on the fact that his power of doing good work will increase with his progress in knowledge. To this end he will do best for himself to seek and follow the guidance and direction of some experienced friend, who is willing to start him on the way. And although it may be galling to him to feel that his progress is but slow, and that he can do but little at first, he should remember that "discretion is the better part of valour," and that by curbing his own impetuosity he will save himself much useless waste of energy, as well as the bitterness of disappointment. It is as true in research, as in progression, that every one of us has to creep first before we can walk, and walk before we can run.

There is perhaps less need for me to indicate the means by which the young man who has already acquired some scientific training and knowledge should proceed to qualify himself for research work, as the training of promising students willing to take it up is now a recognised part of the business of our Universities, colleges, higher technical schools, and other institutions for the higher education of men and women. But, as one who has been engaged in research for more than a quarter of a century, I would like to counsel my young friend, as I have done my older one, not to attempt a *magnum opus* till he is equal to the task, and has gained some experience. If he can have the benefit of working under and in association with an experienced investigator, who will assign to him some part to do in a research which the

former is conducting, and will supervise his work, he will find that he cannot fit himself for future independent investigation under better or more favourable auspices. But if he has to begin the work by himself, let him do so by endeavouring to clear up some limited and, as far as can be foreseen, circumscribed question, by the examination or preparation of a number of specimens, tabulating as he goes along very thoroughly and carefully the exact conditions which obtain in each instance, or by making a series of carefully designed experiments, noting very exactly the phenomena observable at each stage, and testing the accuracy of the results in every way he can think of. If, without reference to his just completed observations, he will again repeat the experiments, or the examination of his specimens, and, having done so, compare the records of his two sets of observations, he will probably find so many discrepancies, the result of inaccurate work on each occasion, as will astonish him, but certainly teach him an impressive lesson, which will amply repay him in more ways than one for the extra time he has had to spend upon the work, as well as render more reliable the deductions and conclusions he will come to from the corrected data he will thus be able to obtain. In his work let him avoid hurry, always a fruitful source of errors both of omission as well as of commission, and let him ponder much and often on his observations and what they teach him before committing himself, so that the conclusions he arrives at may be the associated work of the several parts of his brain which preside over the functions of his mind, of his eye, and of his hand. *A propos* of this, I may state, incidentally, that, when undertaking an anthropological investigation on a series of skulls of any race, I have always derived the greatest assistance in the work, if, in addition to employing the ordinary methods of craniological research, I place the specimens in front of me, so that they may be continually before my eyes for several days—in fact until I have become thoroughly familiar with each one individually, and can appreciate and deter-

mine the various points and the relative importance of the different morphological characters they present, just as if they were so many persons in the flesh. The use of control experiments, made under a series of varying conditions, is extremely valuable in every research, and not only enables the investigator to arrive at a better understanding of the nature of the phenomena presented to him, and the proper conclusions he should arrive at, but may enable him successfully to defend these conclusions, if subsequently called in question, or assailed by some one else.

The importance of research to scientific societies can readily be appreciated, because it is the source from which the most important communications for their meetings and publications are derived. Every society, therefore, endeavours to foster and encourage it, as far as its circumstances will permit, and very properly assigns to it a high place. Indeed to include among its members as many investigators as it can secure, so that its meetings may be made attractive, the pages of its publications may be enriched by their labours, and a certain amount of prestige may thus be gained for the society by its being the channel through which important discoveries and advances of knowledge are set forth to the world, is a laudable ambition for any society to have.

But the number of persons in any country who are able and competent to undertake research must, for reasons previously stated, ever be limited, and therefore too few to maintain a flourishing society in each of the different branches of science, while the cost of publishing their productions is often very considerable. It is consequently found that the best practical method in which a society can support and encourage research is to enlarge its membership as much as it can, and thereby increase the funds at its disposal for the publication of research work, by electing as many persons as possible who take an interest in the department of science which it is its special object to promote, and who desire, by associating themselves with others more skilled in the science in which they are inter-

ested than themselves, to extend and improve their own knowledge of it. In order to attract persons to become members many societies, in return for a small subscription, besides holding meetings for the reading and discussing of papers of a heavier nature, from time to time, secure the services of capable exponents to give lectures of a more popular character; other societies give facilities to their members to take part in field work; while as many as are able to do so support libraries, for the purpose of placing within the reach of the members books of reference and of study and the publications of other kindred societies.

Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, proffered in every case in return for a very small sum, we have to deplore the fact that scientific societies are not supported in the good work they are doing to the extent they should be by the general public in this country, and the facilities they offer for the extension and improvement of knowledge are not adequately taken advantage of. A gross lack of interest and an appalling amount of ignorance in all scientific matters exists, and unfortunately pervades all classes of the community. The injurious effects which this state of affairs is producing on the country have been and are constantly being pointed out by men of the highest eminence and authority in science, with as yet apparently but little result, unless the demand for "technical education," now on the lips of so many people as a panacea for all our shortcomings, and which in its true sense is more or less synonymous with instruction in scientific methods of work, may be regarded as a promise of better things in future and, when it becomes developed, may awaken in coming generations more interest in science and the work of scientific societies. In the meantime our own society is doing the best it can for its members as far as its means will permit, and it is ever ready to do more as it has the opportunity. Those who attend our regular meetings and who read our publications have provided for them much interesting and instructive information regard-

ing the inhabitants past and present of the northern portions of this kingdom and of Northern Europe, their literature, history, antiquities, and folklore. Some of these communications are of the highest order and importance, while the variety of topics which come before us tend to diffuse more general information than is to be obtained in a society more exclusively confining itself to a single branch of science. To those who can claim the northern counties of the Empire as their birthplace, the topics dealt with in this society should especially appeal, and I in turn would specially appeal to them to support it and the work it is doing by becoming members.

SOME ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES FROM ORKNEY.

By M. M. CHARLESON, F.S.A.Scot.

IT goes without saying that the Orkney Islands present a fine field for the anthropologist, but up to the present time, so far as I know, comparatively little has been done in this area for the science. Hitherto investigation has been confined more or less to the acquisition of industrial relics of the primitive inhabitants of the group, little or no attention having been paid to the discovery of osseous remains, which, if we are to take recent finds as a criterion, must have been plentiful. From my own experience it would not be difficult to point to instances in which valuable material from an anthropological point of view has been entirely disregarded, and that too by investigators of whom one would have expected better things. One can only regret also the wanton destruction of human remains found in tumuli and elsewhere by the agriculturist, who, bent on levelling his land and removing obstructions met with in course of ploughing, has cast aside many relics of great value to the science. In this way the area has to a considerable extent been denuded of valuable material, but, nevertheless, its attractions are still great, and its productiveness beyond question.

Grave mounds are very numerous in the islands, but on the whole they are small, and probably an exhaustive examination of them might not prove as interesting as one would imagine. I have come to this conclusion from the fact that, having a few years ago opened a number of barrows in the parish of Birsay, they were

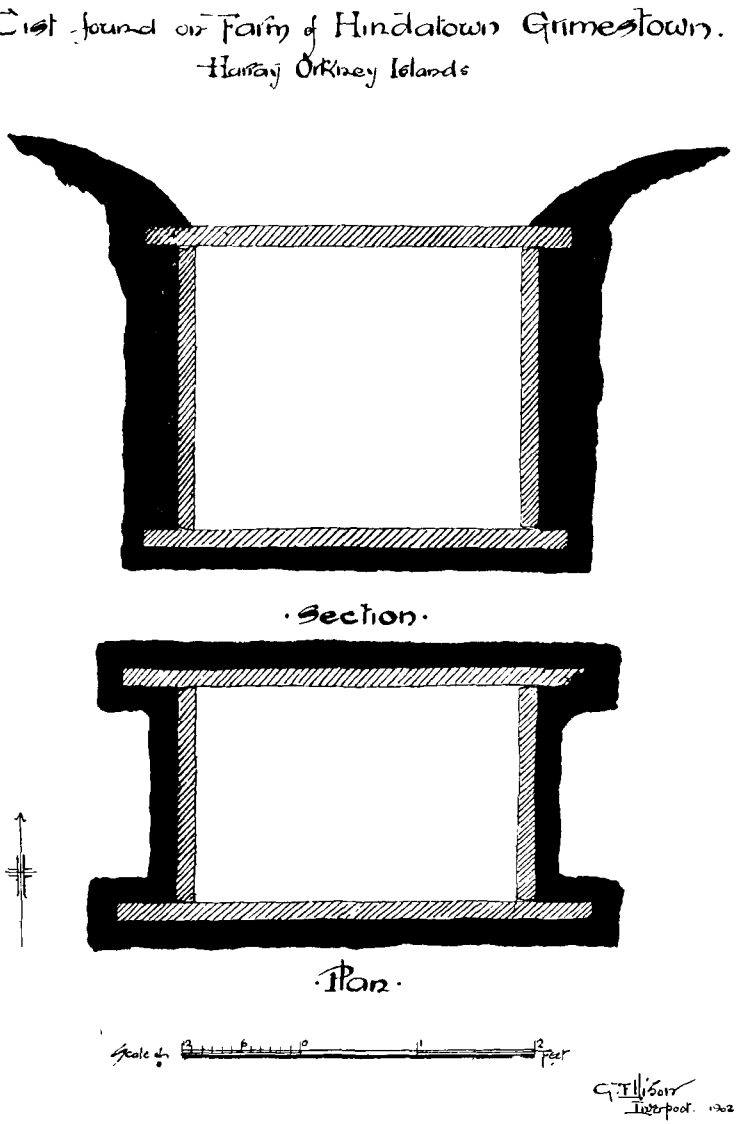


FIG. I.—CIST AT HARRAY.

found to contain only deposits of incinerated bones with cairns over them or in small cists. Not one of those examined revealed an unburnt burial. The only feature of more than passing interest was the presence in one of the cairns of a rude stone implement, examples of which have been frequently found in the islands, generally on the surface of the ground. This implement runs from 10 or more inches in length, 3 to 4 inches in breadth, and 1 to 2 inches in thickness, the ends being rounded. Hitherto the period to which this implement may belong has been matter for conjecture, but the discovery to which I have alluded would seem to show that it was either contemporaneous with or anterior to the time when burial by cremation was in vogue; in other words, the implement found in the Birsay mound may have been used by the people who erected the barrow, or it was picked up as an ordinary stone, and thrown in along with the debris over the deposit of burnt bones. Here and there, however, throughout the group, burial mounds of considerable size are met with, and these are generally found to be more productive than the smaller variety. About a year ago I investigated a burial in Harray, which consisted of a large cist (Fig. 1), the axis of which ran S.E. and N.W., and which measured 33 inches in length, 22 inches in width, and 28½ inches in depth. When opened, some time before I had an opportunity of examining it, the cist was found to contain a human skeleton in good preservation; but careless handling and subsequent exposure reduced the remains to the very dilapidated state in which I found them. One half of the skull, however, was intact (Fig. 2) and this was submitted to Professor Alexander McAlister, Cambridge, who gave it as his opinion that the cranium was that of a male of advanced age, but its fragmentary state precluded his giving measurements. The index of the skull vault, however, was considered to be about 80, warranting the conclusion that the cranium was referable to the second immigration. The theory of course is, that the early inhabitants of the islands were

of two distinct races, using stone and bronze implements respectively. The skulls of the earlier race, so far as examined, would seem to be dolichocephalic, and those of the later or bronze age people, to which, according to

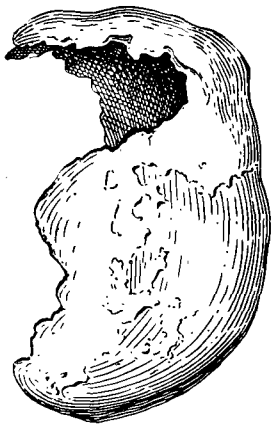


FIG. 2.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

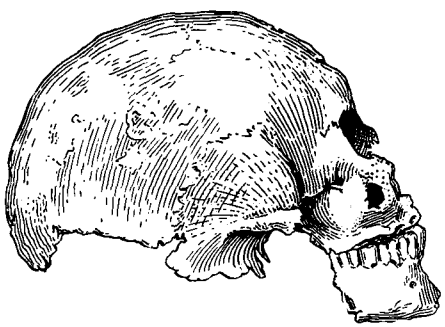


FIG. 2*a*.—NORMA LATERALIS.

Professor McAlister, the Harray skull belongs, brachycephalic. In this case the only industrial relic accompanying the remains was a whorl (Fig. 3), probably of bone, which lay at the feet of the skeleton. This is the first time, so far as I know, that a whorl has been found

in Orkney in association with a burial, indeed at the present moment I should say the first instance in Scotland in which such a discovery has been made. It has, however,

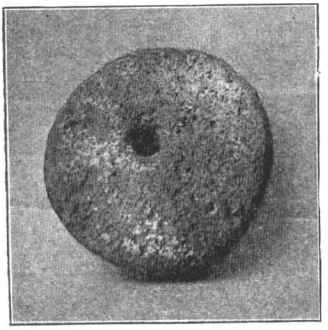
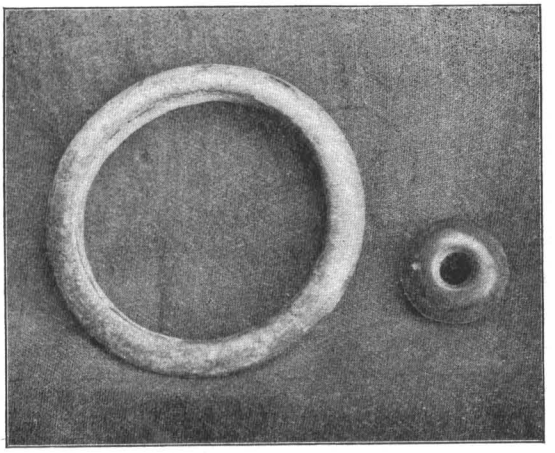


FIG. 3.—BONE WHORL.



FIG. 4.—STEATITE WHORL INSCRIBED WITH RUNES.

been found with a burial at Weaverthorpe,[1] in England, where a barrow, examined by Canon Greenwell, was



FIGS. 5 AND 6.—BONE ARMLET AND AMBER WHORL.

found to contain a portion of one made out of clay. A whorl is certainly not an object which one would expect

[1] "British Barrows," pp. 116, 196.

to find in association with a male skeleton, and this circumstance only tends to make the discovery more unique.

An equally interesting discovery in the matter of grave-goods was investigated by me in the course of last summer. A large mound in a neighbouring island was opened by

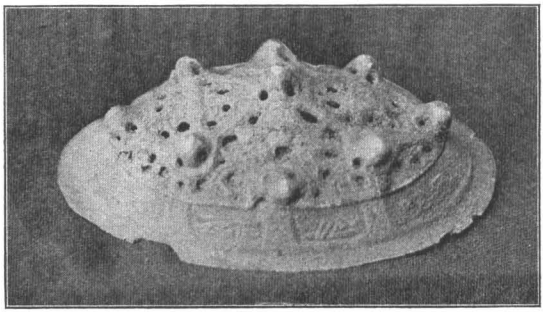


FIG. 7.—BOWL-SHAPED BROOCH.

a farmer, who decided to settle the question whether or not the mound, which he knew to be artificial, contained anything valuable. Unfortunately, I did not hear of the

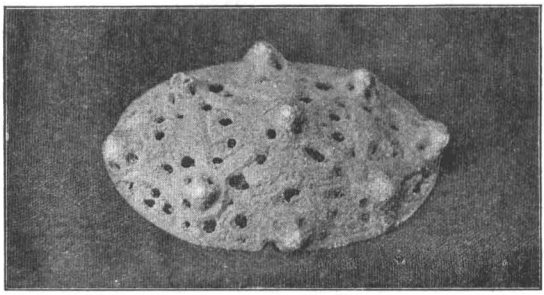


FIG. 8.—OUTER SHELL OF BROOCH.

excavation while it was being carried out, but I afterwards obtained a general description of the burial, and a view of the grave-goods which accompanied it, and which are of a highly interesting character. The burial was after cremation, and the deposit of bones was found about the

centre of the mound, along with two fine bowl-shaped brooches of Viking type (Fig. 7), a bone armlet (Fig. 5), an amber whorl (Fig. 6), and a portion of a bronze pin. When found the brooches were 9 inches apart, and the other objects were in close proximity to them. In size

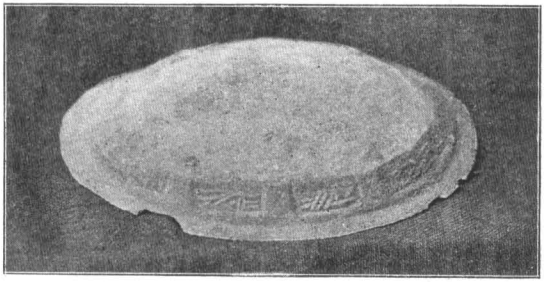


FIG. 9.—INNER SHELL OF BROOCH.

and ornamentation the brooches are practically identical, and there can be no doubt that they belonged to one individual, whose body was consumed on the funeral pyre.

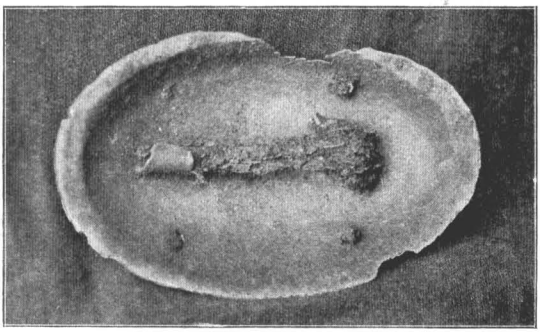


FIG. 10.—THE SAME: UNDER SURFACE.

Each brooch, which is convex externally and concave internally, measures 4 inches in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height in the centre. The body of the brooch is double, consisting of an outer and finely-decorated shell of brass openwork (Fig. 8), placed over

an inner shell of brass, which is plain (Fig. 9), and no doubt originally highly polished on the upper surface, so that the polished surface would appear through the openwork above it. The upper shell is divided into four diamond-shaped spaces, bordered by unpierced bands, which have a slight lineal ornamentation. The angles of each diamond-shaped space have knobs pierced in four places. Each space is pierced throughout, the ornamentation consisting of combinations of straight lines. The border of the inner shell again is spaced and ornamented with alternating crosses and combinations of straight lines. Only one of the brooches had the pin, which is of iron, intact, and seems to have been fastened in much the same way as the modern brooch, a brass catch projecting from the concavity of the shell to receive the point of the pin. (Fig. 10.) Adhering to the pin one could distinctly see a fragment of cloth, which, on examination, I took to be linen, the texture being extremely fine. These brooches are really very fine, and, when in use, must have gone far to enhance the appearance of their owner, who, there can be no doubt, was a woman. In the words of Dr. Anderson, "As the sword is the most characteristic object among the grave-goods of the man, the brooch is also the most characteristic object among the grave-goods of the woman. The brooch, which is constantly found in these interments in Norway, is a most peculiar ornament. It is always of brass, massive, oval, and bowl-shaped in form, and is distinguished from all other brooches that are known, not only of this, but of every other area and every other time, by the fact that it is an article of personal adornment, which (though as capable of being used singly as any other form of fibula might be) is almost never found singly, but constantly occurs in pairs, the one being usually an almost exact duplicate of the other. This singular type of brooch is the special ornament of the female dress which prevailed in Norway during the last three centuries of their heathen period. It differs entirely from the types

that preceded it and succeeded it; and it differs as completely from the types of the later iron age in all other European countries."[1] The bone armlet which accompanied the burial is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in inner diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. It is well made, and when polished would make a very presentable ornament. The amber whorl is very pretty, in fact the finest I have seen, and measures 1 inch in diameter, being fully $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. I would not say, however, that it is the most interesting specimen I have met with, as I possess a steatite whorl (Fig. 4) with an inscription in runes, which read—"RIST RUNAR"; meaning, "cut the runes," the name of the artist not being decipherable. I do not know whether or not this whorl was found in association with a burial, and refer to it on this occasion merely for comparative purposes.

Ancient inhabited sites have not unfrequently given us human crania, but they have not necessarily any connection with the sites, which may have been, and in many cases were, used as places of interment, the mounds covering the ruins being as serviceable for sepulture as any which could have been raised for the purpose. In this connection I examined in 1898 an ancient inhabited site on the West Mainland, near which a human cranium (Fig. 11) in good preservation was found. There was nothing, however, in the circumstances attending the discovery of the skull which would necessarily associate it with the building brought to light; but that it was of considerable antiquity I have no doubt. The cranium was subsequently submitted to Mr. James Simpson, New University, Edinburgh, who reported as follows:—The cranium is that of a man well advanced in years, for the sutures are almost entirely obliterated. The teeth, except the right first bicuspid, the crown of which is flat and well worn, are absent. The glabello-occipital length is 192 mm., and the basi-bregmatic height 139 mm., giving a vertical index of 72.4. The

[1] "Scotland in Pagan Times—The Iron Age," p. 34.

greatest parieto-squamous breadth is 149 mm., so that the cephalic index is 77.6, bringing the skull under the mesaticephalic group. The horizontal circumstance is 550 mm., and the cubical capacity 1,660 c.c. The supraciliary ridges are very prominent, and one thing is worthy of

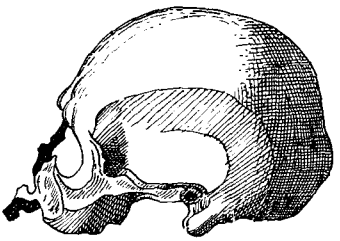


FIG. 11.—NORMA LATERALIS.

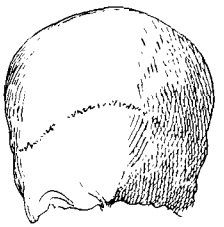


FIG. 11*a*.—NORMA OCCIPITALIS.

note, that in the premaxillary region of the left alveolar border there is a cup-shaped depression, the dimensions of which are 11 mm. antero-posteriorly, and 15 mm. transversely, and from a surgical point of view the question arises as to the cause of this depression, which rather suggests the theory that it may have been the result of

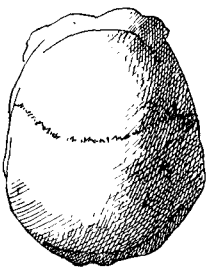


FIG. 11*b*.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

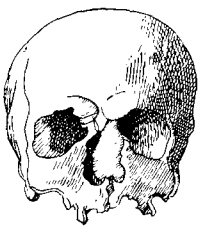


FIG. 11*c*.—NORMA FRONTALIS.

an abscess. In every respect the specimen resembles the typical Scandinavian form.

Some time after the discovery of the skull another cranium (Fig. 12), in capital preservation, was found at the same site, and submitted to me for examination. I

forwarded the skull to Professor McAlister, who favoured me with the following report thereon:—A strongly-built



FIG. 12.—NORMA LATERALIS

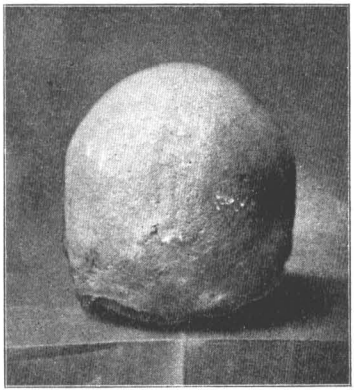


FIG. 12*a*.—NORMA OCCIPITALIS.

male skull, longheaded (index $\frac{\text{breadth} \times 100}{\text{length}}$ 70.19). In this it agrees with the older Orcadian skulls described by Garson,[1] and differs from the later ones, which are broader. The



FIG. 12*b*.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

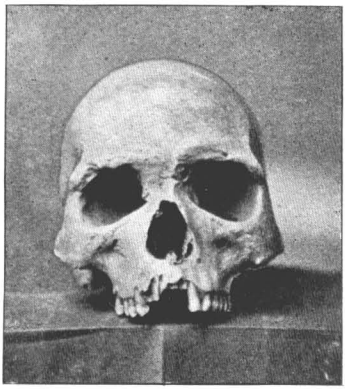


FIG. 12*c*.—NORMA FRONTALIS.

circumference is 550, a measure increased by the thickness of the bone and prominence of the muscular crests, but

[1] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1883, p. 54.

fairly agreeing with Garson's measures. In capacity it is decidedly small, being 1,390 ccm., while the smallest of Garson's males is 1,440. It is thus a mesocephalic skull. In height it exceeds its breadth, so the height index $(\frac{h \times 100}{\text{length}})$ is 73.7. In this respect it differs from Garson's skulls, but agrees with some long barrow skulls from other parts of the kingdom. The brows are unusually projecting, which makes the forehead look lower than it really is. This is due to an enormous frontal sinus (the air space over the nose): the orbits are rugged-bordered, low-browed, the transverse length exceeding the width $(\frac{w \times 100}{l}) = 80.49$ In this it also agrees with Garson's dolichocephalic older skulls. The nose is shorter and wider than usual, its index $(\frac{w \times 100}{h})$ being 57.14. All the other skulls from Orkney or Shetland hitherto described are a little higher and a little narrower, and so have a lower nasal index. I have, however, got some North Hebridean skulls which resemble it in this respect. The face is uncommonly wide and flat. This somewhat Mongoloid appearance of some of the long skulls from Orkney was noted by Garson.[1] Here, as in his specimens, the two zygomatic arches stand out from the sides of the skull, so that when the head is held out at arm's length a clear space appears between these arches and the side of the skull. This great interzygomatic width, together with the shortness of the face, gives a low superior facial index, but this is always a variable character. The palatine arch is wide, and the teeth moderately large, but when compared with the size of the skull they are not at all disproportional. The length of the five hinder teeth, when compared with the length of the basinasal line (Flower's dental index), gives an index of 37.5, which is well within the microdontal class. The palatine index $(\frac{\text{palatine width} \times 100}{\text{palatine length}})$ is 115, comparable with that in Garson's specimens. Altogether it is a typical specimen of a strong male skull of the older type.

In the summer of 1902 my attention was called to the

[1] *Ibid*, p. 73.

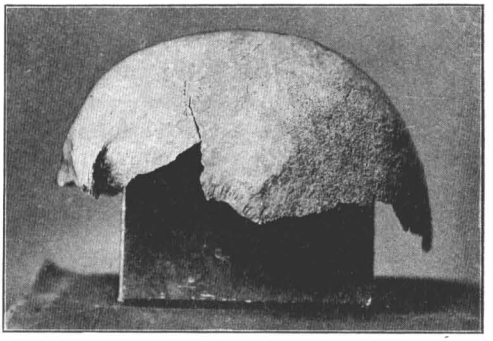


FIG. 13.—NORMA LATERALIS.

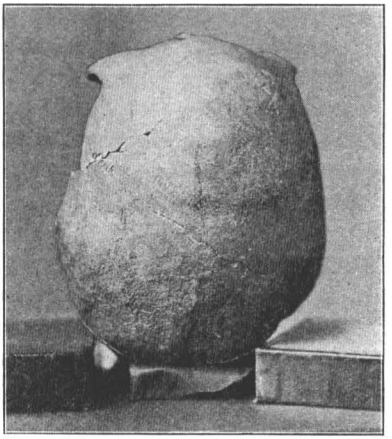


FIG. 13*a*.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

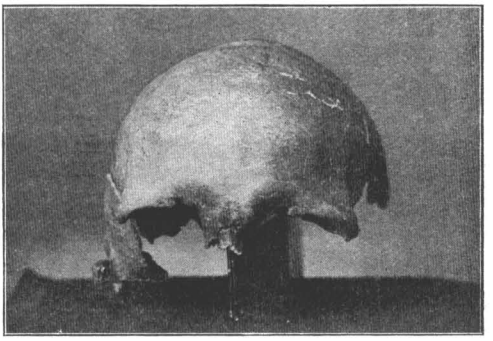


FIG. 13*b*.—NORMA FRONTALIS.

discovery of an ancient inhabited site in the parish of Stenness. After investigation, I found that the building brought to light, being in a very dilapidated state, did not present any features of special interest, but I ascertained that immediately above it, about 2 feet from the surface of the ground, an unburnt burial had been brought to light. Unfortunately, however, the cranium (Fig. 13) and long-bones had not been so carefully handled as their fragile state demanded, and, consequently, the skull and other parts of the skeleton had received injuries which would render a full description impossible. I forwarded the cranium and long-bones, however, to Professor McAlister, who subsequently sent me the following report:—The specimen is a very broken thin calvaria, probably of a female, with an index of about 76. Skulls of this index are generally supposed to belong to the second race. The fragments of the long-bones are too imperfect to help us accurately to deduce the stature. As near as can be estimated, the femur, which is most complete, probably belonged to a person of 5 feet 2 inches. It looks as if it belonged to the skull submitted, but it is so much weather-worn that it is impossible to be definite. Along with the skeleton was found a large bronze pin (Fig. 14), which must originally have measured at least $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, but which is now only $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the point having been broken off by the finder, who, I understand, wished to ascertain the metal of which the ornament was constructed, hoping, no doubt, that it would be of more valuable material than bronze. The ring through the top of the pin was also broken when I got the pin, but it was whole when found. The head of the pin is flat and cut into facets. For about three-quarters of its length the pin is round, but towards the point it has been flattened out.

In 1901 I discovered in the parish of Firth a chambered mound situated on the brow of Kewing Hill, and known in the neighbourhood as the "Fairy Knowe." The mound was found to contain a rectangular chamber, the extreme

length of which was 11 feet 10 inches; the greatest width, 5 feet 8 inches, and the greatest height, 7 feet 2 inches. The walls converged towards the top, while, branching off them, on a level with the floor, were four lateral cells, built on the same principle as the main chamber. The cells averaged 6 feet in height and 5 feet in length, with the exception of one, which proved to be 11 feet long. The



FIG. 14.—BRONZE PIN.

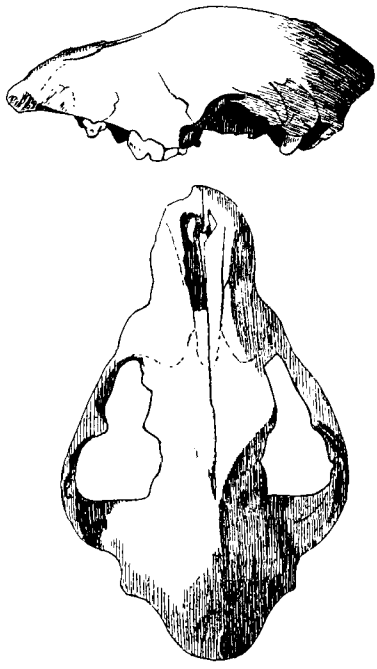


FIG. 15.—SKULL OF A DOG.

entrance passage, which pointed due east, was on a level with the floor of the main chamber, and measured 11 feet in length, 2 feet in height and 2 feet 3 inches in breadth.

In carrying out the excavation nothing of any consequence was discovered until I reached a point about a foot from the floor. Here I found a deposit of a somewhat fatty, unctuous appearance, in removing which I

discovered two dozen skulls of the dog (Fig. 15), several human long-bones, and five human skulls, only two of which, however, could be preserved. In clearing out the cells, also, two other human skulls were found,

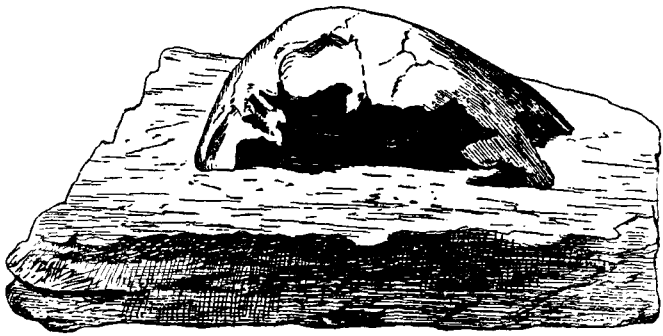


FIG. 16.—SKULL FOUND IN RECESS.

one of them on a slab (Fig. 16) in a small recess near the entrance to the largest cell, while another human skull was found embedded in the clay which filled the entrance passage. The human crania, unfortunately, were much



17*a* —NORMA LATERALIS.

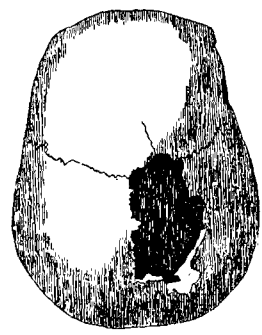


FIG. 17*b*.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

decomposed, but I forwarded them to Sir William Turner, some time Professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, who reported as follows:—

The human remains consisted of five calvariæ and

portions of three thigh bones. They were from persons in the later stage of life, as the cranial sutures were in process of obliteration, and in two specimens they were almost completely ossified. I cannot speak definitely of the sex, though two were in all probability males. In No. 1 the orbito-nasal region of the frontal bone was absent, but the parietals and occipital bone, as far as the inion and superior curved line, were preserved. The actual length was 179 mm., but if the glabella had been present a somewhat longer diameter would have been obtained. The parietal breadth in the squamous region was 145 mm., which probably represented the widest diameter of the cranium: the length-breadth index, calculated from these dimensions, would be 81, but the absence of the orbito-nasal region, by subtracting from the length, gave a higher index than if the frontal had been entire. No. 2 (Fig. 17) consisted of the frontal and parietal bones, along with the occipital squama, for a short distance below the inion and superior curved lines. The calvaria was sufficiently preserved to enable me to measure the length, 187 mm., and the breadth in the squamous-parietal, 142 mm., from which a length-breadth index 75.9 was calculated. The glabella and supra-orbital ridges were moderately projecting; the forehead was a little retreating; the vortex was not ridged or highly arched; the post-parietal region was flattened obliquely downwards and backwards; the occipital squama projected behind the lambdoidal suture. The skull was apparently that of a man. No. 3 consisted of portions only of the frontal and two parietal bones, so that neither the length nor the breadth could be measured. The vortex tended to be ridged in the sagittal region. Nos. 4 and 5 were more imperfect even than No. 3, but from the character of the glabella and supra-orbital ridge in No. 5 it is probable that the skull was that of a man.

It is much to be regretted that the skulls were so very imperfect, as the opportunities of studying human remains from chambered cairns have been so few that we

do not possess sufficient data to enable us to generalise as to the cranial characters of the builders. Only No. 2 was sufficiently preserved to enable the arc of the skull to be seen and the cephalic index taken, which was approximately dolichocephalic.

The portions of the thigh bones which reached me consisted of the head, the neck, trochanters and upper fourth of the shaft of two left femora, and of the middle two-thirds of the shaft of a right femur. The upper part of the shaft was somewhat flattened on its anterior surface, and approximated to the condition known as platymery. One specimen was smaller in dimensions than the others, and was probably a female. In the largest specimen the gluteal ridge was raised into a trochanter tertius.

The chambered cairn in question presented no features of special importance beyond being a well-preserved example of a class which, strictly speaking, is peculiar to Orkney, and which is well illustrated by the cairns at Maeshowe in the parish of Stenness, Quoyness in Elsness, in the Island of Sanday, and Quanterness, near Kirkwall, but the contents were unusual in two particulars. It is certainly unusual to find so many skulls of the dog in association with human remains. Their presence in similar circumstances has been noted elsewhere, but I am not aware of any case in which so many have been found associated with human remains. One can only speculate, of course, as to the reason which induced the people who made the interment to bury the dog along with a human being. May it have been that they entertained the belief that the dog would be serviceable to the deceased in the after life? The other feature of importance lay in the fact that one of the skulls, as I have said, was found on a slab in a small recess near the entrance to the largest cell, viz., that branching off the west side of the main chamber. This recess measured 10 inches long, 6 inches broad, and 6 inches high, and the slab with the skull, which lay on its side, fitted into it. I could come to no other conclusion than that the skull was *in situ*, and had

not drifted into that position subsequent to the interment. The head, therefore, must have been squeezed into that position when the interment was made, or else decapitated and placed in the position in which I found it.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper Mr. J. Gray said that the number of skulls referred to by Mr. Charleson in his paper was so small that no definite conclusions can be drawn from them. We may hazard the supposition that they show that the races we find associated with relics of the bronze age had reached Orkney. If this may be admitted the fact is very interesting, because the bronze age people are supposed to have come from the South, and their remains are found in connection with chambered tombs. Such tombs were not, he believed, found in Scandinavia, but they occur down the west coast of Scotland, also in Wiltshire and Cornwall, as well as in prehistoric Greece. They may therefore indicate the line of migration followed by this race on its way from the eastern Mediterranean to Orkney. The race was brachycephalic, which would agree in the main with the evidence of the skulls referred to by the lecturer. The ornaments found were interesting, but appeared of somewhat later date than the bronze age, as they were of the same type as the ornaments of the early iron age from Hallstatt. He hoped the paper would be printed, as it contained much valuable evidence which ought to be placed on record.

Dr. J. G. Garson said that his name had been quoted so often in the course of the paper that he felt he would be expected to say something by way of comment upon it. He would point out that interments after cremation occur in the later round barrows, and that those barrows are often found in groups, one of them perhaps being larger than the others. The interment in them consists of a small square chamber, in which are deposited the cremated remains, portions of bone sometimes remaining, but never

sufficient for anthropological purposes. As Mr. Gray remarked, the skulls in the older pre-cremation barrows are brachycephalic, and found associated with bronze implements. The bronze age people in Orkney undoubtedly came from the south, and therefore the bronze age in Orkney was later than in England. The bronze brooch mentioned in the paper certainly belonged to the iron age, as suggested by Mr. Gray. The skull shown in No. 11 was a bronze age type, and a very early one. It has very heavy and prominent brow ridges, but the long narrow form of the head pointed to admixture with the neolithic race. On the other hand, some of the characteristics it presents show it to be later than its general form would imply. In being a very heavy skull, it resembled one that he had seen from near Kirkwall, in which this characteristic also occurs. No. 13 was also of the bronze age from Orkney. The last set of specimens from the chambered cairn show a mixture of races, the skulls being of a recent type. In Dr. Garson's view the chambered cairn of Maeshowe was most probably of a neolithic date, and may be earlier than the other chambered cairns mentioned in the paper. The two races, characteristic of the neolithic and bronze ages respectively, were very distinct in the early part of the bronze period.

ON THE PLACE-NAME WETWANG.

By the Rev. E. MAULE COLE, M.A., F.G.S.

THERE is a village on the Yorkshire Wolds, in the East Riding, which bears this unique name, and of which I have been the Vicar for nearly forty years. No remark is more common from those who come across it than "What a strange name! What does it mean?" Yes, there is an instinct in men's minds, whether learned or unlearned, that there must somehow have been a reason for a name in the first instance, though in the lapse of ages that reason may be unknown at the present day.

Enquiries frequently addressed to me caused me to investigate the matter, and the result is embodied in what follows. If I cannot succeed in carrying the suffrages of the members of the Viking Club, I can at least invite their criticism.

By way of introduction let me observe that, though the name of Wetwang is, or rather was till late years, an unknown quantity, it is mentioned in Domesday as a manor belonging to the Archbishops of York, containing 13½ carucates of taxable land. At an early date, probably in the twelfth century, the Church and certain lands were given to found a prebend in York Minster; the name is incised on one of the stalls in the choir, and there is still a Canon of Wetwang. Next, let me say what the word is not, before I give my reasons for what it is.

Of course it is a compound word, Wet and Wang. Wang means a field in Norse and in Anglo-Saxon. No

one will dispute this. But what is Wet? One of my critics suggests "Wheat." He says:

> I am of opinion, drawn from the abundance of place and personal names associated with "wheat," that this grain was in old times cultivated more largely than generally admitted. In the case of "Wetwang," a place in intimate touch with the levels of Holderness, where wheat is known to have been grown at the Domesday Survey time, it might record a rare or isolated instance of a wheat crop being produced.

My answer to this is that the Wolds are not Holderness. In the latter the soil consists of a stiff clay (boulder clay), which produces excellent crops of wheat, but on the latter there are only a few inches of soil, lying on a hard substratum of chalk rock, which, as in the case of the South Downs and Wiltshire, provide only a meagre pasturage for sheep.

In an interesting report of the manor of Wetwang, presented to Lord Bathurst by his steward in the early part of the eighteenth century, occurs this passage: "Sheep pastures and corn (*i.e.*, spring-corn) are the only product of the place; little or no wheat, the land not being strong enough for that grain." Still, some wheat was grown, but it was sown with rye, and produced a curious compound known in the vernacular as "mashelson," as appears from an overseer's book in 1730. After the Enclosure Act of 1806, turnips were introduced, and the land is now capable of producing a fairly good wheat crop. But if, say in 1750, no wheat could be grown, is it likely that it was so conspicuous here, some 900 years before, that our ancestors, with less appliances, gave the place the name of "Wheat-wang"? To me it seems absurd, and probably to my readers.

I have now to meet another criticism, though happily the occasion for it has passed. I was explaining my views as to the origin of the name "Wetwang" at a meeting of the Yorkshire Dialect Society at York, and had to leave in a hurry to catch my train, when, as I understood afterwards, Professor Skeat, the greatest liv-

ing authority on Anglo-Saxon, and the author of that grand work, "The Etymological Dictionary of the English Language," jumped up and said, "Wet's wet, and Wang's a field, and there you are." A leader in the *Yorkshire Post* expressed the opinion that this was rather a summary method of disposing of the question, and thought that something more might be said on the subject. The fact is the Professor was looking at it with an Anglo-Saxon eye, and I with a Norse eye, and the result was a squint! However, I think that we both see straight now.

I pointed out to him in correspondence that Wetwang was about the last place to be called "wet." It is situated on a ridge of chalk, some 50 feet above the dale bottoms on either side. The rainfall, which is comparatively small, is immediately absorbed by the porous chalk, and there is no wet place about it. To quote again from the agent's report to Lord Bathurst:—

> Water is here much wanted. There is a pond in ye Town supply'd only by rainwater, wch in dry Summers affords none, and then the Inhabitants are obliged to drive their Cattle three miles for water.

The Professor was courteous enough to say that he was unaware of the peculiarity of the place, and that, if it would be any satisfaction to me, he was ready to accept my derivation of the name.

What then is that derivation?

It must be observed, first, that the majority of place-names in this locality are distinctly of Scandinavian origin, which is not to be wondered at, when we consider that East Yorkshire was a Danish settlement, and was subsequently exposed to raids of the Vikings, many of whom came to stay. The terminals, "thorpe," "by," "wyke," and "ness," are very frequent on the Yorkshire coast; there are as many as 17 nabs, or nesses, and 16 wykes, or wicks. In the East Riding alone there are 55 townships ending in thorpe, and 35 in by. "Thorpe" in the East Riding is always pronounced "thrup." One naturally therefore turns to Norse for an explanation

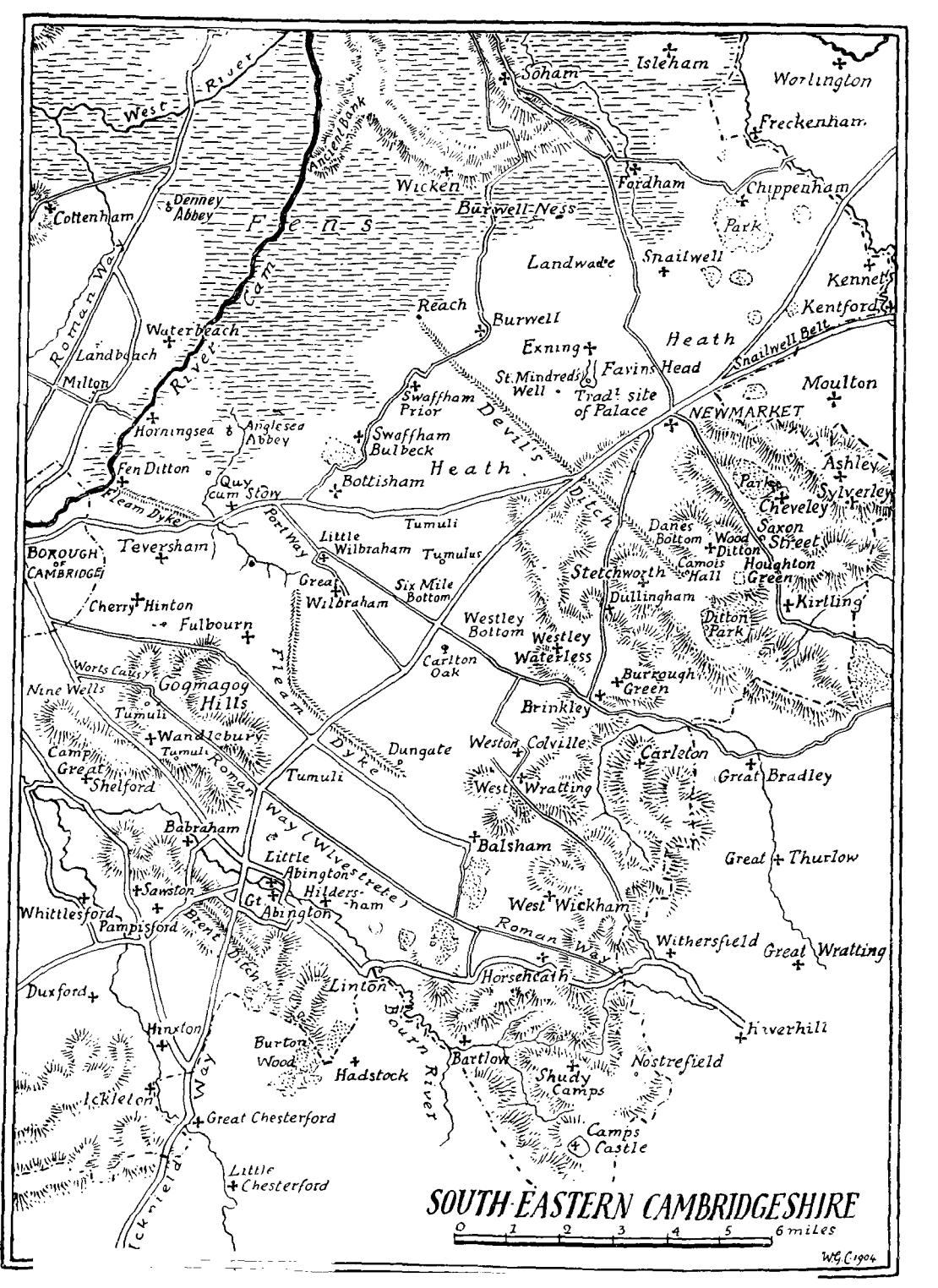
of such a unique name as "Wetwang," and what do we find? The actual word itself! Not two words, a substantive with a qualifying adjective, as "a fine day," but a veritable compound, used as a single word, such as "drawing-room."

This compounded single word was in use in Iceland a thousand years ago. Let me direct the attention of your readers to Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary, edited by Vigfusson (1869), and there, on page 721, under the heading of "Vœtt-vangr, or Vétt-vangr," they will find the authority on which I based my derivation over twenty-five years ago. I quote from a paper of mine written then:

> The former part of the word is from the Icelandic vætti = witness, testimony, or va'ttr = a witness. There is little doubt about this, because the whole word is found in Iceland, as a law term = the place of summons. If an offence or assault had been committed, neighbours were summoned to try the case; they were called "vettvangs-buar," "neighbours to the place of action," to be summoned as "buar." The place itself was called "vettvang" = the space within a bowshot from the place all around.
>
> As an ordinary word, the Icelandic "búi" means a dweller or inhabitant, as in our neighbour; but as a law term it means a neighbour acting as juror. Commonly five jurors were considered sufficient to decide the question, but in grave cases nine were summoned. Their verdict (kridr) was called "búa-krida."
>
> This ancient trial by *neighbour verdict* is the undoubted origin of our Trial by Jury. It is not to be attributed to Alfred the Great or William the Conqueror. Its source is Norse, not Saxon. Though it died out in the mother country, Norway, it found a home in Iceland for 400 years, while the Icelandic Commonwealth lasted, till 1275 A.D.; and, from the Danelagh in England, it spread over the whole country, so that now it is the cherished inheritance of the English nation.
>
> The name "Wetwang" is a standing memorial of the fact.

[There can be little doubt of the accuracy of the derivation suggested for this curious place-name by the author of the paper, but it is not clear how a term, which in Iceland shifted about on each fresh occasion when a

summons was issued, became localized in East Yorkshire at one particular spot. Was it selected for any reason as the general place for issuing summonses in the district? or does the name commemorate the fact that it was the place of summons on some special and well-remembered occasion? The author is unable to throw any light on these points.—ED.]


Soham
Isleham
Worlington
Freckenham
West River
Ancient Bank
Wicken
Fordham
Chippenham
Park
Cottenham
Denney Abbey
F e n s
Burwell Ness
Landwade
Snailwell
Kennett
Kentford
Roman Way
Cam River
Reach
Burwell
Waterbeach
Landbeach
Milton
Exning
Heath
Snailwell Belt
St. Mindred's Well
Favins Head
Trad.l site of Palace
Moulton
Swaffham Prior
Devil's Ditch
NEWMARKET
Horningsea
Anglesea Abbey
Swaffham Bulbeck
Heath
Ashley
Fen Ditton
Quy cum Stow
Bottisham
Park
Sylverley
Cheveley
Fleam Dyke
Tumuli
Saxon Street
Danes Bottom
Wood Ditton
Camois Hall
Houghton Green
Teversham
Little Wilbraham
Tumulus
Stetchworth
Dullingham
Kirtling
BOROUGH of CAMBRIDGE
Great Wilbraham
Six Mile Bottom
Cherry Hinton
Fulbourn
Westley Bottom
Westley Waterless
Ditton Park
Carlton Oak
Worts Caus.
Nine Wells
Gogmagog Hills
Tumuli
Burrough Green
Brinkley
Wandlebury
Camp
Great Shelford
Roman Way
Dungate
Weston Colville
Carleton
Great Bradley
West Wratting
Babraham
Balsham
Great Thurlow
Sawston
Little Abington
Hilders-ham
Gt Abington
West Wickham
Whittlesford
Pampisford
Brent Ditch
Withersfield
Great Wratting
Roman Way
Duxford
Linton
Horseheath
Hinxton
Burton Wood
Hadstock
Bartlow
Nostrefield
Shudy Camps
Ickleton
Great Chesterford
Camps Castle
Little Chesterford
SOUTH-EASTERN CAMBRIDGESHIRE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 miles
W.G. C. 1904

TRACES OF DANISH CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

By E. HAILSTONE, F.R.Hist.S.

THE few following remarks are offered with the greatest diffidence in the hope of helping to construct one more rung in the ladder by means of which we may ascend in the direction of that special branch of knowledge to which the Viking Club aspires. They are purposely confined to the county of Cambridge, and more particularly to the eastern side of it, so as to form a limit, within which, as the region of my birthplace, my antiquarian studies have been directed for some considerable period.

At the outset our subject may be divided roughly into two parts: (I.) That of invasion, and (II.) that of settlement. It is perhaps convenient to touch very briefly on the first point, confining ourselves to acknowledged and well-known facts, with their dates appended.

The historical Danish invasions of England cover, it is stated, a period extending from 790 to 1013 A.D., but it has often been supposed, and apparently with good reason, that their commencement may be considerably antedated as far as regards East Anglia.

However that may be, in 866 A.D. we find Danes landing in East Anglia; in 870 A.D. took place the death of King Edmund; the great abbeys of Peterborough, Crowland, and Ely were wrapt in flames, the monasteries of Soham

and Thorney did not escape, when their defenceless inhabitants were slaughtered; in 875 A.D. the town of Cambridge became the headquarters of the invading army, and during the subsequent fifty years, says Lysons, in his history of the county, was frequently one of its principal military posts; in 991 A.D. took place the celebrated battle of Maldon, noticeable for us as being the date when Ealdorman Brihtnoth, as a consideration for the right of burial in Ely, if he should fall therein, bestowed on the monks certain manors, not capital, but in demesne—that is being held in farm under the king—viz., Fulbourn and Teversham, including Westley, as well as those of Impington, Pampeworth = Papworth, Triplow and Hardwick; in 994 A.D. the first Danegeld was imposed; in 1010 A.D. futher ravages were committed by an invading army, and though the men of Cambridgeshire valiantly defended themselves, they were eventually overpowered, and the heathen conquerors, besides setting fire to the town of Cambridge, burnt to the ground the manor houses belonging to the abbey of Crowland in Cottenham, Oakington, and Dry Drayton. The Danish army, we are told, then betook themselves to their fleet, but, while halting at the village of Balsham, the story runs that the inhabitants were all slaughtered without distinction of age or sex, with the exception of one man, who gallantly defended himself against all comers on the step of the church tower then standing; lastly, in 1013 A.D., occurred Sweyn's great invasion, and in 1016 A.D., by King Canute's victory at Ashdon,[1] England became finally subjugated to the Danish Crown.

The question then arises, What traces, if any, have we left now of these Danes in Cambridgeshire? We naturally turn our attention to names of places and persons. The former are of two kinds: (I.) Dis-

[1] "Inne Eastanglen . . . æt thære dun the man hæt Assandun" (Sax. Chr.)—or most probably Ashingdon, near Canewdon (Cnutsdon), where a church stands erected as a memorial after the victory. But see Author's reply to discussion, pp. 124-5.—Ed.

tricts answering for the most part to our names of parishes, and (II.) those of various tracts or landmarks contained within those parishes. Probably in most, if not in all, cases parish names are anterior in date. If it be true, as has been sometimes stated, that the convertibility of the vowels *e* and *a* in a name of Anglo-Saxon etymology bears evidence of both Saxon and Danish pronunciation, then in Cambridgeshire we must remember the convertible forms of Errington and Arrington, Ermingford and Armingford, Berton and Barton, Bergham and Barham, Berghei and Barway, Berklowe and Bartlow, Belesham and Balsham, Bernwell and Barnwell, Esselie and Ashley, Sexton and Saxton or Saxon Street, Herleton and Harleton, Herdeleston and Harston, Herdewick and Hardwick, Heselingfield and Haslingfield, Kirtling and Cartelage or Catlage, and Merc or March in the isle of Ely.

Two entire parish names, however, possibly show Scandinavian forms, viz., Toftes and Stow Quy[1] or Stow-cum-Quy. Of these, Toftes, surviving in the modern Toft, once formed a district taken together with Hardwick, the two names at the time of Domesday Book being often interchanged. Here were lands charged with peculiar customary payments relating to the royal bakery, being mixed up in a certain way with those of the neighbouring parish of Cumberton, where was once a maze, as at Saffron Walden in Essex. There is still a region here which goes under the peculiar name of Cumberton Offal, just as we find Offal end in Haslingfield near by. Duxford, formerly Dokesworth, now divided into two parishes, seems connected with the personal name of Tochi, to which we shall again refer. As to Quy, we have two spellings, viz., Coweye and Quoy; the latter, coming down as such to the eighteenth century, and quite in accordance with modern pronunciation, indicates, it may be, a Scandinavian form, "quoy" meaning an

[1] Heordewic, p. 594, Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax." ?=*Heord*, treasure, treasury; *wic*, fenced town; hence treasury-town.—Ed.

enclosure. Attention should be given to the fact that in the earliest times there was no parish church there, but only a free chapel, now long since destroyed, connected with the mother church of Stow, later on written indiscriminately as Stow Quy or Stow-cum-Quy. On the other hand, in Domesday Book the name of Stow does not appear, but Coei or Quy, then as now, is applied to the whole region. This tends to show that by tradition Quy is the earlier and pre-Norman name of a certain settlement which at the time of the Norman Conquest lay in the hands of the two monasteries of Ely and Ramsey, together with a small portion in the hands of the Crown. The Ramsey lands run into Bottisham, the Crown lands into Wilbraham.

Next, as to places lying *within* parishes. We have "holmes" in Quy (the seat of the principal manor is called Holme Hall), as well as in Bottisham and Wilbraham,[1] and it may be reasonably suspected that many "hams" in Cambridgeshire are but corruptions of "holmes," as for instance in the case of Bottisham, and notably in that of Soham and Fordham. In the last there is no trace at any time of more than one parish having existed, and yet in various documents we read of Fordham Magna, as if there once was more than one *ham* or *holme*. Again, from Fordham there runs a road westward to a spot called Burwell "ness," or corruptly nest, a significant name, while on the other side lies Wicken, or Wykes, which may or may not be Scandinavian in form. Nearer Cambridge we come to Denny (= ? Daneeye), whatever the suffix may mean, situated in a district called Beach, now comprising Utbeach or Landbeach and Waterbeach, Denny being in name opposed to Anglesey, the Angles' ey, in the parish of Bottisham.

Worthy of more special notice is the term "Bottom," of which there are three in Cambridgeshire, two of these lying in Westley. Westley itself, from evidence in the

[1] Wilburgeham, see D. B. and Kemble, "Cod. Dipl." IV. 299.

survey of the county, made within a short time after that of Domesday Book, was the western "ley," or "meadow land," carved off from the more important settlement of Burgh,[1] now Burgh Green. These two "bottoms" are called Westley Bottom and Six Mile Bottom, partly in the same parish and with a few houses assigned to it lying in Bottisham and Wilbraham. It is somewhat uncertain whether Six Mile Bottom did not include land lying in the parishes of Wilbraham,[2] Wratting,[2] Brinkley, and Carlton. The boundaries of Westley at the junction of the above-mentioned parishes have been in dispute. Anyway, Carlton oak, within our memory, stood conspicuous for miles as a landmark, and Brinkley Manor appears in Domesday Book under the heading of Carlton, which latter again runs in confusion in the Domesday and early surveys with Weston, now Weston Colville.

To whatever etymology Six Mile Bottom is referred,[3] the mention is significant of the Norse coin *ores* as a render in money or kind, one *ore* being equivalent to 16 denarii. They occur in Domesday Book under the mention of lands situated in Cambridge, Balsham, Pampisford, Babraham, and Ickleton,[4] and nowhere else in the county except in Morden and in Wilbraham,[5] where, on the king's manor, two "*ores*" are reckoned as "toll." Toll for what? Was it for the right of passing through the Fleam Ditch at the gap now called Dungate?

Lastly, in the parish of Wood Ditton there is a tract of land, adjacent to the Devil's Dyke, called Danes Bottom, being so marked on the Ordnance map of 1836. In the same parish also lies Houghton Green, in our boyhood pronounced Hawton or Horton, with a few houses on it lying adjacent to Ditton Green. The name is perhaps suggestive of a Scandinavian "Há-tún," con-

[1] Burgestede, p. 596, Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi. Sax."

[2] Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax.," p. 597; Carletune, Wilburgeham, Wrættincge.

[3] See p. 120. [4] Iclelingtune, p. 598, Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax."

[5] Wilburgeham, *Ibid*, 597.

sisting of small tenements within or on the land of a manorial, or main estate.

Before reverting to a further consideration of these "bottoms" we would call attention in passing to what has been supposed to indicate Danish traditions in architecture, viz., the round church towers of Cambridgeshire. These are, or were, in Snailwell, Bartlow, Westley, and Burwell St. Andrew. The two last are now non-existent. Westley tower partially fell, and was then entirely pulled down; the entire church of Burwell Andrew, being in ruins in the eighteenth century, shared the same fate. We may add, that, while digging in the gardens of Anglesey Abbey in 1860, foundations were revealed of what appeared to be a round tower; we merely advert to the fact without drawing any conclusions whatever therefrom.

Now as to Danish settlements, in connection with the above-mentioned "bottoms" we may glean some light from the survey of Domesday Book, as well as from the subsequent ones of the county and of the Ely lands which followed within a short time after and, in connection with them, from certain allusions to be found in the "Historia Eliensis." The surveys show clearly that all these lands were at one time in the possession of the monastery of Ely.

The space at our disposal does not admit of proof of the figures given below in this paper, but elsewhere we are prepared to fully prove the results of our interpretation of the above-mentioned Inquisitions. On this point therefore we crave a certain amount of indulgence.

Now in these surveys we find some unusual features with reference to the number of carucæ, indicating land under plough, or capable of being considered as such. We find also, then and subsequently, in Balsham and Wratting, Ely lands taken together in an unusual manner, while in Snailwell, Cheveley, and Wood Ditton there are as regards them many difficulties of interpretation that have to be overcome. Most remarkable is the case of the

king's farm in Wood Ditton, once the property of the monastery of Ely, in which, besides the tenants' carucæ there given, there are "wanting, and that might be made," 13 or 11,[1] a far larger number than occurs anywhere else in Cambridgeshire. Again, observe that these Ely lands, on which we have reason to suspect that Danes were settled, are situated at the ends of the Fleam and Devil's Dykes, as if there was some connection between these Danes and the ward of the above-mentioned earthworks.

Firstly, as to the Fleam Dyke, the Ely lands in Westley, Fulbourn, and Teversham are grouped together in such a way as to form two manors—that is to say, as regards military service, two knights' fees, equal in area to 15 hides or 2,160 acres, exclusive of waste land and roadways. Again, Westley manor is specially described as a demesne vill of the abbot, and the lands are held in demesne farm of the king. So also in Fulbourn the lands are held "ad firmam," that is to say, of the king. Adjoined to the 3 hides of Westley is a tract of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, while in demesne of Fulbourn, and not in it, are $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides, thus making 6 hides to be added to Westley.

The account of Horningsey Manor, including Fen Ditton and Eye, in the "Historia Eliensis," is also very interesting. The upshot of it is as follows. Before the irruption of the heathens, that is to say, Danes or Northmen, a monastery of considerable note existed there under royal patronage. What is now called Biggin Abbey is probably its site. At the death of Cenwold the priest, who presided over its inmates, King Athelstan appointed Herolf the priest to rule in his stead. This monarch must, we think, be taken to mean Guthrum, who was baptised under the name of Athelstan, and who died in 890 A.D. In Cenwold's time, says the history, these heathens flocked to the monastery to baptism, and then the owners of the land, presumably under the king's direction, bestowed it upon the religious house. Reading between the lines

[1] The numbers 13 and 11 are both correct, the jurors in their verdict having regard to Ashley Manor from two different points of view.

we imagine that, in reality, the Danes flocked thither, or were settled down, for the main purpose of defending that end of the Fleam Dyke, just as we find them at the other end in Fulbourn and Westley, and in like manner at Wood Ditton, adjacent to the Devil's Ditch. At the northern end of the latter, in Reach and Burwell, in King Edward's time, we find a property extending across the boundary of the two hundreds of Staine and Staplehoe, always taken together, held by one Turcus [1] (?=Thorkil) under the convent of Ramsey, which in turn held of the Crown. Yet this land later on seems to have reverted to the fee of Ely.

In Fulbourn, at the time of the Conquest, the land of the lord's home farm on the Ely estate *might* consist of 3 carucæ, *i.e.*, probably 3 large carucæ of 3 hides in area, but for valuation none was reckoned ("nulla ibi habetur"), a phrase peculiar to this estate in the Cambridgeshire survey, while, as we have said, besides the tenants' carucæ, there were within the lordship, but not in Fulbourn, $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides in area, which we take to have lain in Westley, or in Six Mile Bottom.

Now what is the case with reference to Snailwell, Cheveley, and Wood Ditton. Snailwell Manor was also in demesne farm of the king, with its tenants' carucæ wanting at the time of the Domesday survey. Its wood, "ad clausuram," or Snailwell Belt, as the Ordnance map terms it, was connected in customary payments with the adjacent wood of the king's manor in Cheveley. Fulbourn and Teversham, we have said, were given to the monastery of Ely by Duke, or Ealdorman, Brihtnoth, just before the battle of Maldon, on condition of his burial at Ely. Westley, if not included in this gift, for there is some obscurity, had in some way or another become its property, possibly in small parcels, while Brihtnoth's wife, Ælfleda, gave Wood Ditton, together with $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in area situated in Cheveley, but Ealdorman Brihtnoth's sister had in Ditton a life interest. Yet we

[1] ? Torgils or Torgisl.—ED.

have no very clear idea of the extent of the Wood Ditton and Cheveley Ely lands until the time of King Canute, whose charter, whether genuine or not, is of peculiar interest. Its date is 1022 A.D. By its tenor the king, instigated no less by his affection for the monastery than by the prayers of its then abbot, Leofric, and those of Ælfwin, Bishop of East Anglia, exchanged his "villa," or manor, or estate, of Ditton with that of Cheveley: so that, as Domesday Book subsequently states, the church of Ely, in the time of King Edward, held that part of Ditton, which is arable and woodland, consisting of 15 hides in area. The signatories to this document are the king and queen, and the two archbishops of York and Canterbury, and then, at the head of bishops and abbots, earls, monks, and sheriffs, come in the words, "Ego Gerbrandus Roscylde Parochiæ Danorum gente confirmavi"—"I, Gerbrand, Bishop of Roskilde, have confirmed the gift on behalf of, or by, the people of the Danish parish."

Here then we see, like as at Horningsey and Westley, Fulbourn and Teversham, Danes had been converted and formed into a settlement, the name of which now survives in "Danes Bottom." Looking at Domesday Book and the county survey, we find by calculation that the whole hundred of Cheveley consisted in wood and arable and meadow of an area of 75 hides, divided into the manors of Alberic de Vere in Silverley, Ashley, and Saxton, of the Countess Judith in Kirtling, of the King in Cheveley, of Earl Alan in Ditton and Cheveley, besides the king's property in Ditton, once belonging to the church and Ely, and now held in farm of the king by William de Nivers. These Ely lands, like those of Snailwell, had been bestowed on Archbishop Stigand, and again passed from him into the hands of the Crown. In subsequent times, taking Ditton as a whole, we find an absorption of the hamlet of Saxton, or Saxon, Street, being part of the manor of Saxton, and the two manors of Ditton held of the fee of Camoys. The seat of the paramount manor is now by corruption called "Canvas Hall," while that

of the manor of Thos. de Valoynes is called "Church Hall." Significant is the fact that in the parish there is but one church, that of the Valence Manor. We should expect, as is the case elsewhere in Cambridgeshire, two churches, one on each manor, but as far as we know there is no trace of there having been more than one. Possibly a reference to the registers of Norwich, in which diocese Ditton was, may throw more light on this point.

From the large number of carucæ wanting on the tenants' lands in the royal manor, and which might be supplied ("possunt fieri"), we should be inclined to conclude that a considerable number of Danes had left the manor, having perhaps returned to their own country with Gerbrand of Roskylde, who, as Gams informs us, presided over that diocese from about 1010 or 1020 up to about 1030 A.D., when he died. In working out the areas from the figures given in Domesday Book as to hides, carucæ, and values, we think it more than probable that on the manor of Ditton Camoys we may reckon 6 hides in area, a figure which strangely accords with a similar calculation in the case of Westley and Six Mile Bottom, thus perhaps helping to account for the etymology of the latter name. Space does not avail for presenting the details of our calculation, so that we are compelled to ask for forbearance and a certain modicum of faith in its correctness. As to the woodland in Cheveley hundred, accounted for in Domesday Book, we see a strong probability that the "park of wild beasts," mentioned under Kirtling Manor, may be referred to the Ditton Park wood of our own days, as distinguished from the Hall wood which belonged presumably to the Manor of Ditton Valence.

Now, it may be asked, can we find any trace existing in racial animosity in our own times of a former separate settlement of Danes? In connection with this we may here be permitted to state the following circumstances pointing in that direction. When at School at Wood Ditton, from 1854 to 1857, we remember one day the great

excitement caused by the finding of a supposed offspring of a "man of the woods" in Ditton Park wood. This boy had been seen for some little time before his final capture. He was an idiot, who had subsisted for some time on hazel nuts and other similar food, but nothing could be discovered as to his parentage up to the time of his death, which took place shortly afterwards in the workhouse of the Newmarket Union, whither in due course he had been conveyed. Again, in our boyhood at Bottisham an old soldier named William Mansfield used to tell of the annual games of camping, which he well remembered, when, as he said, the Bottisham players always delighted to play off old scores on the men of the woodlands, meaning thereby the team gathered from the adjacent villages of Borough Green, Westley, Wratting, and Carlton. Further, at Hadstock in Essex, on the borders of Cambridgeshire, we remember about thirty years ago being shown on the outside of the church door sundry nails, which, we were told, once fastened the skin of a Dane; and, again, the tradition is still extant that the *anemone pulsatilla*, so commonly found on the Cambridgeshire dykes, grows only *where Danish blood has been spilt.* Richardson, who lived in the Eastern Counties, refers to this in a note to Omar Khayyám, quatrain xix.:

> I sometimes think that never blows so red
> The Rose as where some buried Cæsar bled;
> That every Hyacinth the garden wears
> Dropt in her lap from some once lovely head.[1]

There is thus some evidence of a survival of Anglo-Saxon hatred of a conquering race of fierce instincts, settled apparently in these woodland parishes, and known perhaps as the "men of the woods."

Next as to personal names, possibly traceable to a Scandinavian source. In default of a thorough examination of parish registers our list is a most meagre one, but yet, as far as it goes, suggestive. From the "Historia

[1] See SAGA-BOOK, vol. iii., part iii., p. 467.

"Eliensis" we have in Fordham, Snailwell, and Beach, those of Grim, Oskitel, Omund, Simund, and Oslac; from Domesday Book, Turkell in Burwell, Anschetil in Barham and Crauden, Tochi in Weston and Wratting, Thurstan in Camps, Torchil in Kennet; from the Feet of Fines, Aki in Haslingfield [1]; while from the other sources up to 1851 A.D., and therefore antecedent to much migration of families, Burling (? Scandinavian) in Burwell, Bottisham, and Wood Ditton; Oslar in Stetchworth; Hacon, Hammond, and Bottom in Newmarket; Danby in Kirtling and Wood Ditton; Palmby in Swaffham; Kettle in Bottisham; Jarvis and Simonds in Wood Ditton; Saggers and Ison in Bottisham, the last on the supposition that the suffix "son" ranks as evidence, and no doubt many more might be added to the above. Furthermore, in the "Historia Eliensis" Edric is called Ædricus Dacus, and the country of the Danes Danubia, thereby indicating a supposition in the author's mind of the ancestors of that race having originally proceeded north-westward from the shores of the Danube.

We leave out of the question any conclusions drawn from anthropological sources, for, so far as we are aware, we have no very reliable statistics on which to found an opinion.

In conclusion, we have attempted to present some few details gained from certain landmarks, as well as place and personal names, bearing on Danes in Cambridgeshire, and with this we leave to wiser heads and the onward march of knowledge a further development of our subject.

In the discussion which followed Mr. E. Sloper said he was of opinion that a large number of the names quoted by the author were of Saxon origin. The old Celtic word "dene" really meant forest, and survives in

[1] In D.B. Barenton "Achi hō Heraldi" answers to Inq. Com. Cant. "Achillus danaus."

nearly the whole of the forest lands of England as well as on a large portion of the Continent. In Anglo-Saxon it seems to have been adopted as "denu," which some etymologists had given as equivalent to the word valley. This appeared to him to be erroneous, the correct term in English for expressing valley being "bottom." It will be readily seen from this how the term Danes-bottom has arisen. Caution was therefore necessary in jumping to the conclusion that such places had anything to do with the Danes who emanated from Denmark, *i.e.*, from the "dene" or forest land. The question of Danish settlements was a very interesting one, and he thought a visit to Cambridge by the Viking Club would be advantageous and instructive. There was no doubt in his mind that the modern town of Cambridge, on the southern side of the river Cam, stood upon the camp of the Danes, which they ditched and walled, as at Wareham, Southampton, Southwark, and many other places.

Mr. E. M. Warburg said that the word "bottom" was not Danish. The nearest tongue in which such a word was found was the Swedish.[1] The Danish equivalent would be "bund." "Toft" was undoubtedly Danish.

Mr. J. Gray thought the personal names given by Mr. Hailstone could not be taken as any evidence of Danish settlement. There were no surnames used in England till the time of Edward I. The remains found showed, however, that there had been settlers belonging to a long-headed race in Cambridgeshire, who might perhaps be Danes.

Mr. F. T. Norris did not agree with the previous speaker as to the late date of the introduction of surnames, as they were found in Anglo-Saxon deeds long before the Norman invasion. He likewise took exception to the statement that Danish names meant nothing. The first occurrence of Danish personal names in the Anglo-

[1] In Swed., *botten;* Icel., *botn;* Dutch, *boden*. The form *bytn* also apparently survives in A.S. documents. See p. 494, Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax.," quoted below —ED.

Saxon Chronicle corresponded with well-known historical events, and it was not only fairly inferable, but also could be proved by documentary evidence, that many modern surnames were direct survivals and descendants from such personal names. It was the same, but in a more special degree, with topographical names, and he thought that great importance was to be attached to identification in any district of Danish names as evidence of former Danish settlement. With regard to the word "Dane" as a suffix, it undoubtedly does occur in many place-names, but a careful distinction should be drawn between it and *den* and *dun*. *Den* or *dean* stands for *dale* or *dell*, and *dun* for *down* (not to be confounded with Gaelic *dun*, fort). In Anglo-Saxon writings the distinction is generally clear. To quote, for example, from the will of Colwin:—

> . . Thanon . . on them wege middan on thære *denæ* bytnan the liggeth uit on Woddes geat . thenne up ofer tha *dune*.[1]

Those responsible for the modern spelling of place-names on our maps had not always observed this distinction. In general, when the particle was found in a dale near a river, it might be equated with *den* and not *Dane*, as witness Denham and Dipden Hill, both in the valley of the Washbourn, near Uxbridge, Middlesex. In this connection he was afraid he must dissent from another speaker, who offered the suggestion that there was a Celtic word *den*, with the meaning of "forest"; while, if there were, certainly such a name could not have survived in so English a district as East Anglia. He approved of the majority of Mr. Hailstone's derivations, but Six Mile Bottom was nothing but a six-mile stretch of river marsh, usually dry in summer, but covered with water in the winter, and the term "bottom" was in general use. It was noteworthy that the German equivalent, *boden*, had the supplementary meaning of *ground*, and the Black Grounds, as an appella-

[1] Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax."

tion, was as common as the Bottoms.[1] On the racial question, he thought the present condition of the population of a district could not be taken as a sample of its former condition, as the migration into this country at various periods since the Norman invasion of Bretons, Flemings, and Huguenots,[2] and in later periods, especially since the building of railways, of Irish and Welsh farm labourers, together with the migration of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish rural populations to the United States, Australia, etc., since the passing of the Corn Laws, had to a large extent modified the earlier Saxon and Danish population bases. The deterioration of the Englishry of the big towns in recent years, through intermarriages with the swarms of nondescript aliens who had been attracted thither, had also been pointed out by Dr. Beddoes and many other observers. For these reasons recent indiscriminate craniological or other sampling of skulls of living individuals in any part of the United Kingdom, as attempted by some persons, was, in his opinion, wholly valueless as showing the condition of the population in the Saxon and Danish periods. Similarly, chronological or other evidence from ancient skulls, unillumined by historical data, was, in his opinion, of small value.

The President said that he regretted the absence of the author, whose paper raised many very interesting points. A number of the old coins and measures mentioned, such as ores, hides, etc., were very curious, and a study of them threw a light on the history of the times from which they dated. The last speaker had raised the question of whether we could see in a mixed population traces of their origin. Undoubtedly this was possible, because the way in which crossing among races takes place is on definite

[1] Compare Higginbottom, Rombottom, Itchenbottom (corrupted to Hitchingbottom), Longbottom, etc., all but the last appended to river names.—Ed.

[2] The presence of so-called "Romano-British" types in the Eastern Counties at the present time is due to the Huguenots, of whom there were settlements at Norwich, Colchester, Maldon, Ipswich, etc.—Ed.

and known lines. It is always possible to trace backwards the presence of earlier races. Cambridgeshire shows a very great mixture of races, one evidence of which was the number of different types that are to be seen in the town on market days.

In reply, Mr. Hailstone writes:—

We can find no early trace of the name Six Mile Bottom. That it was so styled from being six miles from Newmarket is perhaps possible, as a place of call by carriers along the high road, or pilgrims to Newmarket race meetings. In this case it must be subsequent to the thirteenth century. The new English dictionary informs us that bottom means a valley.[1] The configuration of the ground as shown in the maps hardly accounts for more than one bottom, whence we must suppose that Westley Bottom applies to that part situate in Westley, while Six Mile Bottom to that in Wilbraham and Bottisham. The farm in Wratting, close by, is called the "Valley" farm. It is by no means clear why in all Cambridgeshire we should only find the word Bottom applied to the above-mentioned sites, viz., in Ditton, Wilbraham, and Westley. That it is so is in favour of thinking the term an early one, handed down by local tradition, given to land in the hands of a distinct nationality from that of the surrounding country. If this is so the evidence seems to be in favour of this land having been occupied by Danes and attributed to them, even in Anglo-Saxon times, and we still think that in the case of Wood Ditton this view is supported by the valley being called Danes Bottom.

Since the above paper was written we have found, in the "Catalogue of Antient Deeds" (Record Series) of the time of Edward III., a tract of land in Haslingfield named *Danelond towards Holegateweye.* Is not this another evidence of land allotted to Danes at some period?

[1] See footnote, p. 119.—Ed.

As to Quoy (now Quy), the fact that the name is so spelt in Bottisham parish register, taken with the traditional pronunciation Quoy, tends to show that possibly this was the original form of the word. Prof. Skeat tells us that Coeia of Domesday Book means cow-island, and that "Norman popular etymology" accounts for the *Qu*. The island no doubt accounts for the name of the Ely Manor, viz., Holme Hall in Quy. Domesday Book, in the whole parish, knows only of Coeia, but the Inq. C.C., of Choeie et Stoua. Now, the *parish* church lies in Stow, to which the owners of the Ramsey and Holme Hall Manors presented alternately, the free chapel in Quy being in the hands of the Lord of the Manor of Holme Hall, and we have in the catalogue of the Feet of Fines mention in more than one instance of both Stow and Quy *juxta Anglesey*. May we then be forgiven for assuming that the Anglo-Saxon name of Stow was applied not only to what is now called Stow End, but also to Quy, while Quy, or Quoy, as a name, is of a different origin incorporated with the former, and becoming in Anglo-Saxon, together with its Holme, Coeia, with the meaning of fold, or pen-island? If this could once be proved we might go on to establish a similar origin to such cases as Coefen, perhaps Hoefen, Cow Common, Cowbridge, in Cambridge, Quy, Rampton, and Swaffham respectively. As a modern surname Coe and Penfold are well known, both occurring in Cambridgeshire, particularly the former, but we do not meet with a Mr. Horse, Sheep, or Cow. Before leaving the subject we would call special attention to the repeated mention in documents of the name Stow-quy, as distinguished from Stow-cum-Quy, which is more rarely used.

Again, as to the importance or otherwise of surnames, although until Edward I.'s time they were not general, we find plenty of instances of such in the Cambridgeshire Domesday Book and nearly contemporary inquisitions, and though most people in a dependent condition, as even now in many cases, were generally called by their

Christian names, it by no means follows that there were not in existence many surnames handed down by tradition, though unrecorded.

Whether the site of the battle of Assandun is to be located at Ashingdon by Canewdon in Essex, or at Ashdon by Bartlow and Camps on the borders of Cambridgeshire, is perhaps still a moot point. The account of Thomas, the monk of Ely, in the "Liber Eliensis," points strongly to the latter place, for the following reasons, which are here briefly stated, mostly, we believe, for the first time:—

I. The writer in this portion of the book devotes his attention to events which more immediately concern the church of *Ely*, while giving a history of its temporalities.

II. Ednoth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Wlsi, Abbot of Ely, acted, we are told, so to speak, as chaplains to the forces, proceeding towards Ashdon to pray for the soldiers. Note, Bartlow was in the then diocese of Lincoln, and afterwards in that of Ely. The brethren of Ely were of the party, carrying with them the relics of the church, and soon after, it is stated, those of Wendreda the Virgin were stolen and lost.

III. Just previous to the notice of the battle, the church of Ely, we are told, acquired possession of 19 hides in area, lying in Stretley (and Pampisford), Cadenho, and the two Lintons, including Hadstock by Ashdon.

IV. The relics were presumably conveyed to lands belonging to the church on which its tenants lived.

V. The acquisition of property in Fambridge,[1] not far from Ashingdon, is not mentioned in the history until *after* the notice of the battle.

VI. Bartlow church has a *round* tower. As a place-name it lies partly in Cambridgeshire and partly in Ashdon, Essex. The Essex portion of lands paid tithes to Bartlow church in Cambridgeshire, and the whole is hidated in *Magna* Camps (*cf.* the Barnwell Register).

VII. In Domesday Book the names of Nostrefield,

[1] Fambridge is about 9 miles from Canewdon.—ED.

Cadenho, Bartlow, and Hadstock do not occur, though the details of hides in figures are found under the names of Camps, Linton, Pampisford, Horseheath, and Hildersham.

VIII. In the Inq. temp. John, noted in the "Liber Rubeus," the amount of hides enumerated by the "Liber Eliensis" are accounted for *exactly* under Linton and Dilinton (= ? Duo Linton).

IX. Nostrefield, now called a hamlet of Shudy Camps, in etymology may be conjectured to be a shortening of "Paternoster" field, *i.e.*, a battle field, where people were made "to say their prayers," or (?) where the above-mentioned ecclesiastics prayed for the soldiery; but of course it may be said that Nostrefield might stand for the site of an earlier battle.

X. The author mentions the fact that Wulstan, Archbishop of York, who was deputed to dedicate the church built by King Canute and Earl Thorkill, paid *quodam tempore* a visit to Ely in order to pray there, and that on the occasion a miracle was performed. This may indicate that the Archbishop had been previously staying in the vicinity.

XI. As in modern times, the name of a battle may cover places lying near by, particularly in this case where the forces engaged were numerous.

For the above reasons, we are inclined to believe that it is Bartlow church which commemorates the battle of Ashdon, or Assandun, and the "mons" which the writer of the "Liber Eliensis" mentions, and which he assumes to be well known, is one or more of the Bartlow hills lying in the parish of Ashdon. The word "mons," used as an adjunct to a place-name, occurs in English as mount or mound—*e.g.*, Mount Bures, Theydon Mount, by Theydon Bois in Essex.[1]

[1] Walton's, a manor in Ashdon parish. Holders, T.R.E., Oslac, Alwin, and Orderic; D.B., Tihel, Brito and Alb. de Ver. Named Steuitune and Stauintun, now Stevington End, or Stenton End: perhaps anciently a distinct village. The inhabitants support their own poor and keep their

Our thanks are due to Mr. W. G. Collingwood for his kind help in preparing the map which accompanies this paper, and which, we are quite sure, will greatly add to any value it may possess.

accounts distinct from the rest of Ashdon, and, though they apply on all necessary occasions to the Justices of Essex and to the Quarter Sessions at Chelmsford, yet usually resort to Bartlow Church, to which they pay churchwarden's rates and are generally reckoned to be in the spiritual jurisdiction of that parish. The place is also named Bartlow End.—See Wright's "Essex," vol. ii.

THE DANES IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

By the Rev. J. W. E. CONYBEARE, M A.

THE Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us that in the year 875 "Three [Danish] kings, Guthrum and Oscytel and Anwynd,[1] fared unto Grantebrycge[2] with a great host, and sat them down there one year." All the other early chroniclers repeat the statement. This occupation of Cambridge was evidently felt an important development in the sanguinary drama of the Viking attacks upon England. It marked the subjection to their influence of a new district, hitherto unreached, and henceforward to be theirs almost continuously.

For over forty years (ever since 832) the Northmen had made England the special object of their raids. At first these were intermittent, mere plundering "summer-leads"; but in 1851 they for the first time wintered in the land, and after 860 they never left it. Their object now was not merely plunder, but settlement. Starting from the Humber they made their desolating way to and fro throughout the land. York fell, and Nottingham, and Crowland, and Peterborough and Ely. The Kings of Northumbria and East Anglia were slain, the King of Mercia fled to Rome, and the heroic resistance of Wessex, under Ethelred and Alfred, barely sufficed to expel the invaders who swarmed across her borders. This was in 872, and on their retirement they shared up amongst their leaders the country north of Thames; one division of the host lording it in Northumbria, and another, under

[1] This name is also spelt in the early chroniclers Annuth, Hammond, Asmund, and Osmund.

[2] Also found as Grantanbrycge, Grantabric, and Grantabryge.

the kings above-named, overawing East Anglia and Mercia from their strategic position at Cambridge.

The draining of the fenland makes it hard to-day to realise how important of old that position was. Here and here alone was it possible for an army to cross the river, whose banks along its entire course, from the Hertfordshire uplands to the sea, were on one side, or both, too swampy for the passage of troops. At Cambridge alone the firm ground reached both sides of the petty stream, and here accordingly was, from the earliest ages, the recognised crossing-place, to which a British track-way and a Roman street successively ran, as the modern roads run still, from either side. To hold this passage was to be able to prevent any foe from passing the river line without a wide detour southwards.[1] And thus we find successive conquerors, Romans, English, Danes, and Normans, occupying the rising ground, which on the western bank of the Cam slopes steeply upward from the passage.

The Romans placed there a small fortified town (probably on the site of an earlier British village), which at some time between the date of Bede, who speaks of it as still "a waste chester," and that of Egbert, who had a mint in the place, became an English settlement. The centre of this town marked the intersection of two Roman roads, the "Via Devana," running from east to west, and the "Akeman Street," from north to south. (Like nearly all other names by which Roman roads are now known in England, these designations were imposed by antiquarians, and have no ancient authority.) The former still remains in use; the latter is now repre-

[1] King John, whom the occupation of Cambridge by the Barons checked in his march from the Eastern Counties upon the Midland, tried to pass to the northwards, but could find no passage till he reached the sea, and was driven to that disastrous march across the sands of the Wash, which lost him his last army. Charles I., when wishing to pass in the other direction, tried going southward, but found the distance too great and was fain to retreat at Oxford.

sented by a parallel track nearer the river, but its ancient course was still traceable within the last century. The square of the Roman rampart was also traceable, though obliterated at several points, even then, by buildings, and by the remains of the Cromwellian fortifications crossing and recrossing it. From these, however, it was clearly distinguishable. This Roman town appears to be that called in the Notitia *Camboritum;* but the name has probably no etymological connection, in spite of the similarity of sound, with *Cambridge.*[1]

Here, then, these three Viking leaders established themselves. The traditions embodied in the "Chronicle of Crowland" record all three as concerned in the sack of that famous abbey (870,) and mention Oscytel as the actual slayer of the Abbot "at the very altar." Of him and Anwynd we hear no more, but Guthrum lived to be the most renowned of all the Danish chieftains—the momentary conqueror of Wessex itself, the convert and godson of Alfred, the concluder of the Peace of Wedmore, the ruler of the Danelagh till his death. What they exactly did at Cambridge is largely conjectural. Gaimar declares that they only besieged the town.

> Counsel they took that they should to Granta-brige and beset the city. So did they: quickly from Repton led they their great host. Almost a year endured the siege; like fools they left it in the end; much they lost and little gained. Then away they rode by stealth, straight to Wareham.

If this is true, then the theory that the Danish host encamped on the site of modern Cambridge (a peninsula surrounded on three sides by the Cam and *east* of that river), and protected their camp by a ditch across the isthmus (used afterwards by Henry III., and since known as "the King's Ditch"), may be true also. But Gaimar

[1] *Cam* may be a British name for the river, and Camboritum = Cam-Rhydd (*i.e.*, the ford of the Cam). But in mediæval times the place is always known as Granta-bridge, and Professor Skeats thinks that *Cambridge* is a sixteenth century derivative from *Camboritum*, the name *Cam* for the stream being subsequently evolved from *Cam-bridge*.

stands alone; all the other chroniclers speaking only of an *occupation* of the town. This would presumably involve (like the Norman occupation afterwards) an expulsion of the English inhabitants, whose settlement on the lower ground across the river may perhaps account for the Saxon tower of St. Benet's Church.

The termination of this first Danish occupation of Cambridge by a stealthy and swift march straight on Wareham is recorded by all the chroniclers. That so distant an objective should have been chosen seems at first puzzling. But it was evidently part of a deep laid plan of campaign (which all but proved successful) for the final destruction of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy by the subjugation of Wessex. By seizing Wareham, and thus securing Poole Harbour, the three kings hoped to co-operate with the great Viking fleet already on its way to that port. Nothing but Alfred's extraordinary vigour and celerity foiled the plot, and enabled him to drive them from Wareham before the fleet arrived and, when it did arrive, to crush it in the great sea-fight off Swanage—the first triumph of the English navy. The host from Cambridge, however, remained a thorn in his side. For two years they successfully maintained themselves in Exeter (which they had captured by treachery), and then once more "stole away" to take part in that mid-winter invasion which overran the whole of his kingdom, and drove him to seek refuge in the marshes of Athelney. This was in 878. The next year saw him finally victorious at Ethandune, and Guthrum turned from a treacherous heathen foe to a loyal Christian friend, who for the rest of his life never failed his royal godfather in aiding to keep the peace made by the Treaty of Wedmore.

By that treaty the Northern and Eastern districts of England were made over to the Danes, the boundary line being the River Lea to its source, and north of that the Watling Street. Beyond this line all was under Danish law, and much of the soil under actual Danish ownership.

Cambridge became a Danish centre, and the neighbourhood was occupied by Danish warriors, under something very like a feudal tenure. When in the next generation Edward the Elder, the worthy son of the great Alfred, completed his father's life-work by reconquering the Danelagh, we read that (in 921)

> all the host amongst the East Anglians swore to be at one with King Edward, that they would all that he would, and would hold peace toward all to whom the King should grant his peace both by land and sea. And in especial did the host which owed fealty to Cambridge choose him to Father and to Lord, and thereto sware oaths even as he bade them.

It was out of the district thus "commended" to him (to use a phrase of later date) that Edward formed his new county of Cambridge. The inhabitants became noted for their military prowess against later Scandinavian invaders, and at the fatal battle of Ringmere (1010) were the only troops in the English army to stand fast against the Danish onset. This brought upon the district a harrying, ferocious even beyond the Danish wont, in which its villages were destroyed far and wide, and Cambridge itself was sacked and burnt.

The town, however, must have speedily risen again from its ashes, and doubtless shared in the prosperity which Canute's special favour for the monks of Ely would bring to the Cam valley. In Doomsday we find that in the reign of Edward the Confessor it had consisted of 400 dwelling-houses ("masuræ"), divided into ten wards, each under a "lawman," a name which shows that the organisation of the town was still predominantly Danish. The Norman Conquest, however, brought the place to desolation. When Doomsday was compiled (1086) nearly a quarter of the town was in ruins, the inhabitants had been driven across the river, new Cambridge had begun to arise, the lawmen were no more, and all that was distinctively Danish in the town and its municipal officers had come to an end for ever.



FIG 1.—CROSS AT BAKEWELL, DERBYSHIRE (SOUTH-EAST SIDE).

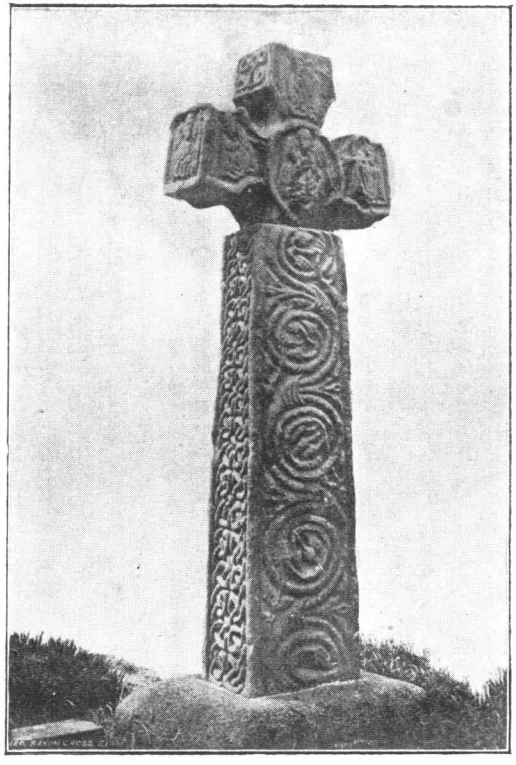


FIG. 2.—CROSS AT EYAM, DERBYSHIRE (SOUTH-EAST SIDE).

(From Journal of British Archæological Association).

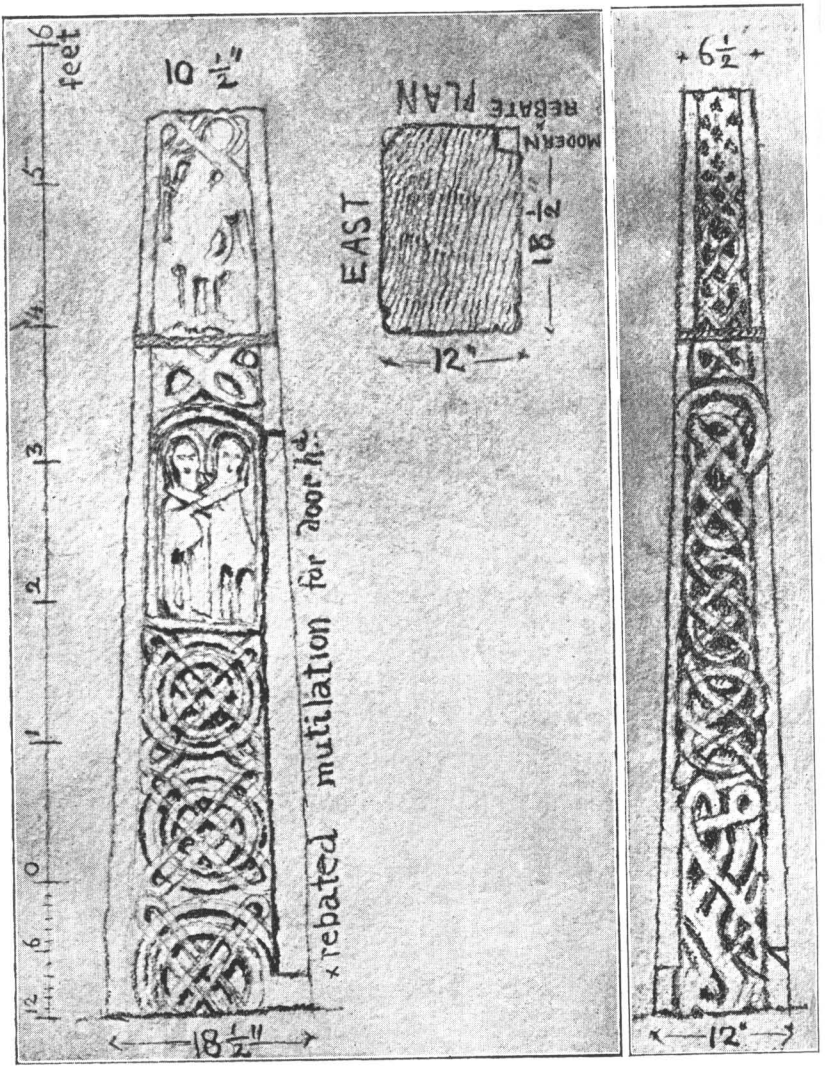
SCANDINAVIAN *MOTIFS* IN ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN ORNAMENTATION.

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THE study of *origins* has always appeared to me one of the most fascinating of human pursuits, and one, moreover, which, while it throws light upon the past, has a direct present interest as a guide and stimulus to effort, and as a means of securing progress in the right direction. We are all of us familiar with the general outlines and characteristics of Anglo-Saxon and Norman ornamentation, whether in architecture or the arts, particularly those of sculpture and illumination. Whence was it derived? From what sources must its inspiration be sought? In a general way, I suppose we should answer, From Byzantine and Saracenic sources; and some might add, from Late-Celtic, through its derivatives in Christianised Ireland.

These are perfectly correct answers as far as they go. But the object of this paper is to show that more of it owes its origin to Scandinavian and later "Viking" *motifs* than we should at first sight be prepared to admit, and that these may be carried back to the art of Halstatt and La Têne, and perhaps to earlier days still.

Speaking broadly, what are the main characteristics of the art under consideration? It would be impossible and inadvisable within the limits of this paper to specify individually the examples of the art of our Anglo-Saxon and Norman forefathers which have come down to us, though examples will be mentioned as we proceed. All



West face. *South face.*

FIG. 3.—CROSS AT HOPE, DERBYSHIRE.

(From the Journal of the British Archæological Association.)

that we can attempt, from a rapid survey of the field, is to form a general idea of the *motifs* of ornamentation employed by them, and to seek, if possible, to throw some further light upon their origin. The architecture of the Anglo-Saxons has been lately dealt with in a manner

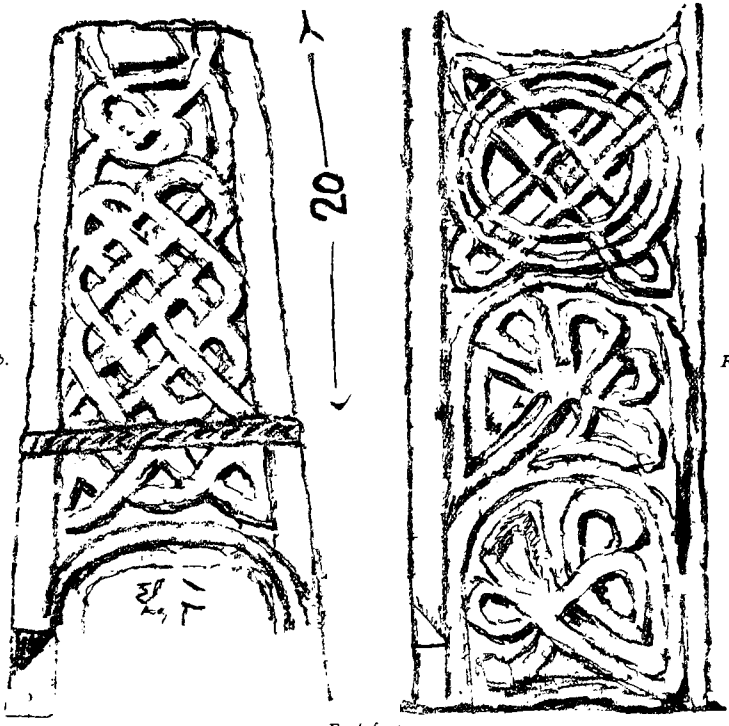


FIG. 4.—CROSS AT HOPE, DERBYSHIRE.
(From Journal of British Archæological Association.)

both interesting and exhaustive by Professor Baldwin Brown, of Edinburgh,[1] and he promises a further treatise on what may, perhaps, be more properly called their art. This latter includes everything artistic in stone, in manu-

[1] "The Arts in Early England." 2 vols. Murray, 1903.



FIG. 5.—HIGH CROSS AT DURROW.

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scripts, and in metal-work. Their architecture, grand in its simplicity, did not lend itself readily to the lighter forms of ornament.

Norman ornamentation is found in architecture, as well as in art, not only on the façades of churches and cathedrals, but in the details of the buildings, in pier, in capital, in arch, on the pillars and in the tympana of doorways, in corbels and on fonts; here the art of the

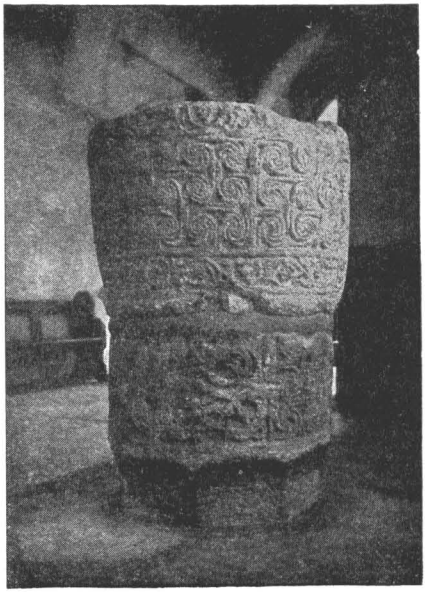


FIG. 6.—FONT AT DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
(By kind permission of the Rev. Canon Greenwell.)

sculptor finds its richest and most luxuriant expression. In the art of illumination and metal-work they did not excel.

Leaving these two latter arts, therefore, on one side for the present, except so far as they serve for illustration, the most characteristic examples of ornamentation with which we shall deal are to be found in the stone-work

of both Anglo-Saxons and Normans; of the former, in those pre-Norman crosses, of which so many beautiful examples are to be met with, and in one or two fonts, of which those at Bridekirk and Deerhurst are the most striking specimens; and of the latter, in those various details of buildings, including fonts, already mentioned.

Taking these into consideration in one large view, the

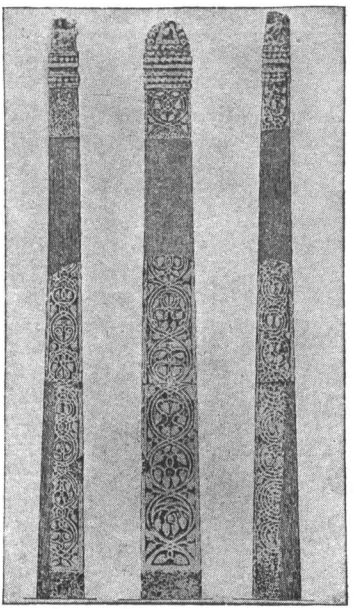


FIG. 7.—ACCA'S CROSS, HEXHAM.

(By kind permission of Mr. Henry Frowde.)

most characteristic ornamentation we perceive is a series of variously interlacing patterns in scroll or cable-work and spirals, along with rude sculptures of men and animals, and grotesques.

Have we any reason for seeking the origin of this mode of ornamentation in Scandinavia? As is well known, the Normans were largely of Norse blood and of Norse

descent, while for more than two centuries the coasts of our own islands were exposed to the ravages of Norse invaders, the Vikings and Berserkers from heathen Norway and Sweden and Denmark, who overran the country, established themselves in East Anglia, Northumbria, and great part of Mercia, forming the Danelagh, and finally placed themselves, in the persons of Knut and his sons, upon the throne of Alfred. At the same time they established their dominion over Western Scotland, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, and Eastern Ireland. Surely it is no matter for surprise if they should have impressed their ideas upon the people they conquered, and transmitted them to their descendants, the Normans, who thus brought with them a second wave of influence at the Conquest. The wonder would be were it otherwise! On the other hand, these, no doubt, were also influenced by the peoples whose lands they overran and conquered.

Passing by for the moment the "Celtic interlacing, often more distressing than a Chinese puzzle, and in some instances barbarous in the extreme," which is to be seen on Irish and pre-Norman crosses, and in Irish manuscripts, such as the Books of Kells, and of Armagh, and in the Lindisfarne manuscript of the Gospels, as being a distinct Christian derivation from Late-Celtic art, the question before us is whether we can derive the writhing serpent and animal forms, or the animal attacked by plaited thong or twisted fibre, which penetrated all the art of our Saxon and Norman forefathers, and of which examples too numerous to mention have come down to us, from distinct and definite Scandinavian sources. The question is an important one, and all the more interesting to us as members of the Viking Club, because attempts have been made to answer it in the contrary sense.

Professor Hans Hildebrand, for example, traces the development of patterns from lion-forms to the twisted snake ornament, and speaks of the latter as being Scandinavian copies or adaptations of the Roman design of two lions couchant, and says, "It is quite possible that

the peculiar interlacings of Scandinavian ornament may have been the result of copying imperfectly lion and bird forms," in much the same way as we can trace on British coins the gradual degradation of the chariot and horses of the Macedonian stater to meaningless circles and dots. *(Vide infra.)* And he continues:

> They were never intended for snake-forms, as many of them have legs and feet, and snakes were unknown in the North. When the Gothlandic artist had reduced his lion forms to snakes, he carried his work to the verge of monotony with interminable interlacings.

This work, so characteristic of Saxon and Norman ornament, Professor Hildebrand, it will be seen, acknowledges to be Scandinavian, but he denies its originality, and reduces it to a mere degradation of classic models. In this we are persuaded that he is at fault. Whether snakes were as unknown in the North as they were, after St. Patrick's days, in Ireland, there is no doubt whatever that the snake or dragon played a very large part in Norse mythology *(vide infra)*, and it is from this source, and not from degraded classic models, that I would derive the Scandinavian snake-forms, which were brought over-sea by the Vikings, and adopted by Saxon and Norman artists. That is to say, the original home of this style of ornament is to be sought in the North.

In this connection we must not forget that the first Saxon invaders came from the same district, and, as being themselves Vikings of the first flight, brought with them a style of ornament already largely penetrated with the same idea. As Mr. John Ward says:

> After the age of the Constantines, the intercourse of the Germanic peoples with the Romans was broken, owing to the invasion of the Huns, and for long after they were left to themselves . . . and enabled to develop their national art on the foundation of Roman culture, substituting their own emblems, and thus the Hunnic invasion of the Roman Empire was the indirect means of giving to Northern Europe a distinct national style of art.[1]

[1] "Principles of Historic Ornament."

The early Pagan Anglo-Saxons have left us no memorials of their art beyond what may be gathered from the bracteates, fibulæ, and other jewellery deposited in their graves. In these we see patterns composed of corrupted animal forms, or rather of interlacing animal forms, much debased, in which the snake or dragon largely predominates. Among the pagan Anglo-Saxons cremation long remained a formal rite, and it is precisely in cases of urn-burial that objects betraying Scandinavian influence are most commonly found. From the specimens which have come down to us we can quite well understand how it was that the later Anglo-Saxons became celebrated throughout Europe for the beauty of their jewellery, and that this fame was not undeserved it is sufficient to point to the "Alfred Jewel," now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Anglo-Saxon fibulæ are unapproachable; many of them are extremely tasteful in design and decoration, and give evidence of most careful workmanship.

Surely this is also proof of a high degree of civilisation, which some have too lightly denied to our Saxon forefathers. It may not have been according to our standards, but wherever a taste for true ornament, particularly in gold-work and jewellery, has been developed, there barbarism has emerged, or is emerging, into civilisation.[1]

[1] "Though Rome was the undisputed mistress of Europe in all that concerns the arts of building, this was not the case in the domain of ornament and decoration. In the decorative arts barbarism is least barbaric, *i.e.*, the connotation of 'rude' or 'clumsy,' which clings to the adjective, does not apply when the reference is to a piece of gold-work or painted enrichment. Such a thing wrought by Saxon smith or Irish monk may be as tasteful and delicate as if it had been worked at Byzantium itself. It is barbaric only in the sense that it is non-classical. When the countrymen of Polybius or Cæsar noted the shape and enrichment of the arms of the Gallic warrior, and his taste in the adornment of his person or his steed, they had before them evidence of an artistic skill that, within certain well-defined limits, equalled that of the Greek or Roman craftsman.

"The opening of innumerable sepulchres of Celt and Teuton and Scandinavian has enabled archæologists to recover sufficient remains of this pre-Roman decorative art of Central and North-Western Europe to show that, in the main, its productions possess a family likeness, and may, as a

The same thing is seen in Ireland, where the most beautiful examples of the goldsmith's art testify to the real status of the people from very early times.

To mention only some of the Anglo-Saxon examples. There are the fine bronze parcel-gilt cruciform fibulæ from Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, bearing the *swastika* in the centre—here a true mark of Scandinavian origin. There is the equally fine gold annular fibula, set with garnets, and adorned with interlaced cable-work, from Stamford, in Lincolnshire, and there is the cloisonné jewellery, a purely Northern art, though derived from the East, modified by the Etruscans, and carried along the ancient trade-routes by the amber merchants on their return journeys in prehistoric times, which entirely superseded the Roman art of enamelling. This has been described as the first æsthetic manifestation of the Gothic nations, and this art was apparently localised in Kent by the first Saxon invaders. The highest type of cloisonné jewellery is to be seen on a fibula found at Kingston, adorned with dragons and grotesque animals, and this is a sure indication of Gothic workmanship. As Baron de Baye says:

> Time produced its inevitable effect, and types were modified by contact with other peoples, and much was borrowed to increase artistic resource. Anglo-Saxon art, particularly goldsmith's work, is deeply penetrated by the influence of Scandinavia, and thence a new art was developed.[1]

There is no doubt some truth in Miss Stokes' remark as to the Byzantine origin of much of the interlaced patterns and knot-work seen on pre-Norman crosses, and on Norman fonts and tympana, as well as in Irish MSS. and in the Saxon Gospels of Lindisfarne (derived from Irish sources), which have been transmitted to us from

mass, be opposed to those of the classical peoples. As a whole, it is opposed to classical art in its essentially decorative character.

"To diversify a surface is the first instinct of the barbaric artist, to turn nature to an artistic purpose that of the classical." Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," vol. i., pp. 38, 39.

[1] "Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons," p. 10.

the early Christian centuries in these islands. Her words are:

> Interlaced patterns and knot-work, strongly resembling Irish designs, are commonly met with at Ravenna, in the older churches of Lombardy, and at Sant. Abbondio at Como, and not unfrequently appear in Byzantine MSS., while in the carvings on the Syrian churches of the second and third centuries, as well as the early churches of Georgia, such interlaced ornament is constantly used.[1]

With this harmonises what Sir Coutts Lindsay says as to the earliest form of Christian church in the West:

> The basilica seems to have taken its perfect form at once. Some of the most beautiful in Italy were the work of Lombard architects,[2] who, it is worthy of remark, have suppressed the passion for exuberant grotesque imagery in which they usually indulge so freely; and similarly in England, the churches built during the Heptarchy, and indeed, as late as the Norman conquest, in the style commonly, but erroneously, styled "Saxon" seem all to have been basilicas—*more Romano*; the proper Lombard architecture was first introduced by the Normans.[3]

This was written sixty years ago, and since then we have learnt that we have no remains of churches built "during the Heptarchy." The first Saxon churches were of wood, of which we have one most interesting, though late, relic in the little wooden church at Greenstead, in Essex, and the earliest remains of a Saxon stone church are to be seen in Benedict Biscop's church at Monk Wearmouth, A.D. 680, while the great majority of the Saxon churches, or churches containing Saxon workmanship still remaining, of which Mr. Brown enumerates nearly 200, date from the ninth to the eleventh centuries.[4]

But the basilican style, *i.e.*, the church with simple nave, either with or without aisles, and with apsidal or square termination to the choir, modified by the addition of a tower at the west end, a Saxon improvement derived from the Austrasian architecture of the later Carolingian empire, continued right through the Norman period until

[1] "Early Christian Art in Ireland," p. 33.
[2] *i.e.*, Gothic.
[3] "Sketches of Christian Art," vol. i., p. 216.
[4] "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., p. 272, *seq.*

the square termination to the choir, in place of the apse, finally triumphed with the Early English style.[1] Whence architecture was derived, thence, doubtless, ornament would be derived also, and the basilican style of architecture introduced by the first Christian builders would no doubt bring with it Byzantine *motifs* in ornament.[2]

But having conceded this much, we revert to our original theme, and maintain that all these interminable interlacings and knot-work, and writhing animals, and wriggling snakes, and grotesque forms derive their ultimate

[1] "In any case, whether the rectangular presbytery be a natural growth or an importation from Ireland it is no criterion of date or period, as it occurs in the indubitably early Escomb, and in the certainly late Repton and Boarhunt. So with the apsidal presbytery. The early Kentish group and Brixworth exhibit the apse, but so also do Worth and Wing, which are late. No chronological or geographical principle is involved in the presence or absence of an apse. . . Taking the comparatively few Saxon churches of which the Eastern termination is assured, we can count a score of square ends to set against ten apses." Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., pp. 280, 281.

[2] "To the influence of the Lombard-Byzantine art may be attributed the perfection of design and execution found in the earliest specimens of stone crosses mainly existing in the north of England, and this is due to the fact that they are the work of the Italian artists brought over by Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop. The characteristics of that work are interlaced patterns of the Byzantine type, and bands of conventional foliage, which are purely Byzantine. The earliest is that at Bewcastle, A.D. 670, and the masterly design of its conventionalised vine-foliage, and the dignity of pose and effective drapery of the figures, give a high idea of the powers of the sculptor. To a later generation belongs the sepulchral cross of Acca (740), Bishop of Hexham, preserved in the Cathedral library at Durham. Here the interlacing scrolls are designed with even greater decorative skill than in the earlier examples, and prove that the school founded in the first instance by Wilfrid's Italian sculptors at Hexham rivalled and even surpassed its masters." This was in all probability due to the native strain of Scandinavian art-*motif* in the north. Later on, with the arrival of the Norsemen, the influence of this Scandinavian art-*motif* becomes more marked and more direct. "It is then that the stories from the Edda," adapted to Christian symbolism, "appear on the crosses, of which that at Gosforth (Cumberland) is the most notable instance." See Barnard's "Companion to English History" (Middle Ages), pp. 330, 331.



FIG. 8.—CLONMACNOIS CROZIER.

(By kind permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)

source from the pre-Christian Northern art of Scandinavia and the Gothic peoples, blended, no doubt, with *motifs* drawn from Christianised Ireland, which were derived from the Bronze Age, as exhibited in the Late-Celtic art of Halstatt and La Têne. These very Byzantine interlacings and twistings and grotesques are themselves, in the first instance, of Gothic origin, and were imposed upon the art of the decaying empire by the northern invaders. They are themselves the outcome of Scandinavian *motifs*, and in the re-conquest of the north by the artists and architects of the Carolingian empire, they were merely returning to the lands of their birth, where they were met by the advancing waves of a fresh invasion of barbaric art in the wake of the Viking incursions, and were thus re-invigorated and restored to something of their pristine excellence.

Dr. Haddon, in his book on the "Evolution of Art," has shown once for all that the origin of all ornament must be sought in the everyday life of the primitive peoples. Thus the ornamentation on Norman capitals is seen on primitive axe heads and spear heads. It is seen to-day on these same articles as used by savage races, and is derived from the imitative representation of binding. This same ornament appears in Neolithic pottery of all ages. In this way the billet-ends, for example, on the Norman capitals of Peterborough Cathedral ascend in a straight line to the Neolithic age of the Scandinavian forefathers of the Norman builders. In the same way, the ornament to be seen on the pottery and other articles from the Terre Mare of Northern Italy and Switzerland is an imitation of the wattle-work of their inhabitants.

So we may conclude that the special ornament which characterises the Anglo-Saxon and Norman art of which we are treating in this paper is derived in the first instance from the basket-work and withy-band of the early Scandinavians. These people, from whose loins sprang the first Gothic invaders of the Roman Empire and the later Viking brood, were adepts in the art of basket-weaving,

as is proved by their monuments. Wattle-work and the use of the withy-band was also familiar to them. The pliant bark of birch and the willow-twig were ever at hand. The Norwegian still makes hinges for his gates and doors out of twisted fibre. The Viking sea-rover spoke of "the rudder withy." The original device of this pattern is formed of a withy wound upon itself.

This device, wrongly called "the rope pattern," gained such an ascendancy over the Northern mind that in later times it was employed as a symbol, and became the *triskelé*, or "triquetral knot," the well-known Saxon emblem of the Holy Trinity. Like the cross, however, it had its origin, as we see, in Pagan antiquity; it is the same thing as the reefing knot, which was carved on Roman altars, and has been found on the monuments of the Hittites. This only shows that the same ideas occur to all nations at the same stage of culture and using the same or corresponding materials. For the source of its use in England we look to the Scandinavian North.

Dr. Colly March, in his "Meaning of Ornament," even derives the spiral and the guilloche from this basket-work pattern, and, if so, we have here not only the origin of the interlacings and twistings of the so-called rope-pattern, but also of the spirals of Late-Celtic and Irish art, including the splendid divergent spiral or trumpet-pattern of the Irish MSS. But this was probably not universally the case, and these latter may have been evolved naturally from the simple spiral.

The patterns which Miss Stokes enumerates as being characteristic of Irish MSS., and which appear also in rich profusion in the Lindisfarne (Saxon) Gospels, are, to take the linear designs: the divergent spiral or trumpet-pattern; the triquetra; interlaced bands; knot-work; eight varieties of gammadion; and chevron and rectilinear patterns. Of these, every one are, in this case, directly traceable to Late-Celtic origin, modified and reintroduced as a result of the Viking invasions, and the first four are distinctly derived from the basket-work or

withy-band pattern; the last two from the binding pattern, as old as Neolithic days. Of the natural forms treated in Irish MSS., the reptiles and bird and animal forms are, as clearly, of northern origin, although, like the conventional foliage and fishes, they may have reached the Irish scribes through Christianised Romanesque sources.[1]

With regard to the circles which appear on some Saxon and Norman monuments, Dr. Colly March would derive them from the spiral, and says "the sequence is one of decadence," "spirals are never evolved from circles," while the intermediate stage has been called by Dr. Montelius "the bastard spiral." This statement must, however, be modified in the light of later research, for it is well known that circles are among the oldest form of ornament, and are characteristic of the Neolithic stage of culture, as witness the cup-and-ring marks found on the rocks all the world over; and among the natives of Central Australia Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have marked the actual evolution of the circle into the spiral, the circle being the older and original form of ornament, and the spiral being formed by the joining together of unfinished circles. However this may be, the spiral seems to have been indigenous to, and of independent origin in, Northern Europe, and to have no direct connection with the magnificent spiral ornamentation of ancient Egypt and of the Mycenean age of the Greek world. This latter, like the triquetral knot of the Hittites, was probably equally

[1] "The designs that prevailed in Ireland at the time of the introduction of Christianity can only be studied on her bronzes, and on the walls of such monuments as her tumuli, like New Grange and Douth. They consist of spirals, zigzags, lozenges, circles, dots, etc., such as are common to all primitive peoples. In addition to these, we have the divergent spiral or trumpet pattern, which design seems peculiar to the late-Celtic inhabitants of these Islands. . . Interlacings (knotted animal and vegetable forms) are always confined to Christian antiquities in Ireland, and were introduced with Christianity." "Early Christian Art in Ireland," p. 31.

derived from the basket pattern of the pre-historic peoples.[1]

In his new work entitled "Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa," the first part of which is all that has yet been published, Dr. Oscar Montelius opens up a comparatively unexplored field of research, in which he shows how the old Neolithic types of ornamentation are carried on into the Bronze Age, and these into the earliest Mycenean and Etruscan art, and compares these latter with the earlier or contemporary or later products of Egypt, Assyria, Middle Europe, and Scandinavia. In the text, and in the copious illustrations which adorn it, we can trace the spread and modification of the older types, and note how, for example, the horizontal lines on Later Bronze celts are derived from the thong-bindings of the Neolithic and Earlier Bronze forms; and how the swastika, the spiral, and the cup-and-ring ornament

[1] Some indeed would see in the spiral ornament which appears on the Saxon font at Deerhurst, and which is so characteristic of the Irish MSS., and manuscripts derived from them, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, evidence of direct descent from Mycenean ornamentation, and, therefore, it may be added, from Egyptian, which is older than the Mycenean, and, in all probability, the source of it. For example, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, in describing Mr. Arthur Evans' "Cretan Exhibition" at Burlington House in the *Cornhill Magazine* for March, 1903, writes thus:—

> Moreover, on Knossian walls and ceilings there was much decoration of a purely geometrical character wherever spiral motives attained great perfection. High up on the south wall (*i.e.*, at Burlington House) is hung the finest of these wall-patterns, one that would be most welcome in a stately modern room. It seems that very many centuries ago our islands indirectly derived their first knowledge of spiral decoration from its use in the Egean. For it has been shown how Egean art-motives passed into Northern Europe by the great Baltic trade-routes which the southern taste for amber had called into being. From Scandinavia and Denmark they reached Ireland, and from Ireland, England, to meet these similar traditions carried by western Kelts along other routes from the same original source. The spirals, therefore, on the Saxon font at Deerhurst, near Tewkesbury, are descended in lineal succession from spirals on the walls at Knossus.

There is a great deal to be said for this view; but we may still include the spiral as among the Scandinavian *motifs* treated of in this paper, even though it were not indigenous to Scandinavia, but derived. Its use by Anglo-Saxons, as by Irish, springs from Scandinavia.

are universal—these latter probably indigenous to many independent peoples, but borne onward in ever-widening embrace through the influence of migrations, of commerce, of religion, and of art. This great work should be in the hands of every student of the subject.

It now falls to us to connect the interlacing and twisting patterns, derived from the basket-work and withy-band, with the writhing snake-forms so characteristic of Saxon and Norman art, and those with Scandinavia. "It is evident," says Dr. Colly March, "that the withy skeuomorph, the Scandinavian worm-knot, established itself as a necessity of the mind before those men who were dominated by it had discarded a covering of skins for cloth, because its type is antagonistic to the regular intersection and stepped designs of textile fabrics, and there is no trace of it on their pottery."

Here Dr. Colly March identifies the withy skeuomorph, or pattern, with the Scandinavian worm-knot, and takes it for granted that the latter is an ornament indigenous to Scandinavia, and must therefore have been brought over-sea from the Gothic fatherland to the lands overrun by the Saxon and Norman invaders. He continues:—

> Weaving and metal work were probably introduced together, but for a while the use of metal only increased the number of twisted things. Gold, being eminently pliable and ductile, lent itself at once to the delicate filagree of which so much ancient gold-work consists. It is noticeable that "wire," "wicker," "withy," are all from the root *WI*, to plait, and "wire" originally signified filagree or ornaments of twisted filaments of metal; and as the simplest manner of ending a wire is to coil the end, the earliest filagree work was preponderantly spiral. Thus the way was prepared for the serpent-skeuomorph of the Scandinavian and Teutonic peoples.

But if Dr. Hildebrand is right in saying that, because snakes were unknown in Scandinavia, the writhing snake-forms of Scandinavian art must be derived from debased and broken-down animal forms, such as lions rampant or couchant, and so on, there is nothing to account for the prevalence, one might say the universality, of this form of ornament in Scandinavia, and in lands influenced

by Scandinavian art. The twisted, intertwining wire may have suggested the serpentine form, but does not explain why the animal forms should have been broken down in that particular way, nor why it should have become so marked a characteristic of Scandinavian ornamentation as it undoubtedly is. As a matter of fact, the serpent of the north is symbolic of the sea, the all-embracing ocean which encircles the earth as the serpent enwraps its prey, an idea as old as Homer, who speaks of "the all-embracing Okeanos." This serpent emblem, so far from being derived by Gothic artists from broken-down classic animal forms, is indigenous to Scandinavian mythology, and hence we argue that the partiality for this form of ornament, accompanied by grotesques, displayed by Anglo-Saxon and Norman artists, is due to Scandinavian influence, and that these, with the interlacing and intertwining so-called rope, or cable-work, into which serpentine and animal and human forms all broke down, are purely Scandinavian *motifs*, modified after the introduction of Christianity, by the Late-Celtic influences transmitted through Irish artists, themselves deeply influenced by ideas derived from Scandinavia.

The "worm" or dragon-serpent is found long ago on prehistoric rock sculptures, and is to be seen on King Gorm's stone in Denmark, where also the stag appears broken down into the prevailing interlacing pattern, and as Eikthyrnir, the sun-stag of Freya, is strangled by the "laidly worm" of Scandinavia.[1] The dominance of this idea of the serpent as symbolical of the sea is shown, for example, by the Saxon place-names for promontories, such as "The Worm's Head," in the peninsula of Gower, near Swansea, and the Great and Little Orme's Head in Carnarvonshire.

This idea of the all-embracing ocean dragon-serpent lent itself easily to Christianised symbolism, and thus the explanation of its prevalence in the lands colonised by the Norsemen must be sought in the Pagan-Christian over-

[1] See footnote, p. 167—ED.



FIG. 9.—STONE IN THE GUILDHALL LIBRARY.

being harmonized with those of the Christian faith. The story of Sigurd and Fafnir tells how the latter, in the shape of a dragon, took possession of and guarded the "shining hoard" hanging on the branches of the sacred tree, and how he was slain by the sword of Sigurd.

This legend is continually referred to by Cormac, the Irish-Scandinavian Saga-poet or skald of the tenth century, and by the poets of the Eddas, and forms one of the most beautiful portions of the Nibelungen Lied. Indeed, the imperial city of Worms, the city of Brunhild and Sigurd, derives its name from the Lind-worm, the Dragon Fafnir, slain by the latter. Cormac's most impassioned addresses to his false love Steingerd are evoked by the sight of her golden tresses, which hang over her shoulders like the golden hoard on the dragon-guarded tree:—

> "A stranger was I when I sought her
> Sweet stem with the dragon's hoard shining—
> With gold like the sea dazzle gleaming—
> The girl I shall never forget."

And again, referring to the tenacity with which Thorvald the Tinker guarded her, Cormac sings:—

> "There's one they call Wielder of Thunder
> I would were as chill and as cold,
> But he leaves not the side of his lady,
> As the lind-worm forsakes not its gold."

Besides Fafnir there are two other serpents in the Norse mythology, one called Jørmungandr, already referred to, the emblem of the sea, and Nidhøgg, the serpent that gnaws at the roots of the world-ash, Yggdrasil. Jørmungandr is the world-snake (Midgardsorm), who at the last will rise from the sea, where he lies coiled round the world, to slay and be slain by Thor. The dragon's writhing in the waves is one of the tokens to herald Ragnarøk, the Day of Doom, when Fenrir the Wolf, bound long before by Tyr's help, will be freed, and will swallow the sun and Odin, and the battle of Jørmungandr with Thor is

the fiercest combat of that day. "Then comes the glorious son of Hlodyn, Odin's son goes to meet the serpent," says Volüspa.

In the story of Yggdrasil's Ash, whose roots were gnawed by the serpent Nidhøgg, we have one of the most interesting survivals of Tree-worship, as I have shown elsewhere. The snake and the tree are familiar in most mythologies, though the snake is usually, like Fafnir, the protector, and not the destroyer. Jørmungandr and Nidhøgg bring in other elements in being examples of the destroying dragon rather than of the treasure-guardian. Again, in the story of Loki there is the poisonous serpent fastened over his face so that the poison dropped down, which shows that the serpent *per se* was not so unfamiliar to the North as to necessitate the explanation put forward by Dr. Hildebrand for its universal prevalence. In all these examples we have the relics or survivals of primitive nature worship, combined with later attempts to account for tempests and earthquakes and other abnormal phenomena on mythological principles. For example, we are told that when the poison dropped on Loki he struggled so hard that all the earth shook, and the narrator naïvely adds, "These are called earthquakes now."

The same ideas are to be found in the earliest and greatest of the Old English poems, the epic of Beowulf. This poem has a partly mythical and partly historical basis. The mythical Saga of the conquest over Grendel, and the slaughter of the dragon by Beowa, represents the constant struggle of the Germanic coast tribes with the storms of the North Sea. The legendary element does not concern us. The poem tells how Beowulf sails from Sweden to rid Heorot, the hall of Hrothgar, king in Jutland, from the scourge of the mere-fiend Grendel. Beowulf wrestles with the monster, who is slain.

These things are of course all very familiar to students of Norse mythology, but, if we bear them in mind, we shall the more readily understand how naturally they lent themselves to the purposes of Christian adaptation, and hence

to Christian art in the North, and wherever the influence of that art extended. How easily could the early Christian preachers adapt the stories of Jørmungandr and Nidhøgg to "the Dragon, that old Serpent, the Devil, and Satan," transmitted to the Christian religion from the Hebrew mythology. Like them, he is a destroying monster, the sovereign of the kingdom of darkness, but holding the earth enwrapped in his baneful coils; like the former, he waits to devour the sun, *i.e.*, the powers of light and goodness; like the latter, he gnaws at the Tree of Life, and brings death in his train. Like Fafnir, on the other hand, he guards the "shining hoard." To his wiles Adam indeed succumbed, but a greater than Sigurd has destroyed him, through whose might every Christian warrior may also overcome. The details of the legends, the filling in of the mythological data, are no doubt different, for the one is derived from primitive animism, through an Oriental Semitic environment, the other through a northern Aryan one, but the similarities are sufficient for the one to be merged in the other without difficulty.

Thus it follows that those *motifs* which we have shown to be specially characteristic of Anglo-Saxon and Norman art are in all probability derived from Scandinavia, and are the survivals and adaptations of Christianised pagan ideas.

By the fourteenth century the legend of Sigurd and Fafnir had been consciously thus adapted in Scandinavia, as it had been long before unconsciously, wherever Scandinavian influence was felt. On the wooden portals of churches, on pillars, on fonts, and on crosses the dragon Fafnir, slain by the sword of Sigurd, is to be seen in Sweden and Norway, and in England, as at Hatton's Cross, Lancaster. Fafnir, it is true, passes into a maze of beautiful scroll-work, and at Hatton's Cross there is nothing left of him but a twisted knot.

So the animal fades away, and the ghost alone remains in what to ordinary eyes is only an entwisted fibre, as, for

instance in the detail on Hatton's Cross; that on a stone coffin in Cambridge Castle; on the Saxon fonts at Deerhurst (Fig. 6), and Bridekirk (Fig. 10), and on many a Norman font, of which those at Tofttrees (Fig. 11), Shernborne, Burnham Deepdale (Fig. 12), Ingoldisthorpe



FIG. 10.—FONT AT BRIDEKIRK, CUMBERLAND.
(By kind permission of Mr. Henry Frowde.)

(Fig. 13), and Sculthorpe (Figs. 14 and 15), in North-west Norfolk, are among the most perfect examples.

As we study these and other monuments we see, as Mr. Haddon says, that "the result was enrichment and not degradation." The best illustrations of this, because

capable of the highest and most minute development owing to the material on which the art is displayed, are found in the Irish manuscripts; but nothing more minute or more beautiful in stonework can be imagined than the



FIG. 11.—TOFTTREES FONT.

designs on the Saxon and Norman monuments mentioned above.

To pass to the details of architectural ornament. The tympana of Norman doorways and Romanesque corbels usually consisted of masks or grotesque figures, animals,



FIG. 12.—BURNHAM DEEPDALE FONT (WEST SIDE).



FIG. 13.—INGOLDISTHORPE FONT.



FIG. 14.—SCULTHORPE FONT.

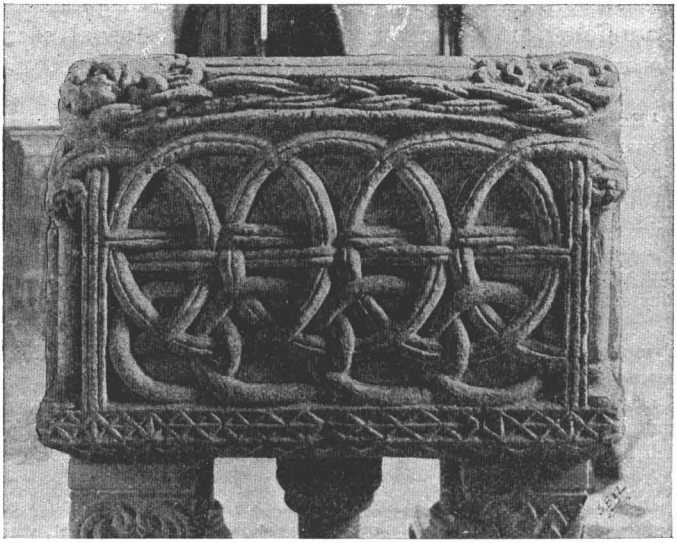


FIG. 15.—SCULTHORPE FONT.

dragons, or twisted snakes.[1] Now, although it is true that Romanesque architecture, and especially its decorative ornamentation, was never quite free from Byzantine and Saracenic influences, and was of itself an incongruous mixture, out of which, when the pointed arch of the Saracens was adopted, and the ornamentation modified accordingly, the new Gothic style arose, yet here again the dominant influence of Scandinavian *motifs saute aux yeux*. These forms of decoration were used also in the capitals and cornices, both in the Romanesque transitional and Gothic periods; and in Lombardic Gothic architecture grotesque forms were much used as sculptural decorations. In Scandinavia and in Ireland this kind of ornament assumed the forms of snakes, and of the interlacings developed from them.

To show the connection of this Scandinavian school of ornament with the Late-Celtic art of Halstatt and La Têne, we must remember that in both, and especially in La Têne, which was the later and more important of these two main sources of our knowledge of prehistoric Late-Celtic art, there are to be found the usual sacred decorations, sun and moon signs, wheel crosses, half

[1] Examples of corbels will occur to everyone who knows anything of Norman architecture. The remaining examples of Norman Tympana in England have been collected in a series of magnificent photographs, and published in a book, with Introduction, by Mr. Chas. E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A., of Aldermaston Court, Reading.

These number no less than 200, of which, by the kind permission of the author, we are permitted to reproduce three examples, specially illustrative of the subject of this paper.

As will be seen by all into whose hands this fine work comes, Norman Tympana are peculiar to no particular districts, but are to be found in all parts of England.

Dr. Brushfield, F.S.A., has also made a special study of the subject, and his paper on the Norman Tympana of Derbyshire, with illustrations, will be found in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. lvi., pp. 241-270.

In vol. lvii., p. 170, of the same publication, there is an account of a lecture given by Mr. Keyser before the Association on the subject, which he has since developed in the book above mentioned.



FIG. 16.—TYMPANUM AT LATHBURY CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.
(By kind permission of Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A.)



FIG. 17.—TYMPANUM AT RIDLINGTON CHURCH, RUTLAND.
(By kind permission of Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A.)

moons, the sacred ship, the swastika, triskelé, etc., and also crude representations of men and animals, all of them symbolic, and all of them characteristic of the Scandinavian ornamentation both of Pagan and Christian times. Now, although we have some reason to believe that this style of art was indigenous to the North, and that it was derived thence by the Anglo-Saxons and Normans, yet it is not impossible that it may have been largely helped in its progress by the cognate art of the Celts.

Inter-communication between the Greeks and Etruscans and the peoples of Central Europe is proved by the coins, vases, and objects of personal ornament, and by the imitations of Greek and Macedonian coins found in great quantities in Middle and Western Europe, and in Britain, that belong to the Late-Celtic period. This particular culture wave, which may very possibly, as we have admitted above, have introduced to the western and northern peoples the use of the spiral, which is so marked a feature of Egyptian and Mycenean ornamentation, if it did not bring with it the beginnings (as Dr. Ward is inclined to believe), yet conduced largely to the development, of that method of ornamentation which we have had under consideration in this paper. And it is this art, enriched from many sources, and modified in the process, which in later centuries manifested itself in the peculiar Celtic and Runic twistings and interlacings that are so common to Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman phases of decorative art, and which was practised [1] so largely from the first to the twelfth

[1] "The intercourse thus carried on along various routes has been established by discoveries of Etruscan bronzes in Central Europe, but its most striking result is in the sphere of numismatics. A coinage of gold pieces, based on Greek patterns, was in use among the Gallic and British tribes long before the Roman period, and is a proof of their openness to Mediterranean influences. The characteristic tendencies of barbaric art show themselves in the gradual degeneration of the type in successive issues, till all resemblance to nature is lost, and what was once on the Greek coin, a horseman or a helmeted head, becomes on that of Gaul or Britain a mere decorative play of lines. . . The resemblance between the

centuries of our era. As we study its progress all along the line we see more and more reason to agree with Dr. Ward, when he says: "In the development of nearly all historic art the religious aspirations of man were the chief factors."

I have not dwelt much in this paper upon the direct influence on Anglo-Saxon and Norman art of the Viking invasions, for the reason that the origin of the larger part of the Scandinavian *motifs* which I detect in that art date from times previous to the Viking period. Mr. Baldwin Brown [1] divides the Saxon era into two epochs, in the first of which there was a mixture of Roman and Celtic influences, modified, but only slightly, if at all, by native Teutonic traditions. I think we have seen sufficient cause for the opinion that these native Teutonic traditions played a larger part in Anglo-Saxon art than he is willing to allow, and that they were themselves derived from and modified by Scandinavian influences. Of the art of this epoch few specimens survive, but these few are sufficient to bear out our contention. Professor Brown himself says:

> The Scandinavian *motifs* were there, ingrained in the hearts of the people, living in their mythology and folklore, and only waiting to be called forth. This call came during the second epoch, that of the Viking invasions, and though it is a question whether we can point to any architectural feature for which such a derivation can reasonably be claimed, yet in decorative art the influence of the Northmen may be detected, or at any rate discussed.

This is no doubt a very guarded statement, but it refers only to the direct influence of the Viking invaders themselves. That direct influence may, however, be clearly seen in the crosses and other monuments referred to above;

different manifestations of this barbaric art among Scandinavians, Teutons, Gauls, or Irish does not preclude the existence of differences that open up questions, no less difficult than interesting, about the early intercourse of these peoples and their reciprocal influence in the sphere of culture." Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," vol. i., pp. 40, 41.

[1] "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., pp. 35, 36.

but its indirect influence in calling out the latent artistic instincts of the people, which, as we have seen, were predominantly Scandinavian, is undoubted. In two instances, however, Professor Brown detects a distinct and direct influence on the details of Anglo-Saxon architecture belonging to the Viking period, and with these examples we will conclude:—

> "The most advanced feature of the Saxon church at Deerhurst, one that occurs also in the tower, is the square-sectioned hood-mould which we find over the wide arch leading towards the apse. This, like the hood-moulds in the tower, springs from projecting corbels in the shape of animals' heads. Such carved grotesques suggest a Scandinavian influence that might easily have been exercised in this period, and this suggestion is borne out by the appearance at a later date of similar sculptured heads on the Norman church at Kilpeck in Herefordshire, in proximity to ornamental pilasters carved with intertwined serpents of a pronounced Scandinavian type."[1]

These words are to be noted, but they deal only with two concrete examples, which are possibly due to direct Viking influence. Our contention throughout this paper, and we trust it has been made good, has been that Scandinavian *motifs* are to be sought as the inspiration of Anglo-Saxon and Norman ornamentation, and that such search is neither futile nor in vain.[2]

APPENDIX

Notes on the Illustrations to the Paper.

Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4. These are good examples of pre-Norman Crosses from Derbyshire, and a full description of them will be found in an inter-

[1] "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., p. 302.

[2] This "Viking" art *par excellence* is marked by the absence of the Byzantine scroll-work, by the peculiar forms of interlacing which we have so fully described and accounted for, and by the characteristic dragon-monsters. These latter appear in all their magnificence upon the font at Bridekirk, referred to above, which, although it probably belongs to the twelfth century, yet, like many of the examples we have mentioned, must be assigned to the direct influence of the Viking age, and may, as such, be added to the two examples which are all that Mr. Brown allows as belonging to, or drawing their inspiration from, that period.

esting paper by Mr. Chas. Lynam, F.S.A., in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, Vol. LVI., pp. 305-314. The Crosses at Eyam and Bakewell exhibit the spiral form of ornamentation, and the Cross at Hope shows interlaced knot-work and foliage, with concentric circles intersected with diagonal bands.

Fig. 5. This is a fine example of one of the Irish so-called High Crosses, and shows interlacing ornament, with ecclesiastical figures in the panels.

Figs. 6 and 7. The font at Deerhurst exhibits a series of spirals in small panels. Acca's Cross, now at Durham, is fully described in the text, and shows the influence of Scandinavian art on the Byzantine *motifs* introduced by Wilfrid's Italian sculptors.

Fig. 8 This is one of the finest as well as the best preserved Irish croziers in existence, that of the Abbots of Clonmacnois, and is now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. On it we observe a series of intricate interlacings and in the first panel a triquetral knot.

Fig. 10. This is an example of a late survival of the Northern school of sculpture, and belongs probably to the 12th century. On it we see the dragon-monsters so characteristic of "Viking" art, and, as Dr. Geo. Stephens says, "A strange intermixture of Old-Northern and Scandinavian and Old-English staves and bind-runes." The lower panel shows "Richard," the sculptor, at work. If he was the Richard who was Master of the Works to Bishop Pudsey, the date is 1150-1170.

Figs. 11-15. These five illustrations give a good idea of the ornamentation to be seen on a remarkable series of Norman fonts still existing in North-west Norfolk. They are only a selection out of nearly a dozen examples. The font at Burnham shows on three sides a representation of the Anglo-Saxon Calendar, and on the remaining side, that reproduced here, foliage like that on the tympana. Lions, with interlacing tails, run round the top edge of the font. The font at Tofttrees is perhaps the finest example shown, with its intricate patterns of cable-work, and its grotesques. Similar patterns are seen on the fonts at Shernborne and Sculthorpe, which latter contains, on the East side, the representation of the Magi bringing their offerings to the infant Saviour. The character of this mode of decorative ornamentation has been sufficiently discussed in the text, and need not be further entered upon here; but an interesting question arises as to how it is that so many specimens of this style should remain in an outlying corner of Norfolk. Were they peculiar to this district, or is it possible that they were equally numerous in other parts and have survived here owing to the comparative isolation of the county, and the fact that it seems to have escaped the ravages of the civil wars of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries? The fact remains, that in seeking for illustrations to my paper, I had no less than a dozen examples to select from in this particular district, while only Deerhurst and Bridekirk (Figs. 6 and 10) could be found in the rest of England! This is not, of course, to say that other examples do not exist elsewhere, but none, I am persuaded, that would so fully answer my purpose. I am hoping to publish a complete monograph on all these

fonts shortly, with illustrations, in the *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society*.

Figs. 9, 16 and 17. These are taken from Mr. Keyser's recently published and most valuable monograph on the remaining Norman Tympana in England, and are thus described by the author:

Fig. 9. "London: Guildhall Library. Stone dug up in St. Paul's Churchyard. A stag with serpents twined round it, possibly typifying virtue hampered by the vices. On one side is an inscription in Runes, to the effect that Konal and Tuki caused this stone to be laid. It is nearly square with tassels in the corners, and is of pre-Norman date." In the text Mr. Keyser says: "On the stone in the Guildhall Library is a large stag with a serpent coiled round and round its body, the intention being apparently to demonstrate the constant difficulties with which a virtuous man has to contend through the allurements and entanglements of the vices inherent to our nature. (On the Norman font at Melbury Bubb, Dorset, is a stag with other animals, all having serpents similarly twined about them.)" The author may be right in his allegorical interpretation, but I think the mythological idea is the older, and that in this stone we have an interesting reminiscence of Eikthyrnir, the sun-stag of Freya, strangled by the dragon-serpent of Scandinavia.[1]

Fig. 16. "Lathbury Church, Bucks. Let into the arch below the roodloft staircase—the tree of spiritual life and knowledge, with a lion on one side and (?) a horse on the other." The author's description in the text is as follows: "An early example, with a conventional tree having a beaded guilloche pattern for a stem, with quite different foliage on the right and left; a lion is devouring a shoot on the right, while another animal, perhaps a horse, is biting through a beaded branch, encircling its head and shoulders on the left."

Fig. 17. "Ridlington Church, Rutland. Over the vestry door, interior, at the west end of the south aisle—two animals, a lion and a griffin, and below them an eight-spoked wheel within a circle. Above the lion is some lettering, perhaps the name 'John.' A band of the guilloche ornament runs round the tympanum." "This represents," says the author in the text, "the eternal conflict between good and evil."

I had hoped to include an illustration of a page from the Book of Durrow, from Miss M. Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, but this I have not been able to do. It offers a fine example of the so-called trumpet pattern or divergent spiral. To judge, however, of these patterns in all their beauty they must be seen in their original colours, of which a specimen is given in Joyce's *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 547.

In bringing these notes, and with them this paper, to a conclusion, I desire once more to express my grateful acknowledgments to all those who have made it possible to render the paper more attractive than, from the nature of the subject, it would otherwise be, by allowing me the use of many of the illustrations. The source of each is mentioned in its place.

[1] Eikthyrnir may possibly be a sun-stag, though the account of him in the Eddas gives no evidence of this, but we know of no authority for connecting him with Freya, nor for a myth in which he appears as attacked by a serpent.—ED.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that the old proverb, "Nothing comes from nothing," held good in ornamentation as in other things, and he did not quite agree with the theories of the writer of the paper as to the origin of certain forms of ornament. It was almost impossible to say definitely where any form of art arose. People talked as if Keltic art began in Ireland, and gave Ireland all the credit of it, but the art of the Kelts began and existed long before their migrations brought them into Ireland. The origin of ornament was always traceable, generally to some simple source, such as the plaiting of straw by savages, in which many forms of ornament had originated. He did not agree as to the Norse origin ascribed by Mr. Astley to certain ornaments in the illuminated MSS. The Durham Book forms of ornament could be traced back as far as Egypt and Nineveh. He himself had studied various forms of serpent ornamentation, and had found, to take one instance, namely, the caduceus, the winged rod, with serpents twined round it, that the wings originally belonged to the serpent. The Alfred Jewel he believed to be Byzantine work. The oldest Celtic enamels he knew that show the trumpet pattern were on some horse trappings. He thought there was no doubt that the basilica form of church was the earliest. He could not agree to the author's theory as to the origin of the rope ornament, for he had found that that form of ornament came from Egyptian Propylæon pillars. The spiral forms which were found in so much early ornament, in his view, were all traceable to a very simple source in nature, the snail and shells. Theories as to the origin of certain forms were liable to be upset by the discovery of similar forms elsewhere: for instance, at Kilpeck there occurred in the tympana ornament exactly comparable with some to be seen at Ely. Whence did the likeness come? He should be glad to know Mr. Astley's authority for the statement that the Bewcastle Cross was the work of Italian

artificers. Dr. Montelius, in his paper on the route of the amber trade from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, shows how easy it was to establish an intercourse between distant peoples.

Dr. J G. Garson said that he agreed with what the last speaker said as to going to Ireland for the development of Keltic art. The Keltic people brought their arts with them into Ireland. They may have developed special forms of it there, but the art dates back before they came. The subject of Crosses had been very fully dealt with in a monograph published in "Archæologia," by General Pitt-Rivers, "On the Evolution of the Cross." After referring to the course taken by Viking invasions, the speaker endorsed the statement made in the paper that the Normans would bring over into England from Normandy forms of art which had been brought there originally by their forefathers, and which had become modified by contact with that of the other races in France. Dr. Garson asked if there were any instances of undoubted Anglo-Saxon cremation. Cremation was a bronze age rite, and, as far as he knew, was not practised by the Anglo-Saxon invaders, though the Romans cremated their dead. As regards ornament on neolithic pottery, to the best of his knowledge, neolithic pottery was not ornamented, or at any rate was only incised with simple lines, not even forming a pattern. Neolithic urns found in this country usually had no true base, their under surface being rounded. The art of weaving is found to have existed in neolithic times, long before there is any trace of metal-work. It was very probable that there had been an adaptation of Scandinavian ornamentation in churches built in the Norman period, and he incidentally mentioned the church of Barfriston, near Dover, as being a very beautifully ornamented specimen of Norman work well worth a visit. He was doubtful, however, whether we ought to follow the author of the paper in seeing actual Scandinavian motifs at work in such cases, to the extent that he invites us to do.

In reply, Dr. Astley writes:—

I have carefully read the remarks made by Mr. Atkinson and Dr. Garson, and can only say that, so far as they are criticisms, they appear to be based on a misapprehension of the drift of the paper, for many of the opinions expressed are those which I have put forth: *e.g.*, with regard to Ireland, I distinctly say that its art is not indigenous, and I derive its Christianised art from Pagan sources of the Late-Celtic period, and those from Halstadt and La Tène, as well as from the Bronze Age of New Grange; but here also there is a Scandinavian admixture. The rope ornament is no doubt found in Egypt, as are also spirals, but neither the one nor the other "came from" Egypt to the lands of the North. I cannot agree that the spiral ornament is due to the snail shell. With regard to the tympana at Kilpeck and Ely, the ornament in both cases was probably derived from an identical source. In my paper I enlarge on the facilities of intercourse due to commercial necessities. For the authority as to Bewcastle Cross, see page 144, Note 2. So far Mr. Atkinson. Now as to Dr. Garson. I have carefully expressed the opinion that the "Keltic people brought their arts with them into Ireland," but these were modified by later Scandinavian influence, as in England. With respect to the Normans, I am glad that Dr. Garson finds himself in agreement with the statements contained in the paper. For the fact of Pagan Anglo-Saxon cremation, I would refer him to "Life in Early Britain," by Dr. Windle, page 179; "Celt. Roman and Saxon," by Thos. Wright, pages 401 *seq.*, 421. In a *seventh*-century Pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery, excavated by Dr. Jessopp in 1891 at Castleacre, Norfolk, "a large number of more or less perfect sepulchral urns of rude workmanship, containing charred human bones and crudely wrought ornaments, were unearthed."

KING WILLIAM THE WANDERER.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A

THIS old romance ought to have an especial interest for the Viking Club for two reasons: first, because it is one of the sagas of the Viking Age in Britain, and, second, because it gives us accounts of life and manners in the two great Viking colonies of Caithness and Galloway at a time when there is hardly any other information on the subject. These accounts are slight and indirect; the story is fantastic; its date and authorship unknown; but still it has all the value of a novel dealing with the world as the writer knew it.

The volume recently published [1] is a translation, with very little in the way of note or comment, from two Norman-French poems of the twelfth century. These poems were published by Francisque Michel in the third volume of his "Chroniques Anglo-Normands." [2] He described one of the poems as copied from a manuscript of the first half of the fourteenth century, a small folio vellum in the Bibliothèque du Roy (Nationale) at Paris, (No. 198, Notre Dame, with 483 leaves,) written in two columns, this piece standing first of eighty-two pieces of verse. The poem is anonymous, in Alexandrine verses, rhymed in quatrains, and running to more than 900 lines. It tells the story crisply, though sometimes rather baldly, but with much reality and dignity. The other poem is described as in MS. No. 6,987

[1] "King William the Wanderer; an old British Saga from old French Versions"; by W. G. Collingwood. (London: S. S. Brown Langham & Co., 1904.)

[2] Rouen, Ed. Frère. 1840.

of the same library, a large vellum folio of 346 leaves, in fourteenth century writing, in two, three, or four columns, containing thirty-four pieces of prose and verse, of which this is the twelfth, beginning on fol. 240 *verso*, col. 2. It is in octosyllabic rhymed couplets, running to about 3,300 lines. The author gives his name, Chrestien, twice at the beginning of the story, and says at the end that he got the tale from Roger "li cointes" *(the charming)*:—

> La matere si me conta
> .J. [Un] miens compains, Rogiers li cointes,
> Qui de moult prodome est acointes.

The tale is interspersed with reflections, diffuse and weakly told, with a trick of repetition in slightly different phrases. Chrestien, whom Francisque Michel identifies with the well-known Chrestien de Troyes, the most famous French poet of the twelfth century, and author of the Arthurian tales known as "Le Chevalier au Lion" and "Erec," and part author of "Le Conte del Graal," here insists that he is not inventing a romance, but only versifying history. He does not say, like the poet of the other version, that his King William was also Duke of Normandy; but he declares that anyone who searches the history of England will find this tale, "which compels belief because it is pleasant and true," at a place called St. Esmoing:—

> Qui les estoires d'Engleterre
> Vauroit bien cerkier et enquerre,
> Une, qui molt bien fait à croire
> Por çou que plaisans est et voire,
> On trouveroit à Saint-Esmoing.
> Se nus en demande tesmoing
> Là le voise querre, s'il veut.

If, as I suppose, St. Esmoing is the Norman way of writing Bury St. Edmunds, he must be referring to a book in the great English abbey at the shrine of St. Edmund the Martyr.

We know that legends from Britain supplied plenty of subjects for mediæval French poetry, though it has been debated by scholars how much Chrestien de Troyes was indebted in this way. (Some notes on the views of Prof. Foerster and M. Gaston Paris are given by Mr. Alfred Nutt in his popular edition of the Mabinogion.) Even if the Lays of Marie de France and other Arthurian stories came from Brittany, there are several which must have been originally English or British. Geoffrey Gaimar, who wrote between 1141 and 1151, introduced into his Norman-French rhyming chronicle the old English saga of Buern Buzecarle, which professes to tell how and why the Danes invaded Northumbria in 866. A long story of Berne the Huntsman and Lothbrok (our old friend Ragnar) is given in Roger of Wendover's early thirteenth century "Flowers of History," and supplies a widely differing variant of this popular tale, just as we have two legends of King William. Gaimar also tells the tale of Havelok, which reappears in a French poem founded upon his version; though the thirteenth century English poem of Havelok the Dane is again a variant, independently derived from the native saga. "Horn" also is found in various forms; the fourteenth century "Child Horn and Maiden Rimnild"[1] differs from "King Horn,"[2] which occurs in French versions, one of which tells us that the Norman poet who wrote it was named Thomas, and lived under Richard Cœur de Lion. Other scraps of sagas appear to be embodied in Henry of Huntingdon's "History" (published about 1135), such as the death of Earl Siward and the deeds of Earl Tosti (book vi.).

Now these, omitting the Arthurian cycle, are all Northumbrian or Cumbrian tales. They deal with the clash of interests between Anglian, Briton, and Scandinavian in the Viking Age. They are the product, like the vast quantities of monumental sculpture still awaiting re-

[1] Ritson's "Metrical Romances."
[2] Ed. J. R. Lumby, E.E.T.S., vol. xiv.

search and classification, of the busy tenth and eleventh centuries in what is now the North of England. The Norman Conquest closed that period and Norman culture almost wiped it out; but, just as the carved stones are being recovered, one by one, from the foundations of Norman buildings, so the literature of the age may be quarried out of the remains of Norman poets and chroniclers.

In my translation of King William, which is simply literary, I have combined the two versions, using the liberty of taking from either what seemed most to my purpose; which was to tell the old romance in a readable way. At the same time I have added nothing. The plot, the character drawing, the pathos and the humour are all in the originals.

King William himself is, of course, imaginary. There was no pre-Norman king of that name, which seems to have come in with the Conqueror, or a little earlier with Edward the Confessor's Norman favourites. But it soon became common. In "Havelok" one of the sons of Grim of Grimsby, who fostered Havelok Cuheran, was "William, Wendut hight"; William *Wendwood* or *Wendout*, the Wanderer. So early "Wandering Willie" became a stock figure in folklore. The character of the king might have been more or less modelled on that of Edward himself, saintly and pious, and in youth a wanderer; married to a beautiful and pious girl, and having no children. The example may have made the story credible, though the allusion was disguised to suit the times, by giving the Norman name to the hero. But kings in disguise, and in exile, or on pilgrimage, are plentiful in our early history.

He is warned by a vision to forsake all for twenty-four years; and after the vision has come for the third time he obeys it—or partly obeys, for his queen, Gratiana, insists upon going with him. There is a story in Wendover (*sub anno* 604) of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice, similarly warned and similarly half-obeying. He too

fled to a wood by the seashore, but there he was killed with his wife and sons. Gibbon's "variant" may be read in the "Decline and Fall," chapter xlvi., with Gibbon's weak sarcasms on the pious king; but the legend may be one of the sources of our story.

After the flight the servants of the household ransack the palace, an incident essential to the plot, and not likely to be the invention of the French poet. In the eleventh century, and among people who knew the Viking Age at first hand, this custom of *Polotasvarf* would be familiar. Modern English readers have the word from Kingsley's "Hereward," where it is used as equivalent to loot, or booty; but it was properly the "palace-scouring" of the Warengs, who had the right of pillaging when the Greek Emperor died; an Oriental custom, I imagine, brought north from Byzantium.

The king and queen find shelter easily in the forest, and when they come out after a month's wandering it is at Gernemue, *i.e.*, Yarmouth, in Norfolk.[1] Here the queen bears twins, and in her hunger begs for one of them to eat. The king offers to cut her a slice of his thigh, like Brian in the story of King Cadwalla at Garnareia (Guernsey) in Geoffrey of Monmouth ("Hist. Brit.," xii., chap. iv.). This might suggest a Celtic origin for the episode, but the hungering of a mother for her baby is also told among the Norse, though of a *huldre* or mountain-fairy married to a human husband.[2]

Yarmouth was already something of a port. While the adventurers are there in the cave, chapmen arrive in a ship; half merchants, half pirates, like the regular Norse rovers of the Viking Age. They carry off the queen with violence; and yet the writer does not represent them as wholly wicked, for, though one of them plays the bully throughout, the skipper tosses a purse of gold to the poor belaboured king.

[1] See, for examples, "The Chronicles of the Mayors, etc., of London," ed. H. T. Riley, 1863, *sub. ann.* 1256, 1259, 1265.

[2] See Mr. W. A. Craigie's "Scandinavian Folk-Lore," p. 168.

These rovers sail away north and, not being acquainted with the coast, arrive at a bad port. This is called Sorlinc or Surclin, evidently the miswritten name of some place up the east coast of Scotland. Struthlinn, the "river-pool," on the Toe (Tay) is mentioned in the so-called Prophecy of St. Berchan, written about 1094-1097, and nearly contemporary with the original of our story of King William. This name, with *c* for *t*, a frequent error in black-letter, and with the *ru* transposed to suit Norman ideas of euphony, would make Surclin. The name Struthlinn was also Gaelic for Stirling, which may have suggested the variant form of Sorlinc. The Lord of Sorlinc is described as less than an earl, by name Glioalis, Cleoalis, or Gliolas, obviously a French attempt at giving one of the many Gaelic names in "Gille," which came into fashion in the middle of the tenth century. The name Gilechrist or Gilleandres might easily have been corrupted into the French form, just as Lincoln became Nicole, a word which occurs in this story. The Gaelic maormor is shown in a very favourable light, both as the rescuer of the captive lady and later as her wooer and nominal husband. This seems to me one of the curious and interesting points in our tale—the way in which aliens and enemies are treated with the "Humani nihil a me alienum puto" of the Classic. It cannot be foisted on the original by the courteous Frenchman; the attitude is part of the plot, and seems to show far more kindly commixture of races than the bald monkish chronicles record.

Meanwhile at Yarmouth the twin babies are also lost to the king. A wolf carries off one, and he is rescued by a second company of chapmen, who also find the other, not knowing that the two are brothers. These chapmen sail home to Catanasse, Catanaise, or Catenaise, obviously Caithness (Catenesse in Reginald of Durham), where they live with their own people as merchants dealing chiefly in furs, not without business in the way of money-lending. They are Christians, and have the boys baptised, one as Lovel, Louvet, Loviax, or Loviaus, because he was

rescued from the wolf, and the other as Marins (Marinus), because they had found him in a boat on the sea. These are, of course, translations of the names to show their meaning. In the Celto-Norse colony of Caithness one would have been Ulf or Faolan, and the other perhaps Sæmund or something like Muirceartach; and the parallel names of (Olaf) Feilan and Kjartan (Muircheartach) might have been used in my translation, if it had not seemed simpler to call one Wolfling and the other Sea-born. The Caithness merchants who adopt them are Foukiers, Fokiers, Fouquiers, or Foucier (*i.e.*, Folkwar, found a little later in Cumberland as Fulcher) and Gonselins or Gosselins, who are kind foster-fathers until the boys refuse to learn a trade, when they are sent out into the world to shift for themselves.

They wander through the forest of Caithness, slay the earl's deer, and are brought before him by a blustering but venal forester, who speaks as a heathen of "the God in whom he believes." The earl receives them kindly, brings them up like gentlefolk, and eventually makes them his knights. Their chief business then is to fight the men of the lady of Sorlinc, their own mother, though they did not know her, who, having succeeded to the lands of old Glioalis after a nominal marriage, refuses to marry the earl of Caithness.

This earl is drawn as a very great lord, courteous to his equals, dignified toward inferiors, ambitious and grasping, but kindly to his young guests; with a great retinue and army, a great hunter and warrior, but in the end owning some sort of homage to the King of England. This last touch is a recollection of the Commendation of 924; the forest laws were already working under Edward the Confessor; there is nothing here but what a writer of the later half of the eleventh century might set down, but he must have had considerable knowledge of the North to treat it, as he does, with more than conventional description. I cannot help thinking that he had in mind the great earl of Caithness, Thorfinn, who plays so large

a part in the Orkneyinga Saga, and corresponds so closely to the character here portrayed. Everything in the story suggests a well thought-out romance, describing the earlier half of the eleventh century, and written towards the close of the century; and Earl Thorfinn's rule covers a long period down to his death in 1064. He was a very well-known person in the North; but who would expect an English story-teller to know much about him, or the Caithness colony?—unless the Englishman was a Northumbrian, and more in touch with the North than we sometimes imagine was possible.

What happened to King William after losing wife and children at Yarmouth is differently told in the two French versions. The one makes him go into hermitage, and a good deal later to another coast, and thence to Spain. Chrestien represents him as meeting a third party of chapmen, who take him to Galinde or Gavaide. No doubt the unfamiliarity of the place to a Frenchman suggested Spain as a likely refuge; but in Galinde or Gavaide the scribe has certainly been trying to write one and the same name. Anyone who reads black-letter MSS. knows how easily Galinde might be written for Galuide; and Galuide or Galuaide are French forms of Gallovidia or Gallweithia, the Latinised name of Galloway. Here there was another Viking colony in the eleventh century; indeed Earl Thorfinn is said to have spent much time in "Gallgedlar, where Scotland and England meet," which Skene thought, criticising Dr. Anderson's note to the place in the Orkneyinga Saga, to mean Galloway.

When King William met the Galloway merchants, after wandering across the country, he prayed help "for love of the true God," and it is added that they believed on Him, as though it were by no means certain beforehand. The Galloway Norse were somewhat newly Christianised in the earlier half of the eleventh century, and here again we have evidence of knowledge on the part of the author. Very kindly and human is the portrait of King William's new protector, the merchant and shipowner, who sends

his cargoes of Galloway nags to England, Flanders, and France, and trades in grain, alum, wax, embroideries, and all manner of luxuries. Under him the king is set first to feed hens and skin eels, and gradually rises to be the trusted steward. After a while he is sent as agent to distant ports, and at last becomes his employer's partner.

It should not be ungrateful to us English, as a nation of chapmen, going in ships to the ends of the earth, and still hoping that our dealings are found just by men and pleasing to God, to find that one of our most ancient tales has for its hero a royal and saintly tradesman, true to his employer, courteous to his customers, but in no wise to be cheated, "for he knew what everything was worth, asked the right price, and got it." And if corroboration is needed, we have only to turn to the life of St. Godric, as told by Wendover, for the picture of a pious merchant, painted with curious realism—"plaisans et voire."

No name is given to the good merchant of Galloway, but the skipper of his ship, in which King William sails for Bristol (or Dover, as the variant has it), is Terfès, Tressès, or Tiesses; the confusion between *f* and *s* accounts for the difference of spelling, and the original name may well have been Tjörvi (Torfi).

So they come to Bristot or Bistot (Bristow, Bristol), where they land their Galloway nags and other cargo at the harbour and go up to the great fair. King William's nephew, who rules in his absence, meets him, and takes to him on account of the resemblance, as he supposes, to the lost king. Here too the incident of the *polotasvarf* turns up again; a young man who found the king's hunting-horn appears, and sells the old horn for the big price of five shillings. The young king is so pressing in his friendship that King William is glad to escape unnoticed, and puts out to sea again for the return voyage.

Then a storm rises, one of those southerly gales which blow for three days, with the wind veering into the north. The ship is driven up the west coast of Scotland, some-

times so near the crags that they fear their yards will be broken on the rocks. At last, and quite naturally and possibly, they are becalmed on the north-east coast, off the harbour of Sorlinc.

The lady, once queen of England, comes aboard to "take weel of the wares," sees the horn, claims her ring from King William's hand, invites him up to the castle, entertains him royally, but always with her veil on. Gradually he comes to be sure that it is she, but still he cannot hope that she is still his own. They go hunting, and the story comes out as they ride together; it is all delightfully told. Then he rides after the stag; crosses the river which parts Sorlinc and Caithness, and is set upon by two knights. In danger of his life he remembers that the four and twenty years are past, and he may speak. He finds his sons again in his enemies, and they learn that the Cruel Lady is their mother. They take him to the earl, who does not (as one might expect) seize him as hostage, but owns the superior state of the King of England, as defined by the Commendation, and accompanies him to Sorlinc and thence home.

This rough sketch of the action, from which all the picturesque detail is omitted, shows how many varied scenes and situations are included in the story, and how the plot touches so many points of interest in connection with the Viking Age. If Chrestien de Troyes wrote his French version in the twelfth century, it must have been in the eleventh, or at least very early in the twelfth, that the English original was composed. It could hardly have been earlier than the Conquest, because of the name William, and the references to settled commercial life in Caithness and Galloway, though the period is thrown vaguely back into "the good old days," which have always existed in imagination—indeed in this very tale Master Gonselin talks of them with regret, just as an old man might in this twentieth century. That the story was English, rather than Cumbrian-British, seems to be indicated by its distinctly English tone, as in the superiority,

just mentioned, of the King of England over the minor rulers of the North. But it must have been composed by a Northumbrian, even if the book in which it was written was found at Bury St. Edmunds; by a Northumbrian in touch with Scandinavian traders and travellers, if not by one who knew personally the scenes he described, and himself perhaps Danish or Norse in parentage. It is not a tradition, but a composition, embodying motives from folk-lore, and woven into a carefully elaborated plot. It differs in its more artificial construction from an Icelandic saga, but the resemblances are greater than the differences; it is the same literary growth on our own soil.

That there must have been saga-tellers and even story-writers in the highly cultivated Anglo-Scandinavian Northumbria of the eleventh century might have been inferred; but here we seem to see it proved. And yet who would have expected a complete novel of almost modern type, and a sympathetic picture of the Viking Age sea-rovers?

NOTES ON SHIPBUILDING AND NAUTICAL TERMS OF OLD IN THE NORTH.

By EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A.

SHIPBUILDING is a term which, historically translated, means: the solution of the problem, how to turn the surface of water into a thoroughfare for man. In order to obtain as clear a view as the hazy outlook permits, of some, at least, of the experiences which brought man, through a very long and painful process, to the solution of this problem, we must go all the way back to the remote period of the stone age.

The child of nature, that we are self-conceitedly in the habit of calling the savage of the stone age, was, for all his savagery, especially considering his extremely limited opportunities, hardly a less deft scholar at the school of Necessity, the Mother of Invention, than at any time has been his descendant, the man of the bronze, iron, steel, and steam ages. At any rate, to the stone-age man is honour due for having made the discovery which I, at least, have no hesitation in describing as the everlasting mother of all inventions that have borne, or ever are likely to bear, on the practical purposes of human life. Like so many other discoveries, this one also arose out of antecedent causes, which originated in the conflict of man with the conditions of his environment. His life was one of ceaseless battle for existence. By a sad necessity, a pitiless law of life, he was obliged to maintain his own existence by the destruction of the existence of other living things. His self-chosen enemies were the poor

animals whose fatality it was to rejoice in life within his environment. Some were too strong for him to fight at close quarters, others too swift for him to get to close quarters with. In both cases he had to improve upon his disabilities by the artificial means to which he gave a name that, probably, had a meaning similar to that originally implied in the word weapon, which possibly may be radically related to the Sanskrit root *vap*, to strew, to sow. If the stone-age man was able to form a collective term for the means of attack at his disposal, some term indicative of throwing was the most natural to employ, for most of his weapons, the bow, the sling, even the club, etc., were calculated for the action of throwing. Among the objects most eminently suitable for this purpose that his environment supplied him with none, probably, was more common or more readily at hand than the stone.

Of all the kinds of stone that man made use of for weapon, evidently the flint was the one to which he gave his most intelligent attention. This is amply proved by the fact that the flint industry, that is to say, the manufacture of a great variety of objects of flint usefully answering a corresponding variety of practical purposes, was really the one universal industry of the stone age.[1] All the stones that man made use of fell into two groups: the brakeable and the flakeable, the latter peculiarity being the exclusive property of the flint. He had been making use of the flint as weapon for no great length of time when he observed, not only that it did flake, but also that its flakeability had something interestingly curious about it. By knocking two nodules of flint together in

[1] I may mention that in Norwegian dialects the root *flin-* in "flin-t," the raw material, seems to assume the syncopated form *fli*, whenever the manufacture of the raw material is in question. We have thus: "Flì," f., a thin chip, a plate; "flì," n., implements, tools; "flì," wv., to manipulate, to make by hand, put to rights, put in order, ornament, adorn. I mention this, because, in my opinion, we have the same stem to deal with in the common modern Scandinavian term "flì-d," "fli-t" = industry, originally flint-industry, M.H.G. "vlî-z," O.H.G. "flî-z," mod. H.G. "fleiss."

a particular manner, he observed that one or both would flake in converging planes. Two such planes would sometimes meet in so acute an angle as to leave the line where they met as sharp as that of a razor's edge. No doubt our rash, unwary savage cut himself in the course of his first inexperienced handling of his new curiosity. The first cut was pregnant with progressive evolution.

The savage had, ages before this, ascertained the fact that the material objects he was thrown into contact with and was in the habit of handling, fell into two classes: the hard and the not hard. He was intelligent enough to conclude that his flesh was cut by the flint, not only because to his startled mind it was miraculously endowed with sharpness, and pre-eminently suitable for wounding and killing, but especially because the material it was made of was evidently much harder than the substance of which his own flesh was tissued together. This set him thinking, and he was led to the further conclusion that, as the sharp flint had cut his flesh, so, probably, it would cut to pieces any material composed of a substance softer than that of which itself consisted, and thus might be turned to other uses than the invaluable one of shedding life-blood and causing death.

He put his theory to practical test; he tried his flint on a piece of bone, horn, or green wood, and found that what he had imagined came true. As he went on experimenting with the new wonder he realized with delight that in his manipulating hand it lent itself to fashioning certain forms and figures, which from life and nature were reflected in the mirror of his imitative mind. I am not romancing, I am stating a plain fact, when I say that now the primitive savage had come upon the most epoch-making technical discovery that man ever made. He had discovered the EDGE; that no less astoundingly simple than almost magically effective agent for good and evil in the practical affairs of life. For on the edge, ever since its discovery, has depended, and probably will depend to the end of time, the whole artistic and artificial

environment of human existence, in all its infinitely varied complexity. Look wherever we may upon the artificial surroundings of our life, their direct or indirect descent from the edge is a fact that stares any observant beholder in the face. By this discovery was broken down a wall that for untold ages had dammed up a stagnant, unprogressive past, and through the breach were let loose all the potentialities of the future civilization of mankind. It was entirely owing to the discovery of the edge that man was enabled in the course of time to invent the art of shipbuilding.

Directly, however, the discovery of the edge was not inductive to the invention of this great art. The experiences that, step by step, led primitive man to the conception of that invention proceeded from causes probably in the main independent of the agency of the edge, but intimately and vitally associated with the alimentary conditions of his environment—with his struggle for existence. By briefly surveying this environment we shall be able the more clearly to realize the under-current causation which ultimately brought reasoning man to the solution of the problem before him.

The stone-age man, generally speaking, was confined to a narrow strip of land, bounded in front of him by waters—rivers, lakes, straits, or open ocean —and in his rear by primeval woods standing deep in matted impenetrable jungle. He was ignorant of the kindly bounteousness of cultivated earth. He knew nothing of the sources of sweet nurture and comfort supplied by domestic animals; of these latter he knew only the dog, an invaluable ally on account of its capacity for hunting. In these circumstances he had to devote his whole energy to the pursuits of hunting, to fishing from bank and shore, and to the catch of what marine mollusks and crustacea the ebb-tide left within his reach in shallow foreshore waters. In proportion as man multiplied the supplies of his very limited dominion were bound to diminish. With his weapons,

the club, the spear, and above all the stone, and the hunting dogs, he destroyed the land animals, or frightened them away; fishing and the catch of crustacea were mostly confined to the warm season; clearing the ebb-shallows of mollusks was, in each case, only a matter of time. When one haunt was exhausted of supplies to such an extent that the community was reduced to short commons, the only chance of avoiding the impending famine was for the tribe to break up and thread its way along the water until a virgin tract was reached, where a halt was made, and a new temporary abode selected, or, which comes to the same thing, a certain spot was fixed upon where, it was agreed, the community should consume in common the proceeds of the hunter's and the fisherman's daily toil. This was a matter of necessity in a communistic society. The provider of food must know for certain where to take the proceeds of each day's labour; the whole community must be witness to the equal distribution of those proceeds among all its members. This process of intermittent migration is very clearly illustrated by the "køkkenmoddinge"—huge offal-heaps—in Denmark, which contain the remnants of the meals of the early stone-age folk, and are found at considerable, but varying, distances along the sea-shore. Here are found heaped together prodigious quantities of shells, bones of fish, and of a large variety of wild mammals, such as bear, wild boar, red-deer, roe, beaver, seal, urochs, fox, wolf, lynx, marten, etc., besides charcoal remains and rudely flaked objects of flint. In these heaps are stored, if I may be allowed the expression, the archives of the earliest history of man in the North.

Now we have seen enough of the environment of primitive man to come to the conclusion that existence within it must have been one of a very precarious character. Seasons then, as now, were good, bad, or indifferent. But a bad season then was an infinitely more serious matter than a bad season is now; and the stone-age man must, at times, have experienced famines so appalling that we

can form no adequate idea of their destructiveness. We can easily imagine how, in hard and hungry seasons, he must have taken desperately to heart the limitations of his capacities. The uninhabited river-bank, or island shore, opposite the one he himself was occupying, with the sources of livelihood running dry, he knew would in all probability supply him with means for saving the lives of his starving relatives and dependents. In spite of all the incentives wherewith self-preservation, cupidity, and the delights of the chase stimulated his mind, he was in most cases effectively debarred from the objects of his yearning by intervening waters. Here he stood helpless, face to face with a problem, probably the most hopeless of solution of all that presented themselves to primitive man. By what means could man turn the surface of the waters into a thoroughfare?

The myriads of water-fowl the savage saw swimming over the waters in front of him had solved the problem to perfection, and could go in quest of their food wheresoever it suited them, while he, helpless and hunger-stricken, could only stand by the water's edge and gaze. No matter to what pitch of perfection he carried his expertness in swimming, he could only swim in, not on, the water; across it he could carry or convey nothing of any bulk, least of all anything with a tendency to sink; besides, he was prevented from deriving full advantage of his mastery in swimming by changing temperatures, insidious under-currents, rapids, water-enemies, etc. The solution of this tremendous problem must have exercised the searching mind of man for a very long time. Ultimately his intelligent observation of certain manifestations within his own environment opened to him the path by which he was enabled to surmount the stupendous difficulty he was coping with.

To the sea-shore he roamed along, winds and ocean currents would carry logs of wood, trunks of trees; the river, along the bank of which he fished, bore down, when in flood, similar materials from unknown hinterlands.

The children of nature are sportive and venturesome above all things. Merely for the fun of the thing the stone-age man must have mounted many a log that he found drifted into shallow water. He could not fail to observe that the larger it was the less tendency it had to sink under the weight of his body. It stands to reason that this kind of acquaintance with the floating properties of tree-trunks led to tying two or more together. On the top of them, so joined together, man could take up a position dry-shod and dry-skinned. The dream of long ages was realized; the formidable problem was solved, provisionally at all events—the first RAFT carried man on the water. The invention was rude and very imperfect, because it was, except in the most favourable circumstances, beyond the control of man, being otherwise wholly subject to that of wind and current. Yet by a punting pole and roughly-fashioned paddle he could—weather and current permitting—take the raft out to sea for fishing purposes further than he could get by any other means. On lakes and languid streams it could, probably, be paddled to advantage, thus facilitating, in a manner heretofore unknown, the migratory efforts of primitive man.

Through a long course of observation it became evident to the primitive natural philosopher that a trunk that had lost some of its inside substance floated more lightly on the water than one wholly solid. With the experience thus gained of floating logs, it was but natural that this ardent observer should reason to himself somehow to this effect: Since hollow trunks float more lightly on the water than solid ones, they must do it because they have lost the inside substance, while the others retain theirs; if, then, I can manage to hollow one by removing from it the greater part of its inside wood, will it float with me if I put myself in the hollow of it? He set about the experiment. He now had the edge to fall back upon; he wielded his flint-axe and other edged flint implements. The texture of the wood was very destructive of the sharp-

ness of the edge, and wasteful of the implements. But he called to his aid an effective agent to lighten and quicken his work. He set fire to the inside of the trunk, and kept it burning under proper control until the tree was hollowed to his satisfaction. The charred masses he scooped out with his flint-axe. Both ends were rounded off on the pattern of the breast of the bird that swims. The builder now launched his craft, stepped inside it, and it floated, with the joyfully surprised maker on board. The dark problem of ages was solved; the surface of the water was turned into a thoroughfare for man. An era of vastly increased happiness was inaugurated. The unknown day when this craft was launched for the first time was the birthday of the great art of SHIPBUILDING.

From the raft our ship-builder took with him the paddle, and adjusted it to the proportions and properties of the new craft, which yielded to this means of propulsion as ready an obedience as the raft had yielded a cumbrously reluctant one, or none at all. The first product, then, of the new invention was a monoxylous craft. I have presumed all along that the invention dates from the stone age. It is a fact, however, that with none of the monoxyla which Scandinavian bogs and lakes have given up have there been found objects hailing from the manufactories of the stone age. This evidence, besides being negative, loses a good deal of the importance one might be inclined to attach to it, when we consider that, firstly, the stone-age populations crossed water too broad to make it at all likely that the transit took place by means of rafts; secondly, that the charred insides of some monoxyla bear witness to their having been hollowed out by means of fire, a device for which there could have been no need in a metallic age; thirdly, that the "køkkenmøddinge" contain remains of fish which only live in deep water, consequently further out at sea than rafts can be supposed to have been taken; fourthly, that canoes of this description have been found in the lake dwellings at Robenhausen in Switzerland which, un-

doubtedly, are of the stone age; and, fifthly, that in Scotland one monoxylon with a stone-wedge within it has been found. On this evidence, partly inferential, partly positive, it seems quite safe to conclude that the stone-age man was actually the first boat-builder.

This monoxylous family of craft must have been in general vogue for a very long time, and in certain localities people must have taken a very rigid conservative fancy to it. This is to be inferred from the fact that, even up to the present, stray specimens of it are found still alive. On the inland waters of Wärend, in Sörmanland, in Sweden, and on the Orkdale river in the countryside of Rennebo, in Norway, these cranky craft still do ferry service, as they did thousands of years ago. They are called: in Norway "ege," in Sweden "eka" and "ekestock," both forms being derived from the old Scandinavian "eikja," oakie, a feminine derivative of "eik," oak. The name points clearly to the fact that, originally, monoxylous canoes were made out of oak-trunks, the obvious reason being that the oak-trunk was the thickest to be found in the wood, and, consequently, when hollowed out, made the most capacious hull. On the evidence of this name I think we are warranted in concluding that it was in an oak-growing country that shipbuilding originated. That the name "oakie" should stick to the craft even when it was made of other kinds of wood was but natural. In the North, Denmark, which was densely wooded in the stone period, was probably the country where "oakies" were first made.[1]

[1] The existence of the "eikja" goes back even to mythic times, as we learn from "Hárbarðsljóð," v. 7, where, in charge of Odin, it figures as a ferry-boat belonging to Hildolf of Ráðseyjarsund. In Norwegian Laws it only does ferry service; cf. Frostaþings lög xiii. 10. Sigvat's much-abused "eikju-karfi," Heimskringla, Olafs saga helga, ch. 91 (F. Jónsson's ed.), was also a river-boat, and evidently the same as, or at least very similar to, the "eikja." Sigvat's experience of it dates from 1018. In 1177 King Sverrir ferried his men across the river Orka in Rennabú by means of "eikjur." Monoxyla, not only in the North, but wherever we find them mentioned elsewhere (see below), are in most cases river-ferries.

In connection with this family of craft I must call attention to an exceedingly old name for ship which is found, and that rarely, only in poetry and in one compound proper name from mythic times. This name is "nór." About its meaning there can be no doubt. Thiodolf from Hvin, a Norwegian poet of the ninth century, uses the word in his Ynglingatal to effect a *kenning*, or poetical periphrase, for a house, which he calls "brandnór," or "hearth-fire's ship."[1] In the poetical glossary of the younger Edda it is also entered among the appellatives for ship.[2] But it is in its mythic setting that it demands particular attention.

In the morning of time there befell a feud between Odin's divine tribe, the Æsir, and the people whom our mythographers call Vanir, and frequently designate as the *wise* Vanir. The feud came ultimately to an end, and both sides exchanged hostages to ensure a lasting peace. The Vanir gave to the Æsir him who was called Niord (Njörðr); he was admitted to divine honours by the Æsir, with whom he remained for good. He was worshipped as the Lord ruling the course of the winds, having in his power to still the sea and to control fire. It was profitable to make vows to him for sea-faring and fishing; and he was so wealthy and so gainsome of riches that he would bestow lands or loose wealth on those who approached him with vows to that end. He abode at the place called NÓA-TÚN, the town of ships[3]

It seems clear that the "nóar," from which Niord's residence derived its name, were the ships he brought with him from his people, who were a sea-faring and trading community, but whose locality is as yet uncertain. In the dialect, then, of the Vanir, the name for a ship was "nór." Now, it is obvious that this form is closely related to Greek "ναῦς," Latin "navis." But a still closer

[1] It is a kenning of the same type as "arin-kjóll," navis foci, "knörr legvers," navis lecti, "nökkvi toptar," navis parietum, etc.

[2] Snorri's Edda I. 581[11].

[3] Völuspá 23, 24, Skirnismál 17, 18; Snorri's Edda I. 92[10,16].

affinity presents itself in the Irish "noe," "noi," one of the oldest words for ship in the Irish language, as an Irish scholar at Cambridge informs me. The word occurs several times in the oldest tractates of the ancient Laws of Ireland, the Senchus Mór, and the Lebar Aicle. What sort of a craft it was does not appear with full certainty; it might be monoxylous, or of the currach or coracle type. Now, considering the great age which, no doubt rightly, is claimed by Irish scholars for the Brehon Laws, I think we must take it, if not for granted, at least as very probable, that this nór of the Vanir-dialect is a Celtic loan-word of a very high antiquity. If such should be the case, it follows that the Vanir must have been closer neighbours of the *continental* (or the Irish?) Celts than the Odinic community; if, indeed, they were not a Celtic tribe. Properly speaking, in the North this word is an exclusively Norwegian term, which migrated, of course, from Norway to Iceland with other ancestral traditions. No trace of the word is found in Denmark or Sweden. I am inclined to think that Niord's "nóar" were monoxylous craft. This I infer from the fact that in the Norwegian "landsmål," rural speech, the word "no" or "nu" signifies a mug, or small vessel made out of a solid piece of wood, and that in Iceland "nói" in the peasant speech, means a wooden vessel in which liquid food is doled out to children.

The son of Niord was Frey, the dispenser of rain and sunshine, and therewithal of the fertility of the earth, "and it is well to make vows to him for plenteous seasons and peace; he also rules man's luck in gaining wealth." [1] Frey, too, is lord of a famous ship called "Skíðblaðnir." The name is composed of *skíð*, possibly the stem of "skíðe" (German *scheide*, English *sheath*, a case, covering, *fourreau*), and "blaðnir" from "blað," blade—but in the sense of thin leaf, folium, lamina, anything that is distinguished by great thinness, and some width,—and *nir*, a suffix indicative of

[1] Snorri's Edda, I. 96[1-6].

the thing signified by the term it is attached to being prominently present, so that "blaðnir" should mean: "that is of (many) leaves." Thus "Skíðblaðnir" should mean the boat sheathed or covered with many patches. The mythographers describe the craft as the bravest of all ships. It was so big that all the gods could be accommodated on board it with all their war-like equipment; when the sail was hoisted a fair wind sprang up, bearing it wheresoever it was required to go. But the most striking peculiarity about it was that it could be folded up like a piece of cloth and put into a knapsack.[1] Here, of course, we see mythic folklore once more at work on its labour of love: the illogical hyperbole. The size is an absurd sort of exaggeration. That ships in the North were provided with mast and sail in the early mythic times of Frey we may fairly doubt, and mast and sail could not very reasonably be supposed to go into a knapsack. A wind blowing up when up goes the sail on board is a well-known legend of nautical witchcraft possessed by the Finns of northern Halogaland in Norway. But the statement that the boat could be folded up seems to be the one point in the myth which can stand examination. It seems to class "Skíðblaðnir" with craft of the coracle type, and the name itself seems even to point in the same direction. We have then, it would seem, in Frey's "Skiðblaðnir" a sea-going craft, while in his father's boats we, apparently, had only the river ferry-type.

References to monoxylous craft used outside the North for the navigation of rivers and for crossing inlets of the sea, or for coastal navigation, are very numerous. Already as early as 401 B.C. Xenophon made acquaintance with the Mossynoikoi on the Black Sea, who, apparently, knew only the use of "one-beam" canoes ("an-byme scip," as the Anglo-Saxons translated monoxylon). These Mossynoikoi lived in wooden towers, *μόσσυν*, apparently a sort of habitation similar to the pile-dwellings of

[1] Snorri's Edda I. 138^{21}—140^{1}.

the lakes on the Continent in the stone age, and to those of the Veneti as described by Cæsar, as well as to the crannoge, lake and foreshore dwellings, in ancient Ireland. The canoes of the Mossynoikoi carried only three men on board.[1] Polybius refers to monoxyla on the Rhone when Hannibal crossed that river B.C. 218.[2] Arrian mentions them in use in great number on the Ister about 336 B.C.[3] The author of the Periplus of the Erythrean, or Red Sea, in the second century of our era, refers to monoxyla as employed in fishing and transport service along the coasts of those waters.[4] Isidore, reviewing the evolution of shipbuilding, says: "Rafts were the first and the most ancient kind of craft joined together of rough logs and timber. After its fashion were made the ships which were called log-ships, *naves ratariæ*." He also mentions the "naves litorariæ," bank-boats, and "naves caudicæ," stock-boats, being hollowed out of one single "caudex," and capable of carrying from four to ten persons.[5] A large number of Byzantine writers, from the fifth down to the twelfth century, refer to monoxylous water conveyances, and particularly in connection with the many rivers traversing the continental dominions of the Eastern Emperors and their Northern neighbours.

Thus far the one-beam craft has chiefly been the object of our attention. But another family or type of floating craft in the North comes into existence, if not as early as the one-beam boat, at any rate at a very early period. This is the kind of craft which in the literature goes under the name of "húð-keipr," or hide-boat, a name which the Icelanders, on coming into contact with the Esquimaux of Greenland and North America, gave to their kaiaks, made of some sort of inner framework with skins, sewed together, stretched over them for a cover-

[1] *ἦκον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα μονόξυλα καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας.* Anab. V. 4, 11.

[2] Polyb. Hist. ed. Hultsch III. 42, 2; 43, 3. [3] Arr. I. 3.

[4] Plin. VI. 26. Periplus, ed. Fabricius, § 15, 60.

[5] Isid. Etymologiae, lib. xix. 1.

ing. We come across the object and the name in only three late Sagas, that of Eric the Red (ch. 3), of Thorfinn Karlsefni (ch. 9, 10), and of the Flóamenn (ch. 23). The only instance of boat-building of this description by Scandinavians is that recorded by the last mentioned saga of Thorgils, the stepson of Thorgrim Scarry-Bone, who, having lost his own boat in Greenland, made a "húðkeipr" in order to maintain himself and his company alive by fishing. But this is an isolated case in exceptional circumstances, and represents only Esquimaux tradition. In Scandinavia this sort of boat-building, to judge from the literature on record, is utterly unknown in historical times. True, there is a case mentioned, which shows that on the Scandinavian continent boat-making of this kind must have been known; that case, however, is not Scandinavian, but Lap. Snorri says that when Sigurd Wretched Deacon spent in northern Halogaland the winter of 1138-39, he had two cutters built for himself by Laps, "and they were sinew-bound and no nails therein, withes serving for knees; twelve men rowed aside on each of them. These cutters were so swift that no ship might overtake them."[1] Evidently we have here a survival of an ancient tradition, which among the non-Finnish Scandinavians had passed into total oblivion in historical times; for speech survivals exist which suffice to prove that once upon a time it was a general fashion of shipbuilding in Scandinavia first to put together the wooden or wattled framework of the boat, and then to cover it with skins sewed together. Moreover, this method of boat-making must have been in vogue at least before the culture of a metallic age had taught man the full use of THE NAIL. This I shall now endeavour to make plain.

In the rich vocabulary relating to Northern ship-building we meet with two standing technical terms of especial interest, which at first sight seem as strange as, on closer examination, they become not only natural, but clearly

[1] Heimskringla (ed. F. Jónsson) III., 358^{18}—359^{2}.

and convincingly illustrative of a method of ship-building which must have been universal before the era of nail manufacture began in the North. These terms are "súð" and "saumr."

"Súð" signifies the line that is formed by the overlapping of any two planks, or boards, nailed or riveted together through the laps, no matter what purpose such planks or boards may serve. But specially is it applied to what in boat-building is known as the clincher-build, the clench, or strake-lap. In seamen's language "súð" becomes a collective term, meaning all the clincher-joined strakes of a boat, or what English boat-builders call the "skin," or "case" of it. Lastly, "súð" is used, in a restricted sense, to signify ship, but mostly as first or second element in compound proper names, as "Súða-vík," Ships'-wick, "Bækisúð" Beech-hull, name of a special ship. So much for the application of the term. But what is the original sense of it? Etymologically "súð" covers the Latin *sut-* in "sutura" from "suo," "suere" to sew, exactly as "húð" covers *cut-* in "cutis," skin, hide; obviously its original meaning is "suture," a sewed together jointure.

The correctness of this interpretation is clearly borne out by the boat-building term "saum-för" (now "saum-far"), seam-fare, seam-line, which takes off exactly the special sense of "suð," strake-lap, adduced above. "Saum-för" is clearly a gloss on "súð," made when its primitive meaning, suture, was becoming obsolete and obscure to the living generation.

"Saumr" is the standing collective term for all the varieties of nails which are required for the building of a ship. Etymologically it corresponds exactly to the English word *seam*, and, in its general acceptation, means exactly the same: a sewed jointure. But in the technical application here in question it means *sewing material*. It is an interesting fact that, in the commercial language of the Scandinavians, including that of the Icelanders, all nails of any size, at least up to six inches

long, go to this day under the collective denomination of "saumr" (Norwegian saum, Danish, Swedish, söm).

The facts I have now drawn attention to obviously warrant the deduction that there was a time when boats in the North generally had round their frame a covering, consisting of a material that could be sewed together; that material could only be *skin*. Only on this supposition is it possible to account for the use of the technical ship-building terms we are here dealing with. Now we have the testimony of Roman writers to the effect that in the first century of our era the Britanni, Celts of Britain, did their sea-faring in wicker-vessels, which they did round with a covering of ox-hides.[1] The words "súð" and "saumr" prove clearly, though indirectly, that the same description of Scandinavian ship-building, at a certain early period, would have been a correct one. I think we are warranted in assigning that period to some time on the other side of the nearer limit of the stone age. With the metallic age, and not before, the manufacture of nails came in, and the nail evidently effected a revolution in the method of ship-building, in that the sewed-together ox-hide covering of the frame of ships gave place to nail-joined, board-strake covering of the same, and wind-dried sinews of large animals, the old sewing material, to rivets and driven nails. Now, whatever name the manufacturers gave to their nails and nail-produce, the ship-building industry, realizing that the nail answered in an eminently suitable manner the purpose of the old material in joining, or sewing together, watertightly the overlapping edges of the wooden board-covering of a boat's frame, gave to the new rivetting material the name of the old sewing one. The transference of the name of the old to the new binding material was, really, a most natural one: what were nails after all but disjointed stitches, effecting the same thing

[1] Vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare. Pliny, Hist. Nat., IV. 30. Etiam nunc Britannico oceano vitiles corio circumsutæ fiunt. VII. 57.

as connected thread-stitches, namely the tight jointure of things otherwise disjointed.

The hide-bound family of craft goes, therefore, I think we may safely assume, back to the stone age. If "Skíðblaðnir" could be classed with this family, it would be the earliest specimen of it mentioned in Northern literature. But on that point nothing can be positively asserted. No ancient specimens of this craft have been found, or are likely to be discovered, on account of the perishable material the covering was made of, and the slender scantling of the framework. But I think I can make it probable that the principle on which the building of this skin-covered craft proceeded was perpetuated in the further evolution of ship-building, at any rate during the iron age, and is really the principle of naval construction to this day.

But I have not stated yet expressly on what principle these craft were made. Northern sources afford us no information. Whether the oldest Celtic literature does so, or not, I am unable to say. But we have an excellent Roman writer who gives us a sufficiently explicit hint of the method of their construction. In his first Spanish campaign during the civil war, Cæsar was brought to very great straits on the bank of the river Sicoris, which, on account of want of boats, he could not cross, and thus was foiled for a time in effecting an important strategic movement. So, in his own words, "he ordered the soldiers to make boats of the build that British usage had taught him in former years. *First*, the keel and the ribs were made of light timber: the rest of the body of the boats was woven together of osiers and covered by hides."[1] To this description Lucanus supplies a valuable addition in his "Pharsalia": "First," he says, "the white willow is

[1] Imperat militibus Cæsar, ut naves faciant, cuius generis eum superioribus annis usus Britanniæ docuerat. Carinæ primum ac statumina ex levi materia fiebant; reliquum corpus navium viminibus contextum coriis integebatur. Cæs. Bell. Civil., I. 54.

woven together into a little craft by soaked osiers, and then, clothed in the hide of a felled young bullock, it swims out on the swollen river obedient to the passenger. Thus sails the Venetian on the sluggish Po and the Briton over the broad ocean." [1] Here, then, it is clear that the construction of the coracle type of boat was effected by two operations. First, by putting together of the wooden frame, strengthened by plaited wickerwork, which constituted the form of the craft; secondly, when this was done, by adjusting the water-tight outer case, consisting of neats' leather.

That monoxyla were propelled by means of a paddle, single or double-bladed, is certain. At Viborg, in Jutland, there is exhibited a specimen of this craft, with the double-bladed paddle, some three feet in length, belonging to it, both having been found together in a bog some sixty years ago. As to the coracle, it is a paddled craft to this day. This was obviously the most natural method of propulsion for an utterly untrained navigator to hit upon. When he was on board his craft he wanted to propel it towards the goal he had chosen; he must therefore face the prow of it, in order to be able to exercise proper command over its gyrations and to correct deviations caused by winds and currents. But long experience of paddling must have exercised his faculty of observation in many ways. In the nature of man there is hidden an impulse which constantly urges him on to throw into locomotion, artificial locomotion especially, as much speed as is consistent with feasibility and prudence. To reach a given goal in the quickest way, *i.e.*, by the least loss of time, has all through its history been the tendency of man's sea-faring activity.

The primitive paddler was probably quite as impulsive

[1] Primum cana salix madefacto vimine parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoque inducta juvenco
Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
Navigat oceano. Pharsalia, IV. 130-136.

as any of us, perhaps a good deal more so. He could not have failed to observe in the long run that it was impossible to put the same strength into a paddle stroke, which was produced by one arm pulling the paddle-blade towards the person, while the other arm guided the handle in a direction opposite to that of the blade, as would be put into it, if it were produced by the united strength of both arms, aided by the muscular force of the whole body, properly poised. Until a mode of propulsion on this principle was adopted, there was no art of *rowing*, in the proper sense, yet known. The introduction of that reform into nautical practice, however, must have been a very slow process, because it depended on auxiliary inventions, which were far from obvious. Rowing involved the invention of the thole-pin, "keipr," against which the oar could be pulled. That invention again necessitated the contrivance of the oar-strap, "hamla," to keep the oar in its place against the thole-pin, and to enable the rowers to back-water when necessary.

But abandoning paddling for rowing meant really that the propelling force on board turned blind, in that the rowers had to occupy on the benches a position the reverse of that of the paddlers, and thus turned their back upon their own goal. This had to be remedied, and an eye had to be provided for the craft gone blind; a man was told off to take in hand the steering; he was provided for the purpose with a steering oar; and a loop, through which the handle of that oar was taken, was fixed to the gunwale of the craft at a suitable distance from the stern, on the right-hand side. Out of this primitive steering contrivance grew the steering apparatus, fixed to the right-hand side buttock of boats, which we find in the Viking ships that have been unearthed in Norway, and to which I shall allude again. In that position the rudder remained, according to the authority of Jal ("Archéologie navale") till the beginning of the fourteenth century. Nicholaysen, the able Norwegian antiquary, has found no instance of a rudder hinged on the stern-post earlier

than that of the dragon-ship seal of Bergen of 1299. The earliest instance of rudder so fitted in England seems to be that of the man-of-war "La Félipe," built for Edward III. at Lynn, 1336. In the seal of Dover dating from 1335 the rudder is in the old position; but that may simply be a matter of sphragistic tradition.

When rowing at length had been mastered, all the main difficulties of the problem, "how to make a highway of the surface of the water," had been solved. There remained, of course, the crowning accomplishment: the mast and the sail. But the inventor rested for a long time on his oars before reaching that climax.

I may remark here that in the old language of Scandinavia the terms for mast are "vöndr," a wand, "viða," pole of wood, "viðr," "tré," tree, and most commonly, "sigla," perhaps, the bendable, pliable thing; all names apparently indicative of the bending effect the wind-weighted sail has upon the pole it is attached to. But "mast(r)" is a term utterly foreign to the Scandinavian idioms, never occurring in any song, saga, or law-code of the old time. It is confined to the West Germanic idioms, O.H.G., M.H.G., L.G., Du, and A.S. The commercial predominance of the Hansa in the Baltic from the middle of the twelfth century probably brought the term to the North, where it is now in universal use, even in Iceland, though the purists are endeavouring to keep "sigla" alive.

What "segl" *may* mean originally is very doubtful. It is a common Teutonic word, and may possibly, as a philologist has suggested, be radically allied to Latin "*sec*" in "secare," with a primitive meaning of "the cut out piece" (of cloth). If it could be connected with the old Scandinavian stem, *sig*, in "segi," "sigi," a strip, a torn out piece, it would mean collectively the thing made of strips or sections of skin, which presumably was the material out of which sails were made in the North before the culture of flax was known.

Passing now over to the consideration of the strake-built boat, I take the earliest type of it to be represented by

the rock-carvings of Sweden and Norway. The shape, as well as the size of the originals copied here preclude their having been monoxylous or of the coracle kind. On board some of the craft there are shown as many as thirty rowers, or presumably such.

A point that strikes at first sight is the fact that the ships are represented *in groups*. This seems to show that we have not to do with the work of artists merely amusing themselves by practising naval drawing; we seem to have before us representations of fleets, or, in other words, records of *events*, of naval actions, *history* written in picture language.

These carvings present to us two distinct types of craft: one with stem and stern-posts raised to an abnormal height, taking, at some distance from the gun-wale, an inward bend, and terminating in an outward turn, meant, perhaps, for some animal's head; the other distinguished by the absence of any prominently high stem and stern-posts. Some of the boats of the former type look as if they had two keels; the lower of the two extends beyond the upper or inner at both ends, and takes an upward bend clear above the water-line, and sometimes as high as the stem and stern-posts of the inner boat. We may perhaps here have to deal with a protective outer case and a ramming arrangement. This is rendered probable by the fact that, exceptionally, the prolonged lower keel takes a downward bend into the water at one end of the boat. Exclusively with this type goes an object which seems roughly to resemble the form of a pair of bellows standing on the pipe end; on the larger boats two of these objects are seen placed where, roughly, the length of the craft divides by three. An almost identical object may be observed on an Egyptian boat (sixth dynasty), copied from a carving on the walls of the tomb of Api at Saggâra,[1] apparently connected with the apparatus for steering. No other objects of attributive nature are shown in connection with these

[1] G. Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," 1901, p. 393.

rock-carved ships: no oars, rudders, row-locks, masts, or sails.

These carvings show not only two types of ships, but also two types of men: the one somewhat stout and stunted of leg, the other tall, slender, in a tight vest and trousers. The former is mostly associated with rural scenes, ploughing and the like[1]; the latter principally with the high-prow ships. One is tempted to see in this type the *miles bracatus* of Gaul.

Archæologists are mostly agreed that these carvings probably date from the bronze age. They represent a weapon, the sword, which did not yet exist in the stone age, and in a form not used in the iron age, but quite typical for the bronze age. The originals copied by the rock-carver must have been without a guard, but two-edged, and rather broader about the middle than up by the grip; these are the typical peculiarities by which the sword of the bronze age distinguishes itself from the guard-hilted, one-edged, mostly straight-bladed sword of the iron age.

Opinions are divided as to the nationality of the type of the high stem and stern-posts—the other, of which a whole fleet, apparently drawn up in line of battle, is seen on a rock-face at Tegneby, Bohuslän, Sweden, seems a genuine Northern type. From the fact that Phenician ships, as represented on ancient coins of Tyre and Sidon, show a striking similarity to the former type, some archæologists have concluded that Phenecians once upon a time established themselves on the Baltic. Professor Montelius discountenances the idea on the ground that the bronze culture found its way up to the North overland from the shores of the Mediterranean, particularly the Adriatic.

But perhaps the culture of bronze found its way north

[1] I exclude from this type the nine oddities by which one boat is manned, five of which seem to be engaged in the act of fanning. They seem to have an air of magic about them. All, but the excessively thickset animal-headed foreman, seem to be meant for females.

both by land and sea. We do not know how the ships were built which brought Pytheas of Marseilles up to the Baltic and Norway in the fourth century B.C. But his journey was undertaken in the interest of the commercial community of Marseilles,[1] who must have learnt from somewhere that the Baltic trade was worth the cost of such an expedition; that means that, before the days of Pytheas, Gauls and Scandinavians met on trading terms presumably on the Baltic shores.

Here I should like to draw attention to Cæsar's highly interesting account of the most advanced people he came in contact with in Gaul—the Veneti, whose chief city was Dariorigum, now Vannes, in Morbihan. First he describes their towns and habitations. This was about the manner in which their towns were situated:

> They were placed at the outermost edge of tongues of land and nesses, and neither was there access to them on foot when the flood-tide had arisen, which happens twice in the space of every twelve (twenty-four) hours, nor by ships, since with the tide ebbing they might come to grief on the shallows.[2]

About the sea power of these people Cæsar says:

> This state exercises by far the most extensive influence of any throughout the whole sea-board of these regions, both because the Veneti have a large number of ships in which they are in the habit of sailing to Britain, and because they excel all the rest as to knowledge and skill in matters nautical, and because, in consequence of the great violence of the vast and open sea with harbours few and far between which they control themselves, they hold as tributaries almost all those who resort to making use of this water-way.[3]

[1] Elton, "Origins of Engl. History," p. 12 ff.

[2] Erant eius modi fere situs oppidorum, ut posita in extremis lingulis promontoriisque neque pedibus aditum haberent cum ex alto se æstus incitavisset, quod bis accidit semper horarum xii spatio, neque navibus, quod rursus minuente æstu naves in vadis afflictarentur. Cæsar, B.G. III. 12.

[3] Huius est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas omnis oræ maritimæ regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu rerum nauticarum ceteros antecedunt et in magno impetu maris vasti atque aperti, paucis portibus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerunt, habent vectigales. l.c. III. 8.

Lastly, he gives the following account of their ships:—

> For their ships were built and fitted out in this way: their keels were somewhat flatter than those of our own ships, that they might the more easily encounter shallows and the ebbing of the tide; the prows, being *very much raised and the sterns in a like manner*, were adapted to heavy seas and high gales; the ships were wholly made of oak, so as to be able to bear any strain and buffeting; the thwarts were made of planks a foot broad, and were fastened by iron bolts an inch thick; the anchors were attached by iron chains instead of cables; for sails they had skins and soft-tanned thin leather, either because of want of flax and ignorance of the use of it, or, which is more probable, because they thought ordinary sails could not stand the great tempests of the ocean and the stress of high winds, nor could such heavy ships be quite conveniently manœuvred by means of them.[1]

This, then, is the state of things on the western coast of France in the century immediately preceding the Christian era. This eminence in ship-building and sea-power must have been attained by a very long process of evolution. Improvement in ship-building invariably means extension of sea-voyaging. It stands to reason that the Veneti must have known how to thread their way along the shores of their own continent practically to any distance to which prospect of commercial gain was ready to pilot them, seeing that from the Bay of Morbihan (which presumably was their chief base) they were in the habit of sailing over to Britain across the northern waters of the broad and boisterous Bay of Biscay. In view of the impetus given to commercial enterprise by

[1] Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factæ armatæque erant: Carinæ aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, qno facilius vada ac decessum æstus excipere possent; proræ admodum erectæ atque item puppes, ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque accommodatæ; naves totæ factæ ex robore ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam; transtra ex pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus, confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine; anchoræ pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctæ; pelles pro velis alutæque tenuiter confectæ, hæc sive propter inopiam lini atque eius usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri ac tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commode posse arbitrabantur. l.c. III. 13.

the journey of Pytheas to the amber-bearing tracts of the coasts of the North Sea, to the Baltic, and further up to Norway, I do not see what cogent reasons can be urged against the assumption that the Veneti may have been in communication with the North even for a very long time previous to their disastrous acquaintance with the ruthless conqueror of Gaul. The peculiarity in the build of their ships which he considered so noteworthy, the *proœ admodum erectæ atque item puppes*, is just the most striking feature of the rock-carved vessels. As hinted above, the opinion prevails among Northern archæologists that the high-posted, rock-carved ships must be foreign. Considering the information supplied by Cæsar, and the evidence of probability at present available, the Veneti seem to possess as good a title to them as any other foreigner.

By way of digression I feel tempted to ask:—Is it at all likely that the Veneti have anything to do with the Vanir of Northern mythology? To this no positive answer can be given at present. The stems of the two names are identical. I have shown already that probably the rock-carvings represent sea-fights, and two types of men, as well as two types of ships. According to Vøluspá, 23, 24, the *casus belli* between Odin's folk, the Æsir, and the Vanir was "afráð," vectigal, tribute. On the stone of Tjängvide, in Gotland, we find on the lower panel represented, as I think, a foreign ship,[1] with stem and stern posts enormously high; on the upper, Odin, seated on Sleipnir with his right arm raised for a throw (of a spear); this seems to remind one of: "Odin hurled, into the host he shot," that being his answer to the question of paying the 'afráð." Freyja, Niord's daughter, was a sacrificial priestess, "hofgyðja" (among the Vanir), and the first to teach among the Æsir enchant-

[1] The whole sail is covered with network. Does that, by chance, represent a sail of skin on to which, in the form of a net, are stitched cords for the purpose of giving additional strength to a material that never could have served its purpose very effectively?

ments after the wont of the Vanir. With this may be compared the following from Pomponius Mela:—

> Sena in the British sea, opposite to the shores of the Ossismii, is famous for the oracle of a Gallic divinity, the priestesses of which, sacred to a perpetual state of virginity, are said to be *nine in number*. They are called *Gallicenæ*, and are supposed to be endowed with singular genius; to put in commotion sea and winds by means of incantations; and to change themselves into whatever animal they please; and to cure disorders that to others are incurable; and to know and to predict things yet to come; but that they only devote themselves to sea-faring people and those who have journeyed solely for the purpose of consulting them.[1]

It seems clear that this "Gallicum numen" must have been a guardian divinity of the interests of sailors *(navigantes)*, to whom only the wizard "antistites" of its oracle were "devotae." By their "carmina" these priestesses controlled wind and sea, the empire of the divinity they served. We have seen above (page 191) that NIORD, the god the Æsir adopted from the Vanir, was worshipped as the swayer of wind and sea, and as the propitious dispenser of favours to sailors and fishermen. In their functions, therefore, Niord and the "numen" here in question would seem to cover each other. This is not all: Niord had *nine* daughters who were skilled in runes, *i.e.*, in magic: "*Hér 'ro rúnar, er ristit hafa Njarðar dœtr nío.*" "Here are runes written in by daughters nine of Niord," Sólarljóð, 79. The relation between Niord's and Ægir's, obviously late, nine daughters cannot be discussed here. The shape-changing power recalls strikingly not only Odin's skill in that respect

[1] Sena in Britannico mari, *Ossismicis adversa litoribus, Gallici numinis* oraculo insignis est: cuius antistites, perpetua virginitate sanctæ, numero novem esse traduntur. *Gallicenas* vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditas; maria ac ventos concitare carminibus; seque in quæ velint animalia vertere, sanare quæ apud alios insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et prædicare, sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent, profectis.—Chorogr. iii. 6.

"Ossismii" was the name of the people who occupied territory north-west of that which in Cæsar's time was held by the Veneti. "Galli Senas vocant" is a conjectural reading adopted by some editors without MS. authority.

(taught him by Freyja, who first introduced among the Æsir the science of wizardry),[1] but especially the sorcery of the Finns up in northernmost Norway, with whom shape-changing was a speciality of magic. Are we to take it that *gall* in "Gallicenae" is allied to or identical with the Celt. stem *gal* in "galô,"[2] I call; Ir. "gall," cygnus, whooping swan; Cymr. "galw," vocare; Bret. "galvaden," cri d'appel; "gàlu," appel.[3] If so, are we not warranted in assuming that the common Teutonic stem *gal-* (Scand. "gala," cantare; "galdr," carmen, incantatio) is a very ancient Celtic immigrant, like, *e.g.*, *rik*, *rig*, *reich*. As to "cen-a," is that a term of Vulgar Latin formed from the stem of Celt.-Ir. "can-im," I sing, in analogy with the classical *cen* in "tibi-cen"? If so, "cenæ" would mean "cantantes," or "cantatrices," presumably of that which *gall-* in Galli implied=incantatio, "Gallicenæ" therefore=carminum, incantationum cantatrices?

I have to content myself at present with thus far drawing attention to these points.

The earliest *literary* account of Northern ships, so far as I know, was penned in Rome, probably in the course of the latter half of the first century of our era. In the 44th chapter of his "Germania" Tacitus (ob. A.D. 108), passing from the account of the various nations who inhabited the southern littoral of the Baltic, goes on to that of the states of the Suiones "in the very ocean." "Besides in men and arms," he says, "they are powerful in fleets. The build of the ships differs (from that of Roman ships) in this, that at either end there is a prow so shaped as always to be ready for landing; they neither make use of sails nor adjust the oars in a row to the sides; as in certain river boats, the rowing is loose and changes either way as necessity demands."[4]

[1] Ynglinga Saga, Heimskringla (F. Jónsson), ch. 4.

[2] W. Stokes, "Urkeltischer Sprachschatz," p. 107.

[3] Victor Henry, "Dict. étymologique du Breton moderne."

[4] Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in oceano, præter viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eo differt, quod utrinque prora paratam semper

The Suionum civitates, say the commentators of Tacitus, probably truly, are the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula. At the time of Tacitus the ships of these people, then, had two prows, but no stern. The real meaning of Tacitus' statement that both stems were equally suited for landing must be that the ships were not steered by a rudder, but were kept in their course by means of paddling, and this Tacitus himself proves by his description of the "remigium solutum et mutabile ut res poscit hinc vel illinc," and by adding that it is a method of rowing followed on certain river-boats. When the course of ships of this description was reversed there was no need for turning round the craft; the only thing that turned round were the paddling crew on their seats. It was but natural that such ships should carry no sail, and Tacitus' description of the "*remigium*" proves that his statement in respect of the sail is perfectly true; for without a rudder the sail is impossible. Here the steering was done by the paddlers themselves, who had their eyes constantly fixed on their goal, and plied their paddles accordingly. The expression "*classibus valent*" clearly indicates that Tacitus was thinking of war vessels, and seems to preclude the idea that he had monoxylous craft in his mind; nor, if that had been the case, is it likely that he would have omitted to mention the fact, seeing that he evidently had his eye on the points

adpulsui frontem agit, nec velis ministrant, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt; solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium.

It is not quite obvious what the exact meaning may be of one or two points in this statement. "Solutum remigium" seems to be explained by "nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt," which points to the ships as unprovided with both row-locks and oar-straps; hence the rowing was free-handed, the oar being independent of any attachment to the gunwale. This, I think, is tolerably certain. But "mutabile hinc vel illinc" can mean either changeable "from side to side," according as gyrations should call for correction, or: "in this or that direction," when reversion of course was in question, or, it may mean both. Perhaps the second sense has most in its favour. Cf. "mille naves sufficere visæ . . . plures adpositis utrimque gubernaculis, *converso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc adpellerent*." Tacitus, Ann. II. 6.

wherein the build of the "naves Suionum" differed from that of Roman ships. It seems therefore safe to assume that he himself thought he was describing strake-built vessels. These ships, being war vessels, would be too broad for a single row of paddlers, seated in the middle of the thwarts, to ply each his double-bladed paddle on either side of the boat, an arrangement which would have made a sea-battle next to impossible. Therefore, I take it, the paddlers were seated along either side, each with a one-bladed paddle, leaving the middle of the boat free for the fighters to move in. As yet, then, rowing, rudder, mast, and sail would seem to have been unknown in the North.

From the time of Tacitus till the rise of Icelandic literature, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, I am not aware that anything in the way of real description in writing exists relating to the construction of Northern ships.

But chance has favoured us at different dates in modern times with finds of remains of boats built during the long period that intervenes between Tacitus and the literary era of the North, and these finds give us the best information possible about the state of naval architecture at the time from which they date.

Leaving out of account the many instances of discoveries of faint traces of buried ships which have been made in various localities about Scandinavia, I shall confine myself to the finds of Nydam, Tune, and Gokstad. A new ship-find at Tönsberg, on the Christiania fjord, I must leave out of account, as it still awaits description.

In the year 1859 the oldest naval relic in the North was found in the peat bog of Nydam, near Flensborg, in the Duchy of Sleswick. It was only a part of an oar, the remaining fragment of which was discovered in 1862. In the following year, on August 7th, some remains of a boat were dug out, and on October 18th that year the famous Nydam boat of oak was discovered, and on October 29th a boat of fir was dug up on the same site.

The first of these three boats was in a very bad state of preservation. But from the fragments obtained of it, it could be concluded that the build of it was executed on the same principle as that of the other two.

The fir boat was fairly preserved, but in pieces, which were secured from their bed and placed on dry land, covered over with peat, in order to protect the soaked timber against the effects of the air until the restoration of the oaken boat should be completed.

In the meantime, however, the war broke out; the German victors left the relic to take care of itself, and what with exposure "to weather and the Vandalism of strangers," the invaluable find has been irretrievably destroyed. This boat was built on the same principle as the oak boat in all essential particulars but one: the keel plank, fifty-one feet four inches long, terminated at either end in a kind of pointed spur, slightly bent upwards, and stretching out about five feet beyond the point where stem and stern-posts were joined to the keel. On account of its slight upward turn from the horizontal line of the keel this spur would always be below water, the deeper the more heavily laden the boat happened to be. This is a most interesting characteristic. It is possible that it may betray traditional connection with the somewhat similar arrangement which we noticed in one type of the rock-carved ships; and it seems to be removed beyond doubt that this spur was intended for the purpose of ramming an antagonist somewhere between waterline and garboard-strakes. Thus this boat, which now exists only in the careful drawings of Professor Engelhardt, stands a unique witness to the fact that, even in the early younger iron age, the idea of disabling a hostile ship by means of ramming had entered into the science of naval warfare.

The oak boat, which is known as *the* Nydam boat, was discovered on the same site as the preceding, and close to it. Both rested at the bottom of the bog, beneath a peat soil of from 4 to 7 feet thick. All the iron details had been utterly dissolved by the water, but clear indi-

cations were obtained of the manner in, and the extent to, which iron had been employed in the building of the craft. By the dissolution of the iron and other fastenings the strakes had fallen out flat on the bottom, the stem and stern-posts likewise, and the ribs lay about in various positions. The boat had been deliberately sunk, as large holes were found cut through the strakes on one side below the water-line. It was complete, and had only to be put together again; and so reconstructed by an expert Copenhagen restorer of antiquities, Mr. Stephensen, it may now be seen in the Museum at Kiel.

It is a boat of $45\frac{3}{4}$ feet of straight keel, and $69\frac{1}{2}$ feet from stem to stern between the points where gunwale and posts meet. The keel plank is 2 feet in width, but there is next to *no external keel.* Five clinker-worked strakes on either side, each 15 to 20 inches broad, secured to each other by burred iron nails, formed the hull of the craft, which at its widest is $10\frac{3}{4}$ feet. The depth of the vessel amidships is 4 feet 1 inch, rising at fore and aft posts to 6 feet 10 inches. In form the stem and the stern of this boat are *identical.* It has 14 oars aside, abnormally short for the size of the vessel, the longest 11 feet, and row-locks, with oar-straps attached, had been secured to the top of the gunwale by means of bast-ropes; an arrangement which must have made rowing both a weak and an interrupted performance. Being a rowing boat she was provided with a rudder, in the shape of a broad-bladed (18in.) oar, 9 feet 7 inches long. The ribs or frames are made of one piece of wood, naturally grown so bent or crooked as to serve their purpose. They must have been very difficult to procure, and very costly, to judge by the experience of modern ship-builders, who find pieces of naturally-grown wood suitable for knees about the most expensive articles in a wooden ship.

Beneath every rib there are left standing in each plank two knobs, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, with a hole drilled through them, and through the ribs, right over these knobs, are run corresponding holes from side to side;

by a bast-rope run through these holes the strakes were fastened to the ribs. To this and other peculiarities about this boat I shall revert presently. Nothing in or about the boat was found indicative of mast or sailing apparatus.

In close proximity to this Nydam boat was found a hoard of Roman coins, 34 in number, minted between A.D. 69 and 217. How long it took the last dated coin to travel from the Roman mint to Nydam bog it is impossible to say. Guesses as to the age from which the boat may date assign it to the third, at the latest to the fourth, century of our era.

Points particularly noticeable about this craft are:

(*a*) The almost total absence of external keel.

(*b*) The identical formation of stem and stern.

(*c*) The shortness of the oars.

(*d*) The arrangement of the row-locks.

(*e*) The mode of attaching the strakes to the ribs.

This is the earliest extant specimen of a strake-built, iron-riveted, floating craft in the North. Between the building of it and the date of Tacitus' description of the ships of the Suiones there lies a period of time, possibly not exceeding 250 years. Like those ships this is distinguished by not being a sailing craft. The absence of external keel (*a*) I take to be a traditional family feature come down from the coracle ancestor. The identity in form of stem and stern (*b*) shows that as yet the old form of the paddled ships of the Suiones was traditionally maintained, although rowing had now been invented. That the art of rowing was still in its infancy is evidenced by the fact that (*c*) the oars are so abnormally short in proportion to the size of the boat; also by the row-lock arrangement (*d*). The row-lock rises, like a short bent horn, from a block of wood, which, fitted lengthwise to the top of the gunwale, is tied to it at either end by a bast-rope, holes being made through the gunwale for the purpose. No matter how tightly this row-lock block was fixed, it was bound, under rowing, to slide on its gunwale

base in answer to the impact of the oar stroke, and to wear out its bast fastening in a short time.

Why the row-lock block should not have been secured firmly by means of iron nails or bolts to the gunwale seems, at first sight, so strange as to defy explanation. But when a vessel has two prows and no stern, properly speaking, strange things must happen in the transit of one mode of propulsion into another. I have explained above (page 209) that when the course of a paddled ship had to be reversed there was no need for any turning round of the craft, since her fore and aft were prows of identical form; only the paddlers turned round on their seats. Here is a boat of the same construction. Traditional custom is often strong out of all proportion to its reasonableness or expediency. Might not, therefore, the row-lock arrangement mean this, that when the boat's course was reversed, instead of turning her round by means of the short oars and the slight help of the rudder-oar, which, in so heavy a ship would have been somewhat of a time-losing process, the rowers simply turned round on their benches, undid the row-lock block, and reversed its position? This is Professor Engelhardt's theory also, I observe, although he arrives at it from a standpoint different from mine.

But perhaps the most interesting feature about this most remarkable of all boats is (*e*) the mode in which the strakes are attached to the frame timbers, the ribs, as described above. On this peculiarity Professor Engelhardt remarks:

> This is again a fact highly surprising in a nation familiar with the use of iron, and able to work it so well as their damascene swords prove that they could. At the same time, it is possible that a loose connection between the framework and the planking of the boat served to give more elasticity to the sides, and that boats built in this manner went through the surf and great waves more easily than those more strongly built.

This I beg leave to doubt. Here again I think we have to deal with traditional custom modified by the con-

ditions of a new building material. In a boat built wholly of wood the strake covering answers the purpose and takes over the function of the hide-covering of the earlier coracle. For I take it for granted that the coracle was the immediate ancestor of the strake-built craft. We have seen above (page 198) how coracles were built: the framework being first finished and the hide cover put on afterwards. On the same principle, and by the same process of construction, the Nydam boat was evidently put together, as is proved by the fact that the above-mentioned knobs on the inside of the strakes, with holes made through them, correspond exactly with the lateral perforations of the ribs; those perforations must have been made *before* the strakes were fitted to their position. What happened was obviously this: to the keel were first fitted the stem and stern-posts; then the ribs were adjusted at their fixed intervals, next came the planks on which, where the perforated knobs were to be left standing when the rest of each plank was cut down to its regulated thinness, were made marks showing the distances of the ribs that this or that plank would cover, as well as the distances between the holes made through the ribs up from the bottom to the top. As the hide in the coracle was secured by means of sewing material to the frame-timbers to prevent its slipping about, so the wooden strakes were secured to the in-timbers by means of bast-ropes, to prevent them bulging out under weight-pressure, and breaking away from the rivets or disturbing the water-tightness of their jointures. I will finally remark that the price of iron at the time may have had most to do with the use of the old binding material, the bast, where, to us, at this time, it seems obvious that iron bolts should have been used in preference.

By a wide jump we come from the Nydam boat to the ship unearthed at the manor of "Haugen i Tune, near Sarpsborg, on the river Glommen, south-eastern Norway, in 1867." In respect of straight keel, this is a boat by about 4 feet smaller than the Nydam craft and, like it,

is built of oak strakes, but some details are made of other kinds of wood. The clincher-joined strakes are secured to the ribs by the same means and contrivance as in the Nydam boat, with the exception, however, that the topmost planks are fixed by wooden nails to the knees inside. It differs from the Sleswick boat further in being a sailing boat, consequently having external keel and higher free-board, 12 strakes forming the hull of it. So here we have the first specimen of a sailing craft in the North. That it was a rowing boat as well goes without saying, but how the rowing apparatus was contrived could not be ascertained on account of the decayed state of the wood-work.

A much better preserved find was the longship discovered in 1880, near the manor of Gokstad in Sandefjord, Southern Norway. This is an oak-built war-galley with upwards of 65 feet of straight keel and 77 feet from stem to stern, width amidships $16\frac{3}{4}$ feet, and depth at the same point $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, rising to $8\frac{1}{2}$ at either stem. The hull counts 16 strakes aside, each 7 to 9 inches wide and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, all clincher-worked by means of burred iron rivets. It had 16 oars aboard, varying in length, the longest measuring some 17 feet. But for the purpose of rowing, instead of row-locks adjusted to the top of the gunwale, it provides oar-holes through the fourteenth strake, each with a slit in its aft-side for the blade of the oar to pass through in being run out or drawn in. These oar-holes, moreover, were provided with shutters, working on a pin, and fitted with a catch, by which they could be closed when the oars were not in use.

In common with the Tune boats, this one also has its strakes tied to the ribs by means of the knob arrangement described in the Nydam boat; only, in the choice of the lashing material there is a new departure, in that, instead of bast, withes from roots of trees are employed. So that still as late as about 900 the old tradition from coracle antiquity lives on, regarding and treating the

straked hull as the wooden "hide," the waterproof covering of the all-important framework, the ribs, tie-beams, knees, etc.

A striking novelty in the Norwegian boats is the change of the position of the rudder from loose to fixed. Of this the Gokstad boat gives the best illustration. On the right-hand side buttock of the boat there are fixed two wooden cushions or blocks, one up by the railing, the other $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet lower down; the topmost presents a flat surface, with a semi-cylindric perpendicular incision; the bottommost ends in a cone-formed top. A line drawn from the surface of one block to that of the other would run parallel with a line drawn perpendicularly on the keel of the craft, and that is the line the rudder occupies. For at the top its neck goes through a loop or grummet drawn through two holes, made at either side of the semi-cylindric incision in the top block, and running right through the railing, while through a hole in the rudder blade, exactly corresponding with one made through the conical block and the board of the ship, a cord with a knot at its further end was drawn which secured the rudder blade firmly to the cone. On the top of this cone, in obedience to the tiller, which fitted into a hole in the neck at right angle with the plane of the blade, the rudder moved easily, putting the ship on a starboard tack when the helmsman drew the tiller to him, and on a tack to port when he reversed the movement.

A feature quite new in the Gokstad ship is the introduction of the "dead-wood," a block which, fitted to the obtuse angle where the stem and stern-posts meet the keel, is both lashed and fastened by two rows of nails to either. This is the earliest instance I know of the use of this standing feature of the architecture of wooden ships even to this day (the lashing, of course, excepted).

Caulking was done even in the days when the Nydam boat was built; it then consisted of wool mixed up with

some sticky substance not otherwise specified. In the boat of Tune the caulking is effected by loose ox hair, while in the Gokstad boat this hair is spun and twisted into a three-stranded cord, which, no doubt, was saturated with tar before being used.

By this time,—indeed a very considerable time before,—the art of ship-building in the North, from a very humble beginning, had reached such a state of consummation that practically the world's "wayless waters" had now been turned into waterways; what still was lacking was but improvement in detail on a safe and secured basis; for even the very important adoption of the bowsprit and the jib, together with the mainsail, was, I have no doubt, suggested by the varied experience obtained through the manœuvring of the square sail for the purpose of catching side winds, beating.

We may very well allow the Gokstad ship the honour to stand as a general type for the Scandinavian ships as we know them from the Sagas. On passing now over to the names of their various kinds and some of the terms connected with them, I will wind up this portion of my paper by adding that in building a ship, in historical times, three chief classes of smiths or ship-wrights seem to have been employed: the *head-smith* (höfuð-smiðr), the *stem-smith* (stafna-smiðr),[1] the constructor of the framework, and the *strake-smith* (*filungr*, *cf.* fjöl, a board). There were, besides, *joiners* ("sumir et fella"), *carpenters* ("sumir at telgja"), *black-smiths* or *nail-makers* ("sumir saum at slá"), and lastly the unskilled *workmen* ("sumir til at flytja viðu").

The ships themselves may, not inconveniently, be classified according to the various purposes they were built for, which after all comes to much the same as grouping them according to size. We get thus the *boat class* proper, comprising the smallest craft; the *ship of burden class*,

[1] The story of Thorberg *Shavehew* (Saga of Olaf Tryggvisson, Snorri, ch. 88) makes it clear that the stafna-smiðr occupied an inferior position to the höfuðsmiðr.

including ocean-going merchantmen ; and the *navy class*, the warships.

To the boat class "bátr" belong the various open rowing boats, whose size attains, however, considerable dimensions in the largest of them ; the size here is determined by the number of oars : four-oarer, " ferærðr " ; six-oarer, " sexæringr " ; eight-oarer, " áttæringr " ; twelve-oarer, " tólfæringr." But lesser boats than four-oarers, of course, there were.

The after-boat, " eftirbátr," or cock-boat, was naturally a very small craft ; it went also under the name of " skips-bátr," ship's-boat. Whether it had any typical form of its own cannot, that I am aware, be ascertained. A very old name for a boat is " beit " ; it is the genuine old Scandinavian term, while " bátr " is an Anglo-Saxon very early loan-word.

The craft that goes under the name of " ferja," also " róðrarferja " seems to have belonged to what I call the boat group. It is mentioned as doing not only the ordinary service of a rowing boat, but also that of a transport and victualling craft, which, for such a service, must have been of considerable size. " Róðrarferja," rowing ferry, distinguishes a ferry, so-called, from a river-ferry, not, as might be supposed, from a " sailing ferry," which is never mentioned.

The " kœna " was of old probably, as even now it is, a very tiny craft. The word is formally related to Icelandic " kane," a small wooden vessel, Norwegian " kane," a wooden bowl with ears, even as " hœna," hen, is to " hane," a cock.

" Karfi " is one of those objects which, from small beginnings, develop into something more considerable in course of time. It is taken by some antiquaries to be a foreign importation, from Latin " carabus," which in its turn was borrowed from Greek " κάραβος," a sea-crab, a boat. Isidor[1] describes the " carabus " as a small wicker-boat covered with raw hide. Similar names

[1] Etymol. XIX., c. i. 26.

for, apparently, the same object are found in Finn. "karpa," basket, little boat; "karvas"; Quenic. "karvas"; Russ. "karbas"; Lapp. "garbe," "garbas," and V. Gay[1] mentions "corbe," as the name of fishing-boats in the Low-Countries. Surely the similarity of these forms to Scand. "karfa," Swed. "korg," Dan. "kurv," Germ. "korb," Lat. "corbis," a basket, is not altogether accidental. Once upon a time the northern "karfi" must have been a term for a very small crank vessel. In the compound "eikjukarfi" the second element is really a sort of translation or interpretation of the first, which we have already seen (page 190), was a tiny monoxylous sort of ferry boat; so that the "karfi," as to size and quality, was looked upon as but another edition, as it were, of "eikja." Sigvat, Olaf the Holy's marshal, was highly disgusted with the "karfi" as a river ferry, calling it "a cranky karfi," a "hlægiskip," ridiculous tub; had never seen a worse one, "sákat ek verra."[2] The main peculiarity of this craft is taken off very tellingly in the compound "karfa-fótr,"[3] the tottering foot of one reeling from drunkenness. The vast geographical spread of this name for a small crank boat points to its having been, once upon a time, a coracle in universal use throughout the continent of Europe.

But in Norway, at any rate, the "karfi" also attained dimensions which placed it in class with the largest boats, or even with the lesser sea-going ships. Mention is made of "karfar" with from six to sixteen oars aboard.[4]

"Nökkvi" (A.S. naca, O.H.G. nahho, M.H.G. nache, Germ. nachen, Fr. accon) occurs chiefly as a boat with one man on board, and connected with trolls and giants. The author of Balder's myth[5] calls "Hringhorni" the ship of this god, a "nökkvi," adding that it was the

[1] Gloss. archéol.

[2] Heimskringla (F. Jónsson) II. ch. 91. [3] Ib. ch. 83.

[4] Egils Saga (F. Jónsson) p. 200, 113; Grett. S. (1859) p. 36; Heimskr. II 77, 128.

[5] Snorres Edda I., 176.

largest of ships. This type of ship has been dead for ages, and the fantastic records of it belong to folklore literature. It plays really no particular role in Northern shipping tradition, and of its build no description is given.

"Barki" occurs once or twice, and is described by Snorri as a foreign ship's boat. The Latin name, "barca," seems to be mentioned for the first time by Paulinus Nolanus, about A.D. 400 (Kluge). The craft is defined by Isidore [1] as a small ship's boat. Supposed to be of Celtic origin, and certainly occurs both early and frequently in Irish records.

Next in size above the boat class of floating craft was probably the "byrðingr," ship of burthen, frequently doing the service of a transport boat, "vista-byrðingr" (victualling boat). In dealing with Asbiorn Sealsbane's ship of this description, Snorri says that it was "haf-fœranda skip," a ship that could be used as an ocean-going craft, implying that there were such "byrðingar" as were not ocean-going. This particular one was a sailing ship, and had a striped sail and all rigging carefully found.[2] One portion of Harald Sigurdsson's fleet of well-nigh 240 sail, going to England, consisted of "vistabyrðingar."[3] But generally these boats were used in home waters for coastal service.

"Skúta" is a very frequently mentioned craft, which was both a rowing and a sailing vessel, and when it was exclusively propelled by oars was called "róðrarskúta." It was clearly, as a type of ship, a good deal smaller than the "snekkja," as we learn from Egil's Saga: Egil and his men pushed the "skúta" into the shallow sound, but there the "snekkjur" could not float.[4] It seems to have been used chiefly in home waters for coasting service. It was frequently used for warlike purposes, but does not seem, however, to have been exactly classed as a longship. Its size varied a good deal, for there are

[1] Etymol. XIX., c. i, 19. [2] Heimskr. II. 244.
[3] Ib. III. 193. [4] F. Jónsson's ed. p 196.

skútur mentioned with ten or twelve, and others with fifteen oars aside, this being, I think, the largest mentioned. What distinguished this craft from the larger boats was mainly the proportion between length and width of hull. As the name indicates, it was built for speed, for "skúta" is radically allied to "skjótr," swift, "skjóta," to shoot, to pass swiftly. The name is still common in all the Scandinavian languages (Swed. *skuta*, Icel, *skúta*, Norw. *skuta*, Dan. *skude*), and means everywhere a small decked vessel. Kluge maintains Engl. "skute" (obs.), Dutch "schuit," Germ. "schüte" are all derived from the Scandinavian form; and the same would apply to O. Fr. "escute."

The regular ocean-going ship was the "knörr," both in the capacity of merchantman and of a man-of-war. Prominent mention of these ships is made even as early as the reign of Harald Fairhair. His court poet, Hornklofi, calls the ships that were engaged in the great sea-battle of Hafursfiord, 872 "knerrir," adding that they were adorned with yawning heads and graven "prow-plates." Most probably he himself was present at the battle, and, at any rate, his poem is an original contemporary doument, and therefore a good vouch for the early existence of this kind of ship in the North. The name would seem to be a genuine Scandinavian one and the A.S. "cnear" a loan-word from the North. This also seems borne out by Ordericus Vitalis, who in his ecclesiastical history, under 1095, has a story to tell of "quatuor naves magnæ quas Canardos vocant" coming "*de Northvegia in Angliam.*" This evidently means that the subjects of "vocant" are Norwegians, as well as those who repeat the Norwegian name of the ship; and no Scandinavian name for a ship, but "knörr," could in Latin assume the form of "canardus." This was essentially a sailing ship, though, no doubt, oars could be used on them in case of need. It must be presumed that of this type were the ocean-going ships which so frequently are mentioned as awaiting fair wind in harbour, often for a long time,

before it was found practicable to put to sea. Of this type must have been the "haf-skip," ocean-going ships, of which we hear so often, the name implying that they were distinct from home-waters' ships. The distinguishing feature about their build was that they were broader and of a higher free-board than any other class of the larger ships. This becomes evident from the description of the "Long Worm," Olaf Tryggvisson's great war-galley, to which I shall revert below.

Coming to the warships proper, the "langskip," we have only to deal with two types, the "snekkja" and the "skeið," the latter of which, under conditions to which I shall refer later, could be a "dreki," dragon. Generally, I think we may take it, the longship was a craft built for propulsion with oars. A naval expedition is always "rowed," "róa leiðangr," never "sailed." This is a stereotyped phrase in the old laws of Norway, and can only mean that, when it came into existence, the propelling force on board men-of-war was confined to rowers. This changed in course of time so far that warships made use of sails as well as oars. Being built for speed and for the accommodation on board of as many fighting men as possible, the main characteristic of these ships, the *length*, is naturally accounted for; and there seems to be no urgent reason for the supposition that we have here to deal with an imitation of the "navis longa" of the Romans. As the longship was propelled with only one row of oars, its free-board was much less than that of ocean-going vessels. The biggest longship ever built in Norway up to A.D. 1000, the "Long Worm," was "high of bulwark," *i.e.*, unusually so, "and," Snorri adds, "the bulwarks were as high as in a ship built for sailing the main," which clearly indicates that longships of lesser size fell short of that standard of free-board. They were not ocean-going craft, they were built principally for duty on the island-sheltered seas of the Scandinavian coasts and the comparatively quiet waters of the Baltic. During the colonisation of Iceland

not a single longship is mentioned as crossing the "Iceland main."

Of the longships the "snekkia" (O.Sw. *snækkia*, mod. Sw. *snäcka*, Dan. *snække*, A.S. *snacca*) is the smallest, being most frequently mentioned as a "tvítugsessa," twenty-bencher, *i.e.*, a craft of forty oars all told. Exceptionally, however, the number of benches ran up to thirty, as in the case of Tryggvisson's war-galley the "Crane." This was, perhaps, a specially Swedish type of warship, as may be inferred from the fact that, in the old Swedish laws, it seems to be the standing term for a man-of-war, while "skeið" and "dreki" are never mentioned. Perhaps, too, the name is purely Swedish, "snäcka" being a Swedish term for various kinds of shells. It is noticeable that the type of warships used by the Wends is generally called "snekkja" or "Vinda snekkja." With 660 such the Wendish duke Ratibor made a raid on Kings' Rock, now Kongälf, in 1135, each "snekkja" carrying 44 men and two horses, which probably indicates a size corresponding to "tvítugsessa." In course of time, it would seem, this type of ship developed into an ocean-going size. It became known to Frenchmen, who gave the name of it the form of "esneke," "esneque" (besides the Latinized *isnechia*, *ilnechia*, *hilnachia*). A passage from Bishop Jacques de Vitry's "Historia Orientalis," relating to the siege of Acre in 1191, is instructive:—

> When few days had gone by there came Danes, Normans, Francs, Scots and other people . . in welcome (?) ships which are called Necchiæ.[1]

where necchiæ is evidently a Frenchman's rendering of "snekkjur." If critics are right in changing *iocundæ* into *rotundæ*, which is doubtful, then the adjective would be indicative of the "snekkja" having evolved, in the twelfth century, into a ship of burden.

The typical longship was the "skeið." It is generally

[1] Diebus paucis evolutis venerunt Daci, Normanni, Franci, Scoti, et ceteræ gentes . . navibus iocundis quæ Necchiæ dicuntur." Martene, "Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum," Tom III. col. 283.

referred to as a twenty or thirty bencher. The great "skeið" belonging to the magnate of Sole, Erling Skjalgsson, told up two-and-thirty benches. If Olaf Tryggvisson's famous warship, the "Long Worm," was a "skeið"—I don't know what else it could have been—then that is the largest specimen of the pure *skeið*-type known, counting four-and-thirty benches. As to the meaning of this term, which in A.S. meets us in the form of "scegð," in Russian in that of "skedii,"[1] and which some linguists derive from Greek σχεδία, raft, float, I am inclined to derive it from "skíð," a thin board of wood. "Skeið," in the sense of wooden spoon, a ladle, must, at any rate, be derivable from "skíð." I am disinclined to think that "skeið" in the sense of ship can have a different origin. The original sense then should have been the boarded, the straked craft.

As to the "dreki," dragon, the question is: Was it a special type of warship or merely a "skeið" with a dragon's head fitted to the prow, and a dragon's tail to the stern? Before answering the question definitely let us see how the "dreki" stands in relation to time. In the course of the winter A.D. 868 Snorri states that Harald Fairhair "let build a great dragon-ship (dreka mikinn), and fit it out in the noblest fashion." It is a remarkable thing that this, the first *great* dragon mentioned in Northern history, and built by the greatest lord on record in the North, is left undescribed altogether. This is the more striking when we compare the graphic accounts given of *all* the other dragon ships mentioned by the old historians. No less surprising is the fact that this alleged great dragon of Fairhair produces no imitation at all. For one hundred and thirty years after 868 there is no mention of a dragon ship; and when the dragon type of ship comes into vogue, the primary pattern of the much admired innovation comes from a magnate in Halogaland, Raud the Strong. It is perfectly clear that the Halogaland dragon took Olaf Tryggvisson and the

[1] Nestor, Schlösser, IV. 17, 28, quoted by J. Fritzner.

people of Norway by admiring surprise, for after the fashion of the "Short Worm," as Olaf called the dragon, he let build the "Long Worm," which in turn became the pattern of King Harald Sigurdsson's greatest warship, and King Eystein Magnusson's as well. I think it is also possible that the greatest of all dragons on record, Knut the Great's, of sixty oars a-side, was built on the pattern of the "Long Worm," which, on the occasion of the battle of Svold, filled his father with such awe and admiration. Of course, it goes without saying that Fairhair had a flagship of his own in his sea-battles. Hornklofi's song, too, on the battle of Hafrsfirth, bears witness to the warships having been provided with yawning heads, "gín-andi haufuð," but these were "knerrir" not "dragons."

But the description of Raud's dragon seems to show that the tradition regarded this ship as a new discovery in naval architecture:

> Raud had a great dragon, "dreka mikinn," and gold adorned head(s) thereon, and that ship counted up thirty benches and was big in proportion. . Then King Olaf took the dragon which Raud had owned and steered it himself, for it was by much a bigger and braver ship than the "Crane."[1] Fore there was a dragon-head and aft a "crook," and forth from it a tail-fin, and either bow and all the stem was inlaid with gold. This ship he called the "Worm," for when the sail was up it showed as if it were the wings of the dragon. This was the fairest ship in all Norway. . . (The "Long Worm") was a dragon, and built after the pattern of the "Worm" which the King had taken in Halogaland.[2]

There seems to be little doubt that we have here to deal with what the old historians regard as the *first* dragon known to tradition in the North.

Returning to the above question, I believe the difference between a "skeið" and a "dragon" was, in the main, only decorative. When the allies, before the battle of Svold, stand gazing admiringly at Olaf Tryggvisson's fleet sailing up, the "skeið" of Erling Skjalgsson passes by, and Svein Twibeard, himself an old Viking, says: "Now Olaf Tryggvisson is afraid since he dares not sail

[1] Which, however, had an equal number of berths or benches.

[2] Heimskringla, I. pp. 396, 401, 414.

with the head up on his dragon."[1] This shows that when there were no decorative appointments to go by, even an experienced eye could not, at a distance, tell a "skeið" from a "dragon."[2] But when to a *skeið*-built ship were adjusted the head and tail of a flying dragon, the craft was a dragon-ship proper, presenting that "prora admodum erecta atque item puppis" which Cæsar was so struck by in the ships of the Veneti.

Now I think it must be admitted that the historical evidence is altogether in favour of the dragon-type of ship hailing from Halogaland. But where did the Halogalanders get it from? Neither Greeks, Romans, nor Britons had dragon-ships of their own, that I am aware. Was the invention native to Halogaland, or—my query will sound wild—did the Veneti in far distant prehistoric times know that commercial gold-mine, the Lofoten fishery of Halogaland? If so, the Halogaland dragon-type of ship is self-explained. That no tradition should exist pointing to any such connection is but natural: Cæsar had the Veneti sold by auction 56 B.C., and their state was wiped out for ever.

Dragon-ships are mentioned, after the days of Olaf Tryggvisson, as flag-ships of Harald Hardrada, of thirty-five oars a-side, exquisitely fitted out both as to hull and rigging; figurehead, bows and tail astern lavishly gilt. His grandson, King Magnus Barefoot, had a stately dragon in his Western warfare. His son again, King Eystein, built one on the pattern of "the Long Worm." The last ship of the type mentioned in Saga was the "Dragon" of Hakon the Old, King of Norway, 1217-1263. Olaf the Holy built two ships, which are mentioned as of the dragon type, but did not adorn them with figure-

[1] Heimskringla, I. pp. 435-6.

[2] It should not, however, be overlooked that the change which Thorberg Shavehew made in the top-strake of the "Long Worm" is most naturally explained as having had for object a closer approach to the gunwale outline (in relation to the waterline) of the "Short Worm." The object was, in my opinion, to diminish the curve of the gunwale line between prow and stern-quarter, and make it more parallel with the water line.

heads of the heathenish monster; one, which he called "Carl's-head," "Karlshöfði," he adorned with the head of a king, which he had carved himself; the other, called the "Bison," "Vísundr," was provided with the head of that animal, all gilt. Both ships were of the largest type of "skeið."

In the reign of Olaf the Holy we meet for the first time with the term "búza" connected with the building of warships. In 1026 Thorir Hound of Birchisle, in Halogaland, made ready for a voyage to Biarmland, and, according to Snorri, launched for the purpose a great "longship-búza," which carried on board well-nigh 80 men. The reading here of the "Flatey-book" is "longship" simply, which I think is the sounder of the two. As in the case of Fairhair's dragon, I think we have in Snorri's text to deal with a case of anticipation. In the winter of 1061-2 King Harald Hardrada had built in the dock-yard at Niðarós a longship which

> was a *búzu*-ship. This ship was shaped after the size of the "Long Worm," wrought in every way in a most exquisite manner, there being a dragon-head afore and a crook astern, and all the bows were gold-adorned; it told up five-and-thirty benches, and was big in proportion and most fair withal.

The historian means to indicate by the term *buss*-(ship) that here there was built a longship of a new type for the first time in Norway. Ships of "buss" type were very common about the Mediterranean, not as ships of war, but of burden, and the name occurs in a great variety of forms: *buza*, *burcia*, *bussa*, *bucca*, *bucea*, *butz*, all, seemingly, indicative of capacity and breadth. King Harald, who served on board the Byzantine fleet for some years, must have become familiar with these ships, and have concluded that it would be advantageous to adapt the type to the longship-model of the North. The name doubtless came with him and his company, probably for the first time, to the North in 1044. After 1062 the buss-built ship became pretty common in the North.

Another foreign word for a ship—a war-ship—namely,

"galeið," I am inclined to think came to the North at the same time; it occurs mostly as the name of the men-of-war of which the Byzantine fleet was composed, and "fara á galeiðr," to go on board the galleys, was equivalent to taking service in the Emperor's navy.[1] Generally the word is derived from γαλέα, Latin *galea;* but perhaps (τά χελάνδια is the real original of the Norse form, they being *the* important warships of the fleet.

The vocabulary relating to objects connected with ships is very rich; but for want of space I cannot attempt here to give more than merely a limited selection of such terms. The keel, "kjölr," of large ships was laid down on slips, "bakkastokkar"; to the keel were joined stem-post, "fram-stafn," and stern-post, "skut-stafn," as well as the inside frame-work, the ribs, "inn-viðir," "rengr," "statumina." When the skeleton was finished, the case or shell was adjusted, consisting of as many strakes as the type of ship required; this was called "bera borði." The lowest strake was the "kjölsýja," the board "sewed" to the keel, the next strake above it was "aurboard," gravelboard (Engl. *gar-board, ground-strake, sand-strake*); the fifth strake was called "hrefni," of uncertain etymology, and the topmost strake was the "sólborð," lit. sunboard, answering to the "saxboard" in English boats. All Northern ships in saga times were clincher-built. A strake was a "saum-för," seampath; every strake-lap a "sýja," or "súð," suture (*cf.* súð above, page 196), or else "skör," from *skara*, to overlap. To secure water-tightness every strake-lap was caulked either with loose hair mixed with some viscous matter, perhaps most commonly tar, or with twisted thread of wool or hair steeped in similar substance, "*síð*-þráðr." This was done apparently at the same time that the strakes were riveted home with the "saumr," or, strictly speaking, "hnoð-saumr," nails, secured on the inside by means of "ró," washer or burr. The strength of the hull, "húfr," was secured by beams, "biti," "slá," and by knees, "kné," "krapti" or

[1] Heimsk. iii. 77.

"kraptr" and "krappi" (in krappa-rúm) as well as by the gunwale, "borð," "borð-stokkr," "há-stokkr" (thole-stock), to the top of which were adjusted at proper distances the tholes "háir" (sing. hár) with the "hamla," oar-strap, drawn through a hole in them, attached. Between the tholes, withinboard, were the seats of the rowers, "há-setar" (thole-sitters), called "rúm," "sess," "sess-þilja," "þopta" (thwart) according to the various descriptions of the craft. When, as was the case with warships, the thwart did not go right across the ship, but was cut short at either board, leaving a piece of bench large enough to accommodate one rower, each "rúm" fell naturally into two half-rooms, "hálf-rými." When, sometimes, there is talk of several men being told off for each "hálf-rými," the statement evidently refers to an arrangement of relief-hands.

Propulsion, we know, was effected by oar, "ár," and sail, "segl"; the oar consisted of "blað," "árar-blað," blade, and the "hlumr," loom; when the boat was provided with tholes the oar moved in the oar-loop, but otherwise in the "hábora," oar-hole, which has been mentioned already (page 216); "ára-burðr" meant about the same as "stroke" in boat-racing language, and "ára-lag" mode, style of rowing; "árar-or ára-tog," pull; "ljósta árum í sjó" (smite oars into the sea) = to make a start; "halda upp árum," lay on, rest on the oars, etc., etc. The contrivances in connection with the sail were much more complicated and elaborate. There was first of all the mast, with which I have partly dealt above (page 201). Apparently the masts of the saga time were pole-masts only. The mast stood in a "stallr," step, or chock, in a block fitted to the keelson a little further to the fore than amidships, and was no doubt secured to a cross beam above to prevent it from slipping about. It is not clear what exactly took place when the mast was taken down in the larger ships. To steady it in its position a tackle was stretched from the top of it to the stem-post, called "stag," and stays, similarly fixed from either side,

"höfuðbenda," arrested it from swaying too much from side to side; the top was called "húnn,"a knop, and was sometimes gilt; below it was the "hún-bora," perforation, through which was drawn the "drag-reip," halyard, by means of which the sail-yard, "rá," was hoisted. This latter again was secured to the mast by means of a wooden parrel, "rakki," which must have been so contrived that it could be disengaged from the mast when need required, as otherwise yard and sail would cause an apparently insurmountable entanglement when the mast was raised and lowered.

The sail was a square-sail, apparently a good deal wider down below than at the yard, and, of course, much wider than the breadth of the ship. For the purpose of spreading it to full advantage to the wind use was made of the "beiti-áss," tacking boom, which we know from the Ynglinga Saga (ch. 51) reached so far beyond the gunwale that it could knock a man over-board from a boat sailing too close past. To either end of this boom, when called into use, were attached the clews, "kló, klær" of the sail. The ropes, called "ak-taumar" (from *aka*, to drive, as a sledge, and *taumr*, rein), braces, were lines which were attached to the ends of the "beiti-áss," or the clews of the sail, as the case might be, and were made fast in the stern quarter of the craft. By means of those lines the square sail was close-hauled, so as to catch a side-wind to the best advantage. The utmost close-hauling effected by these lines was called "at aka segli at endilöngu skipi," to haul the sail in parallel with the length line of the ship. It is a mistake to suppose that these braces were attached to the sail-yard, as is proved by this statement of the Laxdæla (ch. 18): "Thorarinn steered, and had the 'ak-taumar' across his shoulders, because the boat was blocked with goods; it was mostly laden with furniture, and so the cargo rose high." Thorarinn wanted to keep the "ak-taumar" above the bulk of the lading, so as not to knock over any article of it. But if he had made them fast in the ordinary way they would,

coming from the nether limit of the sail, have had to pass right through the piled up lumber on board. If they had come from the sail-yard mast-high the reason given for Thorarin's management of them would have been absurd.

It seems probable that two "skaut-reip," sheets, that went with a sail were the same lines as the "ak-taumar," but were called "skaut-reip" on occasions when the use of the "beiti-áss" was dispensed with. The sail itself, "segl," "váð," was made of homespun until civilization brought in the cultivation of flax, or the knowledge of foreign-made sail-cloth. It was strengthened by a hem of rope called "lík," or "lík-símí," leeches, leech-lines, and was often striped in various colours, "stafat," "stafat vendi," sometimes embroidered, "sett skriptum," or decked with pall, "sett pellum." Of terms relating to the service at the sail we may mention: to hoist sail, "draga segl"; hoist top-high, "draga segl við hún"; set sail, "setja upp"; unfurl, "vinda segl"; to reef a sail, "hefla," a reef being "hefill"; to furl sail, "hlaða seglum"; strike sail, "láta ofan segl." Sailing by side-wind, tacking, "beita," required a special manipulation of the sail by means of the "ak-taumar."

The direction was regulated by means of the rudder, "styri," "stjórn," the lower, broader part of which was the "stjórnar-blað"; above came the stock or neck, "stýris-hnakki," held by the rudder-loop, "stýri-hamla," and terminating in the head "stýris-knappr"; into the neck was stuck the tiller, "hjálmvölr," "hjálmunvölr," stjórn-völr," "stjórnar-völr." The place for the rudder was the right-hand side buttock, or quarter of the vessel, whence that same side of the vessel was called "stjórn-borði," rudder side; within-board was the seat of the helmsman, "stjórnarmaðr," at whose back was the staying-board, "höfða-fjöl"; to steer was called "at sitja við stjórn," or simply "stýra." From the term "stjórn-borði" (Engl. *starboard*, French *estribord*, *stribord*, mod. *tribord*) came the phrase "á stjórn," short for "á stjórnborða," to starboard.

The opposite side of the ship was called "bak-borði," lar-board, but French *bâ-bord;* the phrase "á bakborða"= Eng. "to port." I am inclined to think that *lar-* in "lar-board may be etymologically connected with Swed.-Dan. *lår-* in "låring," the buttock of a boat's stern.

Finally, a few words on the sections or divisions of which particularly the warships consisted. In Scandinavia sea-fights were the order of the day, and of decisive battles the record lies with actions at sea. On going into action, "búast till bardaga," the word of command to the crews was "to break up their weapons," "brjóta upp vapn sín." Every rower had his weapons in a chest under his seat, "sess-þilja," and those who were not rowers had theirs similarly kept in special lockers. The action began by the ships of the opposing fleets being lashed, "tengd," together, so the fighting resembled an engagement on land. The prow, "stafn," with its quarter deck, "rausn," forming the fore-castle, was, in every warship, the most important spot, from the tactical point of view. It was the part most exposed to attack, for, if boarding, "upp-ganga," was to be attempted with a chance of success, the prow-men, fore-castle dwellers, "stafn-búar," men of approved strength and valour, must first be cleared out of the way, lest the boarding party should be exposed to front and flank attack at one and the same time. Where the quarter deck ended began the main-deck, "þiljur" (þilja), a good deal lower in the ship than the former, and ran all the way aft to the poop. In shallow ships this deck was so low that the space under it could only be utilized for storage of ship's necessaries. Hence every warship carried an awning or tilt "tjald," which served for protection against cold, rain, and snow, and which could be speedily removed in case of need, "svipta tjöldum," "reka af sèr tjöld."

Aft there rose above the deck the poop, "lyfting," where the commander had his station, "staða," and sleeping accommodation, "hvíla"; it seems to have been open at the top, and provided with a poop-awning, "lyftingar-

tjald." Here, it seems, was placed the commander's high-seat, "hásæti." Immediately in front of the poop was the section or division of the ship called fore-room, "fyrir-rúm," down to which the captain had to step on leaving the poop. Here was placed the high-seat chest, "hásætis-kista," the arsenal of the ship. As the weapons of the warriors on board gave out, or became useless, especially the swords, the stores of this chest were drawn upon for fresh supplies. In this "room" were stationed the men who stood highest in social rank, ready, in case of need, to form an emergency guard, "skjald-borg," around their chief. Next in front of this division was that called the "krappa-rúm," or main-hold, occupied by the "private" soldiers, a company mostly made up of the rowers. The name of this space can have nothing to do with "krappr," narrow, cramped; on the contrary, it was the widest portion of the ship, and derived its name from the many strong knees, "krappi" (accidentally not on record in old writers, but common all over Iceland), which here were adjusted to the ship's sides, this being the portion of the craft on which fell the force of the strain in heavy weather and rough sea.

The foremost "room" on the main deck was that which went under the name of "söx," and seems to have been between the line where the ship began to taper towards the stem and the afore-mentioned "rausn." The occupants were, perhaps, the "fram-byggjar," who are distinguished from the "stafn-búar," but seem to have been chosen for their station because they came nearest to the latter in high martial qualities. Besides the "rooms" here mentioned we hear of bailing-rooms, "austr-rúm," sometimes two on the same ship, one aft, the other fore, and Grettir's Saga (ch. 17) gives us a good insight into the water-tightness of the ships of old and the manner of bailing.

It goes without saying, that a people so devoted to ships and life on the water, would be rich in terms expressive of their experiences in water-travel; of these we

must confine ourselves to only a few. Of course the cardinal points of the compass had their names long before load-stone or compass were known to these seafarers. But for the octant points, when speaking of the weather (veðr=wind) the Norwegian race had technical terms quite peculiarly their own, terms which the Icelanders took with them to their island and used as they had been used in the land of their forefathers, without troubling themselves with what logic had to say to the propriety of the use. Thus, because their forefathers in the old country said they sailed west, when they sailed from Norway to any point of land within the geographical complex now known as Great Britain and Ireland, the Icelandic descendants must needs use the same term when stating that they went from Iceland itself to any such point. "West I fared o'er sea" (*vestr fórk of ver*) says Egil, when he sails from Iceland having York in Northumberland for his ultimate goal.[1] Thorodd "Skattkaupandi" went on a trading voyage from Broadfirth in Iceland *west* to Ireland, to Dublin.[2] Illustrations of this kind are endless.

For an inhabitant of the western coast of Norway winds blowing from N.E. and S.E. blew over land, those from N.W. and S.W. up from the sea. They were therefore called respectively "landnyrðingr," "landsynningr," "útnyrðingr," "útsynningr." Not only are these winds invariably called by these names even when they happen to be blowing in mid-ocean, but they are called by these names still, all over Iceland, regardless of the fact that to the island no wind can come but across the sea. The sea was "sjór," "sær," but the ocean was "haf"=upheaval; that this was the idea which the term "haf" was originally meant to express, is obvious when we consider what must be the idea underlying the phrase: "sjór í miðjum hlíðum," sea mid-way up mountain, a nautical term indicative of a ship being at such a distance out in the offing that the intervening sea-upheaval hides from

[1] Egils Saga (F. Jónsson's ed.), 350. [2] Eyrbyggja, p. 49.

sight the lower half of the mountains of the land in view.

How the old seafarers found their way there and back over vast oceans we know not fully. The sun by day, when seen, and stars, when showing, by night, undoubtedly were the principal guides. But how, after a period of fog or such thick weather as obscured the heavenly luminaries for days and nights together, they could ascertain their position, and keep on their course, and arrive where they intended, we know not. The loadstone, "leiðarsteinn," was unknown to Norsemen during the period of their greatest discoveries of lands over-sea; and yet we hear of very few cases that can be regarded as at all historical of these mariners losing their bearings. Whether the idea of the earth as a *ball*, "jarðarböllr," [1] was present to the mind of the *early* Norse discoverers cannot be positively asserted, though the term haf=spherical convexity, as indicated above, would seem to favour that theory. The confidential converse held by the early Norse discoverers with nature, in order to find their way over the ocean, is tellingly illustrated by the following passage from Landnáma-bók, directing how to keep the ocean course from Norway to Greenland:—

> From the Hern-isles in Norway people have to sail ever west to Hvarf [Cape Farewell] in Greenland; in such a case the course is to the north of Shetland so, that it be just descried when the out-look at sea is very clear; but to the south of the Faroes so, that sea be midway up mountain slopes; but so to the south of Iceland that they have thereof [the flight of] fowl and [the swim of] whale.[2]

But I am out-running my space, and must now wind up.

The season of seafaring was the spring and summer. Before or about equinoxial autumn the Vikings, when not engaged too far away, returned home from their

[1] Rímbeygla, p. 440.

[2] "Af Hernum af Noregi skal sigla iamnann vestr til Hvarfs á Grænlandi: ok er þa siglt fyri nordann Hialltland sva at þui at eins se þat at allgod se siovar sýn: en fyri svnnan Færeyiar sva at sior er i midium hlidum: en sva fyri sunnan Island at þeir hafa af fvgl ok hval." Hauksbók, p. 4.

exploits and brought their ships to the roller, "ráða skipi til hlunns," and into their winter station, the boat-house, "naust" (=*nóa-uist, no-uist, no-u'st, naust, cf. forvista—forusta?* or, *næustibulum?*), which also means a ship-building yard. Their winter passed in idleness and drink. Spring again clothed "South-lands" and "West-lands" in sunny loveliness. The sun-awakened *furor Normannorum* finished the picture of the flowery season!

Finally, I desire to tender my cordial gratitude above all to Professor W. Ridgway for advice and suggestions most generously vouchsafed. My sincere thanks are also due to my kind chief, Mr. F Jenkinson, Librarian, and to my colleague, Mr. J. Francis, for help ever ready in dealing with doubtful points in the English translation of the classical quotations. To Mr. E. J. Worman, M.A., is due the credit of the translation "buffeting" for "contumelia" (page 205).

VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITORS.

ON p. 475 of the last SAGA-BOOK, line 6, for "Mr. L. Tegner forwards me from Japan" read "Captain L. F. Tegnér forwards me from New Zealand."

ON p. 315 of the last SAGA-BOOK, under the heading "Mound-Diggings at St. Mary's, Holm," for "Grahme of Grahmeshall" read "Græme of Græmeshall"; also "Græme" for "Grahme" in line 14.

THE Board of Education have recommended that a book of tales from the Northern Sagas should be included in the course of readers on various subjects which schools are advised to adopt. This is a welcome proof that it is at last beginning to be recognised that English children ought to have some knowledge of the early records of their forefathers.

WITH a view to promoting friendly intercourse between the two Societies, the Yorkshire Dialect Society has invited a member of the Viking Club to read a paper to them on some subject of mutual interest. At the request of the Council Dr. Jón Stefánsson, representing the Viking Club, has, accordingly, undertaken to read a paper on Yorkshire Place-Names at the Yorkshire Dialect Society's meeting at Holmfirth in May.

DR. JÓN STEFÁNSSON'S Icelandic-English Dictionary will probably go to the press during the current year, and will be published by the Clarendon Press. In addition to the features mentioned in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., pp. 117, 118, Dr. Stefánsson has devoted much attention to the history of loan-words in Icelandic, and will show in the case of all such words the circumstances which led to their introduction, and the time at which they first appear.

IN our last issue (Vol. III., pp. 478-480) we gave a description of the old *stav-kirke* of Borgund, in Norway, reported to have been destroyed by fire. We learn that the church burnt down was the one at Borgund, near Aalesund, an eleventh-century building (restored) containing interesting antiquities, but not of such extreme value to lovers of the past as the more famous *stav-kirke* in Lærdal, which is one of the few remaining examples of a unique style of building.

WITH reference to the footnote on p. 336 of the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., Mr. A. R. Goddard informs us that when the cutting into the Risinghoe, situated near the Ouse between Bedford and Willington Camp, had got in about 12 feet, and was touching burnt charcoal in places, the owner had it filled in to save further expense. The construction of the mound showed

bonding layers of clay, alternating with the hard gravel and stuff of the local subsoil. It cut like a cheese, hard and firm. Mr. Goddard hopes that at some future date another attempt will be made to solve the problem whether this mound is a burial howe, or part of the works of a vanished castle, or fortified manor.

An interesting paper on "Bodiam Castle," by a Viking, Mr. Harold Sands, M.I.M.E., appeared in Vol. XLVI. of the *Sussex Archæological Society's Collections*, in which the author suggests that a depression in front of the castle gateway, extending to the bank of the river Rother, is probably the remains of a harbour. The castle only dates from 1386, but the supposed harbour, now dry, appears to resemble the "naust" at Willington, described by Mr. A. R. Goddard in the Saga-Book, Vol. III., pp. 327-337. Mr. Sands thinks it was originally protected by an outer line of fortification, which would make the likeness still greater. The sea-burgs of the Vikings may quite conceivably have left their mark on mediæval architecture in strongholds commanding navigable waters.

Another publication which has had considerable local success, "The Witch of Knaresbro': an Historical Romance," is, we understand, by a member, Miss Frances E. Foster. Though the story belongs to the period of the Wars of the Roses, traditions of the period before the Conquest play no small part in it. We congratulate the authoress on the success of her first work, though from the Viking point of view we much doubt whether such definite traditions of Anglo-Saxon and Norse heathendom can have lingered so late as she represents, even in the person of one who, as the witch of Knaresbro', was specially versed in ancient lore.

At a visit paid by the German Society of Anthropologists to the Historical Museum at Stockholm last summer, Professor von Förster, an oculist, expressed the opinion, with reference to some fine gold and silver filigree work exhibited, that the fixing of the little grains of metal could not have been done with the naked eye. This led to the Museum authorities producing a piece of rock-crystal discovered at Wisby in 1877. The crystal was about two inches in diameter, half-spherical in shape, with the side underneath slightly convex, and was capable of magnifying objects to twice their natural size. It was found with two small folding scales and a set of weights, such as were used in the time of the Vikings for weighing gold and silver, and it is suggested that it may have been used as a magnifying glass by a worker in metal.

In the Saga-Book, Vol. III., p. 272, we had to call attention to the use made by Mr. Henry E. Dudeney, without any acknowledgment, of Mr. A. R. Goddard's article on "Nine Men's Morris: an Old Viking Game," in Vol. II., Part III. The same gentleman has utilised Mr. Goddard's article again in *The World and His Wife*, where he introduces Nine Men's Morris and the facts about it which he has culled from Mr. Goddard's article into a column headed: "*New* Games and

Puzzles." The italics are ours. Gratifying as it is both to the author of the article and to the editors of the SAGA-BOOK to see the value attached to it by Mr. Dudeney, we regret that he did not feel called on to follow the usual journalistic practice and own his indebtedness both to our columns and to Mr. Goddard.

WE are glad to learn that the ship discovered near Tønsberg, in Norway, has finally been acquired by the State. It is proposed to build in Christiania a Viking Hall, in which this vessel and the Gokstad ship may be worthily housed, with the relics discovered with them. They could not be in better care than that of Professor G. Gustafson, under whose superintendence the splendid collection in the Museum of Antiquities at the University of Christiania has been so arranged that the extent, value, and relationship of the various finds can readily be seen. The re-arrangement in a new and more spacious building has enabled the curators to display many objects formerly stored away, and it is now clear that in relics of the Viking Age this collection is relatively as rich as is that in the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen in relics of the Stone and Bronze Ages.

MR. HARPER GAYTHORPE commences a paper on "Barrow Harbour in 1737," read to the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club (Barrow-in-Furness), by calling attention to names in the neighbourhood which point to an origin from Norse or Celto-Norse colonists, such as Cowp Scar near Piel, Hilps Fiord, Fowder Island, Calvac End near Biggar, Doufa Haw, and others. Mr. Gaythorpe asks: "As Barra Head and Hedden Haw are at the head of Barrow Harbour, may not Fowder Island, or the Pile of Fowdray, be so called because it is the island at the foot of the harbour, just in the same way as we have Waterhead and Waterfoot at the head and foot of our lakes?" He does not say whether he has reason now to doubt or reject his previously suggested derivation from Old Norse "fóðr," "fodder,"[1] which looks to us far more likely.

MR. J. J. HALDANE BURGESS has strongly advocated in the *Aberdeen Free Press* the establishment of an Icelandic chair, or lectureship, in Scotland. As Mr. Burgess points out, Scotland has not failed to recognise her debt to the past, as far as the Celtic section of the nation is concerned, and the study of Gaelic is duly recognised by her Universities. But the Norse element has been at least as important a factor in the making of Scotland. Remains of the old Norse speech linger in abundance in Orkney and Shetland, and there is little doubt that linguistic researches in Caithness and various districts on the coast would be rewarded by the discovery of similar, if less extensive, remains on the Scottish mainland. In spite of the claims of Edinburgh to be the seat of such a chair, and of the fact that the first College at Edinburgh was founded by a bishop of the old Norse province of Orkney and Shetland in 1558, Mr. Burgess thinks that Aberdeen University would be the most fitting place for an Icelandic lectureship.

[1] See SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., p. 469.

THE Committee for the Survey of Orkneyan Place-Names have distributed among various collectors through the Islands the collecting-forms prepared by Mr. A. W. Johnston, and printed in the last SAGA-BOOK. In an accompanying memorandum the Committee reproduce the greater part of the statement drawn up by Mr. Johnston as to the sources whence information may be looked for, the scope of the enquiry, etc. They ask for the assistance of "all who can help in examining title-deeds for old names and spellings that may have undergone change or become obsolete; in arriving at the folk-pronunciation, which is not always the same as that apparently conveyed by the written or printed name; and in describing the places, as descriptions will often throw light on their meaning and, through their meaning, on their derivation." The Committee have been supplied by the Treasury with three sets of six-inch Ordnance maps as working tools, and hope to obtain collectors in every parish. We gratefully acknowledge the help given by the Treasury, and are glad to have had such a recognition of the value of the work proposed. If it is carried out as ably as it has been started, the results cannot fail to have great importance.

The Annals of Scottish Natural History for April, 1904, contain interesting articles on "Whaling in Shetland," by R. C. Haldane, and "On the Whale Fishery from Scotland, with some Account of the Changes in that Industry and of the Species Hunted," by Thomas Southwell, F.Z.S. In the course of the latter article Mr. Southwell discusses Ohthere's statement to King Alfred in his account of his voyage to Biarmaland, that "in his own country [Halogaland] is the best whale-hunting; they are eight and forty ells and the longest fifty ells long." In the writer's view the size of these whales, from 96 to 100 feet long, would seem to indicate that they were Fin-whales of the largest kind, but he thinks it probable that they were in reality the Atlantic Right Whale, a much less formidable animal than the fierce and active Finners. In this he is no doubt correct. Modern whalers were unable to tackle the Finner till the invention of the bomb-harpoon fired from a gun, and it is hardly probable that the Norsemen in the Viking Age could have succeeded in overcoming them. Accounts in the Sagas are confined, as far as we know, to incidents connected with whales drifted ashore and the actual chase and killing of whales is not described. The number also contains an account of a Rorqual killed in shallow water in the Firth of Forth, and an interesting article on "Sule Skerry, Orkney, and its Bird-life," continued from the January issue.

ANY attempt to tighten the bonds between us and our Scandinavian kinsmen has such a claim on our sympathy that we are glad to call attention to the "Visits to Denmark" organised by Miss F. M. Butlin, of Old Headington, Oxford, though their object is to study the modern rather than the ancient life of Denmark. Miss Butlin has sent the following note about these visits:—

The first "Visit to Denmark" took place in August, 1902. As it was a success, the visits have been continued, until they seem likely to become an institution. Their main features are lectures in English, by Danish authorities, on the chief characteristics of Danish life and thought; visits, in connection with these lectures, to the most characteristic institutions; and, on the social side, the opportunities afforded to the Danes and English of making each other's acquaintance on the basis of their mutual interest in Scandinavian or English literature, the drama, education, social reform or, it may be, housewifery.

English people, as a rule, do not take much interest in the Danes until they find themselves in Denmark. Then they seem to realise that they are among cousins, their cousinly interest is aroused, and they see that this nation, with a history so different from their own, has something to teach as well as learn from them; while, for instance, the English are ahead in the art of politics and self-government, the Danes have passed them in not a few of the reforms to which both nations are feeling their way. The effect of the High School system of education, and the co-operative system of agriculture, may be seen in a comparatively prosperous and enlightened peasantry, while an honest attempt has been made to care for the aged poor by homes and pensions. The opportunities afforded by these visits of understanding Danish institutions, and of coming in contact with public men in Denmark, are unique. Last year a party of Dutch joined in the visit, this year parties are expected from Norway and Sweden as well, while the organisers hope soon to make a descent upon some other country still further North.

WITH regard to the meaning of the term "Viking," Dr. Karl Blind has pointed out that in the last issue of the SAGA-BOOK (p. 470) the quotation from a letter, written by Mr. Lars A. Havstad, of Christiania, on the subject, left out the introductory words. As the omission might lead to the inference that Mr. Havstad held an opinion opposed to that of Dr. Karl Blind, we subjoin the missing words. They show that the Norwegian writer holds the same view. His letter, addressed to the Editor of the *Times*, began as follows:—

> After reading the interesting letter of Dr. Karl Blind in your issue of January 27, *elucidating* the meaning of the word "Viking," I wish to add to these informations that the historians now often prefer to interpret the word as signifying a man from the old Norwegian landscape of Viken—the Wick *par excellence.*

Karl Blind remarks that "this fact is well known to all who have studied the question, and that from the great Wick, or Gulf, of the Scandinavian peninsula a mass of Vikings (or Wickings, as the late Professor York Powell preferred to write the word) naturally came."

As to the alternative derivation from "wig," Karl Blind says:—

> The Gothic word "weigan," "weihan," Anglo-Saxon "wig" (to war), Old German "wigant" (warrior), has given rise to many personal Teutonic names, such as Weigand, Wigand, Hartwig, Hedwig, Helwig, and various others still in use to-day, while in the North similar names occur. But in spite of this, and though the "Wickings" were, of course, warriors, I rather believe that their name comes from the Teutonic (Germanic and Scandinavian) word, which means a bay in Germany as well as in the North. They were eminently men lying in a creek of the sea, from which they, off and on, rowed forth for a raid.

On the subject of a generic term for the ancient Germanic race and its various branches, discussed in the last issue of the Saga-Book (pp. 472, 473), Karl Blind says:—

> The proposed substitution of "Gothic" for the general term "Germanic," which includes Teutons, Danes, and Scandinavians, does not seem to me useful. Tacitus, in his "Germania," includes the Scandinavian "Sviones" (Swedes) among the Germanic tribes. Ptolemaios, the Greek geographer, in the second century of our era, already calls the sea—across which, in later times, Angles, Saxons, Rugians, Hunes, and other German tribes, as well as Norwegians and Danes, were to come to this country—the German Ocean ("Okeanos Germanikos"). The English fishermen of the East coast still call it so. I found this to be the case, last year, from numerous personal inquiries at Lowestoft, Yarmouth, and elsewhere. Ptolemaios also mentions a clearly "German," Teutonic, tribe as settled even in the neighbourhood of Dublin. As regards modern usage, in a recent letter to the *Times* (April 14th, 1905), Björnstierne Björnson speaks of the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes as "nine millions of the *Teutonic* race." Before him the word has been similarly used by Scandinavian writers. Either "Germanic" or "Teutonic" will, therefore, do as a common name for the whole stock, south and north; Gothic, or Getic, remaining as a tribal name for what was once a large and noble eastern section of the race, which reached from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and then spread to the south and west, as far as Italy and Spain, but finally disappeared. So let us not disturb a very ancient terminology which embraces the several branches of our common stock.

On the other side, we have received from Mr. Gudmund Schütte, who raised this question in the last Saga-Book, a further batch of papers and pamphlets, several of them bearing on the proposed adoption of the term "Gothic" as a race-name for the folk of the Germanic, Scandinavian, and Anglo-Saxon lands alike. In an accompanying letter Mr. Schütte says:—

> The author of the first fundamental thesaurus of our race, the eminent English scientist, G. Hickes, used with exact definition the term Gothic, and he did so through no innovation, but adopting it from Icelandic scientists as Arngrim Jonas, who, again, was no innovator, but the professed continuer of the old Icelandic tradition from the Snorra Edda, etc. So I urge that Gothic not only ought to be, but also *used* to be, the true English name for our race.

Mr. Schütte further asks if we can tell him who introduced the word "Teutonic" into English as a general race-name. We shall be glad if any Vikings can help us to answer this query.

In a later letter, Mr. Schütte calls attention to the last sentence of King Alfred's translation of Orosius, where the king apparently uses the term Goth as a race-name for such various tribes as "Alans, Suevi and Vandals." The original and translation, as quoted by Mr. Schütte, run as follows:—

> Interea gentes Alanorum, Suevorum, Vandalorum Gallias invadunt. Honoriaci cunctas gentes, quae per Gallias vagabantur, Hispaniarum provincias immittunt.
>
> Siþan sæton þa Gotan þær on lande, sume be þæs caseres villan, sume his unvillan, sume hi foron on Ispanie & þær gesæton, sume on Affrice.

Among modern scholars who have given the weight of their authority to the word "Gothic," Mr. Schütte mentions, besides G. Hickes in England, in Holland Junius, in Iceland Arngrímr Jónsson, in Sweden Joh. Ihre, in Denmark Rasmus Rask and Niels Matthias Petersen; while Vilhelm Thomsen and Karl Verner also used the term in their earlier books.

On the whole the evidence seems to show that, in old days, if the kindred races had any general term by which they called themselves it was probably "Goth," while "German" was the name given them by outsiders. Modern use has not been unvarying, but German has been most in vogue at any rate during the last generation. Our own view is that this is hardly a question to be decided by an appeal to the historic use of either term. If it were, ought we not rather to consider by what generic name our forefathers called themselves, than what name was given them by the classical writers to whom they were more or less known? Nor to our mind does the modern use of the geographical term, "German Ocean" for "North Sea" carry much weight. The term "Germanic" has, of course, behind it the weight of long prescription, and is of course in very general use, though, as Mr. Schütte shows, "Gothic" has behind it the authority of many eminent scholars. If it is to be superseded by "Gothic," or any other designation, it will be because the word "Germanic" is not found sufficiently comprehensive, or sufficiently neutral, to satisfy all the various kindred folk for whom one all-embracing race-name is required. "Gothic" has at least one advantage, that it is now extinct as a separate national name, and its use cannot therefore give rise to any national jealousy.

Other papers in the budget sent us by Mr. Gudmund Schütte deal with "English as a Source of new Danish Words," "A new Auxiliary Terminology of Science," and "The Irish National Movement." There are also interesting articles on the political geography of the non-classical peoples in ancient times, and on the geography of the Lay of Angantyr, which are the fruit of much careful research, and full of ingenious suggestions.

Among the papers read at the meeting of the British Association in Cambridge in 1904 was one by the Rev. Alfred Hunt on the site of the battle of Brunanburh, which is noticed under our District Reports. Another interesting paper was one by Professor Valdemar Schmidt on "The Latest Discoveries in Prehistoric Science in Denmark." This dealt chiefly with pre-Viking periods, but some account of it may not be altogether out of place. According to a report in *The Times* of August 24th, Professor Schmidt, in the course of his paper, pointed out that the oldest period of the Danish Stone Age, only recently discovered, was earlier in time than the "kitchen-middens" and much anterior to the dolmens, from which the bulk of the well-known Danish flint implements had been derived. In a peat-bog in Western Zeeland, near a small harbour called Mullerey, not far from the Great Belt, were found many objects of stone and wood of a primitive order, evidently from an early part of the

Stone Age. A careful study of these objects and of their position in the bog proved that the prehistoric inhabitants who left or dropped those implements must have been dwellers on rafts in the middle of a lake. It was indeed a "lake-dwelling," but not on piles like the lake-dwellings of Switzerland and Northern Italy, for in this case the dwelling of the early inhabitants floated on the surface of the water. It has also been discovered during the last few years from examination of a large quantity of earthen vessels, or bits of broken pottery, found in the prehistoric tombs and on the sites of old dwellings, what kinds of grain of corn, wheat, and barley were in common use in the different prehistoric periods of Denmark. Again, special study has been devoted lately to the distribution of tumuli in different parts of Denmark. Archæological maps have been made in the last few years of a great part of the country, and all tumuli, all burial and dwelling places, and all localities in which prehistoric implements have been found are marked on these maps. The Director of the Prehistoric Museum of Copenhagen, Dr. Sophus Müller, who has been the leader in this cartography, has recently stated that the tumuli always followed ancient roads through the country, and that lines of tumuli always led towards the fords of the larger rivers, and avoided the swampy ground. It was to be supposed that the people who were buried in the tumuli had dwelt near their graves, and traces of such dwelling-places had been found at some few places. Much of this information has, of course, already been anticipated in the reports of our Scandinavian District Secretaries.

DEATH-ROLL.

Mr. Stephen A. Marshall.

Mr. Stephen Albert Marshall, of Skelwith Fold, Ambleside, who died on February 9th, 1904, was born in 1842, in which year his father, Mr. Henry C. Marshall, was Mayor of Leeds. His mother was a daughter of Lord Monteagle, who, as Mr. Spring Rice, was Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1835-39. After leaving Cambridge Mr. Marshall joined his father at the Holbeck Mills, and remained there until the firm was wound up sixteen or seventeen years ago. He then built his house at Ambleside, became a magistrate for Lancashire, and an active member of the Lancashire County Council. He had been a member of the Viking Club since 1902.

Professor F. York Powell.

The study of old Icelandic literature in this country has suffered a grievous loss by the too-early death of Frederick York Powell, in May, 1904. Devoted to history from his school days and of widely catholic tastes, the old Scandinavian and Icelandic history, as depicted in the Sagas, claimed perhaps his chief affection. His most important work in this direction was, perhaps, that done in conjunction with Dr. Gudbrand

Vigfusson, who warmly acknowledges the invaluable help he gave to the preparation of the important Prolegomena to the "Sturlunga Saga" (Clarendon Press, 1878), and jointly with whom he edited the monumental "Corpus Poeticum Boreale" (Clarendon Press, 1883). He also published alone "The Tale of Thrond of Gate," a translation of the "Færeyinga Saga" (Vol. II. of the Northern Library. David Nutt, 1896). Among lesser contributions to the same study may be mentioned the article on "Icelandic Language, Literature, and History" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," an introduction to Mr. O. Elton's translation of the first nine books of "Saxo Grammaticus" (Folklore Society, 1894), containing an exhaustive analysis of Saga folklore as illustrated in that volume, and an article on "Saga Growth" in *Folklore* of the same year. He was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford in 1894, and at the time of his death was President of the Folklore Society. Although he never gave the Viking Club his support as a member, yet, when the Club was reconstituted on its present lines, he delivered an Inaugural Address on "Some Literary and Historical Aspects of Old Northern Literature" at the opening meeting on January 12th, 1904. It is to be regretted that this address has not been preserved. We are glad to learn that it is proposed to publish through the Clarendon Press a selection of Professor York Powell's contributions to various periodicals and other miscellaneous writings.

Professor Willard Fiske.

By the death of Professor Willard Fiske, at Frankfort, on September 17th, 1904, Iceland loses a staunch friend and Icelandic literature a devoted and generous student. Professor Fiske was born at Ellisburgh in New York State on November 11th, 1831. From his early years he was attracted by the Scandinavian tongues, and besides studying under Professor Rafn at Copenhagen he became for two years a scholar at the University of Upsala. Besides many articles on Iceland and Icelandic subjects he compiled three lists of "Books Printed in Iceland, 1578-1844," as a supplement to the British Museum Catalogue (1886-1890), and at the time of his death a work on "The Game of Chess in the Land and Literature of Iceland" had just been sent to the press. In 1903 he issued "Mímir," a Handbook of Icelandic Institutions and addresses of Icelandic scholars, which was noticed in the Saga-Book, Vol. III., pp. 473-4. He was at one time Librarian at Cornell University, besides holding the Chair of North-European languages there from its foundation in 1868 till his retirement in 1883. His latter years he spent in Italy at Florence. He had been a member of the Viking Club since 1902. His affection for Iceland, which led him to visit the island in 1878 and 1879, survived to the last, and he made various bequests to her in his will. His collections of Petrarch Literature and Icelandic and old Scandinavian History and Literature were left to Cornell Library, but his other books to the Icelandic National Library at Reykjavik, while the National Gallery and Museum at Reykjavik received his twelve best pictures and various antique objects of interest.

Further, he left 12,000 dollars to the Governor General of Iceland, the interest on which is to be applied towards the benefit of the inhabitants of Grimsey, whose isolated lot is vividly sketched in the pages of "Mímir." The bulk of his estate, estimated at some half-million dollars, he left to the Library of Cornell University for the purpose of increasing and providing a librarian for the Dante and Petrarch collections he had bestowed upon the Library; providing a librarian for the Icelandic collection, who must be an Icelander; and publishing an annual volume on Icelandic and Scandinavian matters.

EDWIN SLOPER, F.G.S.

It is with great regret that we have to record the loss of our Excursion Secretary, Mr. Edwin Sloper, who was found dead in bed on February 7th, 1905, while on a visit to Taunton. Death was due to heart disease, Though Mr. Sloper was a comparatively recent member, he had taken such a keen interest in the proceedings of the Club from the time he joined that he will be greatly missed. His loss will be especially felt by his colleagues on the Council, as he was a constant attendant at its meetings, and gave much valued help and advice. He was more especially interested in all that bore upon the period of the Danish invasions of and Danish domination in this country, and his hope that the Viking Club would in course of time find opportunity to visit various sites connected with that period, such as Wareham, bore fruit in the highly successful visit to Cambridge last summer, which owed its success entirely to his energy and organising skill. None who saw him on that occasion or at the equally successful visit to the British Museum last December could imagine that he would be called away so soon. It is a great source of regret to us that he was not spared to write the paper on "The Danish Period in English History," which he was to have read us in March. He had spent much time and trouble on collecting material for it, and, though apparently he had not commenced to write it, his various notes on the subject have been placed at our disposal by his representatives, and it may be possible to make some use of them in a future issue, together with the paper he read at Cambridge last year. Among his other interests he had an intimate knowledge of the history of Somersetshire, having formerly resided at Taunton, and took great interest in the Society of Somerset men in London.

REVIEWS.[1]

THE CELTIC AND SCANDINAVIAN ANTIQUITIES OF SHETLAND. By GILBERT GOUDIE. *Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

THIS book shows how the work of an archæologist and antiquary, usefully and judiciously directed, dealing with miscellaneous subjects as the opportunity and convenience present themselves, in the end results in the production of a comprehensive, co-herent, and trustworthy history of the district of his researches. The author deals with (1) the Pagan Period in the Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages; (2) the Celtic Christian Period; and (3) the Scandinavian Era.

So far as the book is a record of finds and excavations, it calls for no criticism beyond praise for the thorough and scientific manner in which the work has been done.

The literary studies of the Scandinavian Era are particularly instructive, dealing with the mortgage of the Islands by Denmark to Scotland, the maintenance of the local government and laws until 1611, and the transition to Scottish county government. The charter of confirmation of lands in Shetland, granted by the King of Denmark in 1662, and the Treaty of Breda, which declared the imprescribability of the mortgage of the Islands, are very interesting from a legal and international point of view. With regard to the "Country Acts" passed by the Sheriff Courts of Orkney and Shetland after 1611 (p. 236), it should be pointed out that the Scottish Privy Council abolished the *foreign laws* of these Islands in 1611, and at the same time a Royal Proclamation granted a Commission to the Sheriffs and Commissioners in Orkney and Shetland, authorising them amongst other duties

> to make, prescribe, and set down acts, statutes, and ordinances for restraining of the bypast enormities and insolencies within the saidis boundis, and for retaining and keeping of the inhabitants thairof under his Majesty's obedience . and to convocate and assemble the haill inhabitants within the saidis boundis, to concur and assist thame in everything which may forder his Majesty's authority and service . . . and for this effect to fence and hald sheriff and justice-courts.[2]

This is also mentioned in the preamble to the Acts. The "Country Acts" were thus in no way a continuation of the powers of the defunct Lawting, but the outcome of a Royal Commission. It was needful that special by-laws should be framed to regulate local customs upon the abolition of the *foreign laws*. It must also be remembered that Orkney and Shetland, together with Kirkcudbright, were the only complete counties which were stewartries, and the bishopric of Orkney was a regality. Regalities and stewartries possessed exceptional powers, much

[1] Members may obtain the books noticed from the Hon. Librarian, A. W. Johnston, 36, Margaretta Terrace, Chelsea, S.W., who will quote prices.

[2] Peterkin's "Notes on Orkney," App., pp. 63-67.

more extensive than those of an ordinary county. Lords of regality could appoint baillies during pleasure, for life, and heritable. There were heritable bailieries in Orkney.

The author has done valuable work in unearthing the Shetland Rentals, or skatt-rolls, and other papers in the Register House, Edinburgh, and in private Charter Chests.

From the extracts given it can be seen that a careful examination of the originals will enable us to explain many puzzles in the incidence of taxation, and in the butter and cloth currencies in Orkney and Shetland hitherto inexplicable. The earliest Shetland Rental will before long be issued by the Viking Club. At present there is not a single example in print, while Orkney is well represented.

"Stembord," p. 238, occurs in 1576 as "stembirth."[1] It is from old Norse *Stefna* or *Stemna*, a meeting, and *Boð*, a bidding, hence "Stemnu-boð," a summons to a meeting.[2]

The illustration of a *tuskar*, or peat cutter, p. 289, is apparently a Shetland variety, without the usual foot-piece for digging it into the ground.

The reason why the Shetland benefices were vicarages, and only half the corn tithe drawn by the vicars (p. 162), is explained on pp. 179, 180, where it is mentioned that the bishop drew the other half of the corn tithe, and was consequently rector. The tithe of the Shetland benefices formed part of the revenue of the bishopric of Orkney.

The author, p. 296, supports the theory of Hibbert and others regarding the "skat-hald," or Commonty, *i.e.*, common pasture, viz., because the name implies a skat-holding, therefore skat was a tax paid to the Crown for the use of the commonty or skathald by the udal or occupied lands, and not a tax for the support of the government.

King Harald Fairbair of Norway assessed the udal lands of his kingdom with skat, or land tax.[3] Skat was collected by his Earls, who retained one-third for the support of their government, with the exception of the Earl of Orkney and Shetland, who retained the whole of the skat collected in the Islands because they lay so open to war.[4] That skat was in practice treated as a tax solely on land under tillage is further shown by the fact that, under the native government of Orkney in 1500, so long as skat-paying udal lands were *lay*, *i.e.*, laid down in pasture, they were exempt from skat, as were also lands rendered useless by being blown over with sand.[5] The suggestion that the commons were vested in the Crown, and that the latter was entitled to skatt or tribute from the udallers for their use of the commons, is disproved on p. 296, where the immemorial right of udal lands to foreshore and commonty is shown, and this has been consistently

[1] Balfour's "Oppressions in Orkney and Zetland," p. 58 and gloss., s.v. stembod.

[2] Cleasby's Icl. Dict.

[3] Heimskringla Saga Library, vol. iii., p. 96.

[4] *Ib.*, vol. iv., p. 168. Orkneyinga Saga, translated by Hjaltalin and Goudie, p. 2. N.B.—This is the Flateyjarbok text, with the exception of the first four chapters, and half of the fifth, which are apparently taken from St. Olaf's Saga (Heimskringla). The statement that the Earl of Orkney did not pay skat is not found in the Orkney Saga.

[5] Peterkin's Rentals of Orkney, No. 1.

maintained in the law courts. It is recorded as a grievance in 1575 that the Scottish Earl attempted to appropriate the commonty.[1]

An examination of the various skats will show that they were for the support of the government, *e.g.*, *Leanger*, a war contribution; *Forcop*, the Lawman's fee; *Wattle*, board and lodging of the Foud. Mr. Goudie is the first to clear up the true meaning and derivation of *Wattle*, p. 181.

We find in 1576 that *skathald* is explained as being equivalent to skatland, and to parish or inhabited district; "nichtbouris that dwellis within ane scathald."[2] The explanation, therefore, appears to be that in 1576 the term "skathald" applied to an inhabited district of skat-paying udal land, including its exclusive "hagi," or common pasture, and that in recent times the name has become restricted to the hagi or pasture alone. That the modern skathald is the old hagi is proved by the survival of the term *Hog-leave*, or liberty to use another skathald, while riding the marches of a skathald is called *hagri*, or "to ride de hagri."[3]

An examination of the Shetland and Orkney rentals or skatt-rolls shows that the udal lands in Shetland were, for the assessment of skatt, valued at their purchase price (at time of valuation) in pure silver marks, and hence called mark-lands. These mark-lands were again, for letting purposes, at a later date, valued in pennies representing their actual rent, hence the description of mark-lands of from one to twelve pennies. The penny originally was the currency value of a fixed amount of butter and cloth representing the rent. In later times the current market value of the butter and cloth was charged, but the quantity remained the same. In Orkney skatt was assessed on the ounce-land (= 18 penny-lands, probably Anglo-Saxon pennies), which probably was the original weight of silver paid as skatt. For purposes of rent, the ounce-lands and penny-lands were valued at their purchase price in pure silver marks, the same valuation as that upon which Shetland skatt was assessed.

The whole scope of the work, comprehending almost everything that can be said about Shetland, is such that no one who takes the slightest interest in the Islands can possibly get along without the book, while it will prove invaluable and indispensable to the student of Northern antiquities.

It is not generally known that Mr. Goudie is solely responsible for the publication of the translation of the Orkneyinga Saga, which was edited with an introduction by Dr. Joseph Anderson, and translated by Mr. Jón A. Hjaltalin and Mr. Goudie from Jonæus' Edition of the Flateyjarbok text.

A. W. J.

1 Balfour's "Oppressions," p. 6. Proceds., S. A. Scot, April, 1883, p. 257.

2 Balfour's "Oppressions," pp. 46, 47, 49, 88. Skathald is probably derived from Norse *Skatt*, and *Hald*, a holding, *i.e.*, a holding paying skat, *cf.* Norwegian "Skatte-gaard," a farm liable to pay tax. It is explained, in the glossary to Balfour's "Oppressions," as a district containing several tuns or rooms, with an exclusive hagi, and a share in the moar of the herad.

3 Jakobsen's Shetland Dialect, 1897, pp. 108, 109. See also English Dialect Dict. for other references.

VIKINGERNE. Billeder fra vore Forfædres Liv. Af ALEXANDER BUGGE. *Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendalske Boghandel; Kristiania: Nordisk Forlag.*

IN this charmingly written book Professor A. Bugge has undertaken to exhibit, as it were, eight pictures or illustrations of the life of the ancient Vikings, in as many chapters. These chapters deal respectively with (1) the Northern nations in their first appearance on the scene; (2) Woman in the Viking age; (3) Childhood and old age; (4) Life in a Viking settlement. Norwegians and Danes in Ireland; (5) Viking-time memorials from the Isle of Man; (6) The focuses of culture in ancient times; (7) The culture of the Viking age; (8) View of life and state of civilization during the transition from the Viking times to the Middle Ages.

Each illustration presents itself in the form of a sketch, rather than a finished picture, for the execution of which the materials at hand are insufficient, and frequently of doubtful import and value. As the Professor's object is to present illustrations of a by-gone time, it follows that he refrains from subjecting to any elaborate, critical scrutiny the historical or philological materials he makes use of. But his treatment of them is generally so clear and lucid that the reader feels thankful for being spared the trouble of following the zigzaggy road of argumentative criticism, and allowed the treat of enjoying without a hitch the Professor's picture gallery, set forth as it is in a style which is at once noble, elevated and animated by poetical enthusiasm. Professor Bugge's natural descriptions of Ireland, Scotland, the Isle of Man, and Seeland in Denmark, made with a view to showing the determinant influence that beautiful natural environment is calculated to exercise upon the life of man, are striking illustrations of the attractive qualities we notice in his manner of writing.

One quality about this book—a quality we heartily welcome—is the ungrudging and what we consider the just meed of appreciation bestowed on the Danes of old as a people of culture. The Professor's language may, perhaps, to some seem hyperbolic, but in substance we must regard it as warranted both by *Beowulf* and every other tradition relating to ancient Denmark. It is not always that we see Norwegian historians so utterly exempt from bias in relation to Denmark as Professor Bugge proves himself to be. Of Sweden, as the home of centres of primitive culture, Professor Bugge is equally justly appreciative.

But when he declares:—"Denmark and Sweden possess, what Norway has not, places and tracts which, right from the earliest times have been, and for ever will continue to be, the spiritual 'focus' (Midtpunkt) of 'their' land, as even they still are the 'centre' of the state and the political life" (translation literal)—we are inclined to dispute the point. True, Stockholm lies in the same tract as did the centre of primitive culture among the "Svíar," the island and city of "Birka"; Copenhagen lies on the eastern coast of the same island in which was situated, in the morning of time, the famed palace of "Heorot," as well as that of "Hleiðr." But we are strongly inclined to think that the influence of the imperious *Hansa* has a good deal more to do with these two centres of state and political life in the North than any traditional

descent from the primitive centres. Of course, with Upsala the case is different.

As to Norway, we are not quite prepared to assent to the assertion that it had no centres of culture of old. What about the temple of Mærin up at the head of the bay of Thrandheim? It seems to have been from of old the central temple for all the eight ancient kingdoms of Thrandheim. As late as Olaf Tryggvison's days it seems to have still preserved a sacerdotal constitution on the ancient duodecimal arrangement of Asgarth. Only on that assumption does it become clear how radically correct, from his own point of view, was Olaf Tryggvison's threat to put to death *twelve* of the "most excellent" men of Thrandheim, when the question of destroying the Mærin cult had become a burning one. A great centre of any cult is always a centre of culture. Moreover, we have the magnate Ölvir of Eggja's word for it, that the Mærin "was a great capital, the houses large, and a great settlement of dwellings all round." It was probably owing to its out-of-the-way geographical position that neither Harald Fairhair nor any other of the pagan rulers of Norway established their residence there. The resistance this temple organisation offered to Haken the Good and the two Olaves bears witness to its traditional solidity.

Again, what about the "Holyland" of Halogaland, where shipping and nautical art stood higher than in any other part of Norway, a country from where the type of dragon-ship was introduced into Southern Norway,[1] a country where the art of beating or tacking the wind seems to have been first mastered in the North; for that must be the real meaning of the often repeated statement that Halogalanders had wind at will as soon as they hoisted sail on board? What does it mean that the people of this country were the greatest wizards of the North? It means, of course, that in certain matters they were in possession of knowledge of and intuition into certain secrets of nature which to heathen ignorance appeared miraculous, to Christian prejudice diabolic. We are inclined to think that that gold mine, the fishery of Lofoten, may have been the means of putting Halogaland in commercial relationship with the outer world at an exceedingly early age, though we cannot enter upon any argumentative justification of our opinion on that matter. Even the name Bjarkey, the Emporium-island, bears witness to that island having been, at a very remote period, a commercial centre in Halogaland. Other centres of culture, for some time at least, might be mentioned, such as Skíringsalr, Túnsberg, and perhaps others. But it is true, Norway never had one central station for the national culture as had Denmark and Sweden, because to no locality specially had from time immemorial been linked the traditions of any native family which had succeeded in imposing its authority upon the whole people. The family that ultimately so succeeded was, after all, a foreign one which, strange to say, never found a fixed abode in Norway; Hlaðir, Niðarós, Björgvin, Sarpsborg, Konungahella, Oslo, all served in turn as temporary centres of what culture there allied itself to the race of Harald Lúfa, up to, and some time beyond, the end of the Viking-age.

[1] See "Shipbuilding and Nautical Terms of Old in the North," p. 227.

Carping critics will, no doubt, find fault with Professor Bugge for taking for granted what, as yet, is a *res sub judice*, namely, the *Western*, notably the *Celtic*, influence on Northern culture. But on that subject the last word has not yet been spoken, and we can afford to await further developments.

Ei. M.

La Saga de Fridthjof le Fort: traduite de l'ancien Islandais. Par Félix Wagner, Docteur en philologie Germanique. *Louvain: Charles Peeters.*

In this translation, with its introductory matter and notes, the author's "aim has been to raise in some sort a corner of the veil which still hides from the French public the manifestations of that intense life revealed by the literary monuments of ancient Iceland." "Fridthjof's Saga" (says Dr. Wagner) has enjoyed an exceptional popularity, increased by the poem founded upon it by Bishop Tegnér (1825). But Tegnér's Fridthjof is no longer the Fridthjof of the old time. For the true Fridthjof we must read the old Saga.

Was there a true Fridthjof? Dr. Wagner answers affirmatively. Though the story is "thoroughly and purely poetic," he thinks it built in large measure on real facts. And any way, there remains undiminished "the literary and æsthetic value of the Saga as a picture of ideas, manners, and life in the North a thousand years ago."

Fridthjof lived (Dr. Wagner concludes) about the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. The Saga received its present form not later than the middle of the thirteenth century. But the strophes, or verses, in it are earlier; they are quite unlike the productions of the Court skalds, which a profusion of metaphors and tropes, enigmatical figures, obscurity, *kennings* without taste or poetry, have rendered a gibberish (*galimatias*) unreadable and unintelligible. The "Fridthjof Saga" verses are in simple, strong, clear, natural language: and in metre like the oldest Icelandic verse (*fornyrðislag*).

Dr. Wagner is of opinion that many of the primitive Sagas, especially those mythological and heroic, passed through three successive phases of development and transformation: old popular poetry, the dissolution of that into prose, and the decomposition of this prose again into rhymes. Thus many appear as a paraphrase of old songs, with some parts of the old songs repeated textually, and intercalated in some episodes. In this "Fridthjof Saga" the verses are an integral part of the narrative; could not be spared. *E.g.*, in the chapter about the storm about half is verse, and you could not omit it without spoiling the whole. Dr. Wagner claims for the Saga "unity of action, clear narrative, without interruption or digression, simple, clear, natural, energetic style."

On a French translation of Icelandic it is hard for an Englishman to pass judgment: only Frenchmen can know what is to their taste. But to me the translation appears good, clear, readable.

The notes are very good and very full. One might perhaps say fuller than are needed for the understanding of the story, or for the instruction

of those who, whether from originals or translations, possess a fair knowledge of Norse literature. But our translator tells us that for the great mass of French readers the old civilization of the North is still a *terra incognita*. They will find in Dr. Wagner an excellent guide.

W. C. G.

UDAL LAW IN THE ORKNEYS AND ZETLAND (Green's "Encyclopædia of the Law of Scotland"). By W. P. DREVER, Solicitor, Kirkwall. Reprint. *Edinburgh: William Green & Sons*, 1900.

UDAL LAW AND THE FORESHORE (*The Juridical Review*, June, 1904). By W. P. DREVER, Solicitor, Kirkwall. Reprint. *Edinburgh and London: William Green & Sons.*

THESE articles form the first genuine contributions to a study of the Law and Government of Orkney and Shetland.

It is to be sincerely hoped that the author will follow up the subject, and compile a complete history and digest. For this purpose there is a vast mass of most interesting and fascinating material available and waiting to be unearthed. All authorities on the subject must be carefully tested, and rejected where proof is wanting: *e.g.*, Balfour's assertion, for which no authority is quoted ('Oppressions," xxviii.) that the *jus comitatus*, conveyed to the Crown of Scotland in 1471, included the landskyld or rent of "certain quoys and other lands added by odallers to their holdings, but not by odal-raed." On reference to the Earldom Rental of 1500 (Peterkin's "Rentals," No. 1), the oldest one extant, which enumerates the Earldom lands of 1471, it will be found that udal quoys paid no rent to the Earl, and that only those quoys paid rent to the Earl which belonged to, or had been purchased by, him.

Böl (Isl., misfortune), cited by Balfour, should read *ból*, used for a house in Norway, but in Orkney and Iceland meaning a pen for cattle. The correct word is *Bú*, as used in the Orkneyinga Saga for the Earl's house, and as maintained by constant local pronunciation to the present day. The *bishopric* also included the skatts of churchlands, and of some of the Earldom and udal lands. It should also be noted that the Bishopric [*i.e.*, the landed estate] in 1490, and again in 1612, was erected into a Regality with separate courts and judges of its own The Orkney and Shetland parliaments and laws, which were confirmed by the Scottish Parliament, were finally abolished (illegally it may be) in 1611, by Act of Secret Council, and the Islands then brought under the Common Law of Scotland.

The so-called Lawting or Country Acts of Orkney and Shetland, which were enacted by the local Sheriff and Justice Courts, 1611 *et seq.*, were merely by-laws for carrying the Scottish Law into effect, and for regulating the surviving native, or consuetudinary law, and were passed in accordance with a Royal Commission issued in 1611.

Cess, or landtax, was first exacted from Orkney and Shetland in 1597 (not 1667), in common with the other Crown lands throughout Scotland. It was levied on the native valuation of *pennyland* in Orkney, and *markland*

in Shetland. A temporary valuation of Orkney and Shetland was made in 1649 (*Act Parl.*), at £90,980, so that landtax might be levied on the Islands at the same rate as on the Scottish Counties. One-third of this was by custom apportioned to Shetland. The Orkney valuation was completed in 1653, but that of Shetland was never made, and landtax continued to be levied on the *markland*.[1]

The first petition to exempt the Islands from taxation was made by the udallers in 1633, and another in 1639 (*Act Parl.*). It was

> cravit be the uddallers of Orkney and Zetland quha hes thir mony ages conforme to the Dens law possesst thair land for payment of scatt and teind that no man be interponit betwixt his Majesty and thame to molest thame, but that they remain his Majesty's immediate vassals for payment of scatt and other dewties conforme to thair rentalls ay and quhill his Majestie conforme thair richts to the lawes of this Kingdom.

The relations between the insular courts and those of Norway, which continued after the transference of the Islands to Scotland, should be dealt with. So late as 1662 the King of Denmark granted a charter of confirmation of the sale of lands in Shetland.

Mr. Drever's articles will be indispensable to the local lawyer and antiquary, and consequently it is important that they should be issued as a separate work, treating the whole subject fully, a task for which he is eminently qualified.

A. W. J.

ENGLISH MEDICINE IN ANGLO-SAXON TIMES. By DR. JOSEPH FREDERICK PAYNE. (The Fitzpatrick Lectures for 1903.) *Clarendon Press*, 8*s*. 6*d*. *net*.

That the first lectures of a series intended to further the study of the history of medicine should have been devoted to the discussion of the medical writings of our own forefathers is a matter of entire congratulation. As Dr. Payne himself says, the early knowledge existing in our own land has been too entirely neglected, and it will come as a surprise to most of us to learn from him that, after the classic Greek and Latin works on medicine, the earliest treatise on the great science known to exist is actually English, and written in the vernacular, antedating by a century the better known work of Petrocellus of Salerno. The subject itself, with its intimate bearing on folk-life and lore, has lost none of its interest in the hands of Dr. Payne, whose contributions to the study of past and surviving medical superstitions are already well known. The lectures, as we have them here, are a model of most suggestive condensation, and, but for considerations of space, one would like to quote the author's view of the right method of study of the work of our early writers, which is, perhaps, the best ever set into words.

Unfortunately the material at Dr. Payne's disposal has been very limited, not more than a score of MSS. remaining, though these hold

[1] Peterkin's "Notes," app., p. 89; *Acts Parl.*, 1597. Peterkin's "Rentals,' No. 2, p. 150. "Records of the Sheriff Court of Orkney," vol. i, folio 156, quoted in Peterkin's "Notes," p. 150, footnote. Country Acts, 1623, see Barry's "Hist," 1867, p. 420.

internal evidence of the existence of still more. What the author has collated and illustrated with immense pains prove at least that the leeches of the period, whether clerical or lay, had an intense longing for further knowledge, and that in actual practise they were in no way behind the practitioners of mediæval Norman date, if not, in some respects, in advance of them. Probably owing to the almost necessarily monkish origin of the few MSS. we have, there are but one or two of the many charms given here which refer to heathen tradition, except indirectly as needing countervailing Christian spells. Nor do we meet with any Runic formulæ, though these were in use, on Gibson's authority, so late as the seventeenth century, at least, in the northern counties. As one might expect, a great number of herbal receipts and charms are given, some good facsimile illustrations accompanying them. But of the surgery of the time Dr. Payne confesses he can say little. He has no material on which to work, and the subject must of necessity be left for future elucidation. It is probable that, from the first, surgical practice has been a matter of family tradition, as it still is in the popular cult of the "bone-setter" in most cases; but Dr. Payne may yet find a likely field of research in the Sagas for the rough wartime surgery of our forefathers. His treatment of the vexed question of the "miracles" of healing, to be found in the pages of Bede, is most careful, and deserves full recognition, if only as an independent testimony to the value of the work of the ancient writer.

C. W. W.

SINGOALLA. A Mediæval Legend. By VIKTOR RYDBERG. Translated from the Swedish by JOSEF FREDBÄRJ. *London and Newcastle-on Tyne: the Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd.*

THIS is the first translation into English of a novel by the great Swedish writer Viktor Rydberg, better known, perhaps, in England through his studies in mythology, history, etc., than as a novelist. Yet he was a great novelist, and a poet besides, and "Singoalla" has already been translated into most of the languages of continental Europe. The translation before us is preceded by a useful note, giving an outline, very condensed, of Swedish literature and a sketch of Rydberg and his career, in which the writer sums up the novel so vividly that we cannot do better than quote his words:—

> Singoalla is a novel occupying quite a pre-eminent place among Rydberg's prose writings. In it his romanticism is still strikingly in the foreground, and strangely tinctured with that fantastic, pantheistical philosophy which was so much a part and parcel of Rydberg. The period of the book is the Middle Ages—that slowly awakening epoch when Europe tardily revived from the black night of Roman madness to the faint dawn of Western sweetness and light; and all the peculiar mysticism and picturesqueness distinguishing that time pervade the book. Against such a background the splendid dramatis personæ of the story stand out in wondrously real fashion and with vivid effect.

The old mythology plays no actual part in the story, but its shadow looms darkly in the distant past, and falls threateningly across the path of

the hero and his race. At the epoch of the story the heathen days were still too near to be regarded with aught but dread and aversion. The main incident of the tale reproduces, perhaps unconsciously on the author's part, the story of Sigurd turned unwittingly from his troth to Brynhild to the love of Gudrun, and the result is scarcely less tragic, though worked out on lines widely different. The heroine, the gipsy girl Singoalla, is a noble and pathetic figure, and skilfully contrasted with the young Swedish knight whose love for her was brought by inexorable fate to such a hapless end.

A. F. M.

TRACES OF THE NORSE MYTHOLOGY IN THE ISLE OF MAN. By P. M. C. KERMODE, F.S.A.Scot. *London: Bemrose & Sons.* 2s. 6d.

THIS is an interesting and suggestive little work, divided into two parts of unequal merit, Mythology and Illustrations. In the first part Mr. Kermode gives a hasty sketch of some of the leading ideas in the Norse Mythology, and points to various features in the folklore of the Isle of Man which he thinks may be derived from the ancient beliefs. In the second part he suggests mythological interpretations for various scenes and figures sculptured on crosses in the Isle of Man, and illustrated in this work, which appeared originally as a paper read before the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society at Ramsey, on December 18th, 1903. The sketch of the mythology is uncritical, and of course incomplete, the author naturally confining himself mainly to points for which he could suggest folklore illustrations. The spelling of the names is erratic and the quotations from the Icelandic very incorrectly given. Mr. Kermode adopts without hesitation the favourite idea of the editors of "Corpus Poeticum Boreale" of a special Viking religion, due to contact with Celtic and Christian ideas, which has become familiar to us from literary remains, though it was never the religion of the people. Yet with no apparent sense of inconsistency, he at once goes on to point out that the myths and legends, which we only know from these literary remains, had such a hold on the people that we find them sculptured on Christian monuments, and can trace them in customs and sayings down to our own day. The folklore parallels are interesting, but not, we think, peculiar to the Isle of Man, and the connection with the mythology seems sometimes no more than a guess. For example, the author instances ginger-bread figures used at fairs of a man, a woman, man and woman conjoined, a horse, and a man on horseback as probably representing Thor, Frigga, Odin and Frigga, and Odin and Sleipnir, while a cock which also appears may, he thinks, represent either Gullin-kambi, the cock of Valhalla, or Heimdall rousing the gods. These suggestions may be sound, but are unsupported by any evidence, except the analogy of the use in Sweden at Yule-tide of cakes in the form of Frey's boar. This is hardly sufficient ground for the identification of such varied figures, which might have originated in many ways. We should like to know also Mr. Kermode's authority for saying that the images of the gods in Friðthjof's Saga were

similar *baked* images. We cannot find this in the Saga. The Illustrations from the monuments are very valuable, and we may perhaps call this part of Mr. Kermode's paper a supplement to, and development of, his "Illustrations of the Sagas from Manks Monuments" in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. I., pp. 350-369. In deciphering the monuments he is an acknowledged authority, and his suggested interpretations show much thought and study, even if, in some cases, we hesitate to accept them unreservedly. For instance, he now suggests that the bird-headed man with a pole over his shoulder, to which another figure is hanging, referred to in the paper quoted, pp. 357 and 361, may represent Odin, one of whose names was Arnarhöfði, Eagle-headed, carrying to Valhalla a victim hanged in sacrifice to him. The suggestion is ingenious, but we are not convinced that the explanation is sound, though it apparently has the support of Professor Sophus Bugge, and we are not prepared to suggest another explanation. We may, however, point out that these figures may not impossibly refer in some cases to myths or legends which are lost, and the attempt to link them to surviving literary remains may easily be overdone. The endeavour to identify an isolated figure, rudely sculptured, with a particular character or incident in the mythology, must be attended with doubt, and, in many cases, we are inclined to regard the suggestions made in these pages more as intelligent guesses than as authoritative readings. The size of the plates, moreover, renders it difficult in many cases to decipher the figures, or to judge how far it is safe to criticise the author's views. In any case his work undoubtedly deserves the careful consideration of all who are interested in the subject.

A. F. M.

KING WILLIAM THE WANDERER, AN OLD BRITISH SAGA FROM OLD FRENCH VERSIONS. By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A. *London: S. C. Brown Langham & Co., Ltd.*

AN outline of this story is given by Mr. Collingwood in his paper on pp. 171-181 of this number, in which he gives a full account of the sources from which he got it, and its probable date and origin. The paper, in fact, is practically an introduction to, and commentary on, the volume before us. The skill and acuteness with which Mr. Collingwood has seized upon the very slight evidence contained in the story as to its antecedents are a remarkable testimony to his thorough knowledge of the literature and history of the period. He tells us in his paper that his purpose in the book was to tell the old romance in a readable way. In this he has certainly succeeded, and we may add that he has not in way overstated the remarkable qualities of the original as a novel of almost modern type. As he has pointed out, the incidents of the story are drawn from many quarters. To the sources which he has given, already sufficiently complicated, we would add that the incident of the eagle carrying off the purse of money, which is restored to the loser many years after, may be paralleled from the "Thousand Nights and a Night," where it occurs in the History of Cogia Hassan Alhabbal.

A. F. M.

THE NIBELUNGENLIED AND GUDRUN IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA. By FRANCIS E. SANDBACH, B.A., Ph.D. *London: David Nutt.*

THE author, in his preface to this work, mentions that the University of Cambridge has awarded him a Certificate of Research for it, an honour which was certainly thoroughly well deserved. It is a model of painstaking and well-ordered bibliography, with abstracts of the works cited and outlines of the history of the subjects and the broad results arrived at. Each section of the work begins with an introductory sketch of the subject, and lists of all the important editions of the poems, followed by an account of the various English translations and versions, whether in verse or prose, a list of reprints of the Old German Texts, and an account of the various essays and articles dealing with the subject which have been published. Finally, the author traces the influence of the two works on English Literature in Anglo-Saxon, Middle and Modern English. He includes a brief sketch of the various opinions advanced as to the origin of the stories, but a critical examination of this problem lies outside the scope of his work. To our mind, however, as regards the Nibelungenlied, he hardly does justice to the Norse forms of the story, and the evidence there is that they have preserved it in a much purer form than the German. The comparison of the Siegfried myth with the Norse god-myths on p. 28, especially of "Siegfried's fight with the dragon with the killing of the Midgard snake by Thor" suggests that the author's knowledge of the Norse mythology is not equal to his wide acquaintance with German myth and legend. These are points, however, which do not detract from the general excellence of his work, though naturally we cannot but look on them as blemishes. The relationship between the Norse forms of the legend and those which appear to have existed among the Anglo-Saxons is obscure. It was, however, as far as we can judge, much closer than that of either to the German versions which have come down to us. In this connection we notice one important omission from Mr. Sandbach's work, the only one we have observed. Mr. D. H. Haigh, in "The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons" and "The Anglo-Saxon Sagas," *London*, 1861, endeavours to show from the evidence of place-names that the most important characters of the story of the Volsungs and the Niblungs dwelt in England. His theory is ingeniously worked out and, though it has never, as far as we know, been even recognised by scholars, his works deserve a place in a bibliography so complete as Mr. Sandbach's. In connection with Wade (Wate) in the "Gudrun," the author points out that, in Middle English literature, Wade seems to have been the centre of an independent tradition representing him as a sea-giant, of which little is known. In the Vilkina Saga, Wade appears in the same character, and is the father of Wayland (Vølundr). His story is given there in a late and, no doubt, very corrupt form. It is unfortunate we have not the English version to compare with it. One curious misprint we have observed on p. 114. Immediately after a mention of the erroneous identification of Brunhild's country (Isenland) with Iceland in a work published in America, Ibsen's drama "The Warriors of Helgeland" appears as "The Warriors of Heligoland." Possibly the error is only copied from the work quoted.

A. F. M.

LEWIS EVANS HIS MAP OF THE MIDDLE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA. A Comparative Account of the Different Editions published between 1755 and 1807. By HENRY N. STEVENS. *London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles.*

THE scope of this work, which will be of special interest to students of American cartography and invaluable to collectors, is sufficiently indicated by the title. The author, as the result of his careful researches, traces the bibliographical history of Evan's Map between the dates mentioned in ten distinct and separate states, two issues of the original plate, and eight piratical copies. He thinks it probable that other states or reprints are in existence, which have not come under his notice.

A. F. M.

ANGLER'S GUIDE FOR THE SHETLANDS. *Lerwick: John Tait & Co.* Cloth, 1s. 6*d*.; paper boards, 1s.

THIS useful work gives the principal angling centres in Shetland; hotels, inns and lodgings; distances from Lerwick by road; close times for salmon and sea trout; angling outfit for Shetland waters; artificial baits and flies and natural baits to use; sea trout fishing in fresh water, tidal or salt water; loch, burn and sea fishing, etc.

A. W. J.

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NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The present issue of the Saga-Book will complete Vol. IV., except for the Index, &c., which will be issued, if possible, with the next number.

Members are reminded that, although it has been the custom to date the Saga-Book in January of each year, as containing the Proceedings for the preceding twelve months, much of the matter to be printed is not in hand till after the close of the year, and its preparation for the press requires much care and labour. The Council, therefore, cannot undertake to place the Saga-Book in the hands of members before about the middle of the year.

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Owing to the great pressure on our space we are reluctantly compelled to hold back the reports received for last year from the under-mentioned Hon. District Secretaries:—

England:

East Anglia: Rev. W. C. Green.

Somersetshire: Rev. C. W. Whistler.

Iceland; Dr. Jón Stefansson.

Norway: Haakon Schetelig.

Our best thanks are due to the above-named for the assistance they have given us in the important work of local collection, the results of which are likely to prove in the future a valuable part of the records of the Club.

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

THIRTEENTH SESSION, 1905.

MEETING, JANUARY 20TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

THE President gave his Presidential address for the year 1904-5. After commenting on the large increase in membership during the year and expressing his hope that still further efforts in this direction would be made in the general interest of the Club, he referred to the changes made in the rule under which subscriptions could be compounded for, of which several annual members had already taken alvantage, showing that the alteration was likely to be beneficial to members individually as well as to the Club in general.

After deploring various losses sustained by the Club, especially the death of Professor J. Willard Fiske, he proceeded as follows:—

"The meetings at which we have had papers read have been well attended, and the nature of the communications made to us have been such as any society might well be proud of. Both in intrinsic merit and interest they take a high place, as will be fully appreciated when our volume for the year is in the hands of members. Besides the regular evening meetings we have had two additional meetings, the visits to Cambridge and to the British Museum, each of great interest. Our best thanks are due to the Cambridge Archæological Society for their hospitality towards us on the former occasion, as well as to Mr. Edwin Sloper for the pains he took in so successfully organizing these meetings.

"On the last occasion that I addressed you from this chair I devoted my remarks almost entirely to the sub-

ject of Research, for the benefit of those who had the time and opportunity, as well as the desire to make themselves useful to the Club by engaging in scientific work, as I felt that they, especially the younger members, had a special claim upon me as their President to give them some directions and guidance.

"I am not going to take up your time and attention this evening in listening to me, while I discuss some scientific subject in which perhaps only a few of my audience may be interested, but propose to devote the time at my disposal to some matters connected with the Club itself, and to giving those who are present and who have not had the opportunity of visiting the most northern county of the United Kingdom,—with which this Club is so intimately connected, and over which Scandinavian influence was paramount for a considerably longer period and to a later date than elsewhere in His Britannic Majesty's dominions,—some idea of its physical aspects and of other features of interest it possesses, as far as the photographic slides at my disposal can convey such information. Those who are already acquainted with the county will, I hope, bear with me while I recount information with which they are already familiar, and I would ask them to endeavour to make the slides, as they are thrown on the screen, bring back to their minds pleasant recollections of the occasions on which they have visited the places shown. Such a plan will, I hope, be more in consonance with the social features of the meeting this evening than a formal address."

A series of lantern slides, illustrating the scenery of Orkney and the life of the people, were then shown and described by the President.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 17TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

Professor J. Wight Duff, M.A., read a paper on "Homer and Beowulf" which is printed on pages 382-406.

MEETING, MARCH 17TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

The following papers were read:—

"Old Icelandic Churches," by Mrs. Disney Leith.

"A Visit to the Danework," by H. A. Kjær, M.A., Hon. District Secretary for Denmark.

"The Ship Find in Norway," by Albany F. Major, Hon. Editor.

The first two papers are printed on pages 364-381 and 312-325. The third paper covered to a great extent the same ground as the District Report from Norway, contributed by Mr. Haakon Schetelig to the last number of the SAGA-BOOK (pages 54-66 of the present volume); but the following particulars may be added. Some of these details the author of the paper has obtained from articles and reports of lectures by Professor Gabriel Gustafson, Hon. Life Member, and from information kindly given him by the learned Professor, while others are the result of his personal observation.

"Oseberg, where the ship was found, is in the parish of Slagen, about five miles N.E. of Tonsberg. The district is part of the old kingdom of Westfold, one of the most important and populous of the kingdoms into which Norway was divided in the days of the petty kings. Westfold was in fact the nucleus of the later kingdom of Norway. This district is very rich in antiquarian remains, and it is noteworthy that Gokstad, where the only other ship-burial that in any way rivals the present find was discovered, lies only some fifteen English miles from the site of the present find. A striking feature of the discovery was the depth at which the ship lay buried. When the excavation was complete she appeared to be lying at the bottom of a deep dock. The illustrations to Mr. Schetelig's District Report from Norway for last year (see pages 57-62 of the present volume) give some idea of this. Mr. Schetelig, in his report (page 56), states that the grave was in a natural recess of the clay soil. In

view of this and of the amount of water which impeded the work of excavation it would seem not unlikely that the spot chosen was originally the site of a small pool of water, which was partially drained off and filled up at the burial. During the preliminary investigations in 1903 a few objects of interest were found, among them being a beech-wood baler, the oaken cover of some vessel, which was carved with an interlaced pattern, and some spades, these latter being of the same pattern as some found with the Gokstad ship. There was also found a mass of greyish-white substance, which on examination was found to be down, closely pressed together, as if it had been in a cushion. Some of this was taken up on a piece of board on which it had been lying, and it was subsequently found that the wood beneath it bore the impression of an embroidered or woven pattern, no doubt from the perished cover of the cushion. Another remarkable find was a big wooden bucket, lying under some of the fallen roof-planks, which had squeezed it quite flat. The outside of it was covered with bands of bronze in various open-work patterns, the interstices being decorated with bands of iron, covered with white metal, tin or silver. On the upper lip of the bucket were four rings of the same metal. Inside it there were found in a little hollow between the flattened staves a small wooden scoop and some crab-apples. This splendid vessel had evidently been used to hold ale or mead at banquets in the olden time. As pointed out by Mr. Schetelig in his report last year, the contents of the grave were wonderfully well preserved. The remains of horses and other animals buried in the mound had undergone, indeed, so little decay that the task of disinterring them was a very unpleasant one, and in the horses' stomachs the grass they had eaten immediately before being sacrificed could still be distinguished. Wooden objects, when first found, were very soft from the water with which they were sodden, but they soon hardened when exposed to the air, and some of the oars in the

ship look almost new, and are in such good condition that they could be used to-day. One chest in the grave-chamber was found unbroken. This was bound with iron, and contained various beautiful objects, mostly for feminine work, such as a distaff, with the thread still on it, a batlet for beating clothes (as still used in Norway, Iceland, and elsewhere), a milk-pail, a lamp, etc. There were also found in the chamber remains of fabrics with inwoven figures. Outside in the ship there were, besides many kitchen utensils, a magnificent waggon, decorated with carved human heads, four sledges, beautifully carved with animals' heads and partly painted, a spinning wheel, a loom, with part of the woven web still remaining, several beds, etc. The ship's gear included a landing-plank, furnished with cross-ribs, closely resembling that found in the Gokstad ship. The ship itself is clinker-built, and a little smaller than the Gokstad ship, being about 21.7 meters long and now about 6.5 meters broad. The original breadth was probably not more than 5 meters, the difference being due to the bulging out of the sides under the pressure of the overlying stones and mound. She was pierced for fourteen oars a-side, as against sixteen in the case of the Gokstad ship. The oar-holes are in the top strake of the planking, whereas in the other vessel they are in the third strake from the top. The shutters, provided in the Gokstad ship to close the oar-holes when the oars were not in use, are likewise absent from the present vessel, and her sides are not so high above the water-line. From these indications it is assumed that the Slagen ship was intended chiefly for rowing and for use on the smooth waters of the Christiania and Tonsberg fiords. Moreover, both stem and stern posts are elaborately carved with a dragonesque pattern for a length of about 3 meters, and the ship carried no shields along her gunwales. It is, therefore, probable that she was not an actual Viking, or war, ship, but rather a pleasure yacht or state barge, belonging, if it was indeed her owner who was buried

in her, to a lady of high rank, perhaps to the wife of a king of Westfold in the days before Norway was united under the rule of Harald Fairhair. The period of the burial, however, has yet to be determined, if indeed it be possible to arrive at it even approximately.[1] In any case the find is remarkable for the great variety of articles discovered and the rich and finished style in which they are ornamented. As an instance of the degree of refinement to which the decoration is carried, it may be mentioned that on one of the sledges even the step for the driver to stand on was adorned with open-work carving. The find is certainly a further proof, if proof be needed, that in late heathen times, when such a ship-burial was still possible, the Norwegians had attained to a pitch of culture and civilization at home at least equal to that prevailing on the continent of Europe and in these islands at the same period, a fact too often overlooked by writers who judge the "Vikings" solely by the character given them by the chroniclers of the lands they ravaged in warfare.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 14TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House on Friday, April 14th, 1905, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year were presented to the meeting and were adopted unanimously, and are printed on pages 284-289. The officers of the Club for the ensuing year were also elected.

On the motion of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, President elect, seconded by Mr. A. W. Johnston, Chairman of the Council, the following address of congratulation to

[1] I have just been informed by Professor Gustafson that he is inclined to place the date in the first half of the ninth century, but the examination of the find is as yet by no means complete, and he cannot commit himself to any definite opinion on the point.—ED., February, 1906.

their Royal Highnesses Princess Margaret of Connaught and Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden and Norway on their approaching marriage was adopted and ordered to be sent:—

"May 29th, 1905.

"To Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret Victoria Augusta of Connaught:

"May it please your Royal Highness to accept from the Viking Club, a Society including, amongst others, Scandinavians and the descendants of Scandinavians who settled in the British Isles in bygone ages, this expression of the delight with which they heard of the betrothal of your Royal Highness to his Royal Highness Prince Oscar Frederick William Olaf Gustaf Adolf of Sweden and Norway. The members of the Viking Club unfeignedly trust that your marriage may be for the welfare and happiness of yourself and the Royal Prince who is to be your husband, and will form a powerful link in the chains of friendship and kinship which unite the people of your native land with those of the countries over which we trust you may one day reign. They further congratulate the people of Sweden and Norway on the fact that in your Royal Highness they will have for their future Queen a Princess sprung from an ancient and royal line in whose veins, according to the traditions of their race, the blood of Odin flows.

"That your Royal Highness may attain life-long happiness is the earnest prayer of

"Your Royal Highness's most humble servants,

"The Members of the Viking Club.

"Amy Leslie, Hon. Secretary,
"103, Park Street,
"Grosvenor Square, W."

Dr. Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D., then read a paper on "The Oldest Known List of Scandinavian Names," which is printed on pages 294-311.

Mrs. H. W. Bannon exhibited a unique copy of the Icelandic Bible of 1584, which was described by Dr. Stefánsson, who also gave an account of the translator, Bishop Gudbrand Thorlaksson, to whom this copy had

probably belonged, as many of the manuscript notes in it appeared to be those of the translator himself. A vote of thanks was given to Mrs. Bannon for allowing the Club to see this interesting relic.

Dr. J. G. Garson, the retiring President, then vacated the chair in favour of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, President elect, and the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks accorded by acclamation to Dr. Garson, on the motion of the new President.

The Hon. Secretary, Miss A. Leslie, has since received the following reply to the address sent to Princess Margaret of Connaught on behalf of the members of the Club:—

"Clarence House,
"St. James's, S.W.,
"May 30th.

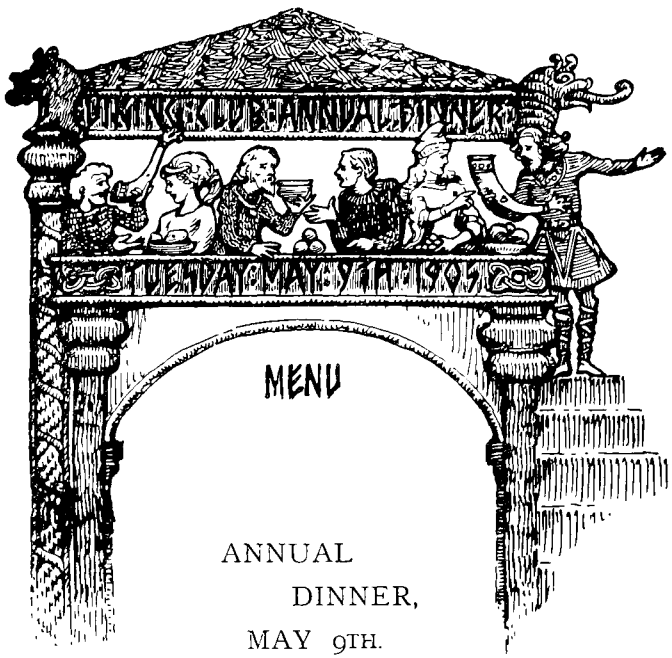
"Dear Madam,

"Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret desires me to thank the members of the Viking Club for the very kind wishes they have sent to her.

"Princess Margaret looks forward with great pleasure to her future home in Sweden, and it will be a great pleasure to her to feel that there are links in the past as well as that of the future between Prince Gustaf Adolf's country and her own.

"Will you please convey Her Royal Highness's thanks and good wishes to the members of the Viking Club.

"I remain, Madam,
"Truly yours,
(Signed) "LEILA MILNE."



ANNUAL
DINNER,
MAY 9TH.

The Annual Dinner was held at the Bruton Gallery, Bruton Street, W., on Tuesday, May 9th, 1905, at 7-15 p.m., on the eve of the opening of an exhibition of pictures by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, President, on Icelandic and Norwegian Scenery and Saga Subjects. The chair was taken by the President, the Vice-Chairmen being Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Vice-President, Colonel Hobart, Vice-President, and Mr. H. L. Brækstad, Vice-President. Over eighty members and friends were present, including Baron Bildt, the Swedish and Norwegian Minister, and the Right Hon. J. Bryce, M.P., who were guests of the Club, Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., Professor W. P. Ker, and Mr. J. Gollancz. Mr. Hall Caine was invited, but was prevented from attending at the last moment, and sent the following letter of regret:—

"Hotel Cecil,
"London, W.C.,
"May 9th, 1905.

"Dear Mr. Collingwood,

"After all (although I am not quite sure) I greatly fear that I shall not be well enough to be present at the dinner of the Viking Club to-night. This is a great disappointment to me. Although, as far as I know, directly descended from the Vikings who came over with Orry, I have not, unhappily, inherited their physical strength, and a week or two in London has been sufficient to put me to bed. Otherwise it would have been a great pleasure to show my sympathy with the aims of your Club in stimulating Northern research and the popularization of Scandinavian literature and antiquities.

"As you know, I have twice visited Iceland, and on both occasions have been stirred to great admiration and emotion by the scenes of fire and frost which you have so vigorously and faithfully depicted in the pictures that form the chief attraction of your forthcoming exhibition.

"I have also been deeply touched by the many proofs of kinship between the Icelanders as they now are and the people of my own little island, the Isle of Man, so that being in Iceland I have felt myself to be at home, and being at home to be in Iceland—so strikingly do the two little races which are one appear to clasp hands across the space of a thousand years.

"But most of all as an author I have been stirred and stimulated by the great literature of the Sagas, and anxious to see the introduction of the elemental spirit which inspires it into modern imaginative art. If I could in any way help towards bringing back that elemental spirit how happy and how proud I should be! And in this connection I may, perhaps, be pardoned if I say that, at the request of the Directors of Drury Lane Theatre, I have undertaken during the forthcoming summer to consider how far it would be possible to present on the boards of their historic house a short series of the great dramas which are to be found in the mighty Saga literature of the past. In such an effort, if I were able to make it, I am sure I should have the spontaneous sympathy of the members of the Viking Club, who would realize that, whatever concessions the dramatist might be required to make to the modern spirit and the practical necessities of the stage, I should be first of all impelled by a desire to bring back to a drama that is, perhaps, too much concerned with the unworthier passions of domestic intrigue, the healthy, wholesome, elemental emotions which have given the Sagas their immortal life.

"Again regretting deeply the indisposition which threatens to deprive me of the pleasure of your dinner to-night,

"I am,

"Yours very truly,

(*Signed*) "HALL CAINE.

"Wm. Collingwood, Esq."

The Swedish Minister, in responding to the toast of his health, remarked on the extent to which words of English origin were finding their way into Scandinavian literature. He instanced the respective fields of politics, social life, and sport. He was glad to say the mutual relationship of these islands and Scandinavia had been cordial since the time of the English Charles II. and, alluding to the coming marriage of a Prince of Sweden and Norway with Princess Margaret of Connaught, he pointed out that she was not the first English Princess who had gone from these islands to Norway and Sweden, while as further instances of the connection that existed between the royal houses of the two countries in bygone times, he mentioned the "Maid of Norway" and Queen Phillipa, to whom was owing the only pre-Reformation monastery in England that was still in existence, that at Chudleigh, in Devon. There was no country where a Britisher was sure of a better welcome than in Scandinavia, because their ways of thinking and regarding the problems of life were about the same.

The Chairman, in proposing the health of the guests, coupled with the name of Mr. Bryce, said no one had written with so much sympathy of Iceland's scholarship as had the Right Hon. gentleman. He had analyzed the constitution of the Icelandic Republic in a masterly manner.

Mr. Bryce, in a brief response, described the literature of the old north as one of the only two original literatures in modern Europe. It was well to get and study an original literature, because the world was getting terribly monotonous, as was shown by the spasmodic efforts made to get rid of monotony by conduct either

eccentric or morbid. If they wanted to get back to what Mr. Hall Caine had described as the elemental emotions, they could not do better than get the literature of the old north. The only other parallel was the literature of the early Celts, which one of their guests, Miss Hull, was presenting to us in an English dress. There was something, however, more original than even the literature of the old north, and that was its landscape, which was quite unlike that of any other part of the world. It presented a combination which left upon the mind an ineffaceable impression. It was gratifying to know that the literature of the north was becoming more known in England, and even better known in America. They, as Vikings, could only hope that the influence of the ancient Norse literature would tell upon America, and that it would be a stimulus of something novel, fresh, powerful, and dramatic in American literature.

Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., in proposing the toast of the Society, in the course of his remarks made an appeal to the Club to do some practical, living work. In Orkney there was a great field before them. The Standing Stones of Stenness, after Stonehenge, the most interesting relic of a forgotten age that we possessed, were gradually going from worse to worse, many were already fallen and might be easily replaced, and a very little expenditure on the others would put them in a safe condition. They were fortunate in having in Mr. J. W. Cursiter, of Kirkwall (Vice-President of the Club), a gentleman who would give his affectionate attention to such a proposal, and he felt sure that the Club had only to lay their desire before Colonel Balfour to get his permission to undertake urgent repairs at once. Possibly, later on, Colonel Balfour might give the Club a lease of the land, and they might fence it in to protect the stones from cattle. Meanwhile all that was necessary was to get permission to spend a few pounds on the stones from time to time.

The dinner was followed by a musical entertainment

by Miss Otta Brony, the Danish soprano, Mr. Arthur Strugnell, baritone, and Mr. Mansell Stevens, pianist.

The heading for the menu, which is reproduced above, was specially designed for the occasion by the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood.

MEETING, MAY 12TH.

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

Miss S. C. Rücker read a paper on "Some Notes on the Supernatural Element in Icelandic Literature," which is unavoidably held over.

It was announced that Mr. F. T. Norris had resigned the post of Editor and had been appointed an Hon. Vice-President of the Club and member of the Council. On the motion of Mr. Albany F. Major, Joint Editor, seconded by Mr. A. W. Johnston, Chairman of the Council, and supported by the President, a vote of thanks to Mr. Norris for the services he had rendered to the Club during the ten years he had been its Editor was passed by acclamation.

VISIT TO THE BRUTON GALLERY, JUNE 3RD.

On the afternoon of Saturday, June 3rd, the Exhibition of Water-colour Drawings of Iceland, etc., by the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, held at the Bruton Gallery, Bruton Street, W., was open specially for the Viking Club, and was visited by a large number of members and friends. In the course of the afternoon Mr. Albany F Major, Hon. Editor, gave a brief account of the events recorded in the Sagas, which make Thingvellir, Helgafell, and other scenes depicted in Mr. Collingwood's sketches no less memorable for lovers of the literature of the north, than are Tintagel and Camelot for lovers of Arthurian romance, or the "bonnie braes of Yarrow" for lovers of the Border minstrelsy.

VISIT TO BEDFORD, JULY 1ST.

On Saturday, July 1st, a party of about 26 members and friends proceeded to Bedford to visit Willington Camp and other sites connected with the Anglo-Danish campaign of A.D. 921, described by Mr. A. R. Goddard in his paper on "The Danish Camp on the Ouse, near Bedford," in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., pages 326-337. Mr. Goddard, who conducted the expedition, met the party on their arrival at Bedford, and drove with them first to the "King's Ditch," on the outskirts of the town, probably the work of Edward the Elder, who captured Bedford from the Danes, and, according to Mr. Goddard's theory, constructed this work to protect the lines of the garrison he placed there. A great part of the Ditch is still in existence, and, where it has been diverted, Mr. Goddard took the party along the line it anciently followed. Willington Camp was next visited, and the old earthworks and site of the harbour and naust described in Mr. Goddard's paper were carefully inspected. The party then drove on to Tempsford, where a substantial lunch awaited them at the old "Anchor" Inn, with its pleasant garden sloping down to the river. After lunch, Tempsford Camp, the site of the Danish headquarters during the campaign in question, first claimed attention, after which the party drove back to Bedford, crossing the river below Willington to visit sites on the other side, probably connected with the same campaign. The first of these was Renhold Camp, on the high ground rising sharply from the valley over against Willington. Between the two camps the river at one time probably broadened out into a lagoon, and Renhold would have served as an outwork to protect the passage across the lagoon from Willington of an army advancing on Bedford. Bloody Battle Bridge, and the Risinghoe, a great mound close to the bridge, which may be a burial mound,[1] were passed on the way back to Bedford, and possibly mark the battle-field, on which the Danes met the overthrow in

[1] See SAGA-BOOK, vol. iv., part I., pages 238-9.

which this campaign ended. On reaching Bedford the party found tea provided in the "Embankment" Hotel. After tea, Mr. Goddard made a few remarks upon the connection of the Danes with Bedford, and received a hearty vote of thanks for the care with which he had organized and conducted a most successful outing. Before the return journey to town, Bedford Town Hall was visited, and a Saxon and Danish sword dug up in the neighbourhood were inspected.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 17TH.

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

Pastor Axel Bergh, Danish Chaplain in London, gave a lecture on "Faröe and the Faröese" with Lantern Illustrations. The lecturer, who was born and brought up in Faröe, gave a vivid sketch of the islands and of the ways and mode of living of the inhabitants. The chief industries of the islands, catching and curing fish, collecting sea-birds and their eggs, and whale fishing, were depicted, and the primitive life of the people, only now beginning to yield before the influence from the outside world, which has followed upon the removal of the restrictions upon trade, were set before the audience in a way only possible to one who knew his subject from the inside and had lived the life he described. The constant perils which beset, in their daily occupations, the inhabitants of these rugged, lonely islands, set in the midst of the stormy Northern seas, were brought vividly home to the hearers. An excellent set of magic-lantern slides greatly added to the interest of the evening.

MEETING DECEMBER 15TH.

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

The Chairman of the Council, Mr. A. W. Johnston, reported that the following telegrams had been sent to the King and Queen of Norway and to the Norwegian

Prime Minister, on the occasion of their Majesties' arrival at Christiania, November 25th, 1905:—

"To His Majesty King Haakon, Christiania,

"Viking Club, England, wishes long life and happiness to Norway's King and to his Queen, England's daughter."

For Viking Club, Albany Major,
30, Waldrons, Croydon.

"To Premier Minister, Michelsen, Christiania.

"Viking Club, England, trusts Norway will flourish under the royal line that to-day ascends Harald Haarfager's ancient throne."

The following reply had been received:—

"Am commanded by King and Queen of Norway to thank Viking Club, England, for their good wishes."

HENRY KNOLLYS.

The reply was ordered to be inserted in the minute-book.

A paper on "Ship-Burials," by Mr. Haakon Schetelig, Hon. District Secretary for Norway, was read, and is printed on pages 326-363.

In addition to the above meetings, by the courtesy of the Folk-Lore Society, the members of the Viking Club were specially invited to attend a meeting of that Society, held at 22, Albemarle Street, W., on Wednesday, February 15th, when Mr. Albany F. Major, Hon. Editor of the Viking Club and Member of the Council of the Folk-Lore Society, read a paper on "The Ragnarøk and Valhalla Myths and Evidence as to the Period from which they date."

This paper will be included in an extra number, which the Hon. Editor hopes to prepare for publication at no very distant date.

Also on Saturday, May 20th, at the invitation of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, Dr. Jón Stefánsson, representing the Viking Club, read his paper on "The Oldest Known List of Scandinavian Names, with their Bearing on Yorkshire Place-Names" (pages 294-311), before a meeting of the society at Holmfirth.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL.

METHODS OF WORK.

During the year 1904 the work of the Club included:—The holding of six Meetings for the reading and discussion of Papers on Northern subjects; visits to Cambridge and the British Museum; the social function of the Annual Dinner; adding to the Library and the Museum; the amendment of the law relating to life subscription; the foundation of an Endowment Fund; the survey of Orkney Place-Names; and the continuation of the Book Agency.

The Council recommend that the work of the Club should be continued on similar lines during the forthcoming year.

MEETINGS.

January 15th.—Inaugural Address, "Research." J. G. Garson, M.D., President, followed by a Conversazione.

February 12th.—"Scandinavian *Motifs* in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Ornamentation." Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., F.R.S.L.

"The Place-Name 'Wetwang.'" Rev. E. Maule Cole, M.A., F.G.S.

March 11th.—"Traces of Danish Settlement and Conquest in Cambridgeshire." E. Hailstone, F.R.Hist.S.

"Some Anthropological Notes from Orkney." M. Mackenzie Charleson, F.S.A.Scot.

April 15th.—"Metres in the Sæmundar Edda." Part II. J. Lawrence, D.Lit.Lond.

May 28th.—Visit to Cambridge. "The Saxon and Danish Antiquities of Cambridge and its Neighbourhood." Rev. J. W. E Conybeare.

"The Danish Settlement at Cambridge." Edwin Sloper, F.G.S.

November 18th.—"Shipbuilding and Nautical Terms of Old in the North." Eirikr Magnússon, M.A.

December 16th.—"Notes on the British Saga of King William." W. G. Collingwood, M.A.

EXCURSIONS.

May 28th.—Visit to Cambridge.

December 10th.—Visit to the British Museum.

SAGA-BOOK AND PUBLICATIONS.

The *Saga-Book* for 1903 has been issued to all Members for 1903 and to Members elected in 1904.

The *Saga-Book* for 1904 is now in the printer's hands, and will be issued in April to Members who have paid their subscription.

Prospectuses will be issued for the Second Volume of the Translation Series and other Works in progress.

A Prospectus will be issued for a Bibliography of Northern Literature by Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Members having works to publish should communicate with Mr. A. F. Major.

The following Members have been appointed a Publications Committee: G. M. Atkinson, W. G. Collingwood, Dr. J. G. Garson, A. W. Johnston, A. F. Major, F. T. Norris.

PAPERS FOR MEETINGS.

Mr. A. F. Major, "Bifröst," 30, The Waldrons, Croydon, will be glad to hear from any Members who are prepared to read Papers before the Club, or to receive suggestions as to Non-Members who might be invited to read Papers; also to be informed of any works or articles by Members, or others, bearing on the studies of the Club.

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

The collection of books and antiquities remains in the temporary charge of Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., as Hon. Librarian. A catalogue is in preparation, and will be issued to Members when completed. The Hon. Librarian will be glad to receive gifts of books and antiquities to the Library and Museum, and cases for books and exhibits.

ENDOWMENT FUND AND COMPOUNDED SUBSCRIPTIONS.

At a Special General Meeting held on December 16th, 1904, the following resolutions were approved:—

(*a*) That (1) Entrance Fee of 11s. be charged from Jan. 1st., 1905. (2) Life Subscription of £10 to include Entrance Fee. (3) Members who have paid 5 and 10 Annual Subscriptions may compound for £8 and £6 respectively. (4) Members to be allowed to pay Life Subscription by instalments, and Libraries to compound for a limited number of Annual Subscriptions, as shall be fixed by the Council. (5) Members ceasing to belong to the Club before completion of their Life Instalments, may, upon re election, resume and complete same.

(*b*) All Entrance Fees, Life Subscriptions and Instalments, and Compositions, to be invested in an Endowment Fund, in name of Trustees, in Government or other approved stock, and the interest to be alone available for the Annual Expenditure of the Club.

(*c*) That there shall be one or more Hon. Editors, that the office of Honorary Convenor shall be included in that of Honorary Secretary, and the various duties be re-arranged by the Council.

(*d*) That the Council amend the Law-Book in accordance with foregoing resolutions.

MEMBERSHIP.

During the year 1904 the Club lost one Member by death and four by withdrawal, while thirty-eight Subscribing and two Honorary Members have been added to the roll, and the exchange of *Proceedings* arranged with three Societies.

At the close of the year the Membership consisted of 57 Honorary and 197 Subscribing Members, and the *Proceedings* exchanged with ten Societies.

Since the amendment of the Compounding Law five Members have compounded, and five arranged to pay their composition by instalment.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year ending December 31st, 1904, is appended.

The printing and postage of prospectus cost £37 12s., and resulted in the gain of £18 in Annual Subscriptions, £10 Composition, and £30 for the sale of back works, or a total of £58, showing a surplus of £20 8s.

The Book Agency shows a profit of £6 9s. 8d., including £2 2s. 10d. net value of stock in hand.

Adopted by the Council,

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Chairman.*

March 4th, 1905.

Adopted by the Annual General Meeting,

J. G. GARSON, *President.*

April 4th, 1905.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31st, 1904.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
To Horsford Fund for Printing and Illustrating "Thing-Steads," by F. T. Norris	47	6	0
,, Major Fund for Printing "Saga Studies," by A. F. Major	5	0	0
,, Compounded Subscriptions—1903 £20 0 0			
1904 14 0 0			
	34	0	0
,, Subscription to Publication Account	0	2	6
,, Miscellaneous Printing and Stationery.. ..	8	16	6
,, Rent of Rooms, November, 1903—December, 1904	2	3	6
,, Subscriptions for 1905 paid in 1904 (21) ..	10	11	0
Subscriptions irrecoverable, 1902 (1), 1903 (2), 1904 (2)	2	10	0
Purchase of Books for Members	22	5	7
,, Subscriptions received for Icelandic Literary Society	0	16	3
,, Subscriptions received for Society of Northern Antiquaries	5	15	6
,, Balance, being Surplus at December 31st, 1904—			
Library, Museum, Stationery, and Blocks £162 15 0			
Stock of Books on Sale .. 2 2 10			
Stock of *Saga-Books* on Sale .. 300 0 0			
Cash 55 2 8			
	520	0	6
	£659	7	4

ASSETS.			£	s.	d.
By Subscriptions 1902 (1), 1903 (7), 1904 (19) ..			13	10	0
,, Books Sold			7	3	1
,, Library, Museum, Stationery, and Blocks ..			162	15	0
,, Books in Stock for Sale—					
From 1903	£6 6 11				
Bought in 1904	4 13 8				
	11 0 7				
Sold in 1904	8 17 9				
			2	2	10
,, *Saga-Books* in Stock for Sale			300	0	0
,, Cash in Bank	£128 8 5				
Less Cheques drawn in 1904, cashed in 1905	4 8 8				
	123 19 9				
,, Consols, £50	44 10 8				
Cash with Assistant Secretary ..	2 0 0				
,, Cash with Hon. Treasurer ..	3 16 0				
			173	16	5
			£659	7	4

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

Dr. BOOK AGENCY ACCOUNT. Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To Stock from 1903	6	6	11
Cash for Stock Purchased	4	13	8
,, for Books for Members	38	4	3
,, for Carriage and Postage	1	11	0
,, Icelandic Literary Society Subscription.. ..	0	16	3
,, Society of Northern Antiquaries Subscription ..	5	15	6
,, Booksellers, for Books for Members .. .	22	5	7
Profit	6	9	8
	£86	2	10

	£	s.	d.
By Cash for Books Sold	70	5	2
, Cash Subscription to Icelandic Literary Society..	0	16	3
Cash Subscription to Society of Northern Antiquaries	5	15	6
Members owing for Books	7	3	1
Balance, net value of Stock in hand, December 31st, 1904	2	2	10
	£86	2	10

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

ACCOUNT OF THE FUNDS OF THE VIKING CLUB.

FROM JANUARY 1st TO DECEMBER 31st, 1904.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance from 1903—Bank Current Account..	145 18 7	
Deposit	30 0 4	
		175 18 11
,, Annual Subscriptions, 1902 (1)	0 10 0	
,, ,, 1903 (7)	3 10 0	
,, ,, 1904 (133)* ..	66 13 7	
,, ,, 1905 (21)	10 11 0	
		81 4 7
Life Subscriptions—Instalment (1)..	2 0 0	
,, Composition (2) ..	16 0 0	
		18 0 0
Gifts		7 1 0
,, Interest on Bank Accounts		3 18 10
,, Sale of *Saga-Books*		21 12 9
,, Advertisements in *Saga-Book*		2 6 0
,, Annual Dinner, Sale of Tickets (45)		13 10 6
,, Cambridge Visit, Sale of Tickets		20 8 0
Book Agency—Sale of Books	70 5 2	
Subscriptions to the Icelandic Literary Society	0 16 3	
Subscription to the Society of Northern Antiquaries	5 15 6	
		76 16 11
		£420 17 6

*Two anonymous money orders received from Leipzig and Göttingen.

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

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Working Expenses:—		
Cheques..	0 6 6	
Bank Charges	0 3 7	
Commission to Trade for Collection of Subscriptions	0 17 0	
Printing and Stationery	14 5 11	
Fire Insurance Premium..	0 18 0	
Reference Book	0 5 0	
Refreshments at Meetings	2 8 8	
Assistant Secretary's Honorarium	5 17 6	
Postages, etc.	18 18 5	
		44 0 7
,, Expenses, Annual Dinner		12 13 0
,, Expenses, Cambridge Visit..		21 3 8
,, Book Agency—Books for Members	38 4 3	
Purchase of Stock	4 13 8	
Postage and Carriage	1 11 0	
		44 8 11
,, *Saga-Book*, Vol. III., Part III., Printing, Illustrating, and Posting		67 3 3
,, Orkney Survey of Place-Names, Printing Forms ..		11 1 0
,, Prospectus—Printing	15 9 6	
Postage	22 2 6	
		37 12 0
,, Excess of Life Subscription		4 0 0
,, Advance by Hon. Treasurer, 1904		4 18 8
,, Balance—Bank	128 8 5	
Less Cheques drawn in 1904 cashed in 1905	4 8 8	
	123 19 9	
Consols, £50	44 0 8	
Cash with Assistant Secretary	2 0 0	
Cash with Hon. Treasurer	3 16 0	
		173 16 5
		£420 17 6

Examined and found correct, W. V. M. POPHAM, A. O. BELFOUR, } *Hon. Auditors.*

GIFT OF A PICTURE TO THE VIKING CLUB.

The President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, has generously presented "THE PARLIAMENT OF ANCIENT ICELAND," one of the most important works shown at the Exhibition of his works, held in the spring at the Bruton Gallery, to the Viking Club. The picture is described as follows in the catalogue of the Exhibition:—

> At the Althing, held every midsummer at Thingvellir, the Law-speaker recited the laws from the Løgberg (Rock of Law). The place usually shown as such is not now believed to have been the true Løgberg of early times. The rock painted in the picture is more likely to have been the real scene of the ceremony. The foundations of the two "booths" shown below the rock are still there: to the left is the Thingbrekka (Slope of the Meeting), and to the right is the Allmannagjá (All Men's Rift), the famous cleft in the lava where the people congregated. In the distance is Thingvalla Lake, on the bank of which are now the church and parsonage, not yet built at the time the picture represents.

The picture has been hung in the Gothic Hall at the King's Weigh House, where the meetings of the Club are held, and where it can be seen by members at other times on application to the caretaker.

The picture is one of great interest and value to the Club, not only on account of its great artistic merits, but as recording also the grand scenery of a spot so interesting to all lovers of the Icelandic Sagas, and depicting, as closely as is possible in the case of events so distant, such a scene as a meeting of the famous Althing must have presented.

WEDDING PRESENT TO H.R.H. PRINCESS MARGARET OF CONNAUGHT.

As the result of the general feeling that the marriage of a Princess of England with a Prince of Sweden should not pass unnoticed by the Viking Club, it was decided to purchase, by subscription among members desirous of participating, a picture from the Exhibition of Water-

colour Drawings of Iceland and Northern Subjects by Mr. W. G. Collingwood. The President, hearing of the proposal, kindly placed at the disposal of members for this purpose his beautiful drawing, "KJARTAN FINDS HREFNA WEARING THE COIF," which was generally felt to be one of the most suitable pictures in the collection for such a presentation. It is described in the catalogue as follows:—

> The hero of the Laxdale Saga, coming home to Iceland, brought from the Princess of Norway, who had made love to him in vain, a wonderful head-dress for Gudrun, his betrothed. When he arrived at Gufaróss on the White River and set up his booth or stone-walled tent (the actual view from the ruins of the trading-booths of the Viking age is seen through the doorway in the picture), he found Gudrun married to his friend Bolli. His sister Thurid, and Hrefna, sister of his skipper, Kálf, came to see the treasures he had brought. They unpacked the coif, and Thurid was trying it on Hrefna's head, when Kjartan came to the door. In the end he married Hrefna, and was killed through Gudrun's jealousy. The parallel, but much earlier, story of Sigurd the Vølsung is shown in the carvings on the chests. Kjartan's cross-shield (for he had been made a Christian in Norway) hangs over his high-seat.

The following letter was accordingly sent to ask if Her Royal Highness would accept the gift from the Club:—

"June 13th, 1905.

"TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS MARGARET OF CONNAUGHT:

"May it please your Royal Highness:

"The Council of the Viking Club desire, on behalf of the members of the Club, to present to your Royal Highness and His Royal Highness Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden and Norway a water colour painting by W. G. Collingwood, M.A., President of the Club, entitled 'Kjartan finds Hrefna wearing the Coif,' a description of which is given in the accompanying catalogue of an Exhibition at the Bruton Galleries, in which this picture was included (No. 8 in the catalogue).

"They trust that your Royal Highness may be graciously pleased to accept this gift and also an account of 'A Pilgrimage to the Saga Steads of Iceland,' by the President and Dr. Jón

Stefánsson, another member of the Club, in which the names of the members who have joined in this gift to your Royal Highness will be inserted.

"Your Royal Highness's most humble servants,

"THE MEMBERS OF THE VIKING CLUB.

(*Signed*) "Amy Leslie, Hon. Secretary,
"103, Park Street,
"Grosvenor Square, W."

Her Royal Highness having intimated that she would be happy to accept the gift so kindly offered by the Viking Club, the picture was sent, and the following acknowledgment was received by the Hon. Secretary:—

"Clarence House,
"St. James's, S.W.
"June 16th.

"Dear Madam,

"Princess Margaret desires me to thank the members of the Viking Club for the picture they have so kindly sent her, a picture that is full of interest for Her Royal Highness.

"It has safely arrived—please convey the Princess's thanks to the members of the Club.

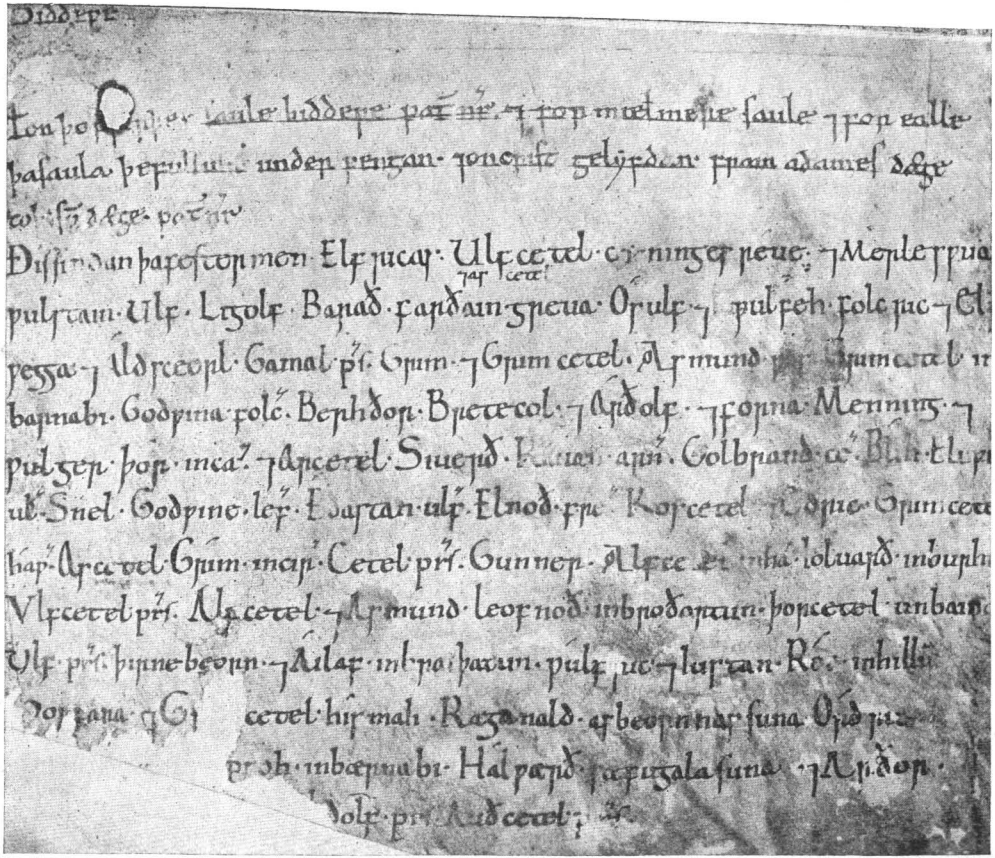
"Truly yours,
(*Signed*) "LEILA MILNE."

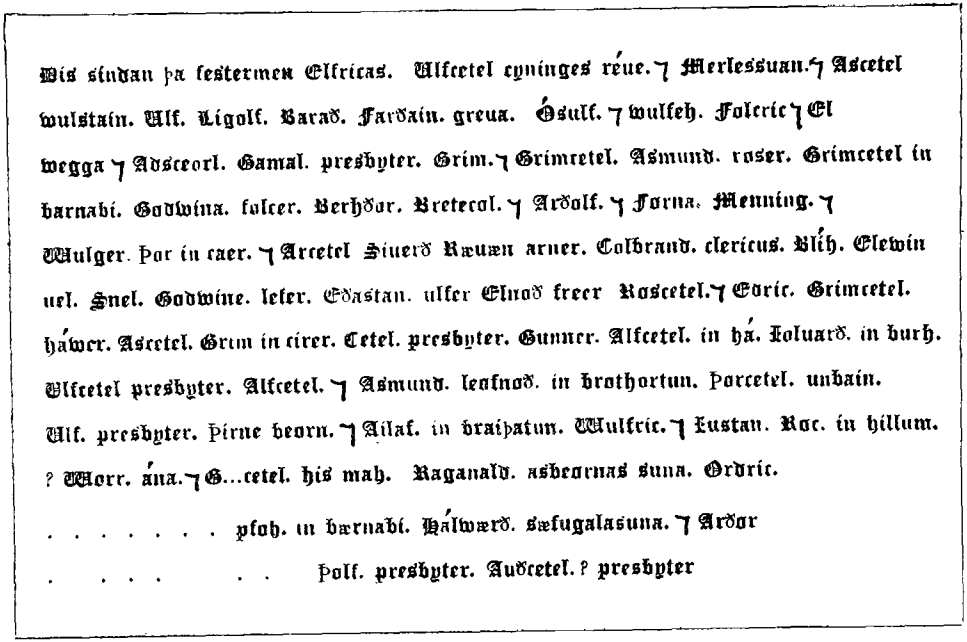
The list of subscribers was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
The Lady Abinger	2	2	0
Anonymous	1	1	0
Rev. Dr. H. J. Dukinfield Astley		10	6
G M. Atkinson	1	1	0
Mrs. Helen W. Bannon	2	2	0
Sir John Barran, Bart...		10	0
Miss Olive Bray		10	6
R. L. Bremner		5	0
William Brown		10	0
Rev. R. Ashington Bullen	2	2	0
Frank C. Capel	1	1	0
A. G. Chater		10	0
Miss Corfield		5	0
W. T. Crampton		10	0
J. P. Emslie		10	0
Major J. Fielding		10	0
Miss Francesca Foster		10	0
Professor Gabriel Gustafson	1	0	0

E. Hailstone		10	0
J. A. Harvie-Brown	1	0	0
Colonel Hobart	2	2	0
R. H. Hodgkin		5	0
Miss M. L. Hodgson		5	0
Rev. Canon J. Clare Hudson		5	0
B. E. Hughes		10	0
Dr. Charles E. Ingbert..	1	0	0
A. W. Johnston	1	1	0
T. Davies Jones	1	1	0
Professor W P. Ker	1	1	0
W. F. Kirby		5	0
L. Nielsen Ladefoged	1	1	0
Dr. J. M. Laughton	1	11	0
Dr. J. Lawrence	1	1	0
Mrs. Disney Leith		10	6
Eiríkr Magnússon Mrs. Sigríðr E. Magnússon }	1	1	0
A. F. Major	1	1	0
Mrs. A. F. Major		10	6
Mark B. F. Major	1	1	0
Rev. C. A. Moore		10	0
Mrs. Dorothy H. H. Newmarch		10	6
R. R. Nichol		10	0
F. T. Norris		10	6
O. T. Olsen	1	1	0
Dr. George Pernet		10	6
Mrs. Pocklington-Coltman	1	0	0
W. Hulbert Popley		5	0
The Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay ..	1	0	0
J. Stirling Ross		5	0
Miss S. C. Rücker	1	1	0
Cecil Roy Saunders		7	6
F. G. Smart	3	3	0
Captain A. Sölling		8	0
Mrs. J. J. Stevenson		10	0
Rev. Pastor A. V. Storm		5	6
Miss Agnes Swain		10	6
Ernest Swain	1	1	0
W. N. Thompson		5	0
Rev. Canon John J. Thornley		10	6
Professor T. N. Toller		10	0
Francis William Tudsbery Tudsbery	1	1	0
The Rev. Chas. W. Whistler	1	1	0
T. McKinnon Wood	1	0	0

A reproduction of the picture has been presented by the President to all the subscribers.





Wis sindan þa festermen Elfricas. Ulfcetel cyninges réue.⁊ Merlessuan.⁊ Ascetel wulstain. Ulf. Ligolf. Barað. Farðain. greua. Ósulf.⁊ wulfeh. Folcric⁊ El wegga⁊ Adsceorl. Gamal. presbyter. Grim.⁊ Grimcetel. Asmund. roser. Grimcetel in barnabi. Godwina. fulcer. Berhðor. Bretecol.⁊ Arðolf.⁊ Forna. Menning.⁊ Wulger. Þor in caer.⁊ Arcetel Siuerð Ræuæn arner. Colbrand. clericus. Blíh. Elewin uel. Snel. Godwine. lefer. Eðastan. ulfer Elnoð freer Roscetel.⁊ Eoric. Grimcetel. háwer. Ascetel. Grim in cirer. Cetel. presbyter. Gunner. Alfcetel. in há. Foluarð. in burh. Ulfcetel presbyter. Alfcetel.⁊ Asmund. leofnoð. in brothortun. Þorcetel. unbain. Ulf. presbyter. Þirne beorn.⁊ Ailaf. in braiþatun. Wulfric.⁊ Eustan. Roc. in hillum. ? Worr. ána.⁊ G...cetel. his mah. Raganald. asbeornas suna. Ordric.

. . . . . pfoh. in bærnabi. Hálwærð. sæfugalasuna.⁊ Arðor

. . . . . Þolf. presbyter. Auðcetel.? presbyter

THE OLDEST KNOWN LIST OF SCANDINAVIAN NAMES.

Facsimile of the page of the original Codex containing the Name with a transcript showing the abbreviations of the original document in full.

THE OLDEST KNOWN LIST OF SCANDINAVIAN NAMES.

By JÓN STEFANSSON, PH.D., Hon. District Secretary for Iceland.

THE list of names which I am about to bring to your notice was found in a vellum codex of the Gospels in Latin, in the Library of York Minster. The MS., size 10½ inches by 8¼, was written about the middle of the tenth century. On the last leaf of the MS. is a Bidding Prayer in a later hand, the oldest of its kind in English, which has been published by the Rev. T. F. Simmons in "The Lay Folks Mass Book," London, 1879, Early English Text Society. Under this Prayer, in a contemporary hand, is the list of names given here. It consists of twelve lines, the last three of which are somewhat damaged. The ending *-er*, *presbyter* (priest) and *clericus* are abbreviated in the MS.

A facsimile of the original and a full transcript are given on the preceding pages; upon these we now proceed to comment.

THESE ARE THE BONDSMEN OF ELFRIC. According to the Northumbrian priestlaw a priest, on election, must be supported by twelve bondsmen or fide-jussors, as a security that he would observe the laws. Elfric, who was elected Archbishop of York in 1023, is supported here by no less than 70 men, guaranteeing his good behaviour. The fester- in "festermen" seems due to Norse "festar-," in compounds "pledged," "having given troth;" for the Old English "fester-" means throughout "foster-," *e.g.*, in "fester-fæðer," "fester-moðor," except in this word. The place-names seem to

be from South Yorkshire: Barnabi, Bærnabi=Barnby, Barmby. Braiþatun=Brayton. Brothortun=Brotherton. Caer=Car, Kereby. Há=Ho. Hillum=Hillam.

Not counting the mutilated names with which lines 10 and 11 begin, there are 76 names, some of which occur more than once, Alfcetel (2), Asmund (2), Grim (2), Ulf (2), Ulfcetel (2), Ascetel (2), Grimcetel (4).

Prof. G. Stephens, of Copenhagen, published this list of names in a Danish periodical in 1881, without attempting to identify any of them.

ADSCEORL. Old English. According to Searle it only occurs once in Old English literature.

AILAF. Old Norse Eilífr. On Danish Runic Stones: Ailaif. Saxo: Eliuus. Necrologium Lundense: Elif, but Elauus as late as the fourteenth century in Denmark. Domesday Book: Elaf (8),[1] Eilaf (7), in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Liber Vitae: Aeilaf, Eilaf. Eilaf occurs on coins in the tenth century (Grueber),[2] and William the Conqueror has a housecarle of that name in A.D. 1075. The name is sometimes anglicised as Eglaf, a Danish chieftain in A.D. 1009 (Sym.), and Eglaf who witnesses Cnut's charters in 1023, and four years earlier is called Eilaf (Birch). Eylaf, a Dane, occurs in the A.S. Chron. 1025. Eileifr, Eiláfr, the prototypes of this name, are not recorded in literature, but must have existed. In Norwegian place-names the name appears as Ellev-, Elles-, Els-, and is thus common to Denmark and Norway.

ALFCETEL. Old Norse Álfketill. Danish Runic Stones: Alfkil. Saxo: Alkillus. D.B.: Alchel (1), Alchil (1), Alchetel (1), all settled in Yorkshire. Aylkil, A.D. 958 (Birch), in Suffolk, shows how early the Danish slurring of the name took place. *Norwegian*, see under Arcetel.

ÁNA. Old Norse Áni. Danish Runic Stones: Ano. Saxo: Ano. In Norway in the place-name Aanestad.

ARCETEL. Old Norse Arnketill. The shortening of ketill to kill seems to have taken place very early

[1] These figures give the number of persons in D.B. of this name.

[2] For list of authorities, references, and abbreviations see at the end.

in Denmark. Danish coins of the eleventh century have Arkil, while the "Reichenau Necrologium," end of the tenth century, containing names of pilgrims from all over the North, has Arnkil side by side with the Norwegian Icelandic Arnchetil, and with Aercil, probably a Dane. Still earlier, the Arkil of the "Liber Vitae" shows how early this slurring took place among the Danes in England. The Old Swedish is Arkil. Danish-Swedish -kil, -kel, correspond to Icelandic-Norwegian -ketill, as Konráð Gíslason has shown.

He has proved that the Norse names ending in -kell ended in -ketill as late as the early part of the eleventh century. Taking the Scaldic verse of that time, -ketill is the established form in Norwegian and Icelandic names, while Thorkel the High, a Danish chieftain, appears as Þorkell, and a Swedish king as Steinkell. This is conclusive evidence that the nine men in the list whose names end in -cetel were Norwegians, while Cetel by itself is more doubtful, though not apparently found as a man's name in Old Danish. That the Arkitel of a charter A.D. 958 and the Arcytel in Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus," A.D. 975, were Norwegians, while the Arcil who appears often in Birch's "Cartularium," A.D. 960-990, was a Dane, is a legitimate conclusion from the above. A number of Norwegians helped the Danes to conquer England. It is true that the Danish form Archil preponderates in Domesday Book (50 Archil, Archel, to 4 Archetel), but the Conquest of England was by no means purely Danish. Part of the names of the settlers recorded in Domesday Book are purely Norwegian. Arketel appears in the Lincolnshire Hundred Rolls. Later on the Danish form predominates. Wm. Arkill is found in 4 Ed. II., Joh. Arcle in 34 Hen. VI. Arksey (Yorkshire, W.R.), Arkletown, Arkleside, Arkleby, Arkilgarthdale, are place-names which testify to the popularity of the name.

ARNER. O.N. Arnórr, Arnþórr, see Arðor. Arnestorp (2), Yorkshire, D.B., now Arnold, Arnall (Kirkby).

ARÐOR. O.N. Arnþórr, Arndórr. The n is dropped as in Arcetel and in Aregrim, D.B. (Arngrímr). In Denmark and Norway r is assimilated to n in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—N.L.: Andor; "Diplomatarium Norvegicum": Arndor, Andor. Domesday Book has Artor (5), which the editor, Ellis, takes to be King Arthur's name.

ARÐOLF. One Ardulfus is settled in Leicestershire, D.B., and Ardulfestorp is also found there. A Scandinavian Arðulfr, from arðr, plough, and úlfr, is not recorded in literature, but according to Searle Arðolf is not a Saxon name.

Icelandic-Norwegian names beginning with *as-* correspond to names beginning in *es-* in Danish-Swedish. Three of these occur, none of them in the Danish form.

ASBEORN. Old Norse Ásbjörn. Danish Esbern throughout (place-names, coins, Saxo, N.L.), the mutation of e to eo, jö, being unknown. In the charters and in Domesday Book only the Danish Esbern (6) occurs, while Esbearn, D.B., seems a clumsy attempt by a Dane to approach the Norse form. The Osbern of Florentius Wigornensis, A.D. 1117, is an anglicisation of the Danish. Symeon of Durham calls him Esbern in 1129. Earl Osbearn, A.S. Chron., who was killed in 871, is an attempt to anglicise Ásbjörn, the Norwegian form. Esbernebi is a place in Lincolnshire, D.B.

ASCETEL. O.N. Ásketill. Danish forms appear side by side with the Norse in the Liber Vitæ of Durham as early as the ninth century: Danish: Aeskyl, Askill, Askil, Eskil; Norse: Aeskitil, Asketillus, Anscetill. Aeskitil seems to be an attempt to combine the Norse and Danish forms. Anscetill is an anglicised form of the name, Saxon ans corresponding to Norse ás, and Anschetellus occurs frequently in the Pipe Rolls throughout the twelfth century, *e.g.*, four times in 1131. A monk called Askillus witnesses a charter in A.D. 851. Saxo uses Eskillus; and so does Necrologium Lundense, though Askel occurs. Reichenau uses both: Eskil,

Aschil. D.B.: 40 Aschil, 60 Anschitil(l), 13 Anschetillus, 1 Anschetellus, 4 Anschil. Thus, out of 118 persons bearing the name 74 are Norwegians, if the rule about *ketill, kell* holds good, and if we grant that A(n)s- takes the place of Es- in Danish names, in this case. Place-names: Aschilebi (4) D.B., Askelby, Kb., Asselby now. Ascheltorp, Hasse(Has)thorp, Kb., Haisthorpe now. Norwegian.

ASMUND. O.N. Ásmundr. Common to Denmark and Norway. Asmund(us): earliest Danish coins and Saxo, though Osmundus is found in the twelfth century, N.L. In Norway in the "Diplomatarium Norvegicum" we find Aasmund, Osmund. The usual Domesday Book form is Osmundus (40-50), but already then, 1086, the slurred Assemannus occurs. Asmundrebi, D.B., Asmunderby, Kb., Aismunderby now, shows the genitive mark. Asmundrelac, D.B. (Ásmundarlækr), also in Yorkshire. Osmunderley, 1285, Kb., now Osmotherley. If the "Asman" found on English tenth century coins is a slurring of Ásmundr, it is one more proof that changes in names took place earlier and more rapidly in the Viking colonies than in the motherland.

AUÐCETEL. O.N. Auðketill. Norwegian. Rare. This had become Auðkell in Norway by A.D. 1100, and is only found in one place-name, Öikels-rud, in Dip. Norv.

BARAÐ. O.N. Bárðr. Apparently not found in Denmark, but frequent in Norway. D.B.: Bared (t), 12. P.R: Rob. Barate 1166; Rob. Barat 1185; Hugo Bard 1203, Fines, Bard(e), Kb. Place-names: Barsby, Leicestershire, Bardsey, Yorkshire W.R., Bardsea, Lancashire, Bardsey Isle, Wales.

BEORN. O.N. Björn, Beorn (bear). The Anglo-Saxon beorn, warrior, which occurs only in poetry and only after the Danish settlement, seems to be borrowed, as the A.S. word for bear is bera, masculine. The earliest instance of the name in England is Beorn the Abbot, in a charter of A.D. 758. In the next century the "Liber Vitae" has Beorn, while Domesday Book, 1086, has Bern (4), the

Danish form of the name. Cp. Esbern. The "Biorn" on Danish coins of the 11th century and in Saxo may be borrowed. Lord Byron's name is one of the forms of this name. Roger de Burun, P.R., 1156; Rob. de Burun, Lincolnshire, 1185. Baren, 1285, Kb. Among the freemen of York in 1378 are: Roger de Beronby, Hugo Byren, Thomas Byrne, Joh. Byrone. John le Burun or Byron lives in Lincolnshire in 1383, Thomas Barn in York in 1414. D.B. has 8 Barnebi and 2 Bernebi. Gilebert de Barnebi, Fines about A.D. 1200; Kb. 1285: Wm. de Barneby, Thomas de Barneby, Rob. de Berneby, also called Rob. Barmby. Place-names, Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ: Barneby, Barnby-upon-Don. Barneburg, Berneston, D.B. Barne- may be Bjarnar-, genitive of Björn or Bjarna-, genitive of Bjarni.

BERHÐOR. O.N. Berþgórr. Bertor, D.B. In Norway, Berdor about 1400, Bergdorsætr, 1345. It is probable that Berter on English coins (Keary), is a slurring of this name. Norwegian.

BLIH. O.N. Blígr, used as a nickname. In Norwegian place-names Blikstad, Blikset. Unknown in Denmark.[1]

BRETECOL. Bratt(i)-kollr, an O.N. nickname (?) Cp. Breteby, Brettegate, Kb.

CETEL. O.N. Ketill. D.B.: Ketel, Cetil, Chetel (102 in all). Ketel in a charter of the tenth century (Kemble). Ketel in L.V. ninth century. A moneyer of Henry II. is called Ketil, while Ketil appears as late as 1439. The transition from old to new forms may be seen in Chetelestorp, D.B.—Ketolthorp, Kb.—Kettlethorpe, now. The name is common to Denmark and Norway. Chetellus, 1123, Round and P.R. 1131. Paulinus Ketil witnesses a Yorkshire deed in 1302. Of 3 Chetelbi in Lincolnshire, D.B., one becomes Ketsby, another Kettleby. The genitive is usual, Chetelesbi, Lincolnshire, Chetelestorp (2) and Chetelesness (Kettleness, N.R.), Yorkshire, Chetelestune, Derby, Chetelescot.

[1] Wm. Bligh, A.D. 1200, Pipe Rolls, Notts. Blye and Blie occur often in the reign of Ed. I.

COLBRAND. O.N. Kolbrandr. Colbrand, 4, D.B., in deeds (Birch), A.D. 960-990; also, in D.B., Colebrand, Colebran (3). Kolbrandstad, a place-name in Norway. Occurs in Iceland. · Not found in Denmark.

EÐASTAN is Saxon. O.N. Eysteinn takes the form Eastan in a charter of 995 (Kemble).

EDRIC (corresponding to O.N. Heiðrekr), ELEWIN, ELNOÐ, ELWEGGA are all Saxon.

FARÐAIN is only found once, Fardan, Fardain, in D.B. Farþegn, which occurs four times in the Dip. Norv. is the Norse form; Farþein, on coins, eleventh century, Farthin, N.L., are the Danish forms. It seems to mean a trader. Compare the name Farman in D.B. O.N., far-maðr(-mann), with the same meaning.

FOLCER. Fulcher, D.B. (7). Danish. Not found in Norway. Fulcarslef, Dan. place-name. Transition: Fulcarstorp (four places), D.B.—Folcerthorp, 1303 (Knight's Fees)—Foggathorpe now. Yorkshire, E.R.

FOLCRIC corresponds to Fólkrekr, not found in Scandinavia.

FORNA. O.N. Forni. Forno in a charter (Birch), 958. Forne in D.B. (6-8). Norway (Fornebu) and Denmark (Fornælef). Transition: Fornetorp, D.B., one in E. Riding, Yorkshire, now Thornthorp, one in W. Riding and one in N. Riding. Forne: Grueber and P.R., 1131.

GAMAL. O.N. Gamli (=Gamall). In charters (Birch), A.D. 960-990: Gamal. L.V.: Gamelo. D.B. (130): Gamel. Sym.: Gamelo. Rare in Norway. Denmark: coins, eleventh century, Gamel: place-name, Gammelstrup (Gamals-þorp). Gamel(us), P.R., 1131; Wm. Gamel, 1285 (Kb.); Adam Gamell, 1348; John Gamul, 1410. Gamelstorp, Lincoln, Gameltorp (2), Yorkshire N.R. (and W.R.), Yalmthrope, Knights' Fees (Holderness, temp. Hen. III.), Gamelthorp, 1316 (Nomina Villarum), Galmethorp, 1285, Kb., Galmethorp, 1361, now Ganthorpe. Gamelestun (3), Notts.; Galmeton (D.B. and Kb.), now Ganton. Ellis says: "Gamel seems a

diminutive of Game," which almost beats Freeman's suggestion that Anand is a corruption of Amund.

GODWINE. Saxon, corresponding to O.N. Guðini, Guðni.

GRIM. O.N. Grímr. Grim dux in a charter of 930 (Birch). The "Liber Vitæ" preserves the nominative—r: Grimer. Denmark: coins, eleventh century, Reich. and Saxo: Grim. D.B.: Grim (40); Grimesbi, P.R., 1169.

GRIMCETEL. O.N. Grímketill. D.B.: Grimchel(-chil), 2; Grinchel(-chil), 30; Grinchetel, 2. Grinchel is a parallel change in the name to Grinkel(l) in Norway (Dip. Norv.). But P.R. has Grinchell in 1131 and Grimkil in 1169. Danish: eleventh century coins and Reich.: Grimkil. A Grimkil was bishop of Selsey, 1039-1047. Grimkytele, dative, c. 1010 in the Crawford Charters.

GUNNER. O.N. Gunnarr. Gunnar(-er), D.B. (8). Gunner, Gunar, dux appears in charters (Birch) in 931, 956, and in 963 (dat. Gunnere). Saxo: Gunnarus. N.L.: Gunnerus. Frequent also in Danish place-names: Gundeböl, Gundelev, Gundestrup (Gunnars-bæli,—leif,—þorp). Gunresby, D.B., Lincolnshire; Gunnerside, Yorkshire N.R., Gunnersbury, near London. Gunner, son of Thored, a Viking chieftain, in A.S. Chron. A.D. 966.

HÁLWÆRÐ. O.N. Hallvarðr. D.B.: Aluuard(us), 152: Aluuart, 2; Alwerd, 5; Aluer. Aluuard: Grueber. Aluardus: Round, 1125. Alwarde (Aluerde-)bi, D.B. Yorkshire, E.R.: Elward(e)by, 1285, Ellerby now. Aluuardebi, Elwardebi, D.B. N.R.: Elerd-, Ellerede-, Elred-, Eler-by, 1285, Ellerby now. Aluuarestorp, D.B. Alward(e), Alwar-thorp 1285, Averthorp 1303, Allerthorpe now, E.R., but Allerthorpe in the N.R. is Herleuestorp in Domesday Book. This name does not seem to occur in Denmark.

HÁWER. O.N. Hávarr, Hávarðr. In two charters of A.D. 931 the same man is called Haward dux and Hawerd dux. D.B.: Hauuard(t), 7, all in Yorkshire. Haiward, 1170, Round. Haiwardho Wapentac, Lincolnshire, P.R.,

1185. Hauuardebi, D.B., Lincolnshire. Danish place-name: Haverslev.

IOLUARÐ. Not found in Scandinavia, cp. Jól-geirr. Iulferth, Grueber, temp. Ed. III.

IUSTAN. O.N. Jósteinn. D.B.: Iustan, Iustin (4). Iustin, a Viking leader with Olaf Tryggvisson in 991, A.S. Chron., called Iustin by Symeon of Durham. He was probably a Dane, as Danish ju=Norwegian jó.

LEFER. O.N. Leifr. D.B. only: Lefsi (7), O.N. Leifsi. L.V.: Læfsi, but also Leuer, with the nominative r. Leuesbi (2), Lincolnshire, D.B.; Leusebi, P.R, 1155; Leyseby, Hundred Rolls, about 1275; Inquis. P.M. temp. Hen. III., Leissebi, now Laceby. Leuesthorpe, Leicestershire; Inquis. P.M. temp. Hen. III. Lefsthorp: Denmark: 13th cent.

LEOFNOÐ. Anglo-Saxon.

LIGOLF. Ligulf, Ligul, D.B.; Liculf, L.V.; Liulf, Sym. Not found in Scandinavia.

MENNING. An unrecorded Menning appears in Mennistorp, D.B., Menythorpe, Meningthorp 1303, Menethorpe now, Yorkshire, E.R. Anglo-Saxon.

MERLESUUAN. Merlesuen, D.B.; Mærleswegen, A.S. Chron. Probably the M. who fled to Scotland from York in 1067, but in 1069 joined the Danes in the Humber, and drove the Normans from York. Gaimar says of him in "Lestorie des Engles," under A.D. 1052: Marleswain, Daneis esteit, riche e baron.

ORDRIC. D.B.: Ordric. Anglo-Saxon.

OSULF. O.N. Ásúlfr. D.B.: Osulf (20). Asulf in Runic Stones of the tenth century, Denmark. Aasulfrud, place-name in Norway. Occurs in a charter of 767 (Birch). Old Norse or Anglo-Saxon.

RAGANALD. O.N. Rögnvaldr. D.B.: Ragenald (7), Ragenalt (1), Rainald (108), Raynald (7), Reinald (3), Reinold (1), Renold (2), Renald (2), Raenold (1). Northumbrian coins: Racnolt; Raienalt, king 919-921; Recnald, king 943-944. Regnwald A.D. 932 (Birch). Raginaldus in P.R., 1131, Lincolnshire. Ragnaldr is

the Norwegian form, to judge from place-names, while the a in Ragn- is weakened to Regn- in Denmark. N.L.: Regnwaldus; Saxo: Regnaldus.

ROC. D.B.: Roc (1), Rochebi (Rokeby), Yorkshire; Rochesha (2), Lincolnshire. If Saxo's Rokar represents an O.N. Rokkr, the name may be O.N.

ROSCETEL. O.N. Hrossketill. D.B.: Roschil, Roschel (7), Ruschil (1); Roscheltorp, W.R. Norwegian.

ROSER. Obscure. O.N. Ræsir (?)

RÆUÆN. O.N. Rafn. D.B.: Rauen (11), Rauan (1); Rafan: "Liber Vitæ"; Ræfn: A.D. 950 (Grueber). In Denmark v(u) takes the place of f early, and Saxo's Rafnus is merely an archaism. Ravnstrup (Rafns-þorp). English place-names: Rauen(e)dal(e), 6, Lincolnshire, D.B. Rauenestorp: Northampton (3), Leicestershire (1), Yorkshire (2), but also Rauenetorp, Yorkshire. Rauenesuuet (Rafns-þveit), Yorkshire, Ravenswath in Kirkby, Ravensworth now. Ravenser (Rafns-eyrr) and Ravenser Odd, two lost towns on the Humber, mentioned the last time in 1303.

SÆFUG(O)L. Sæfugul (Grueber), but not found elsewhere.

SIUERÐ. O.N. Sigurðr. D.B.: Siuuard (200), Siuerd (2), Siuert (2). Sieuert, Siefred, Northumbrian coins, A.D. 894-98. Siuuardus, L.V.; Siwardus, abbot in 806, 833, 868 (Birch); Earl Siward Digera died 1055 (Symeon); Siward, P.R. throughout. The slurring of g to w is Danish. Early Danish coins: Sivord, Sigvard; Saxo: Siuard; Reich.: Siwart. Place-names: Siwarbi, D.B.; Sywardby, Kb, 1285; Siwardeby, 1316, N.V.; Seuerdby, Knights' Fees in Holderness, Sewerby now. Siwarbi, Yorkshire W.R.; Siwardbi, Yorkshire W.R., E.R.; Siwartorp, W.R.

SNEL. O.N. Snjallr, adjective, used in Denmark as a name, without mutation, Snell, Snaelleröd (place-name): Snialle, Snielle, N.L. A Snel occurs in charters of 995 (Birch, K.C.D.), also on coins in the reign of Athelstan. Snellestune (2), Derby, D.B.; Snelleslounde, Lincolnshire. Inquis. Non. 14 Ed. III.

ULF. O.N. Úlfr. D.B.: Ulf (120). Frequent in P.R. (1131, 1166). In Domesday Book there are 7 Ulvesbi in Lincolnshire. Ousby, Cumberland, is Ulfsby in P.R. Lanulfestorp, Lincolnshire, D B., Ulvesthorp 1285, Ullesthorp 1314, Owsthorpe now. Ulvestun, Yorkshire N.R., D.B.; Uluis-Ulves, Ulles-ton, Kb; Oulston now.

ULFCETEL. O.N. Úlfketill. D.B.: Ulchil, Ulchel (70), Ulchetel (26), Ulfchetel (4), Ulchetellus (1); Ulfkil, Wlkil, L.V.; Ulfketel 958 (Birch) is called Ulfkytel 959. Ulfkill, Earl of East Anglia, A.S. Chron. Early Danish coins: Ulfkil, Ulfkel, Ulkil. N.L.: Ulkil, Ulkel. Ulchiltorp, Yorkshire W.R., D B. The proportion of Danes to Norwegians of this name in Domesday Book is of great interest.

ULFER. O.N. Úlfarr. D.B.: Ulfar, Derby (1), Ulfer 1, Uluer 1, Yorkshire; Ulwar, Suffolk. Ulverscroft, Leicestershire; Uluardune, D.B.; Ulfre(er)ton Kb., Wolfreton.

UNBAIN. D.B.: Unban (1); Grueber: Unbein.

WULFEH. Anglo-Saxon. Wulfheah; D.B.: Wlfah.

WULGER. Anglo-Saxon. Ulger, coins, Grueber. Wlgar, D.B. Wolfger (Piper).

WULFRIC. D.B.: Ulwric (115), Ulric (3). Early Danish coins: Ulfric; Reich.: Wolewric.

ÞOLF. O.N. Þólfr, þórólfr. D.B.: Tolf (2), Tol dacus (the Dane) 1, Thol (1). Þulfr in Norway on Runic Stones, and þolfr, late fourteenth century. Tolvstad and Tolsby, in the fourteenth century Þolfsby. Compare Tolsta in N. Lewis with Tolvstad. The name is not found in Denmark. Tolesbi, Tollesbi, Yorkshire, D.B., and Tollestone, Notts., D.B., may be derived from Þolleifr or Þólfr, but Toltorp, Northampton, and Tholthorpe, Yorkshire, are from the latter. Tole (Tolli, þolleifr) occurs in the "Liber Vitæ."

ÞÓR. O.N. þórir. D.B.: Tor (38), all in Yorkshire except 4 in Lincolnshire, 2 Northampton, 1 Norfolk; also Thori, Tori, Thure, Thuri. L.V.: Thor, Ture, Thure,

Thuro, Thore, Tori. The number of "Thor," without a final e or i, is so large that it almost looks as if the name of the god had been appropriated. Yet it is hardly credible. A grant by King Edgar to the Archbishop of York in A.D. 958 is witnessed by Þor (Birch). Thuorstorp, Lincolnshire, D.B. Toresbi, 7 in Lincolnshire, 2 in Yorkshire. Turesbi, now Thoresby, Notts. Toreswe (þórs-vé), Lincolnshire (2); Thoreswaia, temp. Hen. II., Thoresway now.

ÞORCETEL. O.N. Þorketill. D.B.: Turchil(l) 107, Torchil 52, Turchetel 14, Torchetel 2. Thurkytel, Þurkitel, 958 (Birch), Thurkytel 959. Thurkillus, L.V. Thurkyll is used as a name in York as late as 1408. Danish Runic Stones: Þorkil, Þurkil, Þurkel. Danish coins: Þurkil, Þorkel. Saxo: Thorkillus. P.R.: Turchillus, 1169; Turchetil, Turchil, 1166; Turchil(l), Kb. Turchilebi, D.B., Yorkshire W.R., now Thirkleby. Torchilebi, N.R., now Thirkleby; Thurkelby in Kirkby. Turchileby, E.R.; Thurkylby, Kb.; Thirtleby now. Turchilestone 1, Leicestershire, but 2 Turchitelestone.

The following are some of the most archaic of the Old Norse names in the "Liber Vitæ" of Durham (the oldest part of which is written 840-900), not in the York list:—

Alaf, Olafar, Olif	Áláfr, Ólafr, Óleifr.
Arni	Árni.
Audœnus, Ouðen	Auðunn.
Azer, Ascer, Asor	Ossur (Asser, Dan.).
Estret	Astriðr.
Berse	Berse(i).
Boduwar	Böðvar.
Colbain, Colben	Kolbeinn.
Eiric	Eiríkr.
Gisla	Gísli.
Aldan	Hálfdán.
Halle	Halle(i).
Aldstein	Hallsteinn.
Locchi	Loki.
Leising	Leisingr.
Stein	Steinn.
Svarthhofthe	Svarthöfðe(i).
Suain, Svein, Sweino, Suanus	Sveinn.

Turbern, Thurburn, Thorbeorn	þorbjörn.
Thorburch	þorbjörg.
Thorulf, Thurolf	þórólfr.
Turstein, Tursten, Thurstin, Thorsten, Thurstan	þorsteinn.
Thorth, Thorthuarth, Thruwin	þóiðr, þorvarðr, þráinn.
Tole, Tyri, Onander	Tolli (þolleifr), þyri, Önundr.

The Norwegians in Yorkshire who acted as guarantors to the Archbishop of York are more likely to be descended from families that had been settled there for some time than to be new comers. Eric Blood-axe, during his short and turbulent reign in the middle of the tenth century, is not likely to have brought fresh settlers from Norway.

Another Eric reigned at York, 1016-23, and only left in the year in which the present list of names was drawn up. Knút the Great made his brother-in-law, Eric Hákonarson of Norway, earl of Northumbria in 1016. Eric was married to Knút's sister, Gytha. His last signature to a charter appears in 1023. Knút, true to his policy of governing England according to English ideas, was cautiously substituting Englishmen for Norsemen in high places. In the charters of his reign Norse names gradually and year by year become less frequent. Eric was not outlawed, as Freeman states, who also calls him a Dane.

The probability is that the Norwegian settlers of Yorkshire formed part of the Danish armies that occupied the soil. It has been proved from place-names that the conquerors of Normandy were largely Danish, and the inference is that the Viking hosts of the West often contained an admixture of both nationalities, with one or the other preponderating.

The Life of St. Oswald, written about A.D. 1000, states expressly that the City of York had 30,000 inhabitants, children not being counted, and that most of its trade was carried on by Danes. The Danish predominance is clearly borne out by the fact that during the tenth century no less than three of the Archbishops of York were Danes, or at least of Danish parentage — Odo,

Oskytel, and Oswald. When we remember that Halfdan and his Vikings settled in Northumbria in A.D. 867-870, we see how rapidly they adapted themselves to their new home. The City of York was the rival of London till the Conqueror devastated Northumbria and broke its power.

In the Charters printed by Kemble, Eirik Jarl's name is given as Iric, Yric, Yrk, and in one (No. 740, Cod. Dipl.), through a clerical error, as Huc. In the A.S. Chronicle his name is once given as Eiric, otherwise Irce, Yric(e).

To show the prevalence of Scandinavian names at a much later date, I append a list of Scandinavian nicknames taken from a roll of the Freemen of York in 1378, which has been printed by the Surtees Society :—

Joh. Mawer, magr, magri, lean.
Wm. ffelagh', félagi.
Adam Lepper, leppr.
Joh. Laafe, Láfi, lági.
J. Cele, sæli.
J. Strowg, strúgr, strjúgr.
R. Syre, Sýr.
Th. Crokebayn, krákubein.
Simon Scaif. skeifr.
J. Mawbarn, meybarn.
J. Barker, börkr.
J. Strenger. strengr.
J. Sturmyn, stórmunnr.
Joh. Catelyn, ketlingr.
Thom. Bolle, Bolli.
Rob. Mansblode, mannsblóð.
Ric. Mundeson, Munda (*i.e.*, Asmundar) son.
Joh. Rout, rauðr.
Thom. Trout, trauðr(i).
Wm. Seper, seppr(i).
— Thecar, þekkr.
Joh. Hayfy, háfi.
Agnes Sprote, sproti.
Rob. Couper, kaupr.
— Tote, tota.
Thom. Storre, stórr.
Hen. Sterre, starri.
Joh. Lyster, leistr.
Rob. Grisse, gríss.
Joh. Bone, bón.
Matilda Snere, snæri, snara.
J. Balne, baldni.
— Boller, böllr.
Wm. Skyftlyng, skiftingr.
Symon Vendilok, Wendelok, vendiloka.
Ric. Bulmer, bólmr.
Joh. Snawe, snáfr.
Wm. Od, Oddr.

My best thanks are due to the Dean and Chapter of York Minster and to the Librarian for their permission to photograph the names in the Gospel codex, and I am particularly indebted to Dr. G. A. Auden, Bootham, York, for his kind help in the matter.

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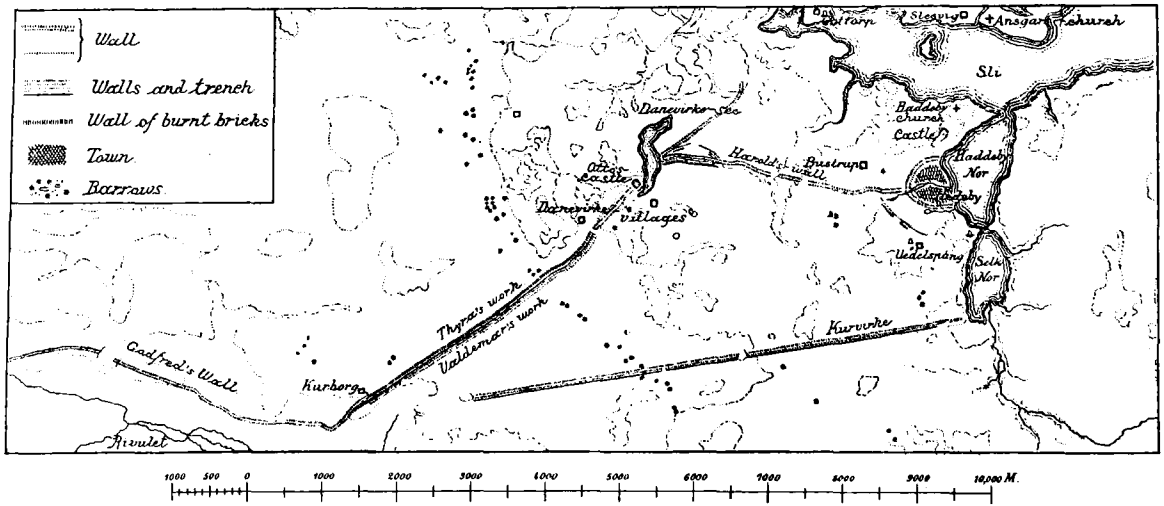


FIG. I.—PLAN OF THE DANEWORK.

NOTES ON THE DANEWORK.

By HANS KJÆR, M.A.,

National Museum (Collection of Danish Antiquities), Copenhagen,
Hon. District Secretary for Denmark.

THERE are few names in Denmark's ancient history which sound to all Danes with such a ring as "Danework," none which play a larger part in legend or in lay. Linked to the most important events from the beginning of the historical period, right down to the times which the oldest living Danes still remember, linked to the fortunes of our folk through the centuries and through their alternate periods of sunshine and of storm, this rampart remains to mark the boundary which has been the meeting-place of Northern and Germanic culture from the earliest historic times. It is still, in spite of all the injury it has suffered, a unique and mighty memorial of the past, of grand and overwhelming character, both to one who for the first time sees its walls, and to him who after an interval of years returns to it again.

But in proportion as those works are mighty which, in the times when the light of history first dawns upon events in our land, were raised here by Danes strong in deeds, just so scanty are the accounts which native and foreign annals give about this our old boundary wall, "Jutland's work," as our best mediæval chronicler, Saxo Grammaticus, writing about 1180, calls it. Only at times does a gleam of light fall on the events, so important for the future of Denmark, which happened along its

line from the period 900 to 1100 A.D. Local oral tradition concerning the Danework provides us at once with a string of names in connection with the construction of the various fortifications, such as Thyreborg (Thyra's castle), Margretevold (Margrete's wall), or Markgrafenburg; but if these names are more closely examined, it seems that they are very doubtful, and at the most but some few centuries old.

For this reason the Danish archæologists and runologists, Sophus Müller, Carl Neergaard, and Ludwig Wimmer, undertook the task of examining the remains yet visible in the districts west and south of the town of Sleswick, on the boundary between the ancient South Jutland and Holstein. They looked at the walls with the trained observation of scientific archæology, searched into what the annals could furnish of genuine evidence, founded on facts, and set forth the results in beautiful, richly illustrated works.[1]

In many points the results were different from those which historical tradition had hitherto reported. Later on a body of Danish archæologists and persons interested in historical studies made a journey to the different points of interest, to be instructed under the very walls themselves by the original archæological investigators. Among these the author of this paper had the honour to be, and it is his personal impressions which he specially wishes to set forth. Those who wish for more exact information he would refer to the beautiful and interesting publications mentioned in the foot-note.

The oldest ramparts start from the fields by the most westerly creek of the Sli, the long, narrow, winding fjord which stretches for many miles inland from the Baltic to the town of Sleswick (see map, Slesvig). This long

[1] "Danevirke," by Sophus Müller and Carl Neergaard, published in "Nordiske Fortidsminder" by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, vol. I, 1903; also published separately with maps and plates, 6/-.

"Sönderjylland's historiske Runemindesmærker" (The historical runic monuments of southern Jutland), by Ludwig Wimmer.

wall, which from old times has been regarded as the chief line of defence, extends in a line which curves slightly, at first towards the south, and afterwards to the west. This is the actual Danework, to which enduring popular tradition has linked the name of Thyra Danebod (Help of the Danes), queen of King Gorm the Old (circa 935 A.D.). Over a long stretch toward the east from the Sli to the so-called "Danevirke See" (Lake of the Danework) it is now practically razed and levelled; the plough goes over it, and only a low, broad elevation shows the place where it went of old. In the middle it has time after time been widened and raised, lastly in 1864: but out towards the west the wall becomes again lower, and still bears the stamp of antiquity. The whole length is about 12½ kilometers. Toward the west it ends in the low and swampy districts which surround the river Trene, which in ancient times, even as in the present day, were scarcely passable by an army. The wall just closed the open stretch between the Sli and the Trene (see map, "rivulets").

This is undoubtedly the wall which was built by one of the first Danish kings who is mentioned in the annals of history, Godfred, who lived in the time of the Emperor Charlemagne, and waged war with him. The Frankish annals which bear the name of Einhardt record about this that, after King Godfred had been making war in the most northerly parts of the Emperor's dominions, he marched with his army to the harbour which is called Sliesthorpe, where all his fleet met him. Here he came to the resolution that he would protect his own kingdom against the Saxons by a wall, and raised a work, which ran from the eastern arm of the sea, which the Danes call "Østersalt" (the east sea), to the western sea. In this there was to be only one passage through which waggons and horses could pass (Viglesdoor, Kalegat), and it is further stated that the work was apportioned among the chief men of the various provinces in the land.

This wall, supplemented by another which has now almost wholly disappeared, the Østervold (the eastern wall; not on the map), which ran from the Sli to Eckernförde fjord, formed a complete and connected land defence, so immense that it has been doubted whether King Godfred, in the two years which he lived after the incidents mentioned, could have succeeded in completing it. But Godfred's western wall was not, in its inception, so massive a wall as it became later. In the middle it is now many times higher: but out in the meadows towards the west, where it has not been thought necessary to strengthen it in later times, Godfred's wall is probably even now about the same as it was when first built. It attains here a height of 3-4 meters, with a breadth of about 24 meters. Toward the south the sides are almost sheer; there is no ditch to be seen. Except for some small demolitions, the wall, as it stands here, is exceptionally fine. In the surroundings there is little to detract from its importance. Settlements are scanty, villages lie remote, and the wall commands the flat landscape just as it did in King Godfred's time. This is the part of the Danework which makes the most imposing impression on the visitor. There is a natural poetry about the place, and one leaves it with reluctance.

Of a beauty of its own, though yet of a different kind, is the great Halvkredsvold (semi-circular wall), as much as 8 to 9 meters high, which lies near Haddeby Nor (Haddeby gulf), the bay which extends southward from the Sli. Recent investigations have proved beyond a doubt that this wall not only enclosed an ancient town, but also that this town was the famous Hedeby. At the same time that the walls and, roughly speaking, everything that was visible above ground, were being examined by the Danish archæologists, with the willing permission of the German authorities, excavations were undertaken within the semi-circular wall by Dr. F. Knorr, acting on behalf of the museum at Kiel, whose director is the well-known archæologist, (Miss) Professor Mestorff. These

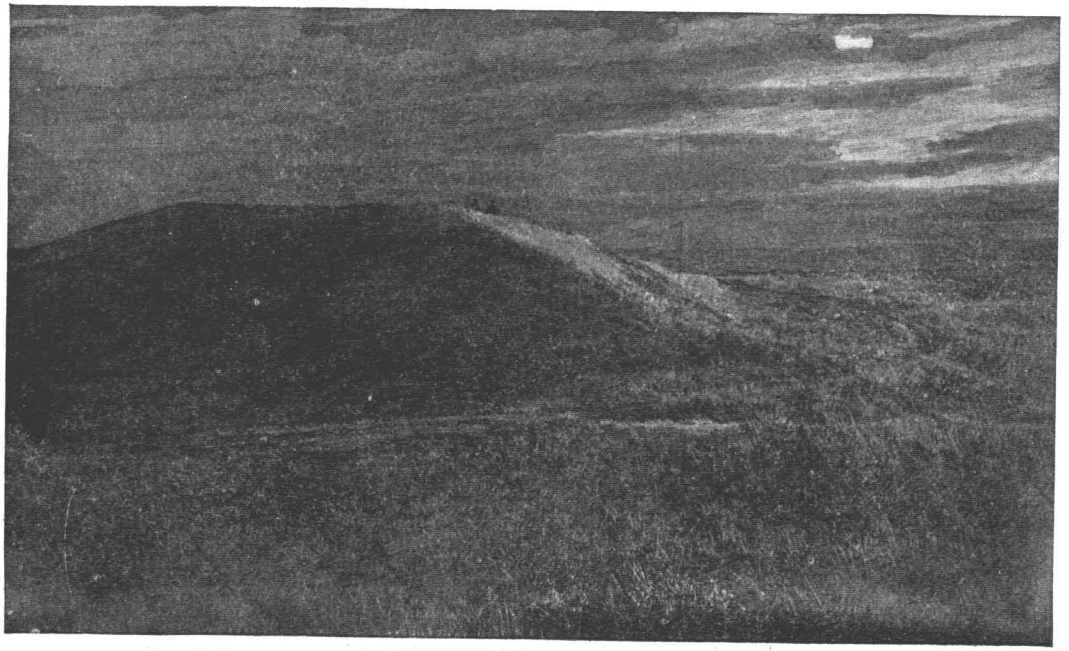


FIG. 2.—GODFRED'S WALL.

investigations exposed over almost all the ground a thick layer of black, or rather very dark earth, in which were embedded numerous objects evidently from an inhabited site. A number of potsherds and earthenware vessels were found, some of them of coarse ware, as if from household vessels in ordinary daily use, some from finer vessels, and not a few of them with colour decoration. Moreover, numerous iron objects were discovered, chiefly bolts and nails, coarse fragments of wrought work, and similar things not so easily classified; but in addition there was a considerable number of arrow-heads and spear-points, axes, knives, buckles, etc. Weaving-whorls and whorls for the distaff were also found, almost all of them of the form universally used in the so-called Viking-age, 800 to 1000 A.D. A great mass of slag and fragments of moulds bear witness also to the practice



FIG. 3.—AT THE WALL OF HEDEBY.

of metal-casting on a somewhat extensive scale. Finally, as the most important find from a chronological point point of view, two ferrules for swords, wrought of bronze open work, and of the form used in the ninth century, were discovered, together with some small glass beads, some bars of silver, and moulds for making them, two

of which are shaped like a cross. All this shows clearly enough, when compared with the other investigations, that on this spot there stood a town, and that it went to ruin between the years 900 and 1000 A.D.[1]

There are few sites concerning which there has been more debate, yet seldom have the monuments themselves spoken so plainly as here. The wall still stands nearly as it did in the old days. In the wars of 1848 and 1864 it carried a breastwork, but that is levelled, and can only just be traced. Right through the semi-circular site of the town, which lies open toward the arm of the sea, there runs from a small strip of meadow just without the walls the little watercourse, which secured to the inhabitants the needful supply of water. Hard by, to the north of the town, there lies a natural hill of earth of considerable height and great extent, whose centre is surrounded by a low wall. Upon it there are also numerous grave-mounds from the same period as the relics of the town within the walls. This was the castle of Hedeby. The whole site exactly resembles the old Birca (Bjórkó) in Sweden.

In addition, there are the rune-stones, some situated just outside the walls, and some in the neighbourhood, which mention Hedeby by name. These, in connection with the scanty information to be gleaned from the chronicles, make it possible to sketch the outline of events in the last days of Hedeby. Just south of the town, at the village of Vedelspang, are found two rune-stones, whose inscriptions, written both in Swedish and Danish, tell us that:—

Asfrid set up this memorial to Sigtrygg her son at Gnupa's "Vi." (Vi = consecrated grave-place),

and that:—

Vi—Asfrid, daughter of Odinkar, set up this memorial after King Sigtrygg, her and Gnupa's son.

[1] These objects were in 1903 to be seen in Kiel. Further investigations in 1904-5 have brought to light a great series of similar antiquities and a place with tombs.

It was in Hedeby that Swedish vikings, under the chieftain Olaf, had succeeded in establishing themselves; afterwards Olaf sought to consolidate his power by the marriage of his son Gnupa to Astrid, daughter of the Danish magnate Odinkar. But in addition to their natural enemies from the north, there soon came against this little viking colony enemies from the south also. In 934 A.D. King Gnupa was attacked by Henry I., Emperor of Germany, was vanquished, and forced to submit to baptism. Soon afterwards there followed a Danish attack from the north, and the king fell. But his widow, Asfrid, still held Hedeby for a time in conjunction with her son Sigtrygg, and she raised to her fallen lord a notable heathen memorial.[1] Later on, her son Sigtrygg also fell on a viking expedition to Normandy, and thereafter the queen raised to his memory the two runic stones, with inscriptions, equally intelligible both to Swede and Dane. After this the days of the Swedish dominion in Hedeby were numbered. Times became too hard for Odinkar's daughter. King Harald Bluetooth (985) "won for himself the whole of Denmark," as he says upon the runic stone on the king's mound in Jellinge, and, as Danish kings had previously ruled the Hedeby district (although Godfred's wall was built a little more to the north), there can be no doubt that Hedeby also was won back for Denmark before his death.

Even before this period the first improvement and strengthening of the old Godfred's wall had taken place, this being very likely actually a result of these Hedeby wars. King Sigtrygg of Hedeby died in 943 A.D., and at a still earlier date had the queen, whose name has become specially linked with the Danework, departed this life, namely, King Gorm's wife, Queen Thyra Danebod. It was in fact her building of the Danework which gave her that beautiful surname, and her work must have stood out as an exceptional achievement, both in her own days and in after times. Godfred's wall, the low earthen dyke without a trench, was, under the new conditions,

[1] See note at end.

too slight a defence. Queen Thyra's "Danework" was a great wall of hard stone, for the most part unhewn, but sometimes cleft, set in stiff clay, as was the fashion in ancient times (a "Cyclopean wall"). This wall was raised upon and in front of Godfred's wall, from "Danevirke See" to Kurborg, and was about two miles in length, 3-3.3 meters high, and 2.7-5 meters broad. It is not improbable that in addition there were wooden towers built into and in front of the wall. The Sagas relate that when at a later date the Emperor Otto of Germany attacked the wall, whose full garrison was 60,000 men, he got the better of it by setting the wooden parts on fire. At various places along the wall there are actually found logs which have been much charred, as if from a fire. Thus there may be actual facts underlying the story in Olaf Tryggvison's saga, which tells about the wooden gates at every hundred fathoms with castles above them.

Queen Thyra's wall itself is now only visible in some places. It is covered up by the wall of Waldemar the Great (1182 A.D.), which is carried along upon and in front of it, as well as by heaps of earth thrown up in his time and at later dates. But her work was so vast that her age gave the whole structure her name, while Godfred's wall was forgotten, or is sought for elsewhere.

When Hedeby was won back for Denmark, Harald Bluetooth's connecting wall was built from "Danevirke See" to Hedeby. That wall also is very imposing, considerably greater than Godfred's wall, but yet of smaller dimensions than the town wall. Near Hedeby it is still well preserved for some length, being about 5 meters high and 18 meters broad. Farther toward the west it was somewhat weaker, and is now destroyed.

Hedeby was won back for Denmark, but only for a time; it was soon lost again for a while. With regard to this two runic stones again yield the most trustworthy information. The first of these is that which:—

Torolv, Sven's courtman, raised to Erik his comrade, who died when brave men camped round Hedeby. He was a shipfarer and a very good man.

The other was set up by:—

King Sven to Skarde his courtman, who had gone with him westwards (on a viking cruise to England), **but now died at Hedeby.**

It was the Swedish king Erick (Sejrsæl) "the victorious," who in the absence of the Danish king Sven Forkbeard (he died in London in 1014) had harried the land, and established himself at Hedeby. Sven's son was Cnūt (Canūte). Only after a hard fight did the Danish king succeed in recapturing his town. There are still to be seen south-west of Hedeby, in the direction of Vedelspang, 3,600 to 3,800 feet from the town, the faint remains of a siege work, and in the town wall itself, exactly opposite this siege work, is to be seen a great depression, which has been pointed out from ancient times as "the breach of the stormers."

This was the last episode in the history of Hedeby. In the year 1000 the town was forsaken and the church deserted, as the bishop complains, and after that time it never rose again. It had no doubt been a trading place and a centre for great markets, which were driven away by the course of events to find a safer position elsewhere. The inhabitants, and to some extent the name, were transferred to the town of Sleswick, which lies north of the Sli, and was at that time only a little town round the present cathedral (Altstadt). Only the arm of the sea preserved the name of Hedeby, and this may easily have given its name to Haddeby Church, built in the thirteenth century, which now lies between the old Hedeby and the Sli, and is dedicated to St. Ansgarius, the Apostle of the North.

In the year 975 the Emperor Otto of Germany made an expedition against Harald Bluetooth, broke through the Danework and set up a castle "*in his finibus.*" It is possible, perhaps probable, that the site of this burg is now to be seen in a somewhat extensive walled position, surrounded by a trench, close to the west of the "Danevirke See," in the line of the wall of the Danework itself.

This castle, however, stood only for a short time. Within the next eight years it had been destroyed by the Danes, and, if it stood where this walled place now lies, it was incorporated with the wall, and constituted merely a link of it, though an unusually strong one.

The "Kurvirke" also probably dates from about the same period. This runs in a straight line from the north of Selk westwards to about the place (Kurborg) where the main wall bends. On its south front a trench can be seen, and traces of an outwork. From its whole style it makes a far weaker impression than the main wall and, since in Denmark the construction of a trench appears, as a novelty, at a comparatively late period, the Kurvirke may be younger than the main Danework. But nothing is known as to the date when it was constructed. It must have been in the early middle ages, and this wall



FIG. 4.—THE "KURVIRKE" (FROM THE NORTH).

is very likely rather a boundary line than a work of defence. The Kurvirke still stands for a long stretch in a remarkably good state of preservation, with as sharp an outline as an engineering work but a few years old.

About the time of Valdemar the Great (d. 1182), the Danework had, according to the single authority of Saxo

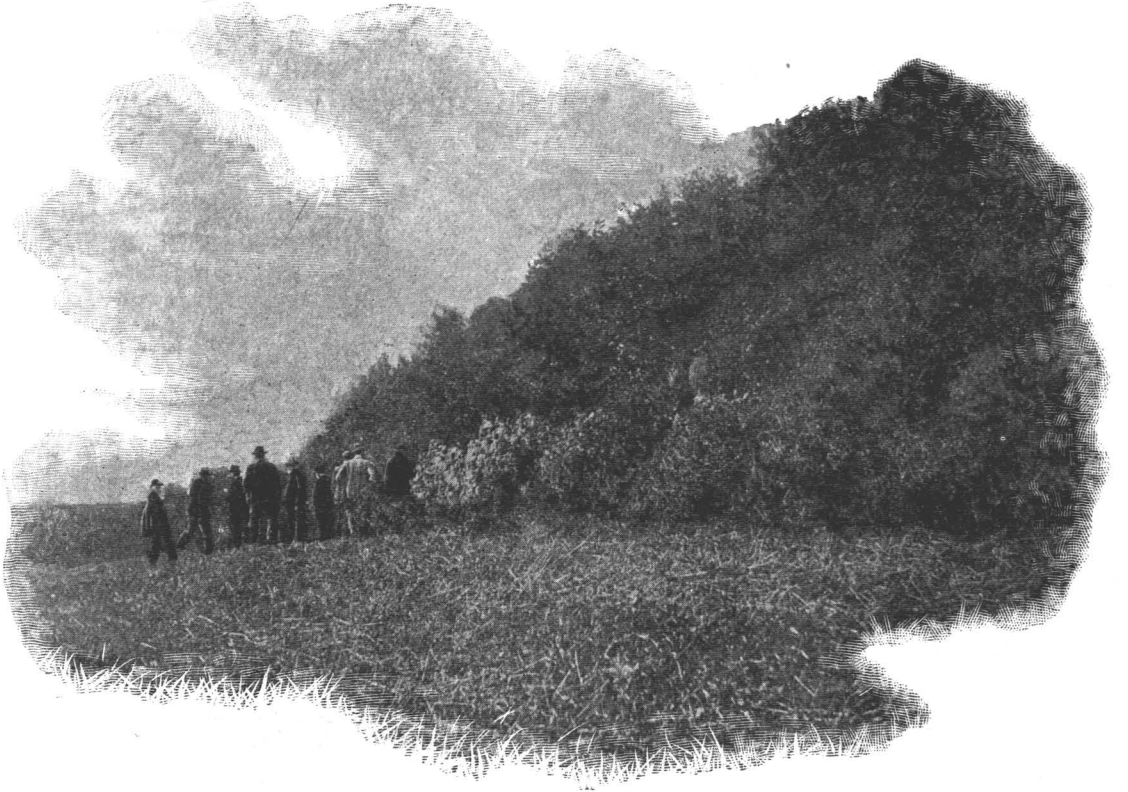


FIG. 5.—THE WALL OF BRICKS.

Grammaticus, become very ruinous. It had, however, played some part in the interval, for now and again history mentions it under various names, "Danework," "Jutland's wall," or "Structura Danorum." When the Danish kingdom, after long trouble, grew strong again, under King Valdemar I. (1157-82), the king began on the great work of constructing a new wall in burnt bricks, which were a new and, until then, almost entirely unknown building material. This ran parallel with Thyra's old wall for a length of two miles, and was twenty feet high by six to seven broad, with numerous buttresses. The work was pushed on with energy, but was still unfinished when the king died. Upon this occasion fresh heaps of earth were added to the wall, and a trench and fore-wall were also constructed.

Only a little of "Valdemar's wall" is now visible. The stones in various peasant's houses beside it bear witness to the encroachments of former times; much of it, however, still lies covered by the earth heaped upon it in later days.

When South Jutland (Sleswick) soon after became a fief of the crown and the connection with Holstein followed, the wall lost its importance. It was not till the time of Denmark's latest wars, 1848-50 and 1864, that there were made new and important improvements, which again have disappeared.

Now the wall is but a memorial for all Danes of the great deeds of ancient times.

Note to page 320. In Stephens' "Old Northern Runic Monuments," vol. iv., pp. 95 and 96, Odinkar, Asfrid's father, is identified with a Christian bishop of that name, and the memorial is assumed to be a Christian one. Mr. Kjær however informs us that, though she belonged no doubt to the same family, we cannot conclude that she was daughter of either of the Odinkars recorded in history. The eldest of these, Odinkar the White, lived in the time of King Harald Bluetooth, 940-86, the second Odinkar under his son Sven. It was evidently a family name.—ED.

SHIP BURIALS.

By HAAKON SCHETELIG.

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

AMONG Scandinavian grave finds from heathen times there is scarcely any which has taken hold upon the general consciousness to a greater degree than the burials from the Viking Age, where the dead was buried in a ship. It is as if we were brought into actual touch with that far-off and stirring time, as if we were set face to face with the sea-faring folk of whom the sagas tell. This burial custom summons up before us, as it were, the whole historical character of that age, and every such find still acts as a dramatic and impressive scene. The opening up of the great ship-graves has for these reasons been the greatest event in Northern archæology, and each of these occurrences has for a time aroused universal interest in the monuments of heathen antiquity. In proof of this I would remind you of the find from Borre of 1852, the Tune ship found in 1867, the Gokstad ship in 1880, and of the last ship just found in Slagen in 1904.

Each of these graves was laid out on such a great scale, and equipped in so costly a fashion, that we might easily be tempted to treat ship burials as a specially princely custom, which only fell to the lot of the highest of all, and each time such a rich grave has been found there have not been wanting attempts to discover who it was that was buried there. Thus the antiquary Nicolaysen tried to find in the ship-grave at Borre one or other of the kings Eystein or Halfdan the

Mild, who are spoken of by Snorri[1]; in the Gokstad ship people thought they saw with great certainty the grave of Olaf Geirstad-alf, and Lorange has guessed that we see in the great ship-grave at Karmsund the burial monument of Guttorm Eriksson. These conclusions, however, rest upon weak foundations, and we should take warning from what happened in the case of the excavation of the ship at Slagen, where a local historian thought to find King Eystein, Halfdan the Black's great-grandfather, the same that the antiquary Nicolaysen thought to discover at Borre; in the case of the Slagen ship moreover many features seemed to tally with the account in the saga, until it was proved that the Slagen ship was a woman's grave. But these historical connections have at the same time won for the ship-graves a decidedly romantic position before the public mind, and this has helped to cast over them the glamour of memories, which, for the general public, cannot easily be linked to nameless monuments from the heathen times.

For scientific investigation the matter stands differently. In order to study the extension and meaning of this burial custom, it is of no special interest to know the name of the various people who rest in the graves, and we shall further see that these few great ship-graves are far from being an exception, which can be studied by themselves; they must be regarded as an outcome of a general and wide-spread custom. The great finds named above will, as a matter of course, always be exceptional as regards their richness, and from their multifarious contents they will always be an invaluable source of information as to the culture of the Viking age; but the mere custom of burying in a vessel was not a princely prerogative, or limited to roving vikings. It must have been founded in the conception of death prevailing at that time, as it is seen to have been widely spread among all classes of people. Looked at in this connection the great ship-graves by no means stand alone; they only

[1] Heimskringla. Ynglinga Saga, c. 51 and 52.

show us at the highest stage of the community, where power and riches were present, the fullest expression of an idea which the common people also strove to follow.[1]

For a right understanding of ship-graves one must at once give up the idea that the ship is a viking ship, properly understood, and that the dead who was buried in a ship must be just a viking, who was in this way to be placed in a position to continue his roving life after death. Scarcely any, even of the bigger ships that have been found, can be supposed to have been built for journeys over the open ocean which viking cruises implied; and still less can this apply to the many, many occasions where the grave only contains an ordinary little boat. Besides, burial in a vessel was by no means reserved for men alone; it was practised in the case of women also, who nevertheless did not as a rule take part in the warrior-life of men. But all these considerations become superfluous by reason merely of the number of boat-graves. It would doubtless not be easy to compile any complete statistics of these graves; but it is no exaggeration to declare that their number throughout the Scandinavian peninsula must be reckoned in four figures, and without doubt this implies that the custom was widely spread among the settled portion of the population, as well as

[1] The oldest monograph on ship burials is by E. C. Werlauff: "Om Nordboernes skik at brænde og begrave døde i skibe samt om skibsforestillinger paa nordiske fortidsminder." (Of the Northmen's custom of burning and burying the dead in ships as well as of representations of ships on Northern monuments). "Antiquariske Annaler," IV., p. 275 ss. Kjøbenhavn, 1827. This work hardly claims much interest now, since the material at that time was very small. An excellent monograph, and up to now the only considerable survey, is the work of Prof. Dr. O. Montelius: "Om högsättning i skepp under vikingatiden." (Of Howe burying in a ship during the Viking Age). "Svenska fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift," VI., p. 149 ss. Stockholm, 1885. All that is set forth in this work still stands, full of power, and it might be thought bold for anyone to treat of the same subject after so eminent an investigator, were it not that the monograph now after a lapse of twenty years can be supplemented by many important finds which have appeared in the meantime. Prof. G. Gustafson in the "Year Book of Bergen Museum for 1890," No. VIII., has added an important contribution to show the general distribution of the custom in Norway.

among its roving elements. From this it follows also that the rôle of ships and boats in these graves was the same as it was in life; the boat was made ready for the journey which lay before the dead.

Here we reach the idea which forms the foundation of the grave-custom which we are considering, but before we pass to the description of the northern graves, it will not be out of place to call to mind that this view of death as a journey is not peculiar to Scandinavia in the Viking age. Hildebrand[1] has already called attention to the fact that the like conception is found in Chili and Australia. The Algonquin Indians sail after death to the land of spirits in the South, where magnificent trees and plants are found; they sail in shining canoes of stone over the ocean. The Australians pass over the ocean to the isle of spirits far in the West. This conception of a sea-voyage to the spirits' land has also given rise to a peculiar treatment of the dead in many places. In some parts of Australia the custom was to lay the dead in a canoe, which was thrust out from the shore so that it might find its way with the trade wind to the isle of spirits. Only little children, who could not steer a canoe, were buried in the earth in olden time. But later on such burials became more and more general, without, however, people entirely giving up the thought of a sea voyage. When the dead were buried people still sent a very little canoe to sea, or they buried the dead lying in his canoe. The like customs are found along the whole north-west coast of North America, and also among certain tribes in South America. The last traces of a corresponding idea have been met with in New Zealand, in the fact that here people used to set up a canoe close by the grave.

The same ideas have certainly not been strangers to the coast folk of Europe[2]; they were prominent among

[1] "Folkens tro om sine döda" (Folk Belief about the Dead), p 50. Cf. Montelius, l.c. p. 187.

[2] See Henrik Schück: "Studier i nordisk Literatur- och Religionshistoria." (Studies in the History of Northern Literature and Religion), vol. ii., p. 286. Stockholm, 1904. The examples cited are drawn from this work.

the Celts in Ireland, where they spoke of the journey to the land of life, the land of gladness far west in the sea, and a hundred times as big as Ireland. The same thought is to be traced among the population of the Hebrides, since the people there called the kingdom of death "the other shore," and it has lingered in traditions on the coast of France.[1] A like feature is found also in a Northern legend, namely, in the description in the Lay of Beowulf of Scyld's birth and death. According to Beowulf he came as a little child to Denmark lying in an open boat and surrounded with costly weapons. There he grew up and was taken for king over the land, which at that time had no king, and, perchance, never had one before. When he died he was laid in a ship surrounded with rich treasures, and the ship bore him out to sea, "nor can any with surety say, anyone under the whole heaven, who it was that received that bark's lading." Professor Schück considers that this tale has been influenced by the religious ideas of Western European culture, Friesland most likely, where such a myth was known and has passed in later times into the well-known legend of the swan-knight. It would take us too far afield to follow these traditions further. It is sufficient for our object to remember that ideas of the kind have been generally current, and that they are not in any way isolated occurrences when they appear in the North in the Viking Age. On the other hand, it is certain that in no other place in Europe have they found so clear an expression in the arrangement of the graves, as in the case of the Northern graves, which will be dealt with here.

[1] It was found in Spain also according to W. C. Borlase. See "The Dolmens of Ireland," p. 157. The same author considers that the wedge-shaped graves, built of stone, dating from the early Bronze Age, of which he gives instances from countries so widely apart as Sweden, Ireland, and Portugal, are formed on the model of a ship. With these he is inclined to connect the ship-shaped primitive buildings, found in the Balearic Isles, known as "Naos," "Naus," or "Navetas," *i.e.*, "ship." Somewhat similar buildings are found, he says, in Ireland. All these may, he thinks, have been connected with the cult of the dead. Ibid. See under "Ship-graves."—Ed.

We come then to the question of the origin of the ship-graves in Scandinavia and their oldest appearance. It is fairly certain that burial in a vessel was quite unknown in the North before the Viking Age, or more correctly speaking before the age which immediately precedes the beginning of the actual Viking Age—the oldest ship-grave which is known can be dated to the sixth century A.D.—and it will therefore be necessary in this connection to cast a glance over the grave-customs of the North, as they existed at that period. In Sweden, with the exception of Gotland, grave finds from the fifth and sixth centuries are very rare; to judge from some few finds, cremation seems to have been practised, and the grave-goods at any rate are very poor. In Denmark the graves from these centuries are likewise very poor; but here unburnt burials seem to have been predominant.[1] In Norway the most frequent use was certainly that of unburnt burials in great cists of stone or wood, but cremation-graves are also met with rather frequently; here the graves of the unburnt are fairly richly furnished with ornaments, weapons, pots, etc., just as in the case of Anglo-Saxon graves of the same period in England. In spite of all local variations the conception underlying the Northern grave-customs in this period can be summed up in this, that the grave was the resting place of the dead, where his corpse was deposited, burnt or unburnt. Even where the grave is richly furnished, as in the Norwegian skeleton-graves, no other furniture is needed than belongs to the personal equipment of the dead, his dress, with the ornaments and weapons belonging to it, together with what was required for his daily needs, such as food and drinking vessels.

If we turn from this to the oldest known grave, where a vessel was offered up at the burial, quite another feature enters in. This grave was found at the excavation of "Odin's Howe," at Old Upsala, in Upland; the date of

[1] Dr. Sophus Müller, "Vor Oldtid" (Our Olden Time). Copenhagen, 1897, p. 600.

this is assigned by Dr. Almgren to the sixth century.[1] To begin with, the grave-howe differs from the usual howes in the older period of the Iron Age, by reason of its extraordinary dimensions, and the same is the case with the extent of the grave and of the grave-goods. The inner part of the howe was enclosed by a wall 1.2 meters high, carefully built up of granite stones, and within this, on the original surface of the ground, there was spread a bed, which at the bottom consisted of fine sand, and over that of a layer of clay, stamped hard, 30 centimeters thick, on which the funeral pyre had stood. Over this layer was erected a heap of stones, 48 meters in circumference, which formed the kernel of the grave-howe. In the midst of the layer of clay a great heap of burnt bones was found, and under this an earthenware jar, likewise filled with burnt bones. The grave goods were found partly among the bones, partly spread out on the remains of the funeral pyre over the layer of clay. What we are specially concerned with in this instance is that in the layer of burnt matter there were found the nails from a burnt vessel, and likewise the marks of burnt stakes of coniferous wood, which probably served to shore up the vessel for the burning. Among the bones were found, besides human bones, the bones of dogs in great numbers, with those of oxen, sheep, swine, fowls, and in all probability of a cat as well. The grave-goods were greatly damaged by the fire, but yet the remains of golden ornaments, glass beads, playing-pieces, etc., could be traced.

It is noticeable in this case how the whole burial is planned on a larger scale than anything that one knows of belonging to the older periods in Scandinavia. To begin with, the design of the grave-howe, and the great trouble taken over the arrangement of the place for the funeral pyre are remarkable; in addition to this we must note the many domestic animals which have had to follow the dead to the pyre. Bones of animals in graves from

[1] A detailed account of the investigation and of the find is given by Dr. Bror Emil Hildebrand in "Månadsblad, 1876," p. 251 ss.

older periods are no doubt not altogether unknown [1]; but never before had a whole stock of domestic animals been sacrificed as in this case. And when we find that this grave also contained a ship, that is in strictest agreement with the rest of its furniture. This oldest ship-grave betokens not merely a change in the prevailing grave-custom on a single point; it betokens an altogether altered view of how the grave ought to be arranged to correspond to what would befall man after death. Whereas the Norse skeleton-graves of the same period were prepared like a bed with skins and rugs, here the case is quite opposite; here the chieftain, after death, needs his ship too, nor must he lack his horse, his hounds, or any others of the animals which could be of any use or comfort to him. The ship-graves did not originate in an addition to an already pre-existing grave-custom: they present themselves from the very first with an entirely new programme for the arrangement of the grave fully worked out.

That is so much the more remarkable, as there is no prototype of the northern ship-graves known, either in the same or any older period; they seem to have originated independently within the territory where we first meet with them, and this is really the first time that a new northern grave-custom has arisen without foreign influence. Right down from the oldest burials which are known on Scandinavian soil we can trace their origin back to other lands; the barrows and passage-graves of the Stone Age, the cremation of the Bronze Age, the urn burials of the oldest Iron Age, etc., all these grave-customs, which each in its time brought with it some novelty in the way of the treatment of the dead, or in the arrangement of the grave, have been introduced into the North from foreign prototypes, and have in all likelihood been connected with an intrusion of new ideas about death and the life of the dead after death. It thus deserves

[1] Dr. Sophus Müller: "Dyreknogler fra ligbaalet" (Bones of animals from the Funeral Pyre). "Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1900," p. 166.

special attention when, shortly before the dawn of the Viking Age, we meet with ship-graves as the first original Northern grave-custom. I cannot, it is true, attempt to give any explanation of how this novelty is to be accounted for; that would lead us on to a question of the history of religion, which cannot be solved upon considerations of archæology alone, especially since we have no reason to institute any comparison between general religious ideas as they were in the Viking Age, and had been in the age immediately preceding. But it ought to be observed that a life of travel and travels—merchant cruises as well as military expeditions—played a greater part among the dwellers in the North in the Viking Age than at any earlier time, and that we ought perhaps to regard this in connection with the fact that ship-graves meet us just as we draw near to that period. Looked at from this side there may be found some truth in the popular view, which regards ship-graves as especially connected with the roaming life of Viking expeditions. In any case ship-graves betoken a remarkable innovation in the domain of grave-customs, and it is an innovation which is peculiar to Scandinavia, and seems unaffected by foreign influence.

The early ship-graves appear as a specially aristocratic grave-custom. The grave just described from "Odin's Howe" at Old Upsala already bears witness to a princely wealth and power, and the same is the case with the graves which come next to it in age, the graves at Vendel and Ultuna in Upland. The grave at Ultuna had been discovered as early as in the eighteen-fifties, but since it was discovered by chance during work in the fields, it was, unhappily, rather pulled to pieces than examined by its finders, wherefore the details preserved are very incomplete. Only this much is certain, that it was a man's grave, laid out in a vessel 4 ells broad, and extremely richly furnished. It seems in all respects to have been of the same kind as the graves investigated later at Vendel, of which we have most excellent and very complete accounts.

At an enlargement of the present churchyard of Vendel they came across fourteen graves in all, twelve of which contained vessels, whilst two were arranged differently. They were all men's graves, and there was a very great difference of time between them, since the oldest must be referred to the seventh, the youngest to the tenth century. In all probability it was the male members of one and the same family who were buried here generation after generation, and that this race was a race of chieftains appears plainly enough from the extraordinarily rich furniture of the graves. The oldest was the most richly furnished, and this is the one that especially claims our interest in connection with our subject.[1]

The graves contained boats from 7 to 10 meters long, buried below the level of the field, and with no mark visible above the ground when discovered. The chieftain himself had lain, or perhaps we should rather say, had sat, in the after part of the boat, armed with sword, shield, and spear, all of the highest workmanship. The fore-part of the boat was occupied by the animals, which were offered at the burial; in the richest of the graves there were three horses, four dogs, a whole ox, and a joint of a young one, a pig, two sheep, and the head of a third, a goose, a duck, a crane, and a falcon for hawking. In many of the graves there were also found kitchen utensils; for instance, big iron forks and a great iron pot, which as a rule stood furthest forward in the boat. It will be seen that here we have furniture which stands quite on the same level with what we found in the above-mentioned grave from "Odin's Howe."

There is nothing in the Vendel graves which distinguishes them from the most primitive form of boat-graves. It is the boat in and by itself which makes the grave, and the dead sits in the open at the steersman's post; he is not laid to rest in a grave-chamber, as became the custom later. It should also be remarked

[1] Hjalmar Stolpe "Vendelfyndet. En förberedande Öfversigt." (The Vendel Find. A preliminary Survey). "Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige,' VIII.

that the horses in these graves have bridle and stirrup; they are clearly meant as saddle-horses, and have not merely been animals sacrificed at the burial. Thus their meaning and signification is still the same as that of the boat itself, and that meaning is clearly and consciously expressed in the grave custom.

In the finds adduced here from the sixth and seventh centuries we have studied simultaneously the oldest known examples of ship-graves from Scandinavia, and we may next proceed to consider the equipment of ship-graves in the Viking Age, that period when they first became widely spread, and appear in great numbers from all parts of Norway and Sweden. A few words must, however, first be said about the relation between the two customs, apparently so diverse, cremation and unburnt burial. As we have seen, even before the Viking Age we already find both these methods employed at ship-burials, and the idea which resulted in ship-graves has certainly been independent of the consideration which decided whether the dead should be burned or not. The same is the case also in the Viking Age; we find ships employed in burnt as well as in unburnt burials.

The relation between cremation-graves and unburnt burials has, as far as concerns the Viking Age, been just recently set out by Dr. Almgren, and, since this question also touches upon the subject now before us, I shall summarize his observations.[1] In Denmark cremation is met with only in Jutland. Even there it really occurs only to the north of the Limfjord, and at some few other places on the coast. It is almost always found in connection with certain forms of graves, which are only found elsewhere in the Scandinavian peninsula. One is therefore inclined to suppose that graves of this kind on the coast of Jutland, as well as in the islands of Sleswick, Amrum and Fohr, are due to foreign vikings, who

[1] Oscar Almgren, "Vikingatiden's grafskick i verkligheten og i den fornnordiska litteraturen." (The grave-customs of the Viking Age in reality and in old Norse literature.) "Nordiska Studier," tillegnade Adolf Noreen. Stokholm, 1904, pp. 318, 319.

established themselves for a time in these spots. With these exceptions unburnt burials are the only ones prevailing in Denmark, as well as throughout Bornholm, and probably in Skaane also. From Gotland a great number of unburnt burials of the Viking Age are known, and some few cremation-graves. On the third greatest island in the Baltic, however, namely, in Øland, both grave customs seem to have been more equally represented. On the mainland of Sweden, outside Skaane, cremation is again beyond comparison the most general form. The same is the case in Norway, although with a very interesting distinction between the different parts of the country. The unburnt graves are, to wit, most numerous in the Northern parts of the country, especially in the coastlands from Trøndelagen northward, and in connection with this we must consider the fact that graves with the bodies unburnt are the only form we know of from Iceland.

It is certainly not an accident that those lands of the North, where unburnt burials were the only ones prevailing, or were much the more distinctive, are just the ones which in the Viking Age were the most exposed to influences from Western Europe; namely, Denmark with Skaane; Iceland, where such a great number of the most aristocratic, refined and travelled families of Norway had made their abode, together with Gotland, the rich trading island. In the prevailing use of unburnt burials, which can be pointed to in these territories, we must see the influence of the general European spirit of the age, of the customs and usage in the civilized Christian lands in Western Europe, an influence which asserted itself long before the introduction of Christendom. It agrees perfectly with this, that there can to a certain extent be traced a social distinction between the burnt and the unburnt burials. In the east of Norway, where cremation is generally predominant, all the specially rich ship-graves, nevertheless, have been of the unburnt form, and the highest class of the people had, as a matter of course, most connection with foreign lands.

The difference between cremation and unburnt burial is thus not founded on deeply-rooted differences between different portions of the people, neither is it of fundamental importance for the understanding of ship-graves. Nor does the local extension of ship-graves stand in any direct relation to the use of cremation or unburnt burial. I shall return to this question later, and shall here only give as an example that, in the north of Norway, where unburnt burial seems to have been as good as universal, we have nevertheless several cases of burials in a vessel. The Western European influence upon the grave customs has thus not been able to supersede ship-graves. Only in Denmark and throughout Gotland are ship-graves unknown, whilst they are found even in Skaane.

In the meantime this difference has a great practical bearing upon the investigation before us; namely this, that in an unburnt grave we have full opportunity for studying all the care which was expended upon the equipment of the dead, whilst in a cremation-grave that same care was naturally concentrated on the building and arranging of the funeral pyre, and the grave only contains the ruined fragments of what was left after the fire. Cremation-graves are therefore simple and alike in their arrangement, whilst the unburnt graves show a richer development. For this reason it will be convenient for us to keep the two forms separate, each by itself, and I prefer to treat of cremation-graves first, leaving the unburnt graves out of consideration till later.

As has been mentioned already, the grave in "Odin's Howe" at Old Upsala took the form of an extensive layer of burnt material, which consisted of the remains from the pyre, and also contained some remains of the vessel; in the midst of the burnt layer was the urn, placed in a hollow in the substratum of the grave and covered likewise with a heap of burnt bone. This, in all its essentials, is the same plan as that which is preserved in the cremation-graves of the Viking Age. The only

important difference, which strikes us at once, is that in the Viking Age it is only very rarely that the grave lies on the spot where the pyre had stood. I only know one grave where this was the case, namely one of the graves in the great howe at Myklebostad, by Nordfjordeid, which was recently examined by the Bergen Museum.[1] Here a boat of a length of 7 meters had been burnt on the spot where the grave is now found; as in the case of "Odin's Howe," so here too there were found in the original surface of the earth the marks of the stakes (in this case of birchwood) with which the boat had been shored up for the burning, and in the layer of charcoal were found all the nails, spikes, iron bindings, etc., which had belonged to it. In other cases the regular place of burning (ustrina) has been in another place, and all the remains from the funeral pyre have been brought thence to the spot which was selected for the grave-howe, but it certainly seems as if in the construction of the grave they wanted to imitate the appearance of the place of burning. The remains from the fire to wit are spread out as a layer of greater or lesser extent over the place where the grave-howe should be raised. Thus the layer of burnt material at the bottom of the howe consists mainly of charcoal, often mixed with burnt stones from the place of the burning, and it contains in addition the grave-goods, as well as a greater or lesser portion of burnt bone. This custom, which might appear a somewhat careless treatment of the grave, has no doubt arisen in imitation of the older form, where the grave-howe was built over the place of the burning itself, and where the remains of the pyre thus came naturally to form an extensive layer at the bottom of the howe. As a rule, however, the grave is not without a central point, which is clearly indicated as that round which the whole arrangement is grouped. In the majority of cases this central point, as we saw in "Odin's Howe," consists of a bigger portion

[1] Haakon Schetelig. "Gravene ved Myklebostad paa Nordfjordeid." "Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1905." No. 7, p. 7 ss.

of the burnt bones collected in a hollow in the middle of the burnt layer, sometimes gathered in a jar, or covered with an inverted caldron, but very often too without any urn. But almost invariably the bigger and more important things among the grave-goods are assembled in a compact group above and about the hollow where the bones are deposited. These features are generally common to all the cremation-graves of the Viking Age, whether there are found remains of a vessel or not. The boat-graves, however, have, as we shall see, their special signs, which are not found elsewhere.

As an example, we may instance a find which was made by A. Lorange in 1866, at Gjulem, in Rakkestad District,[1] Smaalenene,[2] in a typical, but not specially rich grave of this kind. He examined a minor grave-howe in the locality, which was constructed wholly of earth. At the bottom of the howe was found a layer of charcoal, 3 ells in diameter, and 2 to 3 inches thick; the extent of the layer is thus altogether too small for us to imagine that the pyre can have stood on the spot. It was mingled with ends of burnt bones and with many clinch-nails, which undoubtedly came from a vessel. In the middle of the burnt layer there was a hollow excavated at the bottom of the howe, above which all the bigger fragments of the grave-goods were collected in a compact group, and all the objects of iron lying in the moist earth had rusted together with the surrounding sand into a firm mass, which could not be separated. Among the objects there can be distinguished, however, a two-edged sword, whose hilt is bound round with gold thread, many spear-heads and many arrow-heads, at least three shield-bosses (and perhaps more), a scythe, a bridle, an iron chain, etc. There is nothing in this grave which departs from the general rule, and therefore requires a

[1] "Præstegjæld," a group of parishes, somewhat similar to our Rural Deanery.

[2] "Aarsberetning fra foreningen til norske fortidsmindesmerkers bevaring," 1866, p. 55 and ib. 1867, p. 42.

more particular mention. One fact only, which may appear noticeable, I have not had occasion to mention hitherto, namely, the profuse number of shield-bosses.

There was only one sword in this grave, and we have no reason to suppose that more than one man was buried here. It seems natural that one man only needs one shield, and this is the case almost without exception in graves from the older period of the Iron Age, likewise in graves from the Viking Age, where the remains of a vessel are not found also. The shield is fairly often wanting altogether, and only in a few cases, and then always in graves specially richly furnished, do we find a man equipped with two shields. But it is otherwise with the graves where the remains of a boat, or of a ship, are found also. In such graves it is no uncommon thing to find a greater or less number of shields, and in every case far more than one would expect on the ground that a man needed them. Thus there were found in a grave, not otherwise very rich, at Langlo, in Stokke District, Jarlsberg, 10 or 12 shield bosses, but only one sword; the grave was in other respects of the same kind as the one just described, and contained a mass of clinch-nails and spikes, which came undoubtedly from a fairly large boat.[1] In the above-named grave at Myklebostad, where the vessel burnt had been about 7 meters in length, there were 8 shield-bosses, but likewise only one sword, and many other examples where the same fact has been observed could be cited. From this it may certainly be concluded that the many shields in these graves did not belong to the equipment of the man, but to that of the vessel. And this is corroborated in the very best way by one of the great finds of a ship with an unburnt burial, namely, by the Gokstad ship. That ship, as a matter of fact, when it was found, was hung with 32 large circular shields, exactly alike, along each gunwale on the

[1] N. Nicolaysen. "Om udgravningerne i Ske sogn, 1872." "Aarsberetning fra foreningen for norske fortidsminders bevaring, 1872," p. 100.

outside, and these filled the whole length of the ship from a little before the foremost oarport to a little behind the hindmost.[1] That this was the custom when a ship was decked out on great occasions is also borne out by literary accounts. The poorer grave-finds, which have just been cited, show that the custom was not used for ships only, but also for smaller vessels; but on the other hand one can hardly, from the number of shields in a grave, draw any conclusions with regard to the size of the vessel burnt.[2]

The many shield-bosses in boat-graves is a feature which is older than the Viking Age, although it has not been found in the oldest Swedish finds from Vendel and Ultuna. But in a richly furnished boat-grave in Finland from the seventh century there were found six shield-bosses. Contemporary examples of this practice can scarcely have been wanting in Sweden, even if these are not now exemplified by any finds which have been preserved.

It is a remarkable feature also that we can trace during the Viking Age an emancipation from the limitations which were displayed in the oldest boat-graves. The boat-graves at Vendel were all men's graves; in the Viking Age it came to pass that women also were buried in a vessel, and that too even in cases where the dead did not belong to the upper classes of society. No doubt in Norway we are, practically always, unable to distinguish from the skeleton the sex of the person buried, and as a matter of course this is still more the case in cremation-graves; but the grave's rich furniture serves, nevertheless, as a means of deciding the question with complete certainty. Graves which contain weapons,

[1] N. Nicolaysen. "The Viking Ship discovered at Gokstad in Norway." P. 62 and p. 35, note 3.

[2] Compare G. Gustafson. "En baadgrav fra Vikingtiden." Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1890, VIII. This was a boat of 8 meters long with 4 shields. It should also be mentioned that here all the shields lay inside the boat.

implements of husbandry and tools for handicrafts, can be distinguished as men's graves just as certainly as women's can be known by ornaments, cooking utensils and implements for feminine handiwork. We need not therefore hesitate to apply this rule to the boat-graves also. In the arrangement of the grave, however, there is no special distinction between the two sexes, and I must therefore confine myself here to mentioning a single example, a grave from Hilde, Indviken District, Nordfjord. At the excavation of a howe in this locality there was found a mass of charcoal mingled with burnt bones and nails from a boat; among the charcoal there were found also a kettle of bronze, an iron gridiron, a stew-pan and roasting-spit, a lamp, a pair of scissors and a little knife, a spinning wheel and weaver's reed, the fragments of a pretty box, with the nails belonging to it, a big buckle of bronze, beads of silver, cornelian, glass, etc., making a very complete collection of the things which specially characterize the furniture of women's graves.[1]

Before we leave the graves where a vessel has been used in connection with cremation, I will, in conclusion, describe the richest and most remarkable find of this kind which has hitherto appeared.[2] The grave was found at Myklebostad, in Nordfjord, in a grave-howe, which was about 30 meters in diameter. At the bottom of the howe there was a layer of charcoal and burnt earth, with small bone-ends mingled therewith, which stretched alike to all corners of the howe, but was thickest in the middle. Separated from this layer by a layer of light shore-sand lying between was a second layer like it, which in cross-section was shown to stretch in a curve over the first. The huge grave-howe was thus to a very considerable extent constructed of the burnt remains from the funeral pyre, and this of itself gives some impression of the scale upon which this burial was carried out. The con-

[1] "Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1901," No. 12, p. 25.

[2] A. Lorange. "Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum." Bergen, 1875, p. 153-161.

struction of the howe shows also that the funeral pyre did not stand on the site of the howe, but that the remains of the pyre were brought thither from the place of burning. The inner part of the burnt layer in the howe was strewn with clinch-nails, clinch-bolts and spikes, together with ends of burnt bones. In both the layers there were found also shield-bosses spread about in various positions, now singly, now many close to each other, and twice one was found stuck into another. There were found in addition many arrow-heads lying singly, and staves of wood were repeatedly noticed, some of them round, others cut flat upon one side, which in all probability were the remains of bows and of spear-shafts. Somewhat west of the centre of the howe lay a big knot of weapons, very much burnt and purposely twisted together. These consisted of two swords, two small spear-heads, an axe, three shield-bosses, three arrow-heads, a knife, a large iron implement, and many pieces of thin iron plates also, perhaps the mountings of a chest. In this case too clinch-nails were mingled with these various objects. Just under this knot of weapons was found a horse's bit, and underneath, in a hollow scooped in the base of the howe, a whole collection of shield-bosses, which all lay with their openings downwards, and formed together a cover over a large bronze bowl, which contained burnt bones mingled with pieces of charcoal and ashes. Among the bones were found also various fragments of iron and of melted bronze, and in addition an arrow-head, six playing-pieces and three bone dice, a small bone comb and a bigger one, a big bead of dark glass, an iron key, which presumably belonged to the chest mentioned above, etc. In the sand close to the north side of the bronze jar lay some unburnt bones, wrapped up in an untanned goat-skin; these bones are probably the remains of victuals.

The arrangement of this grave, as one may see, agrees in all points with the examples named above; most of the burnt bones were collected into an urn and deposited

in a hollow in the middle of the base of the howe, whilst the ends of other bones were spread out over the whole layer of burnt material; all the bigger objects were likewise collected in a compact group above the centre of the howe, while clinch-nails, shield-bosses and various smaller objects, such as arrow-heads, are spread about in the layer of charcoal. The form of the antiquities shows that this grave must belong to the Viking Age when fully developed, and certainly not to the oldest part of the period, but nevertheless in the arrangement of the grave we find hardly any essential departure from what we have already learned to recognize in the oldest ship-grave, the grave in "Odin's Howe" at Upsala, which belongs to the sixth century. Both these graves, too, stand on the same stage from a social point of view; the grave at Myklebostad, as well as .the older one, reflects a princely wealth and luxury. From the size and number of the nails it may be concluded that the ship which was offered on the pyre in this case was of very considerable size. The 44 shield-bosses, which the grave contained, show this also, these of course being the remains of the shields which decked the ship's gunwale. The urn in which the burnt bones were collected is a great bowl of thin, chased bronze; it has three handles, each formed like a human figure and adorned with enamel; the bottom is also enamelled both without and within. A vessel like that, which even now is one of the greatest rarities which has hitherto been found on Norwegian soil, must in the Viking Age also have been a costly piece of goods, and it gives clear testimony to its owner's rank and position.

This cremation-grave at Myklebostad gives us a picture of a ship-burial in broad outlines, but the picture can only be sketched in its main features; we can to a certain degree, from what is found, draw conclusions as to the dimensions of the pyre and of the ship, and as to the infinitely numerous things, in great and small, which naturally went with the ship. But we get to know abso-

lutely nothing of all that was observed and done before the last act of the entombment, when the pyre was finally extinguished. Fortunately we have a very good description from a contemporary of the ritual which was followed at such a Northern burial. The Arab, Ahmed ben Fosslan, generally called Ibn Fosslan, was sent by the Caliph, El-Muktedir (A.D. 907-932) to the king of the Slavonians in the country by the Volga. Here he met many men, whom he calls Russians (Rus), *i.e.*, Swedish Varagians, who came as merchants as far as the Volga. About them he relates that he had heard such remarkable accounts about the way in which they treated their dead chieftains, that he wished to get a more intimate knowledge of those ceremonies. His account goes on as follows[1]:—

> At last they told me that one of their chieftains was dead. They laid him in his grave and roofed it over for ten days, until they could finish cutting out and making his grave clothes. If it is a poor man who is dead, then they build a little vessel for him, lay him therein and burn it; but when a rich man dies, they collect his goods and divide them into three parts. One third is for his family, with the next they make his clothes, with the third they buy intoxicating drink to be drunk on that day, when a bondmaid gives herself to death and is burnt with her lord. But they abandon themselves to the pleasures of wine in a senseless way and drink incessantly day and night. Often one of them dies beaker in hand.
>
> When one of their chieftains is dead, then they ask his kindred, his bondmaids or his thralls: "Which of you will die with him?" Then one of them answers: "I!" When he has uttered this word, then he is bound by it, and no longer has liberty to draw back; even if he himself wished it, yet they would not allow it. But in general it is a bondmaid who consents. Accordingly, when the man of whom

[1] These details and the whole translation following are taken from Montelius, l.c. p. 152. See also Henrik Schück: "Studier," vol. ii., p. 288.

A translation of the following passage by Dr. Joseph Anderson appeared in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. ix., and is summarized in his introduction to "The Orkneyinga Saga," translated by Jon A. Hjaltalin and Gilbert Goudie, but Mr. Schetelig has included it in this paper by request, as there are probably many who have not come across it and, as it is of very great importance to the study of ship burials and the practice of cremation generally, it can scarcely be made too widely known.—ED.

I have just spoken, was dead, they asked his bondmaids: "Which will die with him?" One of them answered: "I!" Then she was handed over to two bondmaids, who must watch her and follow her wherever she went, and wait on her so devotedly that sometimes they even washed her feet. With that they began to make preparations for her burial, to cut out clothes for the dead and to observe everything else which is needful. The girl meanwhile drank every day, used to sing, and was merry and joyful.

When the day was now come when the dead man and the bondmaid should be burnt, I went to the river, where the ship had been lying. But she was drawn right up on to the land: four wooden poles were raised up in front of the ship, and about it were placed great images of wood in human form. They drew the ship up upon the pyre forthwith. Meanwhile people went to and fro and uttered words which I did not understand. But the dead man still lay a little apart in his grave, from which they had not yet fetched him. Then they came with a sleeping-bench, placed it on the ship, and covered it with quilted and embroidered coverlets, with Grecian cloth of gold and cushions of the same material. Then came an old woman, whom they called Death's angel, and spread out the things I have mentioned on the bench. It is she who has the care of the clothes and the whole equipment; it is she also who slays the bondmaid. I saw her; she was a little woman, with dark and evil looks.

When they came to his grave, they removed the earth from the wooden roof, cast this off, and took the dead man up; he still lay in the dress in which he had died. Then I saw how he had become quite black from the cold in that country. But they had laid in his grave with him intoxicating drinks, together with fruits, which they now took up. The dead man meanwhile, with the exception of his colour, had not changed at all. Thereupon they clad him in hose, boots, a "kurtak" and a "chaftan" of cloth of gold with golden buttons, and set upon him a cap of cloth of gold trimmed with sable. After this they bore him into the tent, which was raised upon the ship, placed him on the quilted coverlets, propped him up with cushions, and bore in intoxicating drinks, fruits, and sweet-scented herbs, which were laid altogether by his side. They also placed bread, meat, and onions before him. Then they brought out a dog, cut it into two pieces, and cast it into the ship; then laid all his weapons by his side; brought out two horses, which they chased up and down until they were dripping with sweat, after which they hewed them in pieces with their swords and cast the flesh into the ship; finally they brought out a cock and hen, slew them also, and cast them into the ship.

When it was mid-day on Friday, then they brought the bondmaid to a staging which they had made, which was like the projecting cornice of a door. She set her feet upon the hands of a man held flat, looked down through the staging and said something in their tongue, whereupon they let her down. Then they let her mount

again, and she acted in the same way as the first time. Again they dropped her and let her mount up for the third time: then she did again as she had done each time before. Then they held out a hen to her, whose head she cut off and threw away. But they took the hen and cast it into the ship. I asked the interpreter what it was she had done. He answered:

"'The first time she said—'Lo! here I see my father and my mother'—the second time—'Lo! now I see all my dead kindred sitting together'—but the third time—'Lo! there is my lord, he sits in paradise. Paradise is so shining and green. With him are his men and lads. He calls upon me. Take me to him.'"

Then they brought her to the ship But she took off both her armlets and gave them to the woman who is called Death's angel, and who is to murder her. Also she drew off her both her ankle-rings and handed them to the two bondmaids who attended her, and who are called—Daughters of Death's angel. Thereupon they lifted her up on to the ship, but did not yet let her come into the tent. Now some men stepped forward with shields and staves: they handed her a cup with an intoxicating drink. She took it, sang a song and emptied the cup.

"With that," said the interpreter to me, "she takes leave of her dear ones."

Thereupon a second cup was handed to her. She took that also and joined in a long song. Then the old woman ordered her to empty the cup and to go into the tent, where her lord lay. But the girl had become frightened and irresolute: she wished to go into the tent, but was afraid and only put her head in between the tent and the ship. The old woman straightway caught her by the head, forced her into the tent and stepped in herself with her. Immediately the men began to beat upon their shields with the staves, so that no sound of her shrieks should be heard, which might frighten the other girls and take from them the desire to go themselves one day to death with their lords.

It is next told how six men went into the tent and maltreated the girl, and then the account continues:—

Then they laid her outstretched by the side of her lord. Two men caught her by the feet and two by the hands. The old woman, who is called Death's angel, laid a rope about her neck and handed it to two of the men, so that they might pull it tight; she herself stood forth with a great, broad-bladed knife and plunged it between the girl's ribs, and drew it out again at once. But the two men strangled her with the rope.

Now the dead man's next of kin stepped slightly forward, took a piece of wood, lighted it and went backwards to the ship, so that he held the burning piece of wood in one hand and the other hand likewise behind his back, until the wood which was laid beneath the ship

had caught fire. Then the others also came forward with burning pieces of wood; each of them carried a piece of wood which was already on fire at the upper end and cast it on the pyre. This soon took fire and the fire quickly caught the ship, the tent, the man, the girl and all that was in the ship. Then there rose a strong wind, at which the fire increased and the flames shot still higher.

By my side stood one of the Russians, whom I heard talking to my interpreter. I asked the interpreter what the Russian said to him, and got for answer:—

"You Arabs," said he, "are surely a stupid people. You take the man who is the best beloved and highest in honour of you all and cast him down into the earth, where creeping things and worms devour him. We on the other hand burn him in the twinkling of an eye, so that straightway and without delay he enters into Paradise." Then he burst into a wild laugh, and added thus: "The love which his lord (God) bears towards him is the cause that the wind blows already, and in the twinkling of an eye he takes him to himself."

And in truth it was not long before the pyre and the ship and the girl, together with the dead man, were changed to ashes.

Then upon the spot where the ship had stood, when drawn up from the river, they raised, as it were, a round hillock, upreared a great wooden post in the middle of it, and wrote upon it the dead man's name, together with the name of the king of the Russians. Then they took themselves off.

If it were possible to discover and explore the grave-howe which Swedish warriors, as here described, raised beside a river in the interior of Russia, the result would in all probability very closely resemble what we have seen in the grave-howe at Myklebostad in Nordfjord. We may therefore to some extent draw conclusions from Ibn Fosslan's account as to points which the Norse graves cannot directly show us with respect to the ceremonies which went on before the burning of the body. We have seen that the presence of various animals in the grave characterizes the Scandinavian finds, answering closely to what the Arab relates, and we have also the assurance that at any rate in some cases in the North a human being was sacrificed to accompany the dead. This certainly cannot be proved in the case of the cremation-graves, where it is not possible to distinguish if the bones are from various individuals; but, as we shall see later, proofs of it are to be found alike from the burial-graves, as from Old Norse

literature; therefore it was certainly the usage in the case of the cremation-graves also.

Before I pass on to a description of the unburnt burials in a vessel, I will refer briefly to a find, where both forms of grave are to some extent combined. In telling about the great grave at Myklebostad it was stated that some of the provisions, which were provided in the grave for the dead man, had not accompanied him to the funeral pyre; in a grave at Lackalänga, in Skaane, close by the town of Lund,[1] both the ship and the whole furniture of the grave were unburnt, though the dead man and some of the domestic animals had been burnt. The burnt bones were collected in an earthenware jar. The vessel whose remains were found in this grave was not so very small, and the furniture of the grave consisted of beautiful and costly things, whose forms belong to the end of the Folk-wandering Age, that is a little before the actual Viking Age. Among the grave-goods were found weapons, and the grave can thus be distinguished as a man's grave. So far as I know this is a unique example; elsewhere it is always the rule that ship and grave-goods were burnt on the pyre with the dead.

As already mentioned, unburnt burials in boats are known that date from, at any rate, the seventh century—especially in the case of the famous grave-yard at Vendel in Upland—and from the eightn to the tenth century they appear over the whole of the Scandinavian peninsula, in Norway especially, just as was the case with the cremation-graves just dealt with. We have already discussed at sufficient length the difference between the local distribution of burnt and unburnt burials, so we will here only repeat that unburnt burials are not altogether unknown in any part of Norway or Sweden in the Viking Age, although they are very rare in some places, as in Western Norway; we shall, however, see that even this

[1] Nils G. Bruzelius: "Beskrifning om et i Skåne anträffadt fynd från jernåldren, jämte indledande anmärkningar." (Description of a find from the Iron Age discovered in Skaane, with introductory remarks.) "Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1858," p. 177.

part of the country has produced remarkable finds of unburnt ship-graves.

Burial-graves offer to students many advantages over cremation-graves; we get from them far more complete evidence as to the form and dimensions of the vessel, as to the treatment of the dead, and all that went on at the interment. The great grave finds of this kind can in intelligibility well compare with Ibn Fosslan's account. It may also easily be imagined that the unburnt vessels were properly understood much more readily and at an earlier date than was the case with the burnt vessels in the graves; even from the time of the eighteenth century we have information about such boat-graves. Thus Schönning,[1] from his travels in Norway, reported a find from a grave-howe at Lovöi, in Vikten parish, Nordland. Here there were found ships' nails lying in rows as in a ship, and with them were found a skeleton of a man and the skeleton of a dog. But nevertheless it is not till after the great ship finds in Eastern Norway that this grave-custom could be studied and described in all its details.

The best of these finds, the find at Gokstad, close to the town of Sandefjord, must be to some extent known to the English public.[2] I shall therefore only here remind you of the main features of the arrangement of the grave. The grave-howe lay about 1 kilometer from the head of Midfjord. It was about 50 meters in diameter, and at the time of the discovery 5 meters high. Beneath the layer of humus it consisted of sand mingled with clay down to the ground-level; beneath that it was blue clay. The ship stood in the howe with its prow turned seawards; it was buried four feet below the bottom of the howe, and was likewise filled with blue clay, whose preservative properties had thus kept the whole ship practically unscathed. Right before the mast there was raised a grave-chamber of great wooden beams; it had a pointed

[1] Schönning's "Norske Reise," a manuscript in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, cited from Werlauff, l.c. p. 289.

[2] N. Nicolaysen: "The Viking Ship discovered at Gokstad in Norway." Christiania, 1882.

roof like a tent, and gables built of planks; it was covered with a manifold layer of birch bark, which had preserved the wood, although it reached up above the protecting clay.

The grave-chamber, upon examination, was found to be no longer in an untouched condition. At a robbery, which must have taken place at a date comparatively soon after the burial, when men still knew exactly the place of the grave and were aware of what it contained, the sides of the ship and of the grave-chamber had been hewn through, and the contents of the grave plundered and destroyed. There were found, however, among the remains of the furniture of the chamber, part also of the dead man's bones; they were those of a man about fifty years old, and fully six feet tall. There were also found remains of the bed and of the bed-clothes upon which the dead had rested, besides pieces of a silk dress inwoven with gold, of buckles and other ornaments, of bridle and harness, richly adorned with gilt bronze mountings; mounts for a box, a leather purse, chess-board, a playing-piece, a carved piece of wood, etc. Outside the grave-chamber there were found in the ship carved pieces of a high seat, five beds, pieces of a sleigh, a copper kettle and an iron kettle, a big wooden vessel, smaller vessels, plates and drinking-vessels, all of wood, and such like. In the ship lay still more skeletons, those of twelve horses and six dogs, and under the planks lay the bones and feathers of a pea-fowl. In the howe outside the ship were found ten wooden spades, which were certainly used at the work of building the howe.[1]

The inroad into the grave already mentioned has robbed us of all knowledge of a very important point

[1] The last great ship-find, the vessel discovered at Slagen in 1904, is described in the District Report from Norway in the SAGA-BOOK for 1905, vol. iv., pp. 54-66, and some further details will be found on pp. 270-3 of this number. So far as the information available at present enables us to judge, it does not present any new feature, but it will be seen that this find agrees in all its main points with the other ship-burials described in this paper, though the grave-furniture is exceptionally rich and interesting.—ED.

at the burial, namely, how the dead man himself had been lying in the grave-chamber, and this is so much the more deplorable as this kind of grave-robbery has been practiced at almost all the rich ship-graves from the Viking Age. We may, however, conclude that the dead was arrayed in a magnificent dress, and that he rested in a bed with costly bed-clothes, just as Ibn Fosslan has described in the case of the Swedish chieftain's burial by the Volga. But this arrangement of the grave seems to differ perceptibly from the oldest unburnt boat-graves, from the Vendel graves, for instance, some of which date from the sixth or seventh century. There the chieftain sat in the steersman's place, by the ship's stern-post, whilst here he is placed in a bed, on feather mattresses, under a roof of great beams of timber. It is as if the conception of the ship, the craft which is fitted out for the long voyage after death, is also mingled with another idea, namely, the old conception of the grave as a house in which the dead should dwell. This thought lies very near a right consideration of the grave in the Gokstad ship, and it is even more prominent in another Norse grave-find, a great ship-grave from Karmø, on the west coast of Norway.[1] This grave did not fall short of the Gokstad ship, either as regards the size of the ship, or the richness of the grave-goods; but everything was far more perished, since the grave-howe was built of peat, which had most likely been chosen on the same ground as clay was used in the Gokstad howe, namely, because it had been observed that wood is well preserved in peat bogs; the result, however, had not been fortunate, for both the ship and everything perishable that was found in the grave was eaten away. Here also a timbered grave-chamber had been built over the centre part of the ship—the chamber had been built upon the spot, because at the exploration in and about the ship a number of splinters were found, as a relic of the carpenter's work—but this

[1] A. Lorange. "Storhaugen paa Karmøen. Nyt skibsfund fra vikingetiden." (The great howe on Karmø. A new ship-find from the Viking Age). "Bergens Museums Aaarsberetning, 1887," IV.

chamber was not built within the ship. Its roof rested upon two parallel stone walls, built outside the ship, and it had gable-ends on foundation-walls corresponding, which were carried across over the ship, and thus connected the long walls. In this case, therefore, the grave-chamber stood upon just as firm foundations as any building, although it was built over a ship.

Although everything in this grave was badly preserved, it still has a special interest as the only one of all our great ship-graves which was not plundered before its investigation and here, therefore, we get, notwithstanding its condition, a more complete picture of the personal equipment of the dead than in any of the other finds. Among other things there were found two swords, two spears, a round quiver with two dozen arrows, a whole outfit of smithying tools, a hand-quern of coarse-grained granite, a little box in which there lay a bronze ring and a big bird's-feather, flint and steel, a big iron pot, two splendid sets of playing-pieces, the one of glass, the other of amber, a disk of wax, an arm-ring of gold, beads of coloured glass and glass mosaic, etc. All the remains of skeletons were consumed; only the jaw of a horse happened to be preserved, which enables us—by comparison with other finds—to guess at the stock of domestic animals which was sacrificed at the burial.

As already mentioned, it was not possible to get any information here as to how the dead had lain in the grave; but that can be supplied from another grave on Karmø, which was found only a couple of kilometers away from the one just spoken of.[1] That grave was of smaller dimensions—it contained a vessel of a length of 15 meters—and, like the Gokstad ship, it had been plundered in ancient times. But on the other hand, in this case everything was tolerably well preserved; the boat could be measured almost completely, and there were found considerable remains of feather-beds and various fabrics, among them small pieces of silk stuff woven with figures,

[1] "Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1902," VIII.

which still show the colours fairly fresh; unhappily, the pieces are too small for the pattern to be restored. It is clear therefore that in this case also the dead man was laid in a bed, clad in costly fabrics, and there were found the remains of a beaker of glass and of various wooden vessels, likewise pieces of wax, which altogether indicate a grave-furniture of the same kind as we know from the other great ship-finds. There was, too, a grave-chamber; just as in the preceding grave there were found a mass of splinters, which come evidently from the building of the chamber; a thick layer of bark, which must originally have covered the roof of the chamber, was found, which had been ripped up at the breaking in, and lay mingled with the remains of the contents of the grave, which had been flung out of it. For the rest, the boat had contained the usual outfit of small spars, oars,—of which, however, only a single oar-blade was preserved,—and of ropework.

The grave-chamber, in which the dead is laid to rest in his bed, is thus a common feature in many of the ship-graves of the Viking Age, but it does not seem to be found in the unburnt boat-graves in their oldest form. Such an arrangement of a ship-grave seems, moreover, extraordinary, and that is the case in a special measure when the grave-chamber takes the form of a building on ground walls, erected partly outside the ship. I am therefore of the opinion that this feature was introduced into the Norse ship-graves as a loan from the grave-customs which were followed at the same date by chieftains in the neighbouring lands to the south.

There are some specially rich grave-finds from Jutland, where the grave is built like a four-cornered wooden chamber, which may compare in size with a small room, for example, in the King's Graves at Jellinge.[1] A splen-

[1] "Kongehøiene i Jellinge og deres undersøgelse efter Kong Fredrik VII.'s befaling i 1861." (The King's Graves in Jellinge and their examination in 1861 by order of King Fredrik VII.) Udgivet af det kongelige nordiske oldskrift selskab. Kjøbenhavn, 1875. J. J. A. Worsaae: "Om Mammen-Fundet, fra Hedenskabets slutningstid." "Aarboger for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1869," p. 203.

did grave of this kind was also found in Smaalenene[1] (on the same farm as that where the Tune ship was found), so the custom was not unknown among Norse chieftains in the Viking Age. Certainly in these graves the form of the chamber is other than in the ship-graves; it has upright walls and a flat ceiling, never the pointed roof form, which is universal in the chambers that were built over ships, and Professor Montelius has certainly judged aright, when he derives the last-named form from the ship's tilt, whilst the flat-ceilinged chamber is naturally interpreted as an imitation of a room in a house. But there are so many resemblances between the two grave-forms that there may certainly also have been a connection.

In the Danish chambers too the dead rested in his bed with feather-quilts and arrayed in costly clothes worked with gold and embroidered; and since in a Danish grave of this kind there was found a wax-light, and in one of the graves on Karmø a round cake of wax, on which is drawn a cross, this also points to a Danish influence on the Norse grave-customs. In my view the matter stands thus: that the chieftains in Norway and Sweden, who followed the custom of burial in a ship, which by the Viking Age had already grown old and venerable, nevertheless would not fall behind the Danish chieftains, who at that date had their graves prepared like a princely sleeping-chamber. Thus there appeared a form of grave which combined the advantages of both in the ship fitted out after inherited custom with provisions, horses, hounds, cooking utensils, and so forth, and the sleeping chamber with bed, feather-quilt and costly coverlets.[2] Now after the lapse of 1,000 years the result seems somewhat overwhelming. We shall search very far before we find

[1] "Aarsberetning fra foreningen til norske fortidsmindesmerkers bevaring," 1867, p. 59, No. 82.

[2] A parallel can be adduced from certain parts of Australia, where they build a hut for the dead in a canoe. See Hildebrand: "Folkens tro om sina döda."

burials which, in pomp and luxury carried to the highest pitch, can compare with our rich ship-finds from the Viking Age.

We have still to treat of one more outcome of the care which was spent on the furniture of these graves, namely, that it became also a matter of concern that the dead should not be alone. Ibn Fosslan gives us a dismal description of how one of the thralls or thrall-women of the dead was sacrificed to follow him to the grave. The fact is also borne out by Icelandic literature; it is said of the settler Asmund Atlason, that he was buried in a ship, and with him his thrall, who doomed himself to this and would not live after Asmund; he was laid in the other end of the ship.[1] This is also confirmed from Norse grave-finds, as from a grave at Hov, in Dønnes district, Nordland. The grave-howe contained the nails of a ship, which probably had been of the size of a yacht; in the afterpart of the ship was found a skeleton, which is taken to be that of a man, together with the bones of a dog. Outside the sternpost was found another skeleton,

[1] Landnámabók, Part II., Chap. VI. "Ásmundr var heygðr þar ok i skip lagðr, ok þræll hans með hónom sá es ser bannaði séalfr, ok vilða eigi lifa efter Ásmund. Hann var lagðr í annann stafn skipsins."

In 1897 Mr. W. G. Collingwood and Dr. Jón Stefánsson opened a grave near Øxl on Snæfellsness, where Asmund lived, having previously unsuccessfully examined the traditional site of his howe. Within a stone-built circular wall, 24 feet internal diameter, under a layer of charcoal, they found bone-earth and scraps of bone with traces of copper and iron decayed to rust and fragments of hard wood and under all a stone flooring. They point out that the circle is large enough for a six-oared boat, which could easily have been dragged up to the place, and think the fragments of wood may be its remains. See "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland," p. 71. The vessel Asmund was buried in could not have been a large one, as the legend relates that after his burial he was heard singing in his grave and complaining of being crowded by the presence of the thrall.—ED.

Though I can well agree with the opinion that the vessel in which Asmund was buried was a small one, I should like to add that the proof taken from Asmund's complaint is not absolutely convincing. I have, in the text, omitted that part of the tale as it is not confirmed by all manuscripts.—H.S.

which was thought to be a woman's.[1] Also in another of the great ship-finds there were found parts of the skeletons of two individuals.[2]

When Professor Montelius, some twenty years ago, made the first important enquiries into ship-graves, no certain example of a woman's grave in a ship could up to that date be cited, and he had to leave unanswered the question if burial in a ship had been also in general use at the burial of women, of course leaving out of account the cases where a woman had been sacrificed when a man was borne to earth. Later finds have thrown complete light upon this question; we know now that women's graves may be met with even among the greatest and richest finds of this kind, and that they are not uncommon among the less important boat-graves, as has been mentioned above in the account of cremation-graves. In addition we have a description from one of the old sagas of a woman's burial, which answers completely to the great Norse ship-finds. It is told of Unn the Rich, of Hvamm in Hvammsfjord, that, when she died at a great age, the corpse was borne to a howe which was made ready for her, she was laid in a ship in the howe, and much goods were laid in the ship with her; then the howe was closed up.[3]

Before I conclude this description of the graves, it

[1] Lorange: "Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum," pp. 192, 193. I take this opportunity of correcting an error which occurred in my District Report last year (SAGA-BOOK, p. 64) where I have recorded this find as a woman's grave. In all likelihood it is a man's grave.

[2] In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, which owing to the lateness of the hour was necessarily very brief, the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, pointed out that among Frankish and Anglo-Saxon graves women's skeletons had been found in positions suggesting *suttee*, so that the custom described by Ibn Fosslan and illustrated by the graves described above was not confined to the Scandinavian races, but was shared by their kinsmen in other parts of Europe.—ED.

[3] "Ok enn síðasta dag boðsins var Unnr flutt til haugs þess, er henni var búinn. Hon var lagð í skíp í hauginum, ok mikit fé var í haug lagð með henni; var eptir þat aptr kastaðr haugrinn." Laxdæla Saga. Kap. VII., udgivet af Kr. Kålund, København, 1889-91, p. 15.

may be of some interest if I give an example of the smaller class, a grave which does not convey the slightest impression of wealth and abundance, and which shows, moreover, how far the folk in general strained in their endeavour to follow the prevailing customs. Of the lesser boat-graves of this kind a very great number are to be met with in all parts of Norway, but few have hitherto been examined by experts, and that is so much the more unfortunate, as the exploration of a boat-grave calls for care and foresight in a very special degree. Of very great importance therefore is a find which was made by Professor G. Gustafson in a grave-howe in Nordfjord.[1] The howe consisted of sand, and every trace of wood which it had contained was completely perished, but at the very first spadeful boats'-nails were found, and these of course still lay in the same place in the earth which they had occupied whilst the wood of the boat was yet in existence. It was therefore possible, by careful work, to uncover the nails without disturbing their order, and to have them marked down upon a ground-plan, which thus represents the size and shape of the boat as well as its mode of building, since the nails fully indicate every plank in the boat and even the place of the ribs. It proved to be a little ten-oared boat, 8.50 meters long, of exactly the same kind and size as are still built in that same locality. The grave was a man's grave; and the place of the dead had evidently been in the middle of the boat, where his weapons were found. This is of importance for a comprehension of the grave-custom; it indicates that here also there was built a grave-chamber over the middle part of the boat.

Now that we have seen how general and richly developed ship-graves were in Norway and Sweden, we should also expect to meet with a similar feature in the lands which were colonized from those countries in the Viking Age. To some extent this is actually the case.

[1] G. Gustafson: "En baadgrav fra vikingetiden." "Bergens Museums Aarsberetning, 1890, VIII."

With regard to the Swedish colonies we may refer to Ibn Fosslan's account of the grave-customs among the Northern folk on the Volga, who undoubtedly came from Sweden. His report, that a rich man was burnt in his ship, but if it was a poor man who was dead they built a little boat for him and burnt him in it, exactly tallies with the conclusions we have drawn from the Scandinavian grave-finds. From Finland, where Swedish influence asserted itself at an early date, many finds of vessels burnt in graves are actually known, dating even as early as from the seventh century, consequently from the same time as the oldest of the graves at Vendel.[1] A very rich ship-grave from that age is described by Dr. Appelgren[2]; its arrangement agrees completely with the cremation-graves from Norway and Sweden described above; it contained a great number of ships'-nails, most of them of considerable size, and, amongst other things, six shield-bosses, also a feature which agrees with the finds from Scandinavia itself. In the Norwegian colonies, the Faroes and Iceland, the point is more difficult to prove, because these countries on the whole have not yielded many enlightening grave-finds; the conditions of life there were certainly more straitened than in Norway, and did not offer such good ground for a rich and well developed grave-custom. One instance, however, of a boat-grave is said to have been found in Iceland, and from literary sources we know for a fact that the custom of burying in a vessel was known in Iceland too.[3] From

[1] Hackman: "Om likbränning i båtar under den yngre jernåldern i Finland." Finskt Museum, 1897, p. 66 and 81.

[2] Hjalmar Appelgren: "En brandgraf å Yliskylä Kyrkogård i Bjerno." Finskt Museum, 1897, p. 60.

[3] The grave mentioned in the foot-note on page 357 may be a second instance of a ship-burial found in Iceland. Besides the countries mentioned in this paper the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, in the discussion that followed, reported that he had noticed boat-rivets in a Viking age grave (Carnan-nan-Barraich) in Oronsay. Dr. Joseph Anderson also describes three graves at Pierowall in Orkney, examined in 1841, 1855 and 1863 by Mr. Farrer and Mr. Petrie, which he thinks must

Gotland, on the other hand, only a single boat-grave is known, likewise only one from Skaane, and none from Denmark, these being just the parts of Scandinavia where influences from the Christian lands of Western Europe asserted themselves earliest and strongest. On the other hand there are found in North Jutland some ship-formed standing-stones, a grave form which is certainly derived from the ship-graves, and whose appearance within Danish territory has been accounted for as a relic of foreign vikings, who had established themselves for a time upon the coast of Jutland.

It is not strange that ship-burials are spoken of in many places in the old literature of Norway and Iceland, but these accounts throw little light upon the study of the customs themselves; as a rule it is only stated in general terms that the dead was laid in a ship: and when sometimes a special feature is added, it is no doubt just because it was something uncommon, which did not belong to the customary programme at a ship-burial. This is certainly the case with the well-known scene at the burial of Thorgrim Thorsteinsson in Gisli Sursson's Saga: here, as regards the arrangement of the grave, it is only said that they laid Thorgrim in a ship and cast up a howe according to the old custom. When they were about to close the howe, Gisli goes up, takes up a stone as big as a hill, drops it on to the ship, so that every timber was near to crack and says: "I don't know anything of mooring a ship, if wind and weather take this up." From the text itself it is therefore evident that Gisli's action here stands outside the range of what belonged to old custom; it is explained also only by the special conditions at this burial, in that Gisli

have been ship-graves. Precise details of the exploration are wanting, but the presence in all three graves of fragments of wood pierced with iron rivets seems conclusive on this point. See "Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age," pp. 57-59. The editor will be very glad to be told of cases where similar features have been observed, perhaps without their meaning being recognized, in graves found in other parts of the British Isles —ED.

himself had slain the man who was being buried.[1]

Compared with the grave-finds the Old Norse literature is a meagre source of knowledge about such customs; but, before I conclude, I must refer to a brief story, whose historical value I will, for the rest, leave out of account, but which nevertheless can not be overlooked, when we are discussing ship-graves and the ideas which lay at the root of that grave-custom. The Viking Hake had slain in battle Hugleik, king of the Swedes, with his two sons, and had himself become king of the Swedes. In later years the nephews of the fallen Hugleik, Eirik and Jorund, sailed for Svithiod to win back the kingdom; much people gathered to them, and they advanced to Upsala against King Hake, but he advanced against them with a much smaller force. There was a great battle, King Hake went forward so hard that he struck down all who came near him, till at last he slew King Eirik himself and cut down the brothers' banner. Then Jorund fled to the ships with all his folk. King Hake received such great wounds that he saw that his life-days would not be long; then he let take a ship which he owned, had it loaded with dead men and weapons, made them flit it out to sea, ship the rudder and hoist up the sail, but set light to some pine-wood and make a pyre on the ship. The wind blew off the land. Hake was almost dead, if not already dead, when he was laid on the pyre. The ship went flaming out among the islets into the open sea, and that deed was very famous long after.[2]

[1] . . ok fara aller saman á Sæból, til haugsgjörðar, ok leggja Þorgrím í skip, Nu verpa þeir hauginn eptir fornum sið, ok er búit er at lykja hauginn, Þá geingr Gísli til óssins, ok tekr upp stein einn, svo mikinn sem bjarg væri, ok leggr í skipit, svo at nær þótte hvert tré hrökkva fyrir, enn brakaðe mjök í skipinu, ok mælti: "Eigi kann ek skip at festa, ef þetta tekr veðr upp." "Tvær sögur af Gísla Súrssyni, udgivne af det nodiske Literatur—Samfund," København, 1849, p. 31. See "The Story of Gísli the Outlaw," translated by the late Sir G. W. Dasent, p. 55.

[2] "Heimskringla eller Norges Kongesagaer af Snorri Sturlason." C R. Unger, Kristiania, 1868, p. 21. See the translations by S. Laing (Nimmo, 1889, 2nd Edition), and Morris and Magnússon (Saga Library, Quaritch), Saga I.c. XXVII.

NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.—After the paper was sent to England I got a most interesting article concerning ship-burials, by Mr. Knut Stjerna ("Skölds hädanfärd," published in "Festskrift till Professor Schück paa hans 50-års-dag," Stokholm, 1905) and I have thus been prevented from making use of it. It contains most valuable pronouncements as to the beginning of the ship-burials and as to the explanation of this custom.

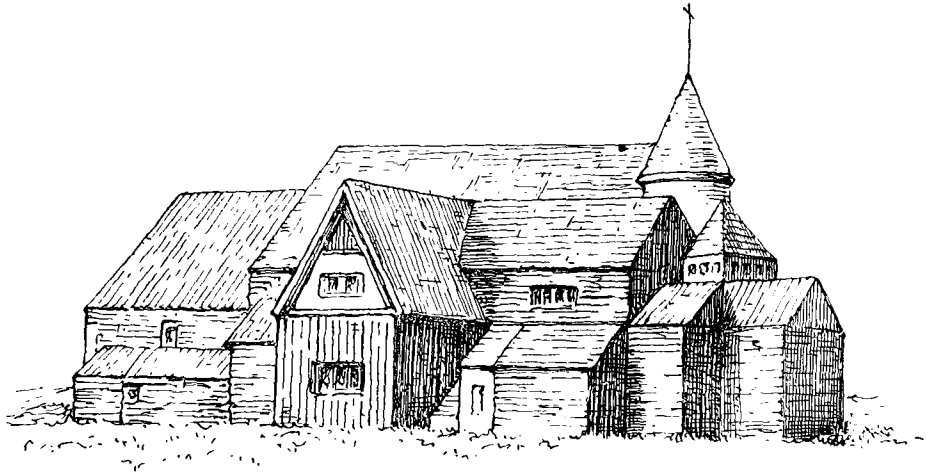


FIG. 1.—THE OLD CATHEDRAL OF SKÁLHOLT.

From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon, after a Water-colour Drawing of the original building, now in the British Museum, by J Cleveley, junr., who accompanied Sir Joseph Banks to Iceland in August, 1772.

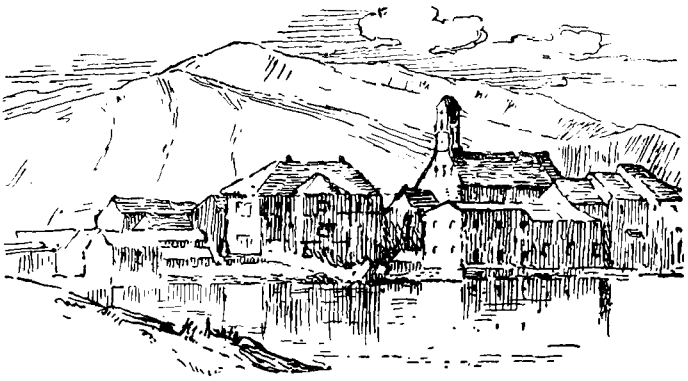


FIG. 2.—VIEW OF REYKJAVÍK, SHOWING THE CATHEDRAL.
From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon.

NOTES ON SOME ICELANDIC CHURCHES.

By Mrs. DISNEY LEITH.

REYKJAVÍK Cathedral is a building of no pretence to antiquity and less still to beauty, from an architectural point of view. It is built of stone of a pinkish tinge, and roofed with slates; the west end is surmounted by a small belfry, and was decorated with the arms which the Danish rulers imposed upon the little metropolis, namely, a split codfish. Since the changes in the government of the island in 1904, the old falcon banner is acknowledged as the national symbol, and has displaced the cod. The falcon has long presided in effigy over the door of the Parliament house close by.

Inside, the appearance is much that of our own churches early in the last century, or a good-sized kirk in a Scottish town. There is very little chancel; the altar is railed in and covered with a red velvet cloth embroidered with the date 1848. A large altar picture

of the Resurrection stands behind it, and two tall candles complete the furniture. In front of the altar stands the handsomely-carved marble font, the work and gift of the Icelandic sculptor, Thorwaldsen, whose statue adorns the green square outside. The pulpit, on the south side, is high and has a carved canopy; the seats in the body of the building are plain wooden benches, with desks and backs. A gallery runs round three sides of the church, in which is the harmonium, and where the singers sit.

Yet plain to our ideas and lacking in ecclesiastical beauty as is the shrine, I have attended services by no means lacking in devoutness and faith. I have seen the companion of long rough rides by fell and moor and river, in irreproachable Sunday habiliments, singing lustily (and doubtless making melody in his heart) in the fine old hymns of the "Sálma-bók." For they sing very melodiously, these worthy folk; the parts are tuneful and sweet, and many of the chorales really grand, though the *tempo* as a rule is susceptible of improvement as regards acceleration. I have listened to sermons full of fire and energy, from the Rev. Jón Helgason, one of the Cathedral clergy. Séra Jón is very clear and forcible in style—clear too in his enunciation. He is the son of a devout and well-read pastor, known in his own land for his writings and poems and translations. I have met with a small book of catechetical instruction for children, written by him, which appeared to be almost identical in teaching with the Anglican doctrine. Jón Helgason is the editor of the new religious periodical. "Verði Ljós"[1] ("Let there be light!"), and his articles are distinguished by their vigour, directness, and emphatically Christian teaching; they reach a higher level than those of many of his contemporaries, and should tend to encourage the movement for the deepening of the religious life, which makes itself evident here and there throughout the country.

[1] The periodical is now extinct, after a run of ten years.

Leaving the capital, we pass to the scene, at all events, of chief interest as a church site, namely, Thingvellir. Here, about A.D. 1001, the Christian religion was publicly adopted by law, at the meeting of the Althing. No more picturesque site for a church can be imagined than that of the present building; in the green watered valley at the foot of Almannagjá—All Men's Rift, the great chasm in the lava bed which has formed for ages a natural roadway to the scene of Iceland's parliaments. Alas! that modern vandalism has even here desecrated the ancient landmark by blasting and levelling a smooth roadway along the chasm, terminating in a bridge. Perhaps the road is a legitimate and sensible improvement, especially in view of the facility of progress to the patient and hardy ponies, which are still, as ever, Iceland's one means of universal transport; but the new road might have been even more easily and as conveniently made to descend further east, and thus have preserved the classical old way intact for all time. I believe this is allowed, now, when too late, by the people themselves.

Thingvellir Church stands on a little mound at no distance from the Hill of Laws, and very near the mouth of the "Öxará" (Axewater) river, where it enters the great inland lake of Thingvellir. Very beautiful is the panorama, starting from the Gjá on the south-west, passing the eye northward along the dark-blue giant outlines of Arnafell and Skjaldbreið, and the hills towards Borgarfjorð, to the rocky crests of Hengill reflected in the waters of the lake, the hot springs on its slopes constantly sending up a little wreath of steam, especially visible before rain. But when we turn to the church itself, in so noble a setting, we do not find beauty of architecture to accord with beauty of scenery. Perhaps it is better so, and in a landscape on so vast a scale of magnificence the proportions of even Cologne or Milan would be dwarfed. But here, as elsewhere, we find the little wooden grey-roofed church with its tiny belfry, while across the church path stand the clothes-poles and the

washing lines of the church farm. Neat and clean the little building certainly is; but the altar picture, which was its only claim to antiquity and curiosity, has given place to a modern Danish painting, and the subject of the former —"The Last Supper"—roughly but boldly painted, somewhat "after" Lionardo da Vinci—has been changed for one of "The Cleansing of the Leper."[1] The small wooden pulpit is old, and ornamented by quatrefoils in blue and red.

Here the services are only alternate, the priest having to travel some distance to another church, at Sóg, while his headquarters are at Thingvellir. The services, however, are well attended, and for a country place the music is good. By the farm of Ulfhljótsvatn, on a picturesque knoll above the Sóg river, is a neat but tiny church, which has an altar painting in the same style as the old Thingvellir picture.

Bessastaðir, on a little promontory south-west of Reykjavík, is one of the finest and best built of the older churches. Its position, on the shore of Skerjafjorð, is picturesque, if lonely. It is built of stone, which is very unusual in the country. When I first knew it, the interior was in a very poor condition; but it has since been restored to a state of almost aggressive neatness and brightness, with fresh paint, etc. It has a wooden screen, and contains some monuments of an interesting character; one fragment being a stone effigy of a knight, or Crusader, in armour, which had been varnished over and set up against the wall! It had evidently once been recumbent. There is an engraved slab to the memory of the first "Amtman" in the island, with a long Latin inscription.

A well-built stone house beside the church was formerly the principal school in southern Iceland; this was afterwards transferred to Reykjavík. The chief interest of Bessastaðir lies in the fact that here was born one of

[1] The old picture was bought by me some years ago and is now in S. Peter's Church, Shorwell, Isle of Wight.

Iceland's greatest men of modern times—the learned, versatile and venerable Dr. Grímur Thomsen. Here he passed his latter days, and died in 1896 full of years and honour. It was my privilege to know him, and to partake more than once of his kind hospitality: the cordial welcome which he extended to me as a stranger ripening quickly to a warm friendship, too soon, alas! to be cut short by his death. His house was a store of literary and art treasures, and his conversation was of the most amusing and fascinating description. He rests beside the walls of the grey old church, a slanted slab of black marble within a railed enclosure marking his grave. There is no parsonage at Bessastaðir, which is served from another but quite newly-built church, at Garðar.

The old church at Viðey—one of the green islets that lie just off Reykjavík, in the narrowing mouth of the Faxafjorð—deserves mention, as it is of considerable antiquity. When I saw it in August, 1904, it was undergoing restoration, a process which I feared might become *devastation* unless wisely looked over. It contains some fine old woodwork, carved on the old pattern I had seen at Viðimyri, a screen, and panels, also a curious old "skriftstóll" or confessional. The altar and panels were painted in two shades of pale blue and green with red mouldings, quite in art colours. I tried to point out to the young farmer who owns the island the desirability of preserving the old characteristics in his new work, and I think he agreed with me. The building was in too great confusion for me to make any but the roughest notes. I believe there is a superstition regarding this church, that the door should be always open, to allow the birds to go in and out.

It is somewhat of a "far cry" from the neighbourhood of Reykjavík to Skálholt in the south, and considerably to the east of Reykjavík. Skálholt! what wonderful thoughts its name suggests, too many fully to grasp, as you gaze over the wide valley, watered by the broad Hvitá, and the glorious ring of mountains of every form

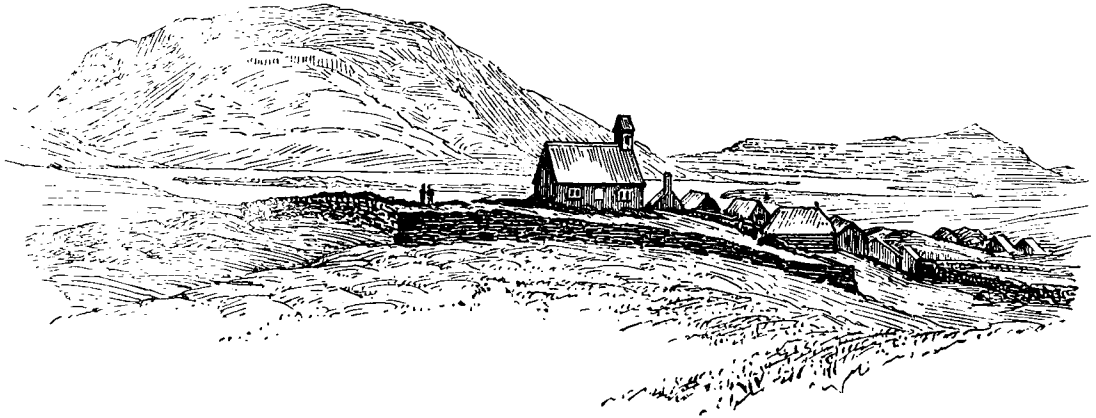


FIG. 3.—SKÁLHOLT.

From a Sketch by W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.

Reproduced from "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland." *By permission.*

and shade; and try to think of Gizur and Klæng and Thorlák, and the wonderful history of the infant Church of Iceland! But what bathos, as you turn from the glorious landscape with its undying associations into the little wooden shanty, which represents the Skálholt ecclesiastical of to-day! Mean to a degree, ill-kept above

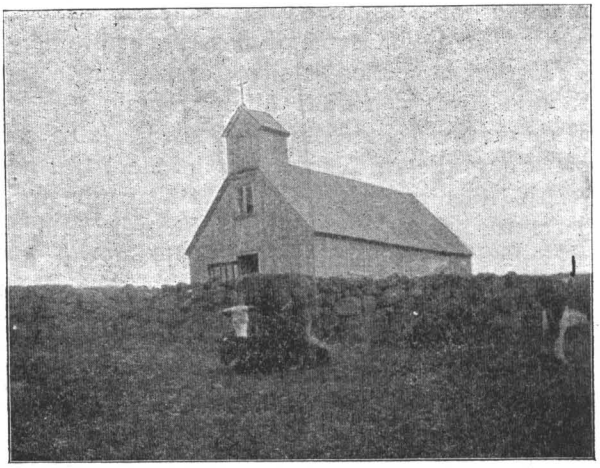


FIG. 4.—SKÁLHOLT CHURCH.

From a Photograph.

the average, unused even on Sunday, except as a promiscuous storehouse—for it is served periodically from another parish, the sight is one to make angels weep. But Skálholt possesses the dignity of having been the first episcopal see—and the annals of its first five bishops form the subject of the curious old ecclesiastical chronicle called Hungrvaka—"the Hungerwaker," as it is supposed to stimulate the reader's desire for further information. Here lived and wrought and prayed, Iceland's greatest saint, the holy bishop Thorlak, and here in those short dark days of the dreary Yuletide of 1193, his mourning people laid him to rest with song and holy rite. Much is told too of the richness and decoration of the original

church, and the solemnities of its consecration and dedication to St. Peter the Apostle, during the episcopate of Bishop Klæng.

I paid my second visit to Skálholt in August, 1905—I had seen it first in 1895—and during my stay at the hospitable house of Dr. Skúli Árnason, who lives at the church farm, was able, through the kindness of my host, to see more of what still remains of interest. The church possesses a splendid chasuble of exquisite embroidery and of Pre-reformation period, a silver casket for the sacred wafers, and a very curious altar frontal; the superfrontal decoration being formed of silver plates, said to be from the girdle of Thorgunna in the "Eyrbyggja-saga." Also there are alabaster slabs, very fine for their period (c. 1600-1700), monuments of Lutheran bishops, under the flooring of the church, which is made in detachments, so as to lift up. Older fragments of monumental slabs form the doorstep, and each succeeding year are becoming more outworn by feet and overgrown by grass. One has a partially decipherable inscription to some "VIRI REVERENDI atq PIISSIMI," but name and date are gone; in style and lettering it resembles the older slabs in Elgin cathedral. Another is ornamented with little medallions, presumably the four Evangelists, at each corner.

Still more interesting is it to trace, as I did under Dr. Skúli's guidance, the foundation plan of the real "Krosskirkja"—with nave, chancel, and transepts—of which plan the present building occupies about the centre. I regret that I did not take the measurements, but they could not have been very accurately observed. Roughly, the church must have occupied the whole space of the small churchyard; a noble building, doubtless, in respect of all the other native erections. Here, under the rough mounds, where the hay now lies drying in the August sun, the site of the "Sönghús," where the body of the saint lay for three nights before burial, the mortal remains (most probably) of the blessed Thorlák rest in hope.

There is also visible the track of a subterranean way of entrance to the old church, probably intended for use in bad weather.

Dr. Skúli also showed me a pencil plan of old Skálholt, copied from the MS. of Bishop Steingrim Jónsson in the museum; it bears date 1784, so of course must be looked on as modern; though at that time much more of the old buildings remained or were known than at present. A sketch of the plan of the church is subjoined. The whole plan is very large, and contains outhouses,

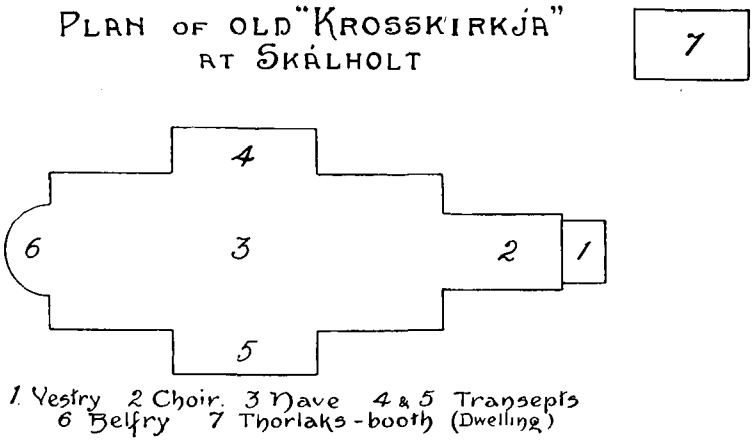


FIG. 5.

offices, school, and, in short, a large block of buildings, though it is permissible to the modern Icelandic traveller to surmise that many of the names in the plan may represent mere turf hovels.[1]

Yet one more note of interest ere we quit this hallowed and enthralling site. Just a little to the north of the

[1] The Cathedral was destroyed in the earthquake of 1784. It was not the same as the Krosskirkja of the plan, as will be seen if the plan is compared with the frontispiece. The Krosskirkja stood a little way from the site of the Cathedral. See "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland," p. 20.—ED.

churchyard lies the stone on which Bishop Jón Árason of Hólar was slain for his faith—being the last Catholic bishop of the church in Iceland. He was brought to Skálholt for execution, along with his two sons. (The Icelandic clergy were not celibate; the bishops' wives figuring largely sometimes in the histories.)

A photograph of the stone is also given. It is much to be desired that some fence and monument should be placed to guard a spot so sacred in the annals of the country.

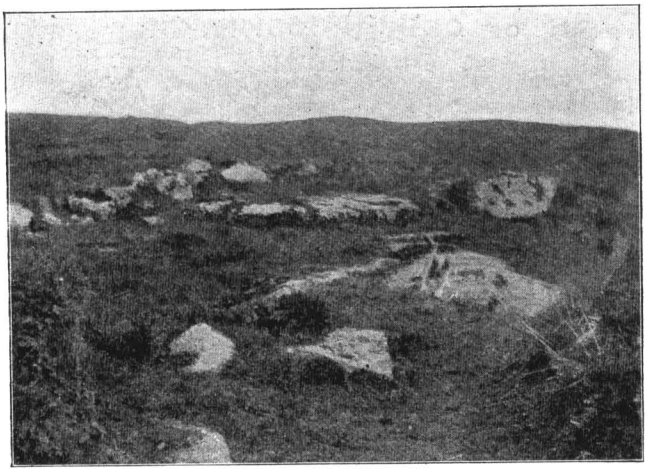


FIG. 6.—SITE OF THE MARTYRDOM OF BISHOP JÓN ÁRASON.
From a Photograph.

Breiðabólstað, yet further southward, had, when I visited it in 1896, a picturesque steading adjacent, where its pastor lived; but it has been rebuilt since then, and I shudder to imagine the contrast between new and old, for the new farm buildings are usually on the most unsightly lines imaginable. Timber and corrugated iron are not perhaps the materials which an architect would exactly choose to embody his fair designs; but if the makers of these buildings would only copy the gabled

outlines of the old farms, they would arrive at something less utterly out of keeping with the scenes in which they are set. Breiðabólstað church contains the wonderful so-called "Fairy Chalice" mentioned in so many travellers' books, an old silver chalice of which the origin



FIG. 7.—THE FAIRY CHALICE.

By W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.

Reproduced from "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland." *By permission.*

and acquisition are wrapped in mystery. Another curiosity is the carved figure of a dove on the font cover, a rude figure indeed, with heavy blocks of wood for feet. The font here is near the door, in the orthodox position. There is an altar painting, of no particular merit.

All honour to the neat new timber-built church of Oddi, for it withstood the destructive earthquakes of 1896, and sheltered many of the homeless children of the sufferers. Its site is striking, with the brown water-streaked "Land-isles" between it and the low horizon line on which may distinctly be seen the blue outlines of the Westman Islands group.

Stórinúpur, in Arnasysla, is a church of some pretension, but its chief honour is in its present priest, the poet Valdimar Briem, who is at once the most prolific



FIG. 8.—CENTRAL ORNAMENT OF PATEN AT BREIÐABÓLSTAÐ.
By W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.
Reproduced from "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland." *By permission.*

and most spiritual of Iceland's living "skalds." A quiet retiring and even silent man, he has produced the largest collection of sacred poetry and hymnology of any modern Icelandic writer, and some of his poems attain to a very high level. A careful and diligent parish priest, he has attained the rank of "Prófastur" or Dean, and is widely known and respected. He has also received the Danish order of the "Dannebrog" for his talents. The church is large and well-fitted, compared with many. The chancel roof is painted blue with white stars, and vaulted

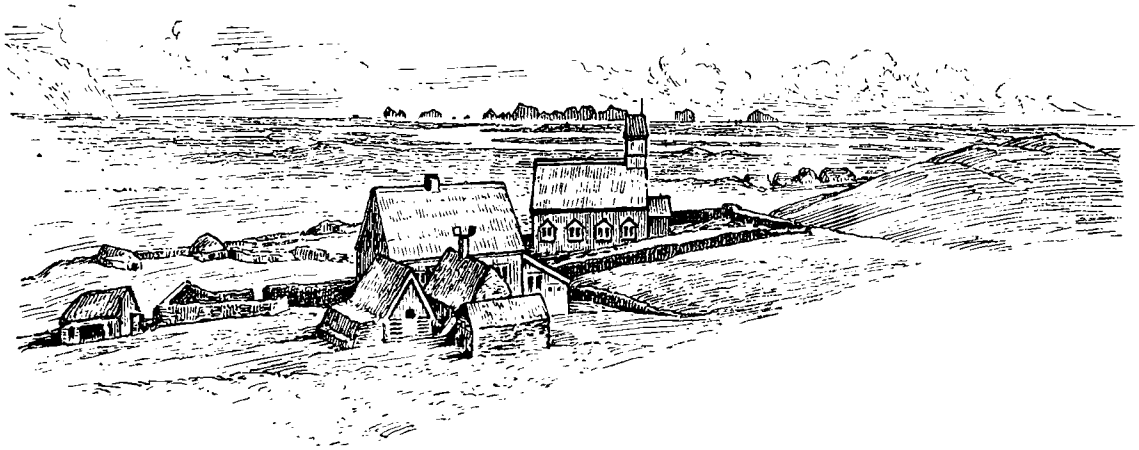


FIG. 9.—ODDI.

From a Sketch by W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A

Reproduced from "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland." *By permission.*

over; a large and handsome candelabrum hangs from the ceiling. The music is supplied by an American organ, in fair condition, and Arni, the organist, who, after some pressing, was prevailed on to play, did so with great taste and refinement. Stórinúpur, lit. "the Great Mound," or "hillock," stands in the Hekla district, no long distance from the volcano, and suffered badly in the last earthquake. The parsonage has thus been rebuilt, and has one of the most modern Icelandic interiors that I have seen.

Travelling north, through Hvalfjorð and Borgarfjorð, we halt at Saurbær; a church and parsonage situated near the latter fjord, with a glorious view of the enclosing hills, notably "Botn-súlur," the "bottom pillar," or column, which closes the view and the inlet. Here, in visiting the church, the priest showed me a large collection of altar and other vestments of different colours, and in particular a chasuble of very curious old needlework. There is also an old coloured crucifix and a somewhat mediocre picture below it of the Last Supper. Outside the church, however, an object of great interest is the grave of Hallgrimur Pjetursson, the contemporary of Milton, and Iceland's greatest religious poet. Upon it a stone has been placed in later days by his descendants, in loving memory, and bears an inscription to that effect. He was the priest of Saurbær at that time.

Hraungerði is a little church on the way from Reykjavík to Stórinúpur. It possessed, in 1898, a really noticeable altar-piece; a triptych with folding doors; the central panel a representation of the Crucifixion, in strong relief carving, and coloured. There were a number of figures; the different spectators around the cross all most carefully carved, and the various expressions beautifully distinguished. This treasure has now followed many others to the Reykjavík museum, where I have since seen it. There was also at Hraungerði a pulpit, painted with figures of the four Evangelists.

Stafholt, north of the Hvítá, has a wildly picturesque

site in the midst of a wide plain, within sound of the rushing of a great river, over which the wind can sweep with little to check its fury, as on the August afternoon when I attempted to take a stroll and found myself very glad to cling for shelter under the church's wooden wall. What impressed me more than the church was the gate to the small churchyard, which stands between the parsonage and the church; it is broken, but on the wooden board above it is painted in Icelandic a verse from the Third Psalm (thus literally rendered) "I lay me down and sleep, and I awake, for the Lord guardeth me," which I thought a rather novel and very beautiful application.

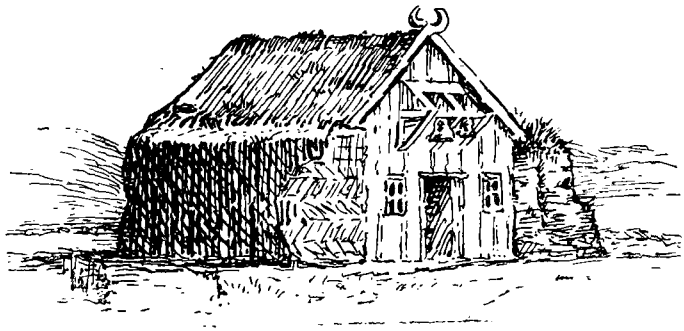


FIG. 10.—VIÐIMYRI CHURCH.
From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon.

Viðimyri stands last on the list of churches which seem specially worthy of notice. It is no long journey from the Hjeraðsfloi river, the ford of which has some mournful associations; more than one life has been lost in attempting to cross it on horseback instead of waiting for the surer ferry boat. Viðimyri church is almost the only specimen remaining of a turf church. It looks outside very like a neatly turfed cottage, with the ornament of crossed planks with carved ends on its wooden front gable. Within, it is extremely neat and possesses the curiosity of a double wooden screen enclosing the

sacrarium. It has a very old wooden pulpit, with panel paintings of saints, nearly obliterated with age. There is an altar picture of the Last Supper, not specially striking, and two older and better painted panels of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, which are put aside under the ceiling. It has a pair of brass altar candlesticks, and a rather flimsy modern chandelier; while the tiny building is hung round with paraffin lamps. Two bells, with the date 1630, are hung in a penthouse over the door, and rung from without.

These few rough notes upon the principal churches

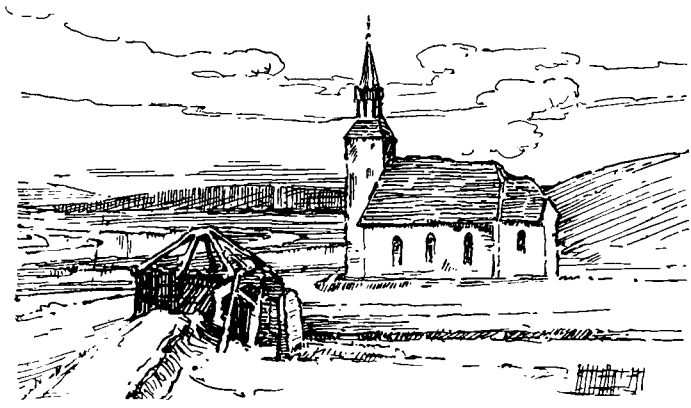


FIG. 11.—MIKLIBÆR CHURCH
From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon.

which have come under my personal observation may, I hope, serve to show that, although Iceland's Church is shorn of her ancient glories, and architecture according to the usual acceptation of the term is unknown in the country, yet her little sanctuaries are not wholly devoid of interesting associations and relics of the past. Moreover these are reverently cared for, as far as circumstances permit, and as might be expected of a simple, primitive, but eminently sterling and God-fearing people.

NOTE.—Books of travel in the latter half of the nine-

teenth century mention many turf churches as still existing in Iceland, but Mrs. H. W. Bannon informs us that the only one, besides Viðimyri, now remaining is at Flugumyri. The latter is in worse preservation than Viðimyri, and both, she fears, are likely soon to disappear, as they are entirely neglected, and even archæologists do not take the interest in them which such interesting relics of the past should arouse. As a contrast to the picture of Viðimyri and an instance of the fate that has overtaken most of these turf churches, we give a sketch by Mrs. Bannon, of Miklibær church, on the Horgá not far from Akureyri in the north of Iceland. The building shown, which is a typical modern Icelandic church, has replaced the former turf church, which is briefly described by W. G. Lock in "The Home of the Eddas," published in 1879. Mrs. Bannon cannot say at what date this was replaced by the present building.

Our thanks are due to her for the sketches she has allowed us to use, especially the interesting representation of old Skálholt Cathedral; also to our President and Mr. W. Holmes, publisher of "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland," for permission to use the illustrations taken from that work.—EDITOR.

HOMER AND BEOWULF:

A LITERARY PARALLEL.

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PARALLELS, unless they are scientific, run the risk of being thought fallacious. In literature parallel lines are apt to intersect at unexpected points. A writer, eager to see points of contact, is not content to wait for that infinity whereat, by a mathematical fiction, parallels meet: he may be tempted to force his lines of comparison together at the bidding of caprice, and do violence to strict truth. This is the danger which besets Plutarch: there is just a suspicion that some of his pairs of Lives from Greek and Roman History are due to exigencies of parallelism rather than to absolute fitness. It is not, therefore, without due appreciation of the need of care that I venture to study Homer and "Beowulf" together. The collocation does not imply that Homer is quite the "Beowulf" of Greek literature, or "Beowulf" the Homer of English literature. Such unqualified parallelism would as certainly mislead as if one should label Hesiod "the Greek Caedmon," or perhaps Sophocles "the Greek Shakespeare," and proceed to lay stress on the undoubted resemblances, without equally marshalling the differences.

Yet in the case of the Homeric poems and of "Beowulf" the possible lines of comparison are so many that it is necessary to state those along which this paper does not propose to travel. Here we are confronted with two sets

of poems of the epic order—the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" in Greek of, say, the ninth century B.C., and the "Beowulf" in West-Saxon of, say, the eighth or ninth century A.D. The poems stand at the beginning of their respective literatures. This is the first obvious and superficial parallel between them. It points the way to others. Some of these I beg leave to eschew. I do not propose to approach the closer comparison from the standpoint of archæology, though much of interest might attach to a comparison between the external antiquities or "Realien"[1] of these poems, such as the Homeric and the Viking Ship, the Homeric and the old Scandinavian Hall,[2] the Homeric and the Danish armour,[3] the use and ornamentation of metals in both stages of society. The materials are to hand in the exhibits from Schliemann's excavations at Mycenæ and at Hissarlik, as shown in the Museums at Athens, Constantinople, and Berlin, in finds from northern middens, in remains like the Gokstad ship, and particularly in collections of northern antiquities like that at Copenhagen. It would prove an attractive sub-chapter in anthropology to contrast the Mycenæan civilisation of Homer, a period of transition between the Bronze and the Iron Ages, when one of the epithets of iron implied the difficulty of working it

[1] See Buchholz, "Die Homerischen Realien," 3 vols., 1871-1885; Schliemann, "Mycenae and Tiryns," 1878; Schuchhardt, "Schliemann's Excavations" (Eng. Tr., 1891); Helbig, "Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert, 1884, Zweite Auf., 1887; Stephens, "Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England," 4 vols., 1866-1901.

[2] For Homeric house, see Appendix vi. to Monro's "Odyssey," xiii. xxiv., 1901; Jebb's "Homer," 1887, pp. 57-61 and Appendix; also "Journal of Hellenic Studies," vol. 7, p. 170.

For ancient Scandinavian house, see Part xiii. of Paul's "Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie," pp. 228-235; Holmberg's "Nordbon under Hednatiden," Stockholm, 1871 (cited in "Beowulf," tr. Clark Hall, 1901, p. 175); "Burnt Njal," translated by G. W. Dasent, 1861, vol. i., pp. xcviii.-cx.; "Ruins of the Saga-Time in Iceland," by Thorsteinn Erlingsson. (Viking Club Extra Volume, 1899)

[3] Lehmann, "Über die Waffen im Ags. Beowulfliede," Germania, xxxi. (xix.), 486-497, 1886. Reichel, "Homerische Waffen, Archäologische Untersuchungen" (Zweite Auf.), 1901.

(πολύκμητος σίδηρος, Iliad, vi., 48), with an age of the "iron byrnie" (isernbyrnan), when the sword is the "choice of irons" (irena cyst), and the hall of Heorot has its doors strengthened with iron bands (iren-bendum).

Nor do I propose to take the standpoint of social evolution, by discussing the relation of society in the poems to the stage of village communities or to clan life, and incidentally the characteristics of "clan-poetry"[1] traceable in each; nor yet from the standpoint of mythology, to inquire curiously how far Beowulf or Achilles may be a sun-god fighting against darkness. Nor do I propose to institute any purely linguistic comparison between Homeric and Anglo-Saxon grammar, though, here again, for those disposed to use it, material exists on the Greek side[2] no less than in those minute German tractates which deal with the genitive[3] or the dative[4] in "Beowulf," or the syntactical use of the infinitive and participle.[5]

It might seem more inviting to recollect that there is a "Beowulf Question" as there is a "Homeric Question." Of both the Homeric poems and of "Beowulf" critics go on asking and go on answering differently the queries—Who composed them? and where? and when? and how far have they been altered by interpolating scribes? If books have failed to solve such conundrums, let not an essay try. One of the wisest dicta of Seneca was his reminder that life is too short for the study of the Homeric Question. If the remark was apposite in the days of Nero, it ought to have much more force now. I am not, therefore, here concerned to compare the textual results of Homeric scholars from the Alexandrian days

[1] See Posnett, "Comparative Literature," 1886 (Book ii.).

[2] Delbrück, "Syntaktische Forschungen," 1871, *ff.* Monro, "A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect," 1884.

[3] Nader, "Der Genetiv im Beowulf," 1882.

[4] Nader, "Dativ und Instrumental im Beowulf," 1882.

[5] Köhler, "Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs und Particips im Beowulf" (Münsterer Doktorschrift), 1886.

of Aristarchus, with those of Grein and Wülker[1] on "Beowulf"; nor to assess the value of the theories of Wolf,[2] Grote,[3] Fick[4] and others regarding the authorship and provenance of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," and the correspondingly arduous labours of Müllenhoff[5] and Sarrazin[6] on the Anglo-Saxon poem. But a few comments applicable to both epics arise naturally. Occupying a parallel cnronological position, belonging to the childhood of two great literatures, they were not without predecessors. Both in Homer and "Beowulf" there are introduced the singers and the singing of lays which imply the existence of a body of legendary lore from which minstrels drew for the amusement of their auditors. Thus, across the frontiers of both open out vistas into a wider saga-land—in the case of Homer to such groups as the Theban Cycle, the Wooden Horse, the Return from Troy of Greek Champions other than Odysseus; and in the case of "Beowulf" to sagas of the same kindred as "The Fight at Finnsburg," and the Sigmund[7] portion of the "Nibelungenlied."

It is farther noteworthy that among recent writers there is a tendency to doubt the theory that these poems are a patchwork of still earlier lays. Professor Comparetti, in his "Traditional Poetry of the Finns," and Mr. Andrew Lang in the Introduction to that work,[8] as well as in his "Homer and the Epic," have expressed their misgivings about the soundness of the method of

[1] "Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie," begründet von C. W. M. Grein, neu bearbeitet u.s.w. von R. P. Wülker, "Das Beowulfslied," etc., 1883.

[2] Wolf, "Prolegomena," 1795.

[3] Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. ii., chap. xxi. (1st ed. 1848).

[4] Fick, "Odyssey," 1883; "Iliad," 1886.

[5] Müllenhoff, K., "Beowulf-Untersuchungen," 1889.

[6] Sarrazin, G., "Beowulf-Studien," 1888

[7] In "Beowulf," Sigemund is the dragon slayer: this seems an older form of the tale than either the German or the Icelandic, which make his son Siegfried or Sigurd the slayer of Fafnir.

[8] English Translation, 1898.

accounting for Homer adopted by Lachmann [1] and others. The doctrine that early epics are organised agglutinations of anonymous sagas has probably seen its best days. It contains one side of the truth, that the composition of every great poem out of primitive songs requires personal agency; but it misses the other side of the truth, that any such great poem must be composed not by a mere collector or paster, but by a poet. A board of savants might work together on early songs, but the result could not conceivably be a poem. A board of savants is not a board of poets: and one does not hear of boards of poets working together. It is not a poetical, not a harmonious idea. Professor Courthope [2] similarly distrusts the results obtained by Müllenhoff as to the various strata of which he avers that "Beowulf" is composed, and which he claims to be able satisfactorily to separate.

Once more, under this heading, there is the likelihood, approaching certainty, that the material of both was brought across seas to new lands—the "Iliad," in the form of Thessalian lays, transported from Northern Greece to Asia,[3] and the "Beowulf," in the form of Scandinavian lays, transported from the Continent to England.

My real subject is the comparison of Homer and "Beowulf" as literary documents, without asking how they were composed. In both it is the poetry with which I have to deal. It is never practicable to make an absolute divorce between matter and manner, between the thought and the mode of expression. Least of all is this possible here. If poetry ever is a "criticism of life," then early poetry must be a specially valuable index. Hence I propose, after comment on the more obvious qualities of style in the epics, their narrative power, their power of recording character and emotion, to review them

[1] Lachmann, "Betrachtungen über Homers Ilias" (Dritte Auflage, 1874).

[2] "Hist. of Eng. Poetry," vol. i., 1895, pp. 86-88.

[3] "The Achaeans originated Epic . . . the supreme inspiration came to their minstrels on Asiatic soil." Bury, "History of Greece," 1900, p. 65.

briefly as representations of life,—life, not in the sense of the food the men ate, or the raiment they wore, or the ships they sailed in, but rather the kinds of deeds they performed and praised, their manners towards one another, their views on life and death.

The general stamp of the Homeric poetry cannot be better summed up than in the four qualities assigned to it by Matthew Arnold in his lectures "On Translating Homer," and endorsed by Professor Jebb in his "Introduction to Homer"[1]: rapid; plain in thought; plain in diction; noble. I take it that rapidity involves those qualities of force and vigour which seem to me so characteristic of both poems. It is the power of telling a narrative with effect—the fundamental gift of the epic poet. On this count of rapidity, and on the other two, of plain thought and plain diction, "Beowulf" holds its own with Homer: on the fourth count the palm is undoubtedly Homer's. He transcends "Beowulf" in sustained nobility of thought and of plan and of language. For "Beowulf," though containing much that is noble, and though making a closer approach to Homer than do ballads, does not succeed in keeping to a Homeric pitch.

Again, it suffers from its comparatively small scale—it is, roughly, about an eighth of Homer's length. In strictness "Beowulf" has not attained to epic proportions. Besides, it has reached a less developed stage of literary art; for its rugged alliterative lines do not rival Homer's diversified control over language, nor his power of handling so fine a metre as the Greek hexameter. But with all this, there remains amazingly Homeric quality in the narratives of "Beowulf." Homer, in brief, may be more artistic, but he is not more masculine. Take Beowulf's struggle with the monster Grendel in the Hall, or his yarn of how he fought the water-beasts during his swimming match with Breca, or the description of the fire-drake's fury against the whole land after his

[1] 1887, p. 12.

treasure had been invaded, and, pitted against anything in Homer for dash, nerve, and breathless excitement, the Anglo-Saxon poet is not outmatched.

In illustration of the passage last mentioned, I offer a rendering of its latter portion [1]:—

> Then gan the guest-fiend live gleeds to spew forth,
> Bright homesteads to burn. The blazing beam stood out
> In anger against men: nor was there aught alive
> The loathly lift-flyer was willing to leave.
> That worm's warfare was widely beheld—
> The crushing foe's cruelty close and afar—
> How the fight-scather for the folk of the Geats
> Brought hatred and humbling. To his hoard he shot back,
> The dark hall of his den, ere the hour of the dawn.
> The folk of that country he had compassed with flame
> With bale and burning brand. He trusted in his barrow,
> His fighting and fortress. That fancy played him false.

The real proof of the epic power of "Beowulf" lies in the readiness with which its great scenes flash back on the memory. It has its intense and unforgettable moments, as when Grendel, prowling round the hall in the dark, feels a grip such as he never felt before, that of thirty men's strength; and again, moments of sickening suspense, as when Beowulf lies, to all seeming, hopelessly exposed to the mere-wife's seax. They recall the intense moments of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," like old Priam's entrance, so unlooked-for, so dramatic, into the tent of the man who slew his son, or that point in the Trial of the Axes, when the stranger, who is Odysseus in disguise, leaves the hall with the neatherd and the swineherd and asks, if their master were to come back, with whom they would side, or that dark interval of disbelief before the dawn of recognition of her husband by Penelope.

Of Beowulf's three fights—with Grendel in the hall,

[1] The whole passage consists of ll 2287-2323, "þa se wyrm . geleah" ("Beowulf," Early Eng Text Soc., ed. by Zupitza, 1882). The rhymed fourteeners of Lieut.-Col. Lumsden's translation do justice to the rapidity of the original; but they alter the metrical movement, and do not seem to me literal enough in expression.

with Grendel's dam under water, and with the fire-drake—the most powerful is the first. Granted that Homer, whether in the "Iliad" or the "Odyssey," moves on a more massive scale, and granted that the "Fight at Finnsburg," or the surrounding of Njal's house in the "Saga of Burnt Njal" may recall the "Iliad" more closely, still here the poet reaches the highwater mark of realism. As we read, we believe in Grendel. The struggle has the thrilling potency of Grettir the Strong's struggle with Glam's wraith in the famous "Grettis Saga."[1] The grim tug of war is as human as the "Iliad": that is why it reads more convincing, if less romantic, than the conflicts with Grendel's dam and the fire-drake, or the butchery of Odysseus' sailors by the Læstrygonians in the "Odyssey." Grendel, stalking across the moors from the swamps under cover of night into Heorot, arouses a compelling shudder, as genuine as the nervous feeling that may beset men even in ages of enlightenment, and force them against reason to believe in the possibility of mysterious and superhuman attack amid the still shadows of the dark. Others perhaps feel it like the resistless dread which pervades some dreams.[2] The sense of dread, when we know the monster *will* come back to King Hrothgar's hall to claim his nightly prey, is even more vivid than in the situation where the man-eating Cyclops returns to his cave to find Odysseus and his men within, and equal to our breathless anxiety while the blinded giant is groping over the sheep beneath which the Greeks lie hid. The appeal to awe in "Beowulf" is helped by the setting in Scandinavian scenery—the tossing northern seas, the bleak wind-swept headlands, the wild haunted bogs, lit only by the eerie will o' the wisp. Where Homer makes the most graphic appeal to awe is in the Slaying

[1] It is worth while recalling Vigfusson's theory that "Grettis Saga" here has borrowed from "Beowulf." See "Corpus Poeticum," vol. ii., pp. 501-3, and "Sturlunga Saga," 1878, Prolegomena, vol. i., xlix.

[2] "grim, unrelieved, touching close upon the springs of mortal terror, the recollection or the apprehension of real adversaries possibly to be met with in darkness." W. P. Ker, "Epic and Romance," 1897, p. 200.

of the Wooers, the effect of which is enhanced by the omens and forebodings of "second sight" that have gone before.

Coupled with the gift of strong, vivid, telling narrative, both poems have dramatic and lyric elements. Though there may be nothing quite so dramatic in "Beowulf" as the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon in the first book of the "Iliad," or the interview with the deputation in Achilles' hut in the ninth book, yet the speeches in Hrothgar's hall are admirably managed. A highly dramatic turn is given (2047-2056) to the episode of the Danish bride Freawaru, married to a prince of the Heathobards, when at the beer-drinking an aged spearman recognises a Heathobard sword worn by a Dane, and eggs young Ingeld to vengeance in the words:

> Couldst thou, my good chief, know the glaive again
> Which thine own father to the fight bore,
> Under his helm of war, the hindmost time—
> The dearloved iron; where the Danes slew him,
> Lords of the field of carnage, when Withergyld[1] lay low
> After the fall of heroes— those hardy Scyldings?
> Now here of those slayers the son, I know not whose,
> In fretted-armour proud, paces the hall-floor,
> Boasts of the murder, and that treasure bears
> Which thyself by right shouldest rule.

For lyric and elegiac power the touching description in "Beowulf" of a father's grief for his dead son has a pathos comparable with Achilles' grief for Patroclus.

One pervading quality of both epics is a certain naïve freshness which has a double portion of charm for the jaded readers of more sophisticated ages. In the days of those poems the world was younger; hence the plainness already alluded to. Examples are abundant. A concrete work of art, or an abstract phenomenon like a reflection, an emotion, a character is always conveyed in simple terms. There is something very engaging about this primitive delight in works of skilful handicraft, as if man were still in the childhood of the race, and his

[1] *Or* "when vengeance failed."

implements and ornaments were toys to be admired. So the Northern poet signalises Beowulf's coat of mail as the work of Weland,[1] or the sword in the sea-cave as belonging to the Eotens[2]; and the Southern poet dwells on[3] the shield of Achilles as the work of the god Hephaistos, and is careful to say[4] that Agamemnon's sceptre was curiously made by the same god. If a reflection occurs to the poet, he is not afraid that it has occurred to hundreds before him. He had no horror of the simple. Three separate times does the author of "Beowulf" make the comment, "That was a good king" (þaet waes gōd cyning). He sums up the reference to Hrothgar's men at the close of Part I., as they turn to sleep in the hall, "They were a noble folk" (Waes sēo þēod tilu, 1250). "'Tis sorrowful for an old carle to bide that his boy swing upon the gallows in his youth" (2444-2446). "Of course it is," some modern critics would remark, "that is obvious"; and the modern decadent poet would not venture to say it. So in Homer there is this habit of simple reflection of the semi-proverbial order. And the reader of to-day experiences the pleasant intellectual shock of finding a truism, a saw, stated forcibly, with belief, and without compunction. The ages of literary self-torment had not yet begun.

The treatment of human emotions in both epics is in this same naïve manner. There is a freshness of outlook on man's feelings as well as on man's works and man's thoughts. A fighter at Troy or a thegn of Hrothgar's is not easily imagined as *blasé*. The topmost feeling bursts into expression. The hero feels he is brave, and says so:

> Hail to thee, Hrothgar! I am Higelac's kinsman, and tribe-thegn. I have undertaken many deeds of daring in youth . . I quelled a giant brood, I slew sea-monsters on the waves by night, I dreed dire distress, avenged the Weder's feud.[5]

[1] "Beow.," 455. Weland, the smith of Germanic legend, is the Völund of the Edda.

[2] eald sweord eotenisc, "Beow.," 1558. [3] "Il.," xviii., 458, etc.

[4] "Il.," ii., 101. [5] "Beow.," 407 *seq.*

These are words in Beowulf's first speech to the King at Heorot. Compare the words spoken by Odysseus to the King of Phaeacia:

> I am Odysseus, son of Laertes, who am in men's minds for all manner of wiles, and my fame reaches unto heaven.[1]

This is the true old epic and manly strain: it is not to be dismissed, after the fashion of some commentators, as boastfulness. It is a heroic confidence which pairs with the moral confidence of the developed ideal man in Aristotle's "Ethics," who knows his perfections and does not think it necessary to include humility, lest it should savour of mock-modesty. Here, then, we move among the elemental human emotions and their frank pourtrayal. King Hrothgar bursts into tears when he has to part from Beowulf, as the sailors of Odysseus do over their lost[2] comrades. Beowulf passsionately storms against Hunferth for his insolence at the banquet, as Achilles storms against Agamemnon for his highhandedness: in their hot temper both utter the same taunt about being drunk.[3]

The character-drawing in both epics is sharp and life-like. Its merit is truth to heroic man, who, it seems to me, might be epitomised in Pope's admirable line—

> A being darkly wise and rudely great.

The test of clear outline is the reader's memory. The mental pictures of Beowulf, the two Kings Hrothgar and Higelac, the two Queens Wealhthow and Hygd, Hunferth the scoffer, and Wiglaf the trusty thegn, are as lasting as the pictures of Achilles, Agamemnon, Odysseus, King Priam, Helen, and Penelope. I do not for a moment think the northern characters equal the Homeric in finesse, in fulness, or in variety; but if the content is less, for clear impression they hold their own. There is nothing so psychologically subtle in "Beowulf" as Homer's Athene; for she is the

[1] "Odyss.," ix., 19, 20. [2] *e.g.*, "Odyss," ix., 294.
[3] *cf.* beore druncen, "Beow.," 531 and οἰνοβαρές, "Il.," i., 225.

apotheosis of mind. Nor is there anything corresponding to Homer's mastery of the mind of girlhood in Nausicaa. But the hero, in intensity and indomitable hardihood, is a worthy counterpart of Achilles. When Beowulf is safely home at Higelac's Court, the poet pauses to summarise his qualities (2177-2189) in words which I shall try to render with due regard to closeness and to alliteration:—

> Thus boldly bore himself Ecgtheow's bairn,
> A wight in warfare well known, and in brave works.
> He did according to duty, never smote in their drink
> His mates of the hearth. His was no harsh mind,
> But stout in the strife, he guarded with greatest skill
> Of humankind the glorious gift that God
> Had lent unto him. Long was he lightly esteemed;
> For the children of the Geats did not count him courageous,
> Nor would a leader of war hosts award him
> Much honour on the mead-bench.
> Strongly they weened that he was a slack one,[1]
> An atheling unready. Reversal came,
> For that fame-blest man, of every biting flout.

This character is developed in the second part, where finer issues are involved in the question—Shall the King give himself for his people to kill the fire-drake? And as he lies dying, reviewing his past, and feeling the tender pathos of childlessness, he can solemnly claim to have been brave, a goodly ruler, not treacherous, true to an oath (2730-2740). And the last words of the poem leave the Geatfolk mourning for "a mighty king, mildest of men, kindest to men, gentlest to his folk, and keenest after praise" (3180-82). It is full of fascination, this temperament, cheaply rated as sluggish in youth, and wakened by the stress of need and peril into brilliant action. The practical turn is seen in all his deeds, and rings through his words to the King, disheartened by the murderous raid of Grendel's mother:

> Sorrow not, wise man. . . Better for each to wreak his friend than greatly mourn. . . Win glory before death. That is best at last for the dead warrior (1348-1389).

[1] þaet hē slēac wǣre.

This is Homeric in spirit. Indeed there is a certain refinement in Beowulf's gentleness and self-sacrifice which one usually misses in Achilles, of whom Horace's line is almost true:

Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer.

I say almost true; for one cannot forget the great scene in the "Iliad" where King Priam has kissed the hands which have slain so many of his sons, and reminded Achilles of his own old father at home:

> He stirred within Achilles desire to make lament for his father. And he touched the old man's hand and gently moved him back. And as they both bethought them of their dead, so Priam, for manslaying Hector, wept sore as he was fallen before Achilles' feet, and Achilles wept for his own father and again for Patroclos; and their moan went up throughout the house.[1]

I have compared thus slightly Beowulf with Achilles, because he seems a closer analogue than the deeper and cleverer character of Odysseus. But if Odysseus is less akin to the hero Beowulf, the "Odyssey," as a book, is a truer parallel to the poem "Beowulf" than the "Iliad" is. For in the "Odyssey," despite the digressive episodes which, like "Beowulf," it contains, there is more definitely than amid the multifarious warfare of the "Iliad," one hero overshadowing all other figures. There is the blend of war elements and home elements. The dangers of the "Odyssey," too, are closer in kind to the dangers in "Beowulf." For example, the Laestrygonian cannibals with their ogress queen "huge as a mountain peak," and the godless Cyclops, make better parallels to Grendel and his dam clutching their victims than anything in the "Iliad." The "Odyssey" presents a wonderland wherein we might well encounter the fire-dragon that guarded the hoard; and the "Odyssey" presents the nearest analogies to the feeling of dread which "Beowulf" can awake.

Broadly, too, the epics are alike in recounting a moral

[1] "Il.," xxiv., 507-512 (Lang, Leaf and Myers' trans.).

triumph.[1] Right wins finally. Beowulf is throughout the redresser of wrong. In the "Iliad" the Greeks have invaded Asia to avenge the wrong done to Menelaus; they suffer for the wrong their chief does to Achilles, but in the end Troy is ruined because of the wrong done by Paris. In the "Odyssey," disobedience ruins Odysseus' comrades, while patient endurance brings him home, and the outrageous slights put on Penelope and Telemachus are avenged.

In the minor points of expression, there are those frequent resemblances natural in long poems intended for recitation. This conventional element appears in repetitions of phrases and epithets. Like a regular formula we find: "Hrothgar spake, helm of Scyldings,"[2] "Beowulf spake, son of Ecgtheow,"[3] just as in Homer "To him in answer spake Hector of the glancing helm,"[4] "To him then spake the glorious son of Lycaon."[5] This stock of fixed language is part of the legacy inherited in both cases from older poems, and it is freely echoed in other Greek and Anglo-Saxon poems after the epic manner. We expect these recurrences—only in Homer it is more a recurrence of epithet, and in "Beowulf" more a recurrence of "kenning" or poetical synonym. Thus we expect in the Greek the dawn to be the "rosy-fingered" (*ῥοδοδάκτυλος*, and the sea to be the unharvested (*ἀτρύγετος*) or the "much-resounding" (*πολύφλοισβος*), and a ship to be "rolling on both sides" (*ἀμφιέλισσα*). And in the Saxon we expect the sun to be the "world-candle" (woruld-candel, 1965) or "gem of the heavens" (heofones gim, 2072), the sea to be the "gannet's bath" (ganotes baeð, 1861) or "swan-road" (swan-rād, 200) or "whale-road" (hron-rād, 10), the ship to be a "sea-goer" (saegenga,

[1] I do not mean by this the definite allegory which Professor Earle sees in "Beowulf." ("The Deeds of Beowulf," 1892, Introd., pp. lxxxvii., *sqq.*)

[2] *e.g.*, Hrōðgār maþelode, helm Scyldinga, "Beow.," 456, 1321.

[3] Bēowulf maþelode, bearn Ecgþowes, "Beow.," 631, 1383, 1473.

[4] *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ*, "Il.," vi., 520, with slight variations, *e.g.*, in vi., 263, 359, 440

[5] *τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Λυκάονος ἄγλαος υἱός*, "Il.," v., 229, 276.

1908), a "wave-floater" (wēg-flota, 1907), though in addition to synonyms, there are picturesque epithets, especially for ships, like "ring-prowed," and "foamy-necked" (hringed-stefna, 32, 1131, fāmig-heals, 1909). In the same style, the harp is the "wood of pastime" (gomen-wudu, 1065, gleo-beam, 2263), and a king is a "wealth-bestower" (sinc-gyfa), "ring-dispenser" (beaga-brytta), "shield-warrior" (rand-wiga), "earls' shelter" (eorla hleo).

One striking difference is the scarcity of similes in "Beowulf." There are only five, all simple. A ship speeds over the water "most like a bird" (fugle gelīcost, 218), the uncanny light from Grendel's eyes is "most like flame" (ligge gelīcost, 727), the claws of the monster's arm are "most like steel" (stȳle gelīcost, 985), the light that gleams in the dark cavern after the stabbing of the hag is "as when from heaven brightly shines the candle of the firmament" (1571-72), and the sword-blade in Grendel's venomous blood "all melted most like to ice when the Father loosens the bond of frost" (1608). The contrast is not solely in number as against Homer's two hundred and thirty.[1] There is neither the beauty nor the pleasing elaboration of Homer's similes.[2] This suggests to my mind a difference of literary method. The northern poet prefers synonym to epithet, he prefers metaphor to simile. The effect of his descriptions is often produced by stroke upon stroke, as it were by so many blows from a hammer. Beowulf's route as he tracks Grendel's dam was by "steep stony slopes, narrow paths" (stige nearwe); the poet must add they were so confined that "thereon one walks alone (enge ānpaðas), an unknown way, sheer headlands, many dwellings of sea monsters." As elsewhere in "Beowulf," from these redoubled strokes, these phrases piled on one another, the

[1] Gladstone, "Homer" (Primer, 1878), p. 150.

[2] "The Similes of Homer's Iliad" are collected and translated by W. C. Green in a volume of 1877. The "Odyssey" contains about forty only. For a literary criticism of the similes, see Jebb's "Homer" (1887), pp. 26-31.

picture gains in intensity, but not in extension. It is strength rather than witchery of language.

And the northern method is not only the method of the redoubled strokes, it is the method of the broad strokes. The Greek method is that of the varied stroke and of the fine stroke. Thus, while there is sturdy realism in both Homer and "Beowulf," there is a keener eye for detail in Homer. Take the detailed account of landing a ship at Chryse (Il. i., 430-437): there are noted the furling of the sails, the lowering of the mast by the fore-stays to the crutch, the mooring-stones and hawsers. Similar detail accompanies the beaching of a ship (Il. i., 485-6), the arming of Agamemnon (Il. xi., 17, *seq.*), and, as an elaborate example, the making of the shield of Achilles (Il. xviii.). The games in memory of Patroclus in the "Iliad," and those at Alcinous' Court in the "Odyssey," contain far more minutiæ than the account of the celebrations at Heorot. So, if we contrast the burning of Beowulf's body with that of Patroclus (Il. xxiii.), the older poet contrives to take us back to the cutting of wood in the forest for the funeral pile—a scene of axes, ropes, mules, oaks, the noise of the splitting trees, the furrowing of the earth as the beasts draw the logs plainwards. Are mules to be harnessed to a chariot? Then (Il. xxiv.) we are made to see frame, yoke, yokeband, and pole—almost each ring, pin and knob.

In some ways the greater vagueness of "Beowulf" is a stouter challenge to the imagination, as a drama with tempered scenic display may be the more provocative of thought and emotion. It seems to me not without significance that, when in "Beowulf" we do find that interest in detail which is the exception rather than the rule, it is frequently excited by external features of land or sea. As Beowulf and his men, starting on their voyage to Heorot, climb the side of their ship, while the waves break on the sand, and the foamy-throated ship speeds before the gale across the sea like a bird, it is external nature that seems most to appeal to the poet. He does

not tell of sails or oars like Homer, but he does go on to tell how

> about the same time on the second day the curvèd prow had fared so far that the voyagers saw land, the sea-cliffs shining clear, the mountains steep, the vasty headlands (221 *seq.*).

So, following the realism of Beowulf's description of the sea monsters slain by him and cast up in heaps upon the beach, there is a sunrise at sea (569-572):

> Light came from the east—bright beacon of God: the billows subsided, so that I could behold the sea-nesses, wind-swept walls.

And again, when Hengest and the Danes wait during the winter in the Frisian country meditating revenge, it is the coming of spring that attracts the poet:[1]

> He thought of his home,
> Though he might not thrust thorough the seas
> His ring-prowed ship. Ocean seethed with storm,
> Waged war with wind. Winter locked the waves
> Fast in icy fetter, until a fresh year
> Came upon men's garths, even as yet come
> Those days of faultless weather that without fail
> Observe their season. Then was winter shaken,
> Earth's bosom fair.

On the whole, I think for impressive description of nature, the advantage lies with "Beowulf." While I do not overlook Homeric passages like the fine storm in the forest (Il. xvi., 765 *seq.*) and the likening of the tears of Patroclus to "a fountain of dark water that down a steep cliff pours its cloudy stream" (Il. xvi., 3), still I find no Homeric landscape with so strong an impress as the monsters' home in "Beowulf."[2] That has caught the real spirit of wild northern scenery, whether Scandinavian or, as Haigh[3] maintained, Northumbrian. It contrasts with the tamer landscape of later Anglo-Saxon poems like the "Phœnix":

[1] "Beowulf," 1130, *seq.*
[2] "Beow.," 1357 *seq.* [3] "The Anglo-Saxon Sagas," 1861.

In a darksome land
They dwell, wolf-haunted slopes, and windy headlands.
Fearful the fen-path, where the stream from the fells
Underneath the nesses' mist downward works its way,
A flood below the land. Not far it is from hence—
A mile by measure— that the mere standeth.
Over it droops foliage deadened with frost-rime,
A forest fast by its roots overshadows the waters.
There may men every night a mischief-marvel see—
Fire on the flood.

And so on. No man dare make acquaintance with that abyss; the hart pressed by the hounds will die rather than enter this holt. The place is accurst.

Thence the wave welter is upwards whirled
Wan to the skies, when the wind stirreth
Loathly weather up, till the lift lowers
And the welkin weeps.

If one draws farther distinctions in style, they must be touched on lightly. Broadly, "Beowulf," as already remarked, is scarcely an epic in the Homeric sense: it lacks the massive proportions; and it is not so well constructed, not so much a unity as the "Odyssey." If farther one notes the infinitely greater variety of Homer, one is prepared to find much that is Homeric missing in "Beowulf." This superior variety in the Homeric poems is due not simply to their greater length. Rather, it is part of the subject. The Trojan War gave scope for a galaxy of leaders on either side: the Return of Odysseus for a series of ever shifting adventures and scenes. One entire division prominent in Homer is absent in Beowulf —the gods and goddesses, with their plans and partialities and intensely dramatic traits. One may imagine how "Beowulf" would gain in variety, and yet probably not in human interest, if Woden and Thor and Loki and Freia were in its story. The men of the poem are men of pagan times, yet their gods are resolutely banished. Still, I find it hard to sympathise with Mr. Arnold's theory [1] that the

[1] "Beowulf," ed. T. Arnold, 1876, Introduction. Also "Notes on Beowulf," T. Arnold, 1898, pp. 114-116.

author was an English ecclesiastic, perhaps a missioner to the Continent, who pruned a legend which he regarded as improperly heathen. For a Christian zealot, the poet, whoever he was, seems to betray too genuine an interest in the Scandinavian pagan life and thought which make the background. Once indeed (170-189) it is recorded that Hrothgar's folk, harried by Grendel, had recourse to offerings at shrines of idols, and prayed aloud to the Destroyer of Life; forthwith the Christian author or reviser proceeds to condemn this devil-worship, and later, with some inconsistency, makes Hrothgar thank "Holy God" for sending Beowulf to help the Danes (378). But with all the Christian additions, or interpolations[1] as some would call them, the heathen substratum continually crops out—a gloomy fatalism set by the side of Homer's joyous paganism. And if the heathen gods have vanished, there are still romantic creations of northern folklore left; eotens and nicors and a fire-dragon—wonders as great as in the "Odyssey."

Then we miss Homer's humour—a quality most frequently associated with the gods themselves. Zeus can laugh, and Aphrodite loves a smile. When Grendel laughs it is the laugh of malignity. The shrewish Hera, the hobbling Hephaestus, the trick played on Ares and Aphrodite, the burlesque episode of Diomede getting the best of the barter with his guest-friend Glaucus, the pun at the expense of the Cyclops, and that most grotesque of scenes when Odysseus reappears in the house of Æolus asking for more windbags, have no parallels in the sober Anglo-Saxon.

It remains to indicate briefly how similar in many ways is the life which these poems reflect. Both are pictures of a heroic age—broadly similar in social organisation, in manners, in ways of thinking on life and death. Rhapsode and scōp alike tell of brave men's deeds and words

[1] *e.g.*, The minstrel, whose music is hated by Grendel, sings of *Creation* like Caedmon. The eotens and monsters of the North are described as "Cain's brood."

and thoughts in the virile manner that makes the blood tingle. Whether in Scandinavia or in Greece, we can find ourselves at a King's Court crowded with retainers who drink in his hall and listen to lays which celebrate hardihood. Woman, in both cases, is a refining influence. Hrothgar's queen and Higelac's queen serving the guests with the mead-cup inevitably recall Helen's entertainment of the visitors to Sparta in the "Odyssey." There are songs and tales at Hrothgar's Court, just as at the Court of Alcinous in Phaeacia. There is a similar blend of courtesy and roughness, of refinement and barbarity, setting the very life of the times before us. With the cautious, half-suspicious reception by the coast-warden of Beowulf and his Geats when they land, one may compare the Greek suggestion that newcomers may be pirates. To match the courteous welcome given at Hrothgar's Court, we have the delicacy wherewith Bellerophon is entertained nine days by the King of Lycia before he is so much as asked his errand (Il. vi., 175 *seq.*), and the like delicacy in virtue of which Odysseus is not asked to declare his name at the Court of Alcinous till the second day. But Court etiquette does not prevent insult; Hunferth mocks Beowulf, as Euryalus mocks Odysseus (Odyss. viii.)

Both ages are ages of feud and bloodshed. Dane fights Frisian, and Swede raids Goth as freely and frankly as Greek faces Trojan. Life is rated cheap. It is useless to ask for quarter. Agamemnon without a qualm slays the suppliant Adrestus whom Menelaus is minded to spare (Il. vi., 62). There are understood usages which have the force of law. Manslaughter may be atoned for with a price: for their fighting champions are rewarded with gifts: cowardice in followers is despised: the rights of hospitality are to be respected. Heremod went into exile because he slew his messmates in passion: he is contrasted with Beowulf's gentleness (1710-1723). The true ideal of manhood has been already seen in the character of Beowulf. We meet, in fact, the

same kind of men and of usages as are more fully pourtrayed in the Danish history of Saxo Grammaticus.[1]

Their outlook on life is best understood from their pleasures, and their attitude towards fate and towards death. Life for the Scandinavian and the Greek was worth living. Its very hardships gave it zest. The "joy of life," says the poet, was tasted by Grendel only for a little while after his escape from Beowulf's strong grip (lytle hwīle līf wynna brēac, 2097). Beowulf, dying of his wounds, knows "his day of life, his joy of earth, is done" (2727). King Hrethel, dying of grief for his murdered son, "gave o'er the joy of men" (2469). So the ghost of Odysseus' mother says her longing for him has reft her "of sweet life" (μελιηδέα θυμόν, Odyss. xi., 203). The same pathetic yearning for lost life marks Achilles' words, "Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another, with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead that be departed" (Odyss. xi., 489 *seq.*).

So much for the general feeling. The specific pleasures are similar in both ages. There is the Norse joy in battle, to keep pace with the Homeric χάρμη. There is the joy in sports such as racing, to vie with the Greek love of games. There is the joy in feasting and carousal; so that the northerner could say amen to the words of Hector's mother, "When a man is awearied, wine greatly maketh his strength to wax,"[2] if only he changed his "wine" for "mead." There is joy in minstrelsy.[3] Even amid the melancholy lament of the treasure-hider in "Beowulf" there is the poignant remembrance of the sport and laughter of the banquet (2249 *seq.*).

If these are the main pleasures, the main duties were for the chief, bravery and generosity, and for the thegn,

[1] See Prof. Elton's translation of first Nine Books of Saxo (Folklore Society, vol. xxxiii., 1893), and especially Professor York Powell's arrangement of Folklore subjects in the introduction.

[2] ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει. "Il.," vi., 261.

[3] þaēr waes gidd ond glēo, etc. "Beow.," 2105 *sqq.*

bravery and loyalty to the chief. The general heroic attitude towards conduct, though here and there overlaid with Biblical glosses, is perfectly clear. There is a frank acceptance of duty: man must face calmly any odds: life is controlled by fate, or Wyrd, one of the three Norns. When all is said and done, as Beowulf himself declares, "Wyrd must ever have her way"[1]; but here comes the bravery of it all—it is still worth while to struggle, even against destiny; for "Often Wyrd saves an undoomed earl when his courage is good" (l. 572). This noble, practical attempt to reconcile Free Will and Predestination is worth scores of subtleties by philosophers and theologians. The ideal of loyalty is Wiglaf. He denounces the retainers who have failed Beowulf in his last fight: cowards he holds to be ungrateful to their prince and disgraced. When he aids Beowulf against the fire-drake, he has the spirit of Bjarke in Saxo,[2] who will face Odin just as a Homeric hero will face a god in battle:

> While life lasts let us strive for the power to die honourably and to reap a noble end by our deeds. . . We shall be the prey of ravens and a morsel for hungry eagles, and the ravening bird shall feast on the banquet of our body. Thus should fall princes dauntless in war, clasping their famous king in a common death.

Bjarke speaks knowing the risk he runs, even as Hector knows that doom will come on Troy, but has "learnt ever to be valiant and fight in the forefront of the Trojans" (Il. vi., 447). The same heroism marks Hector's reply to Polydamas, who is appalled by the sight of a bird as an omen (Il. xii., 238 *seq.*). "Thereto I give no heed . . one omen is best, to fight for one's country." It is the spirit of the ballads, "That Weird shall never daunton me," as Thomas the Rhymer says of the hazard he encounters of being taken to Elfland. Submission to Destiny is undeniably Homeric; for Destiny is recognised as over both gods and men. But fatalism

[1] gaeð ā wyrd swā hio scel. "Beow.," 455.

[2] "Saxo," ii., § 66.

is still stronger and more constantly present in "Beowulf."

The warriors in both poems have a grim sense of the horrors of a deserted battlefield. Like Bjarke, who said, "We shall be the prey of ravens," the author of "Beowulf" foretells the evil day now the king is dead, when "the wan raven, busy over the doomed, shall croak much and tell the eagle how it sped him at the feast, when he with the wolf laid bare the dead." So in the "Iliad" (xi., 162) dead warriors lie "far dearer to the vultures than to their wives." But there is this difference, that the northern warrior hardly seems to mind what becomes of his body; while the Greek dread of lacking burial was deep-seated. Hector, mortally wounded, implores Achilles not to leave him for dogs to devour (Il. xxii. 339). This argues a different attitude towards the other world. In "Beowulf" references to death and a future life, as the giving up of human joy and choosing the light of God, or the parting of soul from body, ("flesh shall not for long array the prince's soul," 2424), or the picture of Beowulf, lying at the point of death with thoughts of judgment in his mind, are Christian additions. In primitive Teutonic paganism there were no very clear ideas of a second and spiritual existence. Even Valhalla is possibly an echo of Biblical doctrine.[1] On the other hand, the Hades of Homer, though peopled by the "strengthless heads of the departed," was a reality,[2] and the want of burial rites affected the condition of the shade in the world beyond.

The ideal of a prince may be found in Hrothgar's

[1] "The Valhalla itself seems to have been a post-Christian conception." Stopford Brooke, "Early Eng. Lit.," vol. vii., 1892, p. 100.

Mr. Albany F. Major, however, in his paper on "The Ragnarøk and Valhalla Myths," read before the Folk-Lore Society in February, 1905, argues that the myths themselves must date back to the pre-Christian era, as independent Northern conceptions, however much the forms in which they have reached us may have been coloured by later ideas.

[2] A revelation of the other world flashes on Achilles when he fails to clasp the phantom of Patroclus in "Iliad" xxiii. "Ay me, there remaineth, then, even in the house of Hades, a spirit and phantom of the dead, albeit the life be not anywise therein."

address to Beowulf after his second great exploit. The speech (1700-1784) has become transformed in the crucible of Christian thought, but beneath the homily one can read its old world wisdom. Summed up it is quite Homeric. Look to the dangers of success and pride: look to the coming of age and death: look to Hrothgar's own sufferings at Grendel's hands after years of victorious rule. After such counsels of moderation they can turn to the feast:

> Go now to thy settle: enjoy the banquet glee,
> Thou famed in fight: 'twixt us twain full many
> A precious gift shall pass, when the morrow is here.

It is the Greek horror of excess, the Greek dread of the evil eye or of the divine jealousy, the Greek melancholy recognition that one must "look to the end," and withal the Greek practical determination to make the most of life. This practical resolution predominates in Beowulf's own temperament. His philosophy of life would be cheerful manliness. The manliness is never daunted, though at times the cheerfulness be tempered by mournful recollections and dark forebodings. Let the words wherein he heartens Hrothgar be remembered (1384 *seq.*): "Sorrow not, wise man: better 'tis for every man that he wreak his friend than that he mourn much." The very knowledge of life's troubles and dangers makes him a braver man. His confidence resembles that of Odysseus. It is that not of the braggart, but of the hero.

Alike as pictures of a heroic age, the poems owe their capital distinctions to racial difference. The same fundamental human nature is at work in both. Yet Homer is great in a Greek, and "Beowulf" in an English way. Each stands worthily by the sources of a noble literature. In each there are already present many of the national literary qualities. In Homer there is the Greek restraint, lightness of touch, mastery of style, subtlety both of phrase and of character drawing. In "Beowulf" there is an English straightforwardness, moral fibre, strength rather than sweetness. Craft versus downrightness is the

contrast. The craft is not merely that of Odysseus "of many devices," who spies upon the Trojans in the *Doloneia* of the "Iliad," and bears his share in the ruse of the Wooden Horse, more than once alluded to in the "Odyssey,"—it is craft in literary management, in handling the theme, in conjuring with those wonderful Greek words of the varied vowel music which sound so differently from the firm, rock-like consonantal endings of the Anglo-Saxon words. The plain words possess an undeniable attraction of their own. It is that of the cold, grey, but bracing, North in contrast to the warm, golden, alluring South or the purple East. "Beowulf" should take the reader from his easy chair to a northern hall where the scōp strikes the harp to each alliterative word and sends his chant home to the heart of chieftain and thegns used to fighting on land and sea. That is the setting of fancy wherein it is fairest to judge the poem. But Homer has at least this advantage, that, great as was his effect in the mouth of the rhapsodists, his poetry does not lose in the study. I incline to think that of all the testimonies to the superiority of Homer this is the most convincing.

VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITOR.

IN the last number of the SAGA-BOOK, Part I. of the present volume, the letter-press describing the illustrations on pages 161 and 162 should read as follows:—

Fig. 16.—TYMPANUM AT RIDLINGTON CHURCH, RUTLAND.

Fig. 17.—TYMPANUM AT LATHBURY CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

In the Notes on the Illustrations on page 167 for Fig. 16 read "Fig. 17," and for Fig. 17 read "Fig. 16."

WE are glad to see that Mr. H. L. Brækstad, Vice-President, has been appointed Norwegian Vice-Consul in London, and offer him our hearty congratulations.

THE best thanks of the Club are due to the Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., Hon. District Secretary for Somersetshire, who has kindly prepared the Index to Vol. III. of the SAGA-BOOK, which we issue with the present number.

WE understand that the "Visit to Denmark," referred to in Part I. of this volume (pp. 241-2), proved very successful and enjoyable. Among other attractions our President gave illustrated lectures on the Remains of the Viking Age in England. The fifth "Visit to Denmark" is fixed for August 6th to 18th this year, and Miss F. M. Butlin has arranged for a similar "Visit to Sweden" from August 27th to September 8th.

A USEFUL addition to the study of ancient ship-building by Fr. Nordin is chronicled in the Bibliography. It shows how the Viking-ship type varies on the sculptured monuments of Gotland from the seventh to the tenth centuries. Some of the Runic stones represented have only been found recently, and the work is a valuable addition to the subject which our Vice-President, Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, dealt with so exhaustively in the SAGA-BOOK of last year.

THE past year has been full of events so important to the Scandinavian peoples that it is impossible to pass them by in silence, though they trench on the domain of politics, from which the Viking Club stands aloof. We may, however, at least pay a tribute of respect both to Sweden and to Norway, in view of the singular dignity and moderation displayed on either side at a great crisis of their national life, and express the hope that a firm friendship between the northern kingdoms will ere long replace the old political bonds.

THE Norse mythology in the form in which it has reached us stands so much apart that studies of it from the point of view of comparative mythology are rare. An addition to this branch of literature is now appearing in the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* under the title of "Homer's Knowledge of the High North and the Kirkê (Circe) Tale," by Dr. Karl Blind. In this essay the author shows a great many points of contact between the beautiful and melodious Enchantress of the Kimmerian North and a Teutonic Love-Goddess of the same qualities and of a kindred name.

AT the Ulster meeting of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in July last, reported in *The Antiquary* for August, Mr. F. S. Milligan in the course of a paper on "Some Recent Antiquarian Finds in Ulster," said that in 1903 he found in the Ards peninsula a splendid bronze brooch of the Viking period and a Viking helmet. The latter were very scarce, and only three had been found in Sweden itself. Only the week before the meeting he had been given a beautiful Danish pin, which had been picked up at Clontarf, and had probably fallen from one of the warriors during the great battle.

DR. G. A. AUDEN, our Hon. District Secretary for York, gave a lecture recently before the Yorkshire Philosophical Society on "The Remains of Danish Sculpture in Yorkshire and Derbyshire," in the course of which he pointed out that, besides the strong Danish element in York, the Danish monuments in Yorkshire were found to a very large extent within a radius of twenty miles round Leeds, Ilkley, Collingham, Thornhill and Dewsbury. This year the British Association is visiting York, and Dr. Auden has suggested to us that another year we might, with advantage, make it the object of an excursion.

MR. ROLAND ST. CLAIR, a member of the Club for many years, author of "The St. Clairs of the Isles," while home on a visit from New Zealand in 1905, was fortunate enough to discover in Orkney a manuscript catalogue of old deeds and documents containing the names of several which were described as written in "Norn," the old Norse (Norrænn) dialect of Orkney and Shetland. It is to be feared that the documents themselves are lost, but any additional evidence of the former use of the old tongue is of value. We hope the catalogue will be printed in the projected "Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore."

A PARAGRAPH appeared in several papers early in December last stating that during the construction of a dyke in Emden, near Hamburg, an ancient vessel had been discovered, which was believed to date back to the days of the Vikings. We have been unable to obtain any particulars of this discovery, or any confirmation of the date ascribed to it. Since the remarkable discoveries in Norway of ships of the Viking age the tendency has been to call all old vessels that have been discovered in the north of Europe "Viking ships," just as a hundred years ago they would almost certainly have been called "Roman galleys."

Chambers's Journal for September, 1905, contained an article by Mr. R. Stuart Bruce, one of our members, which under the title of "An Echo from the Invincible Armada," gives the story of the wreck on Fair Isle of "El Gran Grifen." The vessel was the flagship of Admiral Don Juan Gomez de Medina, who got safely to land with his crew, numbering between two and three hundred men, and remained on the island for some six or seven weeks. Thence they were taken to the Mainland in Shetland, and after a brief stay there proceeded to France in a Shetland vessel. A few relics of their stay are still preserved in Shetland and Orkney.

A VERY interesting production is Mr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's translation of "Voluspá," of which he has kindly sent us a copy, one of 40 printed at the Kandy Industrial School in Ceylon. That the ancient sacred poem of the dwellers in Northern Europe, preserved in an island on the verge of the Arctic Ocean, should find a translator and be reproduced in an island in the Indian Ocean, surely shows that, though East and West may never meet, the spell of great literature is world-wide. Mr. Coomaraswamy's rendering is not merely a literary curiosity, but shows a very remarkable grasp of the poem and command of English.

AT a meeting of the Folk-Lore Society in December, 1905, Mr. C. J. Tabor exhibited a "Thor Cake" from Oldham, Lancashire. The cake, which is called in Sheffield a "Thar Cake," is eaten on the fifth of November, and seems to be known in various parts of Yorkshire and the north of England under the name of Parken Cake. The fact that it has to be broken, and must not be cut with a knife, seems to point to its being a survival of a very ancient custom or rite, but beyond the resemblance of the name to that of the god Thor, which may be accidental or superficial, no evidence was forthcoming in favour of a Scandinavian origin.

THE struggle of the Danish population in Sleswick, still clinging to their ancestral language and sentiments in spite of forty years under German rule, is the underlying motive of a novel which may interest many members. "Thy People shall be my People, or Karen Jurgens of Egtved," from the Danish of Mrs. Kieler, translated by Clara Bener (Jarrold & Sons), is a vivid picture of farming folk in the north of Sleswick, brightly told in spite of the tragic plot. A book like this of course loses greatly in translation, but is much to be welcomed by those who desire a more intimate knowledge of life and its problems in the borderland where Scandinavia and Germany meet, but cannot mingle.

BESIDES the various works by Professor A. Bugge noticed in our Review columns, a treatise by him upon the influence of the Western lands upon the culture of the dwellers in the North was published by the Christiania Scientific Society. The full title will be found in the Bibliography. The author was awarded the Fridtjof Nansen prize for this very important work, in which he shows that the Vikings came to

the Western Isles two centuries earlier than is generally supposed; and points out how the early Vikings adapted to their own use the culture they borrowed, and how Harald Fairhair modelled his court, his taxation and his system of government on that of Charlemagne.

In *The Standard* of January 18th, 1906, it was stated that a labourer breaking stones at Wanborough, in Wiltshire, the site of an old Roman camp, discovered a ring, which he sold for a few shillings. The paper stated that experts who had seen it pronounce it to be of great interest and value, as an inscription upon it seems to show that it was a betrothal ring belonging to Burhred, King of the Mercians, who in the year 853 married Æthelswith, daughter of Æthelwulf, King of Wessex. The marriage took place at Chippenham, some eighteen miles from the place where the ring was found. The account adds that the ownership of this valuable relic was to be decided by a treasure trove inquiry.

A little book, which promises to be most valuable to all interested in the Danish language, has been recently published under the title of "How to learn Danish," by Frøken Henni Forchhammer (Gyldendals Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, Copenhagen). Miss Forchhammer, a sister of Finsen's successor at the famous Light Cure Institute, and a pupil of Professor Jespersen, is well known as a teacher of English and Danish on scientific methods. Her book consists of a very much simplified account of the pronunciation, which is the great difficulty of Danish, and of copious phrases, arranged as conversations, with English, Danish, and Danish pronunciations given in parallel columns. It is introduced to the reader by the President of the Viking Club in a short preface.

We learn from Pastor A. V. Storm that on October 27th, 1905, a new runic stone was discovered at Aarhus in Denmark, in the Eastern foundation of the Church of our Lady. The stone was well preserved, and is one of the best hitherto found. The runes are from 4 to 6 inches high, and they read as follows:—

Toste, Hove and Trebjörn set up this stone after Asser, son of Sakse, their fellow, the most brave Swain (Danish: Svend). He died fully as a worthy man. He owned ship together with Arne.

The runes point to a period shortly after the year 1,000. Toste is common in Danish inscriptions, Trebjörn is rarer. The name Sakse is best known from the historian Saxo Grammaticus. The word "son" is omitted on the stone. It has only "Sakses Asser."

A correspondent of *The Globe*, writing from Kiel on October 3rd, 1905, reported a discovery of "prehistoric" harbour-works in "Oldenburg." He stated that Dr. Knorr, the keeper of the Kiel Museum of Antiquities, in the course of a series of scientific explorations near the "Danework" had brought to light an extremely interesting example of prehistoric work in the shape of a large piece of timber-work, which seems to have been used in making some kind of quay, or river frontage. The timber-work consists of two parallel beams, which are connected by short, strong

baulks of wood. The account concludes with some remarks on the "Hethaby" that formerly existed "near Oldenburg." Our District Secretary for Denmark informs us that this account is substantially correct, but that the works should be styled "protohistoric" rather than prehistoric, and that they can hardly be said to be near "Oldenburg," according to the modern use of the word. As a matter of fact the discovery was made within the semi-circular wall described in Mr. Kjær's paper on the Danework (page 316), which, as stated in the paper, has been conclusively identified as the site of the ancient trading town of "Hedeby," and there is no doubt that the works described are part of a quay, or pier, belonging to the old port on Hedeby Gulf.

With regard to the use of the terms "Germanic," or "Gothic," Dr. Karl Blind sends this further note:—

> *The Germanic Race.* In regard to the question, so strangely raised, as to whether "Germanic" or "Teutonic" should any more be used as a comprehensive word for the great stock to which Germans, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Icelanders, Dutch, Flemings, the majority of the Swiss, and the English belong, a few further facts may be useful. The sea between Germany, Scandinavia, and Britain was by the Romans and the Greeks called "Germanicum Mare" and "Okeanos Germanikos." Tacitus includes Sweden in his "Germania." Of the High North, Pomponius Mela (*De Situ Orbis, iii.*, 6) says:—"*Scandinavia* quam adhuc *Teutoni* tenent." The very name of the Teutons means "the Folk," the people or race at large—a good general term. On the other hand, the word "Goth" is—though very wrongly—often used in English as an offensive expression! If any chip from the old block refuses taking "Germanic" or "Teutonic" as the common word for the vast race from which the kindred northern and western populations have branched off, he must settle that point with two eminent Scandinavian poets. Quite recently, Björnstjerne Björnson spoke of "the *Germanic* race" as including the Teutons, the Northmen, and so forth. Ibsen, in a letter, said that, "having begun by considering himself simply a Norwegian, he broadened out afterwards into a Scandinavian, and still later on took '*Teutonism*' as the larger term." Gothic—like Frankish, Suevian, or Swabian, Bavarian, Angle, Saxon, Hunic, Rugian, etc.—can only be used as a tribal name. Goths and Hunes (not to be mixed up with Hunns) are now extinct German tribes.

Arguments on both sides were set forth at length in Part I. of the present volume, pp. 243 and 244. We do not think further discussion would be profitable, and must leave the matter to the judgment of individual members.

We extract from an account in *The Daily Graphic*, of August 29th, 1905, the following description of a find made in Jutland:—

> At Vendsyssel recently some potsherds were disinterred which were marked with small white dots. The authorities of the Museum at Hjorring, obtaining the fragments and putting them together, found that 117 of the pieces thus fitted resulted in the reconstruction of an earthenware jar, and that the dots resolved themselves into an ornament of unusual interest, for they represented a horseman with sword in hand, who with two dogs was pursuing two deer and two uruses (bos urus), an animal which has long been

extinct. This newly discovered jar serves to elucidate the decoration of a large, silver, cauldron-like vessel, found also in Denmark some years ago, and thus an advance is made in the branch of archæology to which these objects belong.

The account is illustrated from two photographs of the jar. Some reports of the find ascribed it to the Viking Age. With regard to this find Mr. Hans Kjær, to whom we are again indebted for information, writes:

> With respect to the find from Vendsyssel of a "Viking Age Jar," I may say the following. It is quite correct that an earthenware vessel was found with primitive figures marked out by lines of incised dots. The outline of the figures is printed in chalk. A single vessel like it is known, but that has linear ornamentation. The jar is from the third to the fifth century A.D., so does not belong to the Viking Age. Its importance has been exaggerated to an extraordinary degree, but a very valuable investigation of the place where it was found has since been taken in hand and when an account of it with details is ready, I shall be very glad to include it in a Report, but that cannot be this year.

In reply to an enquiry as to whether he knows any authority for the winged helmet, which is the conventional head-gear of a Viking chief in romances and on the stage, Dr. Karl Blind writes:—

> I can only say that I do not know of any winged helmet having probably been worn by Vikings. So far as there are any representations, they had caps, or morions, without such adornment. Historically we find from Herodotos (vii., 76) that one of the Thrakian tribes in the army of Xerxes had brazen helmets, with the ears and horns of an ox in brass, and above them, crests. The Thrakians were kindred to the Germanic race; more specially to the Norsemen, partly also to what would now be called Teutons.
>
> In Plutarch ("Caius Marius"), the Kimbrians,—whom he describes (as Tacitus does the Germans) as of tall stature, and blue-eyed, and whose name he derives from the German language,—are said to have worn helmets with the head and open jaws of frightful wild beasts, above which *high plumes* were fixed. They wore white shields. (Odin wore a white shield.)
>
> The Kimbrians came from what is now Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland. Of German tribes, the Herulians apparently came originally from Scandinavia, migrating as far as what is now Bavaria in Germany, and even to Asia Minor. The winged, white-plumed helmet may, therefore, have been used, in ancient times, also in Scandinavia; the Kimbrians, of yore, dwelling midway between Scandinavia and Germany, and wearing, as shown, those helm ornaments.
>
> Odin-Wodan, in his quality of God of Battles, wore a helmet. In modern sculpture, at least, wings are added to it, which fits him well as the all-pervading World-Wanderer and Stormy Leader of the nocturnal Wild-Chace. Probably, Wing-Thor (Vingþórr) also means the Winged God of Thunder. In the Eddic "Lay of Alvis" he says of himself:
>
> Vingþórr ek heiti;
> Ek hefi víða ratað.
> (Wing-Thor I am hight;
> Wide I have wandered)—
>
> and according to this idea, he might have got the wing attribute represented in his helmet, like Hermes, the much-travelling God, in his cap and shoes.

The Globe of October 10th, 1905, calls attention to the approaching disappearance of the Rue du Petit-Pont in Paris, and with it of a tablet which commemorates an incident in the siege of Paris by the Norsemen in 886, when a sudden rise in the river swept away part of the bridge over the Seine which gave the street its name. Twelve of the garrison were cut off, and defended the wooden tower guarding the bridge-head till it was set on fire, when they sallied out and perished to a man. Mr. E. Hailstone informs us that the tablet, put up in recent years by the Municipality at the expense of the "Societé de Vieux Paris," was affixed to the eastern side of the corner house, situated on the south-western end of the Petit-Pont, in the Rue du Petit-Pont. The inscription ran as follows:—

A LA TETE DU PETIT PONT
S'ELEVAIT LA TOUR DU BOIS
QUE DEFENDIRENT
CONTRE LES NORMANDS
PENDANT LA SIEGE DE 886
LES DOUZE HEROS PARISIENS

ERMENFROI	HERDI	HARDRE
HERVE	ARNAULD	GUY
HERLAND	SEVIL	AIMARD
OUACRE	JOBERT	GOSSOUIN

C. F. Keary, in "The Vikings of Western Christendom," gives an account of the siege based on the Latin poem of the monk Abbo, who was an eye-witness of it, and records this incident, though the names, quoted from the Latinized version, differ slightly from the French forms of the tablet. The Christmas number of *L'Illustration* for 1905, in an article on old Paris, gives a plan of the city as it was in 886, with a picture representing one of the assaults of the Northmen upon it.

Dr. Dukinfield Astley has sent us the following account of "Die Altgermanische Thierornamentik," an important work on early ornamention by Dr. Bernhard Salin, of Stockholm, which has been translated into German from the Swedish manuscript by Miss J. Mestorf, and is published by Messrs. Asher & Co. (*Berlin* and *London*):—

> This is an exhaustive treatise, with over 700 illustrations, on the various types of fibulae in gold, silver and bronze, dating from the fourth to the ninth centuries, which have been found in interments in all parts of Europe and the British Isles, together with a dissertation on the ornamentation of Irish manuscripts which exhibit the same or similar types. To all these the author assigns a Germanic origin. He shows how amid all the variety of intricate patterns with which they are decorated, curved and straight, spiral and twisting, yet the basis of the ornamentation is one and the same. The barbaric artist was endeavouring to record his impressions of the animal world, and behind all the intricacies of line there lies buried the form of beast, or bird, or fish. Even when the eye of the ordinary reader can see nothing but curve and loop and spiral and the so called rope-ornament, the author points out the head and neck, eye and mouth, body and thigh and foot of the disguised animal. The author distinguishes three

main styles, which spread in turn from Germany eastward, westward and northward, and which finally entered the British Isles from Scandinavia. Here they exercised a wide influence on Anglo-Saxon art, and, meeting later the products of the cognate art of La Tène, gave birth to that development of "Late-Celtic" art which finds its high-water mark in the work of the artists who adorned the Irish and (so-called Saxon) MSS., the books of Kells, Durrow and Lindisfarne. This is the most interesting result, to members of the Viking Club, of the investigation into the origin and provenance of this method of ornamentation, which belongs to the same class as that seen on the Danish sun-chariot recently described in the SAGA-BOOK (Vol. III., pp. 381-394), and was also characteristic of the Bronze Age. The author points particularly to the fact of similar antiquities being found in larger quantities in Jutland and Norway than in other parts of Scandinavia as evidence of a migration of kindred races from Germany northwards in later periods of the Age, whence the art was carried by the Jutes and Saxons, and later on by the Danes, wherever the prows of the sea-rovers' ships found land. Hence its prevalence in Saxon England and in Ireland, where there were large Scandinavian colonies early in the Christian era.

DEATH-ROLL.

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

MR. H. F. HALL.

Mr. Hall, of Oaklands, Sheffield, who died in June, 1905, was a fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and had been a member of the Viking Club since 1902.

THE REV. ALLAN MCDONALD.

The Rev. A. McDonald, who died last autumn, was the Roman Catholic priest at Eriskay, South Uist, where for many years he had been a devoted worker among the fishermen and crofters of the Southern Hebrides. He had been since 1898 a member of the Viking Club and Hon. District Secretary for the Hebrides (Long Island). He was an enthusiastic collector of folk-lore, and had of course splendid opportunities, one result being the paper on "The Norsemen in Uist Folk-Lore," which was read in January, 1900, and printed in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., Part 3. It is to be feared that much of the material he had collected has perished with him.

THE REV. CANON THORNLEY.

The Rev. John James Thornley, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, hon. canon of Carlisle and vicar of Kirkoswald, Cumberland, who died December 1st, 1905, aged 63, was a keen antiquary, and wrote on traditional children's games and the cup-and-ring markings of Bronze-age stones in his neighbourhood. He taught himself Icelandic, made some unpublished translations from the Sagas, and gave lectures on Kormák's Saga and other subjects connected with Northern antiquities. He joined the Viking Club in 1903.

REVIEWS.[1]

ORIGINES ISLANDICAE.

A collection of the more important Sagas and other native writings relating to the settlement and early history of Iceland. Edited and translated by GUDBRAND VIGFUSSON and F. YORK POWELL. 2 vols. *Oxford, Clarendon Press*, 1905. *Price* £2 2*s. net.*

A GENERAL review of the contents of these volumes would be of very little, if any, use. In a large measure it would have to be an expression of my individual estimate of the performance of the Editors' joint work; but want of space would debar me from bringing forward in sufficient copiousness evidence to justify that estimate. Many people would therefore have their doubts as to the justice or even the fairness of my views.

I have therefore preferred to write a special review which can be of some use, at any rate; and to that end I have selected the "Landnáma-Bóc" and the "Libellus Islandorum" only. This I justify on the ground that of all the historical records contained in these volumes these two are far and away the most important: "Landnáma-Bóc" as laying the *topographical* and *genealogical*,—"Libellus" as providing the *chronological* foundations of the history of the Icelandic race. A further justification of my selection lies in the fact that of these two works the one has been translated before into English in an unsatisfactory manner, the other not at all. Fairly stating the case, it must be granted that, to a foreigner unfamiliar with Icelandic accidence, both these books have their pitfalls, into which it is only too easy to fall.

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

Therefore, since the English reader is supplied with the original text, he should also be provided with a true key to it—a fairly reliable translation, in which respect that of the "Origines" is capable of improvement, as the following notes will show. And as our Society is the only public body in the country which professes to make "Northern research" its programme, it is in the fitness of things that at least such of its own members as are interested in these primary sources of Icelandic history should be placed in a position to get at a true understanding of their verbal meaning. To effect this purpose it is necessary to draw the readers' attention to the translation of "Landnáma-Bóc" and "Libellus" in some detail from beginning to end, minor faults being overlooked. Nearly every paragraph below consists of the three elements: original context, followed by the translation of the "Origines," and my suggested amendment. Almost all quotations refer to page, and line of the Icelandic text, from which the corresponding passage of the translation below can be easily verified.

Observations relating to Dr. Vigfusson's orthography, treatment of MSS., his idea that Are was the author of "Landnáma-Bóc" and wrote the "Libellus" for the perusal of some foreign magnate; the translations of personal names, besides many other matters, must be set aside for the one most important purpose of securing an approximately trustworthy translation. Peculiar characters employed by Dr. Vigfusson are replaced by ordinary ones.

Throughout this paper S. stands for "Sturla's book," Cd. for "Hawk's book," the chief authorities for the text.

"Landnáma-Bóc."

Page 13 8-9. en þat es víða um daga, at sól sér eige þá es nótt es lengzt:—"and the sun is not seen in the longest night"; instead of: but in many places it happens that in the day-time the sun is not seen when the night is at its longest.

P. 14 16. ok es þá siglt fyr norðan Hiallt-land,—þvi at eins sé þat at all-góð sé sióvar-sýn. The — indicates, presumably, that it stands for something missing, which indeed it does. The Editor has expunged the words: svá at, without which the text makes neither grammar nor sense. He printed the same text in "Icelandic Reader" correctly, but missed the point of it. I gave the right interpretation of the passage many years ago. Now it re-appears, mutilated, but rightly understood, though inaccurately translated, because by the excision of "svá at" the words: "því at eins" became untranslatable. Reduced to natural grammatical order the passage, after "Hiallt-land," reads: svá at sé þat (= þat sé, *i.e.*, sjái, *prospiciatur*) því at eins at (on condition that, provided that) sióvar-sýn sé allgóð. The rendering is: "and then the course sailed is north of Shetland, within sight of land, if there be a very clear day"; instead of: and then one sails to the north of Shetland so (far) that it may just be descried when the out-look at sea is very clear.

P. 15 5 En dœgr-sigleng es til Úbyðga á Grœna-lande or Kolbeinsey í norðr:—"And it is one day's sailing to Greenland out of Colbansey in the north." The main point: til Úbygða, to the Deserts, is left out in the translation, whereby the geographical statement fails to convey the true sense of the original. "Úbygðir" here is the eastern and north-eastern coast of Greenland, the nearest point of which, in favourable circumstances, might, perhaps, be reached from "Colbansey" in four-and-twenty hours. But to "sail to Greenland" invariably meant to sail to the habitable districts on its western coast, which would take many days' sailing from "Colbansey."

P. 15 9-11. En es hann siglðe í gœgnom Pettlandz-fiörð, þá sleit hann undan veðr, ok rak hann vestr í haf:—"But as he was sailing through Petland's frith, a gale broke his moorings, and he was driven west into the sea." Gardar could not be sailing and be moored at the same time. The meaning of: veðr sleit hann undan—a very

common phrase in seamen's language—is: a storm tore him off (from land).

P. 15 13-14. Skiálfande is here translated Quaker, but 270 19: Shelving-bay.

P. 15 14-15. þá slitnaðe festren:—"Then the moorings broke." But the festr here is the painter by means of which the cockboat was attached to the ocean-goer—fyr útan Skuggabiörg:—"out east of Scugga-berg"; exactly the opposite:—west of S. Night-farer's bight on the *western* side of Skialfande is still a well-known locality. The context states that Gardar landed "on the *other side* of the frith," that is, opposite to that, where "Night-fare's-bay" was, and stayed at House-wick, a dwelling place still existing, on the *eastern* shore of "the Quaker."

P. 15 20. Naddoðr . . . mágr Olvéss Barna-karls:—"Naddodh . . . brother-in-law of Alwe Bairn-carle"; but Naddodh married Iórunn, *daughter* of "Alwe" (Landnáma-Bóc, V., 13 4); therefore, read: son-in-law.

P. 16 3. gengo þeir þar á en hæsto fiöll, at vita, ef þeir sæe nockorar manna-vister eða reyke:—"they walked up the highest *mountain* to see if they could see any abode of men or smoke"; instead of: there they walked up to the top of (*á*) the highest *mountains* to ascertain if they could see any, &c. Only the plural, mountains, is a correct rendering of the plural fiöll, and only the plural gives correctly the idea the author had in his mind. To the north of "Reyd-frith" was Eski-firth, to the south of it "Faskruds-frith." To ascertain whether signs of human abodes were present in these neighbouring bays on either side, it was necessary to ascend the highest mountains on both sides of "Reyd-frith." Hence the importance of rendering the original literally in this instance.

P. 17 10-18 1. Floki, son of Vilgerd, one of the early discoverers of Iceland, took with him three ravens on which, at a great sacrifice in Norway, he had invoked Oden's blessing (blótaðe) to the end that they should serve him as pilots to the land he went in quest of. He stopped at the Faroes on his journey. After leaving

those islands and sailing for a time the following incident happened: (21) Ok es hann (Flóke) lét lausan enn fyrsta, fló sá aftr um stafn :—" But *where and* when he let loose the first (raven), he flew *back to the bows*"; instead of: And as he let loose the first, it flew *aft over the stern; i.e.,* in the direction of the land which Floki left behind last, the Faroes. This literal meaning of the original is unmistakably borne out by the words that follow immediately: annarr fló í loft upp, ok aftr til skips: þriðe fló framm um stafn, í þá átt es þeir fundo landet, which are correctly translated.

P. 18 2. Þeir kómo austan at Horne :—" They made it (the land) *on the east* at Horn"; instead of: They came *from the east* up to Horn.

P. 18 10. Vár vas helldr kallt: " It was then very cold"; instead of: The spring was rather cold.—Þá geck Flóke norðr á fiöll :—" Then Floce walked north*ward to a mountain*"; instead of: Then Floke walked north upon (á) the mountains.

P. 19 3. The vernacular dat. of Fialir, Fiölom is, in the form of " Fiolom," adopted here by the Editor and translator as the name for this the southernmost district of the Firth-folkland in Norway; but *see* 220 9.

P. 19 9-10. Ok es þeir kómo heim, mælto þeir til sam-fara með ser annat sumar :—" And when they came home they agreed to go forth in fellowship *with them another* summer"; instead of: And when they came home, they bespoke (mælto með ser) a joint roving the *next* summer.—The situation is this: the foster-brothers, Ingolf and Leif, had been out on Viking cruise with the three sons of Earl Atle, Hastein, Herstein and Holmstein. On their return home the foster-brothers, on one side and the Earl's sons, on the other, bespoke another joint cruise the next summer. But the translation leaves it unaccounted for who " they" are, and who " them" are, with whom " they" agree to go forth in fellowship another summer; all in consequence of the point being overlooked that ser, in: mælto með ser, has a reciprocal, not a demonstrative, sense.

P. 20 2-3, 6-7. Þá fóro þeir Leifr í hernað . . . fór Hersteinn at þeim Leife . . . sættosk þeir at því, at þeir Leifr guldo eigner sínar þeim feðgom :—" Then Leif and *his fellows* went a-warring . . . Herstein *set out with a mind to* fall upon Leif and *his fellows* . . . they were set at one on the terms that Leif and *his fellows* should pay their lands as weregild to Atle and Ha-stan "; instead of: Then Ingolf and Leif went a-warring . . . Herstein fell upon *Ingolf and* Leif . . . They were atoned on the terms that *Ingolf and* Leif yielded up their landed property to Atle and Ha-stan. The mistake here pointed out is the more singular because 19 20-20 1: ok veitte þeim Ingolfe, is almost correctly rendered " and gave help to Ingolf and Leif," instead of: to *Leif and* Ingolf.

P. 20 9. es þá vas Ísland kallað :—" and which was called Iceland "; instead of: which *then* was called Iceland. The temporal adverb *þá, then,* is much more important than the Editors seem to realize, because it gives clearly to understand that by the time that Ingolf and Hiorleif went to Iceland for the first time—say 869—the former names of the island: Garðarshólmr and Snæland, had been, according to the author's meaning, forgotten, or discarded.

P. 20 13. Efter þat varðe Ingolfr fé þeirra til Islannz-ferðar :—" After this Ing-wolf *got all his stock together* to go to Iceland "; instead of: After this Ingolf laid out all *their* (*i.e.*, his own and Hiorleif's) money on a journey to Iceland.

P. 23 19-20. En Ingolfr nam land miðle Olfus-ár ok Hval-fiarðar . . . ok öll nes út :—" Ing-wolf took land in settlement between Aulfus-mere and Whale-frith . . . and all the ness to the west "; " öll " being the acc. plur. neut. of allr and agreeing with " nes," it follows, that " all the ness " must be changed into: " all the nesses "; for the Landnáma-author has in his mind all the nesses in Ingolf's land-take west of, not " Brynie-dale " [1] as the translation has it, but Brynie-dale's-river, namely:

[1] Elsewhere this name is rendered Byrnie-dale, 30 10.

Kialar-nes, Gufu-nes, Laugar-nes, Seltiarnar-nes, Alftanes, Rosmhvala-nes, Reykia-nes. All these nesses went under the collective name of Nes = The Nesses, cf. 96 20, 188 20.

P. 24 14. bast . . . siðaðr :—" of the best conversation " ; instead of : the best " religioned," *i.e.*, the most religious.

P. 25 6. ok es frá þeirra afkvæme mart sagt í þesse bók :—" and from them is *the greatest race* that is told of in this book " ; instead of : and *of their offspring* many things are told in this book.

P. 26 8. fór vestan :—" *came* from the west " ; instead of : *went* (away) from the west. This inaccurate translation of fara is met with over and over again.

P. 27 17-18. reistu þar kirkjo ok bú þar :—" Do thou raise thy church and *homestead* there " ; instead of : Do rear there a church and *dwell* there (bú imper. of búa, not acc. of bú, abode, dwelling ; for, in that case, the local adverb " þar " could not be repeated after " bú ").

P. 28 8-10. kom hann (Collr) þar sem Collz-vík heiter, ok braut hann þar skip sítt. Þar vóro þeir um vettrenn. Hásetar hans námo þar sumer land, sem enn mon sagt verða :—" and he (Coll) reached the place called Colls-wick, and there his ship was wrecked. His crew *got to land* [1] some of them, and *shall be told after* " ; instead of : He came to a place which is called Coll's-wick and wrecked his ship there. *There they remained through the winter* (omitted). Some of his crew *took land in settlement* there, as will be told of further on.

P. 28 11. . . . siglðe braut með lið sítt :—" sailed away with all that he had " ; instead of : sailed away with his company.

P. 28 17. nam land á miðle Mógils-ár ok Úsvífrs-lœkjar :—" took land in settlement between Mo-gils-river and Os-wif's becks." Here lœkjar is gen. sing., and the error of making more than one beck a boundary on one side of a " landnám " is only explainable on the ground that the

[1] A translation of " nema land " ; which has only one meaning in " Landnáma-Bóc," and is, in hundreds of cases, correctly translated.

translator took "lœkjar" to be some plural form of "lœkr," a mistake repeated several times.

P. 31 15. þeir brœðr skifto löndom með ser:—"these brethren *exchanged land with each other;*" instead of: these brethren *divided the land between them.* The context here is very clear. These brothers took, on arrival, jointly the broad countryside of Akraness from Calman's-river, in the south, to Trout-water, in the north; then arose the question how to divide the land between them, and it was settled by making the mountain Reyner a middle boundary, so that Thormod got the portion from Reyner south to Calman's-river, while to Ketil's lot fell that from Reyner north to Trout-water.

P. 31 17-20. This Ketil was the father of Berse, the father of Thorgest, the father of Starri, the father of "Cnatt," the father of Asdis, es átte Klœingr Snæbiarnar son[1] Hafnar-Orms:—"whom Claeng, Snae-beorn's son, the [father] of Haven-Worm, had to wife"; instead of: whom Klæng, the son of Snæbeorn the son of Haven-Worm, had to wife. According to the *original text* and according to the *translation* we have then:—

Original text.	*Translation.*
Haven-Worm	Snæbeorn
Snæbeorn	Klæng
Klæng	Haven-Worm

Haven-Worm had a son, Thorgeir Hewn-cheek, who fought in the battle of Fitiar, 961[2]. Thorgeir must then have been a man of twenty, at the least, and his father not less than forty (b.c. 920); if Klæng was Haven-Worm's father, he (Klæng) must, presumably, have been twenty years older than his son, born then about 900. But he marries Asdis, the *sixth* in descent from a man (Ketil) who settles in Iceland about 890; so that by the translation about thirty years are set apart for the life of five or six generations.

[1] After son the Editor puts in [?], which seems to have no meaning.

[2] He was of the body-guard of K. Hakon the Good. Origines I. 35 17-36 2.

P. 32 11. Þeir kómo at garðe Þórgeirs ens Hörðzka í Hollte :—" they came to the *house* of Thor-gar the Haurd at Holt." But in this same paragraph we read :—Þórgeirr vilðe þá eige hafa við hús sín :—" Thor-gar would not have them *in his house ;* " instead of : would not have them (by, against, *i.e.*) *near* his house. It was, of course, an impossibility that a Christian, at this time, should of his own free will come to live under the roof of a heathen for a moment. The obvious sense of " garðr " here is *fence ;* the wall built round the home field and constituting the boundary of the precincts of the heathen's dwelling-place. There, not " in his house," but outside it, in the neutral ground of open nature, the Christian party led by Asolf " pitched their tent."

P. 33 15-17. vanðesk fiós-kona ein at þerra fœtr sína á þúfo þeirre es vas á leiðe Asolfs. Hána dreymðe, at Ásolfr ávítaðe hána um þat es hon þerðe fœtr sína saurga á húse hans :—" One of the cow-girls was wont to wipe her feet *on* the hummock that was over As-wolf's tomb. She dreamed that As-wolf warned her not to wipe her dirty feet *in* his house " ; instead of : *on* his house, *i.e.*, the tomb, into which, of course, she did not descend.

P. 33 21. munk-lífi : " the life of a monk " ; instead of : monastery. There is abundant evidence to show that munklífi only means monastery. The Oxford Icel. Dict. knows no instance of the word in the sense given to it here. The monastery in question was that of Bœr, the first house of the kind established in Iceland.

P. 33 22. Einn þeirra dreymðe, at Asolfr mælte við hann :—" One of them dreamed that As-wolf *had said* to him " ; instead of : that Asolf *spake* to him.

P. 34 2. Húskarlenn gat keypta þúfona :—" The house-carl bought the hummock " ; instead of : the house-carl managed to buy the hummock ; for " gat " implies that in the matter of the purchase there were difficulties to overcome.

P. 34 19. nam Hvalfiarðar-strönd ena nerðre :—" took in settlement *Nether* Whale-frith-strand " ; instead of :

the *northern* Whale-frith-strand. This comparative, otherwise spelt "nœrðre," is misunderstood in this manner nearly all through.

P. 35 7-8. hans son var Þórgeirr, faðer Ió-steins; so also Sturla's text and Index I., but Hawk's book, on the basis of which the text in this case depends, reads "Holmsteins," and that reading is silently adopted by the translator. But why the correction then was not carried into the text, nor noticed in the corrigenda, seems strange. However, "Ió-steins" is the proper reading.

P. 35 11. Berjadals-á:—"Borg-dale-water"; instead of: Berry-dale's-water. The translator has taken "berja" for gen. pl. of berg, which he translates "Borg," whereas it is gen. pl. of ber, a berry.

P. 36 3. Brœðr tveir bioggo í lannáme[1] Finnz ok Orms, Hroðgeirr enn Spake í Saurbœ, en Odd eirr at Leir-á. En þeir Finnr ok Ormr *keypto* þá *braut*, því at þeim þótte þar þrönglennt:—"Two brethren dwelt in the settlement of Finn and Worm, Hrodgar the Sage in Sowerby, and Ord-gar at Lear-water; but Finn and Worm *brought* them out, for they thought they were crowded there." With the exception of "brought," which must be a misprint for: "bought," this passage is correctly translated. The more surprising is it to find the same incident which, p. 221 20-22, is thus stated—Hroðgeirr enn Spake ok Oddgeirr bróðer hans vóro Vestmenn, es þeir Finnr enn Auðge ok Hafnar-Ormr *keypto braut* or land-náme síno—translated in this manner:—"Hrod-gar the Wise and Ord-gar, his brother, were Westmen, to whom Fin the Wealthy and Haven-Worm *sold land out of their settlements*"; instead of: Hrodgar the Wise and Ord-gar, his brother, were Westmen whom Finn the Wealthy and Haven-Worm *bought out of their* (Finn-Haven-Worm's) settlement. An additional aid to the right understanding of this passage was, in both instances, supplied by the statement that the Westmen went east to "Rawn-gerding-Rape"—"Rape of Rawn-garth," and settled land there.

[1] This wrcng form is without authority in the MSS.

P. 36 12. Úlfr óargi :—" Wolf the lion " ; instead of : Wolf the dauntless. Is this translation to be accounted for by the fact that in thirteenth and fourteenth century translations from Latin originals the lion is sometimes referred to as " et (or hit) óarga dýr," " the dauntless beast " ? but that does not change the adj. : " óargr " into the noun : lion ; and Wolf's honourable by-name existed centuries before " et óarga dýr " appeared in Icelandic writings. In the case of Þorbiörn enn Óarge, 227 15, the translator has changed his mind and rendered the by-name : " Fierce," which at any rate comes nearer than " lion " to the sense.

P. 36 15. Haraldr . . . lét drepa Þórolb norðr í Alost á Sandnesi af róge Hildiríðar-sona :—" Harold . . . had Thor-wolf slain north in Alost on Sandness, out of a feud with (*in Corrigenda :* " through a false charge made by ") the sons of Hild-rid " ; instead of : had Thorolf slain north in Alost *at* Sandness (Thorolf's home) through slander by the sons of Hildirid. In excuse of the translator it may be observed that in poetry " róg " frequently means even " feud " ; " false charge " is a needless paraphrase.

P. 36 17-18. Þvi at þeir höfðo þar spurt til Ingolfs vinar síns :—" for they had heard news thereof from Ing-wolf their friend " ; instead of : for they had got news of their friend Ingolf being there (in Iceland).

P. 36 19-21. Þar tóko þeir (Kveld-Úlfr and Skalla-Grímr) knörr þann es Haraldr konungr lét taka fyre Þórolbe, þá es menn hans vóro ný-komner af Englande, ok drápo þar Hallvarð Harðfara ok Sigtrygg Snarfara, es því höfðo valdet :—" There they took the cog which King Harold had had taken from Thor-wolf when his men were just come from England, and they slew there Hall-ward Hard-farer and Sig-tryg Fast-farer, *who were in command of her* " ; instead of : *who had brought it about, i.e.*, the seizure, at the King's behest, of " Thor-Wolf's " ship, which, by the way, was not a cog but a large ocean-goer.

P. 37 1-2. Þar drápo þeir ok sono Guthorms Sigurðar

sonar Hiartar, brœðrunga konongs :—"They also slew the *son* of Guth-thorm, the son of Sigrod Hart, the first *cousin* of the King"; instead of: *There* they also slew the the *sons* . . . first *cousins*, etc.

P. 37 19-20. ok leiddo þar upp skipet sem geck :—"and there berthed their ship as far as they could float her"; instead of: and towed up the ship as far as she would go.

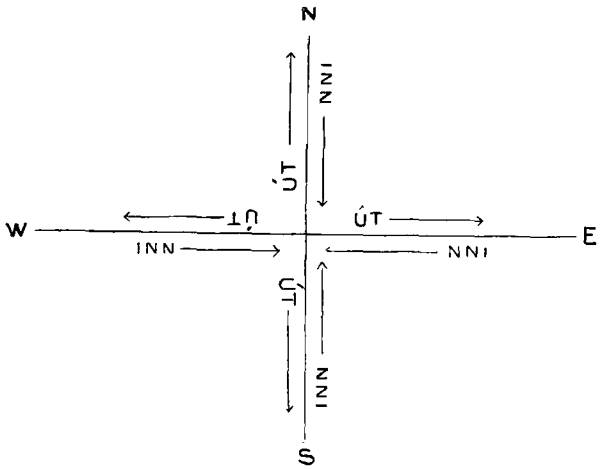
P. 38 10. Skalla-Grímr vas þar um vettrenn sem hann kom af hafe :—"he stayed there *through the winter he came over sea*"; instead of: Skalla-Grim was *there* through the winter *where* he hove in from the main. He landed in the summer, as all settlers did, there was therefore no question of "the winter he came over sea." Winter voyages to Iceland were unheard of at this time and for centuries afterwards.

P. 38 12. Hann nam land útan frá Sela-Lóne ok et œfra til Borgar-hrauns, ok suðr allt til Hafnar-fialla :—"He took in settlement the land *outward from* Seal-wash and up to Borg-raun and all south to Haven-*fell*"; "out" in "outward" is a translation of út, which the translator otherwise correctly renders "west" in the topography of the West-Quarter; "outward" therefore must mean west-ward, which is exactly opposite to the meaning of the original: He took land *east-away* from Seal-wash and up to Borg-lava and all the way south to Haven-*fells*. Seal-wash was the western boundary of Skalla-grim's "land-take," and as út here means west, útan must mean: *from the west* = east-away.

Attention must be drawn to the fact, that the local adverb út varies in sense in accordance with the quarter of the compass which each side of the island faces. "Út" points invariably in the direction *towards the sea* while its constant concomitant "inn" equally invariably points in the direction of *the centre of the land*. The diagram on the next page gives at a glance the geographical sense of the two adverbs in "Landnáma-Bóc."

The translator seems to have thought that út could geographically *only* mean west; therefore, in the west of

Iceland, he seems not to make a mistake in the translation of it—of course he frequently uses the vague "out" instead of the real geographical term. But in the other quarters, when he resorts to the terminology of the compass, he makes serious mistakes.



P. 39 16. Hrúta-firðe :—"Ram-fell"; instead of: Ram-frith.

P. 41 2-3. Hann gaf Signýjo systor sínne Signýjar-staðe, ok bió hon þar :—"He gave his sister Signy Signy-stead, and there *he* dwelt"; instead of: *she* dwelt.

P. 42 1. Rauðs-gil, named after Rauðr, a person, is here given as Red-gill, while 47 14 Rauða-lœkr is rendered "Red's-beck," where the element "Rauða" must be the gen. of "rauði," red iron ore, haematite, which colours bog-land water-courses all over the country.

P. 43 4-5. Þeirra börn vóro þau Ceallakr at Lunde í Syðra-dal, *föðor* Collz :—"Their children were these: Ceallac of Lund in Suther-dale, *the father of Magnus*, the father of Coll . . . "; instead of: Their children were: Ceallac of Lund the father of Coll. Both Hawk's book and Sturla's book agree in this reading.

The *Corrigenda* make no reference to this discrepancy between text and translation. In the index Coll figures as son of Ceallac. So also in the standard editions of 1843 and 1900. No Magnus Ceallacson is known to have existed, nor any Coll Magnusson. Föðor *(patris)* should read faðer (pater) Collz.

P. 44 8-9. Hann drucknaðe í Hvít-á, es hann hafðe faret suðr í Hraun at hitta friðlo sína :—" He was drowned in White-water as he was going south *on to the lava* or rawn to visit his leman " ; instead of: He was drowned in White-water when he *had gone* south *to Hraun* (a homestead), etc. ; *i.e.*, he was drowned, not in going, as the translation has it, but in coming back. The text indicates clearly and correctly the trysting place as a homestead.

P. 44 12. Hans son vas Biarne, es deilðe við Hrólf enn Yngra ok sono hans um Tungo'na-Lítlo :—" His son was Bearne who had a feud with Hrod-Wolf the Younger and his *son* about Little-Tongue " ; instead of: . . . and his *sons* (sono, acc. pl.). On the preceding page the *three* sons of " Hrod-Wolf " come in for biographical treatment ; the author of " Landnáma-Bóc " could therefore not refer here to *one* of his sons without mentioning his name.

P. 44 15. Grindr, acc. pl., the translator deals with as a name in the singular.

P. 44 18-20. hans son vas Care es deilðe við Karla Conals son . . . um oxa ; ok reyndesk svá at Karle átte :—" His son was Care who had a feud with Carle Conalsson . . . about an ox ; and it turned out so that Carle *got* the ox " ; instead of: who had a dispute with Karle . . . about an ox, and it was found out that it was Karle who owned it.

P. 45 10. Syster Loft-hœno vas Arnþrúðr . . . Móðer þeirra Arnþrúðar vas Astríðr Slœki-drengr :—" The sister of Lopt-hen was Arn-thrud . . . The mother of Arn-thrud was Anstrid Slœki-dreng " ; instead of: The mother *of Loft-hen and* Arn-thrud . . . þeirra indicating that both sisters were included in the statement.

P. 46 1. Þóraren vá Músa-Bolverkr, es hann bió í Hrauns-áse :—" Thor-arin slew Mouse-Balework in fight,

when he was dwelling in Rawn's-ridge"; instead of: Mouse-Balework, while he dwelt at "Rawn's-ridge," slew Thoraren ("in fight" is a needless addition). Þóraren can be *no other* form than the acc. of Þórarenn, and Bölverkr no possible case but the nom. There were other aids here: Illugi the Red had given to his brother-in-law, Bolverk, the homestead of "Rawn's-ridge" (43 8-10), so that "hann" who was dwelling at "Rawn's-ridge" was Bolverk. He built a fort for himself there after slaying Thorarin. Tind and Illugi the Black, brothers of Thorarin, in the translator's own words "attacked Bale-work in his own work"—the man whom, three lines above, the translator says Thorarin had slain.

P. 46 5-6. Hrosskell gaf land Þórvarðe, föðor Smiðcels, föðor þeirra Þórarens ok Auðunnar, es reð fyrer Hellesmönnom:—"Horse-kell gave land to Throw-end,[1] the father of Smith-cell, the father of these, Thor-arin and Ead-win, *who were the leaders* of the CAVE-MEN"; instead of: . . . the father of Thor-arin and "Ead-win" who *was the leader*, etc.; for reð is 3rd sing., reðo(-u) 3rd pl. pret. of ráða.

P. 46 9. Hans (Þórgauts) syner vóro þeir Gíslar tveir:—"His sons were these two Gislis"; no further information about them; instead of: those two Gislis (you know), presuming that the readers knew all about the Gisli who was flogged by Grettir, and him who was slain by Bardi.[2]

P. 46 15. keyfte, read keypte. The Editor has, rightly, as we think, broken completely with the old spelling tradition pt and writes ft wherever the derivation favours such a spelling. The case noted here is merely one of inadvertence.

P. 46 20. Hann (Blund-Cetill) lét ryðja víða í skógom ok byggja þar ("ryðja" and "byggja" both governed by "lét"):—"He had the wood cleared far and wide and took up his abode there"; instead of: he had

[1] This is elsewhere the rendering of Þróndr, while Þórvarðr comes out as Thor-ward and Thor-wend.

[2] Grettis Saga, 136; Heiðarvíga Saga (1904), p. 86.

clearings made wide about in woods, and had abodes taken up there (by others, of course, as he had his own manor in Ornolf's-dale).

P. 48 17. Norðrár-dalr :—" North-dale," for : " North-water-dale."

P. 49 7. ok þá dala es þar ganga af :—" and the *dale* that *goes* out of it " ; instead of : and *those dales* that *go* out of it—pronoun, noun and verb, all in the plural ! This is all the more unexpected that in the " double text " immediately following (49 12) the same statement is rendered correctly, or, very nearly so.

P. 50 9-10. þeim gaf hann land upp við fiöll :—" he gave them land *up on* the fell " ; instead of : *up against* the mountains. No human being could exist on " land on the fell." The difficulty the translator has in distinguishing fiall (sing.) and fiöll (pl.) is really puzzling.

P. 51 1. Hitdœla-kappe :—" Champion of Hot-river-dale " ; instead of : . . . *of the men of* Hit-dale ; dœlir = inhabitants of a dale.

P. 51 4. Haugom (dat. pl.) :—" Howe," for : Howes.

P. 52 7, 11. Leiro-lœkjar (gen. sing.) :—" Lear-becks " ; instead of : Loam-brook (lear = clay, loam, seems not to exist). Lœkjar, gen. sing., as 28 17, taken for gen. pl. : lœkja.

P. 52 16. Griót-ár :—" Grit " ; for : Grit-river.

P. 54 5-6. Engo (*read* Enga, so Cd.) varðar yðr at vita aðra an sveinenn í sel-belgenom :—" It is of *little worth* to you to know this [answers he] though it is " (not : of ' little worth ' surely, but : of worth) " to the boy in the seal-skin bag " ; instead of : To none other of you does it matter to know (it) than the boy in the seal-skin bag.

P. 54 10-11. En síðar um vetrenn (not vettr- as elsewhere) reru þeir Grímr svá at sveinnenn var á lande :—" Later in that winter Grim and his men, all but the boy, went a-fishing " ; instead of : Later in the winter Grim and his crew went out fishing so that the boy was left ashore.

P. 54 13. Skalm geck fyrer allt sumaret :—" Skalm went forth all the summer " ; instead of : Skalm led the way . . . (fyrer = in front).

P. 54 22-55 2. maðr . . . mikill ok illilegr . . . geck . . . upp til bœjar þess, es í Hripe heiter, ok gróf þar í stöðolshliðe :—" A man . . . great and wicked-looking . . . walked . . . up to the homestead that is called Rip, and dug a *fort* there *in the slope* by the fold-gate "; instead of: and did digging there in the fold-gate.

P. 55 2-4. En um nóttena kom þar upp iarð-eldr, ok brann þá Borgar-hraun—þar vas bœrenn sem nú es borgen :—" And that night there came up fire out of the earth, and burnt the Borg-lava. There was *a* homestead there *then* where the lava-mound now is "; instead of: But in the night a fire broke out of the earth there, and then happened an eruption of the Borg-lava—there was *the* homestead (of Rip, mentioned in the preceding line) where now is the crater cone. In the translation " brann " (intr.) is taken to mean the same as " brende " (trans.).

P. 55 11. Skalm dó í Skalmar-keldo :—" *at* Skalm-*well* "; instead of: *in* Skalm's *ditch*. Kelda, though it can mean a well, must here be taken in the specific Icelandic sense of ditch, cf. Heimskr. (Jónsson's ed.), II., 144 8, and Dict. *sub voce*.

P. 56 10. Goðlaugr nam síðan land frá Straumfiarðar-á til Furo :—" Afterwards Gudlaug took land in settlement from Stream-frith on to Force "; instead of: . . . From Stream-frith-*river* to Fura. On the next page (57 1) this river name figures as " Fur [Shallow]." It seems more reasonable to connect the name with Dan. fure, Engl. furrow.

P. 59 10-11. En kyrtil Einars bito eige iárn :—" but no iron could bite *as* Einar's kirtle "; instead of: no iron (weapon) could cut through Einar's kirtle. The same phrase is correctly rendered p. 129 11; so we have here probably to deal with a misprint.

P. 60 15. Hann nam land frá Berovíkr-hraune til Neshrauns :—" He took land in settlement from *Bear-sarks-rawn* to Ness-rawn "; instead of: . . . from *Bear-wick-lava*, etc. This locality is situated on the western shore of Snæfells-nes, while the Bear-sarks'-lava is a long distance

off to the north-east, a short way west of Thorsness.

P. 60 17. Saxe Alfarensson :—" Saxe, the son of Elf-wine." (?) 56 21 : Alf-warin ; 61 18 : Alf-arin.

P. 61 7. Þeirra son vas Skegge, faðer Þórkotlo, es átte Illoge, son Þorvallz, Tinnz sonar, faðer Gils . . . :—" Their son was Sceg, father of Thor-catla, whom Illugi had to wife, the son of Thor-wald, the son of Tind, the father of Gils." By the translation Gils is made the son of Tind, but by the text he is correctly stated to be the son of Illoge. Translate : Their son was Skeg the father of Thorkatla, whom Illoge, the son of Thorvald Tind's son, and father to Gils, had for wife.

P. 61 12-13. The words in parenthesis are left out, which elsewhere happens in a great number of cases, as if passages so marked did not belong to the text. But they are only so marked by the Editor as being, in his opinion, later interpolations. They form however an integral part of the text.

P. 62 3. Ormr enn Mióve hét maðr . . . Hann (nom.) rak braut Óláf Belg (acc.) :—" Worm the Slender was the name of a man . . . An-laf Bag drove him away " ; instead of : He drove " An-laf " Bag away.

P. 62 17. Onundr Sióne :—" A-mund Seone " (misprint for An-und ?), but the same man, p. 51 19, figures in the translation as " Ean-Wend Seone."

P. 62 20. Þórbiorn enn Digre stefnde Geirríðe Bœgifótz dóttor um fiolkynge ; efter (read : fiolkynge, efter) þat es Gunnlaugr son hans dó af meine því, es hann tók þá es han fór at nema fróðleik at Geirríðe :—" Thorbeorn the Thick summoned Gar-rid Bow-foot's daughter for witchcraft. After (read : witchcraft, after) his son Gund-laug died of *madness*, which he caught when he went to learn wisdom from Gar-rid " ; instead of : Thorbeorn the Thick summoned G. B.'s daughter for witchcraft, after his son G. had died of the hurt he got when, etc.

P. 63 4. En efter þat hurbo Þórbirne stóð-hross á fialle :—" But after that *a stallion* of Thor-beorn was lost in the fell " ; this is emended in *Corrigenda* to *some stallions*,

but should be "some *stud-horses,*" cf. 65 15, *Corrigenda.*

P. 63 8. í túneno :—"in the yard"; instead of: in the home-field.

P. 63 13. Nagle hlióp grátande um þá, ok í fiall upp :—"Nail fled weeping away and up into the fell"; instead of: Nail ran weeping *past* them (um þá), etc.

P. 63 17. Efter þat brende hann skip þeirra Algeirs í Salteyrar-óse :—"After that he burnt Alf-gar's boat at Salt-eyre-mouth"; instead of: After that he burnt the ship of Beorn the Eastman (63 7) and Alf-gar. In this passage, which is an abstract from Eyrbyggja Saga, it is not stated that Biorn was a part-owner in the ship with Alfgeir; but "þeirra" shows that the author bore that fact in mind, and by this idiomatic turn of phrase indicated it to the reader.

P. 64 16. ok nam Eyrar-land, ok á miðle Kirkio-fiarðar ok Kolgrafar-fiarðar[1] :—"and took in settlement Eyre-land and *the river* between Kirk-frith and Col-grave-frith"; instead of: and took the land (*i.e.*, the peninsula) of Eyre and (the land) between Kirk-frith and Coal-graves'-frith. That is to say: besides the peninsula of Eyre proper, Vestar took land westward along the shore as far as Kirk-frith, while the eastern boundary of his settlement was Coal-graves'-frith. To take in settlement a river, not even alluded to in the text, is an odd idea. Of course, *á*, in the phrase "á miðle," amidst, can also, as to form, be the acc. sing. of "*á*, a river."

P. 66 5. Biörn sat efter at eignom föðor síns þá es Ketill fór til Suðreyja :—"Beorn abode behind *in his own land* when his father Ketil went to the Southreys"; instead of: Beorn sat behind *on his father's* property, when Ketil went to the South-isles. Here the translator connects "föðor síns" with "fór," not seeing that it is closely linked to and governed by "eignom."

P. 66 14. hafðe selför upp til Selja :—"had the shielings

[1] Cd. (Hawk's book) has Kolgrafa, gen. pl., so also the old Catalogue of Firths, A.M. 415 4to c. 1300; Kolgrafar is found in no Landnáma MS. The frith took its name from the homestead of Kolgrafir, pl.

up at Shiels." This will hardly be understood as meaning: he was wont to fetch home dairy produce from the outlying dairy of Sel. Passages relating to this branch of Icelandic husbandry are difficult to deal with, and cannot be literally translated.

P. 68_5. Þeir lendo þar inn frá í vágenn, es Þórolfr kallaðe Hofs-vág:—"They landed there in a creek which Thor-wolf called Temple-voe." Construe: Þar inn frá lendo þeir í vágenn, etc., *i.e.*, there in from = south there from (where they found Thor, out on the ness) they made for land into (í with acc.) the creek which, etc. They skirted the western side of Thorsness, going south, till they hove into Temple bight.

P. 69_6. skilðer, not: "set at peace," but: parted.

P. 69_9 inn í neset þar sem nú es, not: "inland to the ness where it now is"; but: up (inn) into (í) the ness (*i.e.*, east into the ness), etc.

P. 72_5. Steinn Miöksiglande:—"Stan the wide-sailor"; two other persons with an identical by-name are mentioned in "Landnáma-Bóc," Thengil of Halogaland and Thrand Beorn's son in Sodor; in their case the by-name is rendered, respectively, Far-sailer [Fast-sailer], and Far-sailer. But there is reason to believe that in all these cases the by-name arose from the same cause as in that of Thrand (Landn. III. 15 2, p. 155_{9-10}): from fast, swift sailing. "The Fast-sailing" is the best translation.—"Stan" was the brother of Þórer Haust-myrkr: "Thore-haust-myrk"; instead of: Th. Harvest-gloom.

P. 72_6. nam Skógar-strönd til mótz viðr Þórberg, ok inn til Lax-ár:—"took in settlement Shaw-strand up to match with the land of Thorberg, and *inside to* Lax-water"; [Shaw-strand is the southern shore of Hvam-firth; Thorberg had settled both Long-dales, the easternmost of which formed the western terminus of Shaw-strand]. The statement therefore means that "Stan" took in settlement Shaw-strand west to the boundary of Thorberg['s land] and in = up (frith), *i.e.*, *east* to Lax-water. "Inside to" gives no sense, that we can see.

P. 73 5. set-stocka :—" seat-stocks [high-seat pillars]" There is an abundance of evidence to show that the " set-stockar " were not pillars, but horizontally fixed beams in front of the " set " or sitting and sleeping platform running along either side-wall of a hall. When " Landnáma.-bóc.," V. 11 2, p. 220 14-16, says that Hastein " shot over-board his *seat-stocks* after ancient custom," and thus used them for the same ceremony that high-seat pillars were otherwise used for, that does not change the name or the nature of a *seat-stock* into a standing pillar ; it only shows that seat-stocks could be hallowed to a divinity, the image of which was carved on them.

P. 76 8-9. Þeirra son Þorer, es átte Hallveigo, Tinnz-dóttor, Hallkels sonar :—" Their son *was* Thori, who had to wife Hall-weig, the daughter of Tind, *the wife* of Hall-kell " ; instead of : *the son* of Hall-kell.

P. 78 20. í innan-verðom firðenom (dat. sing.) :—" at the inward of the *friths* " ; instead of : at the head of the *frith*.

P. 81 8. Riúpa [" Caper-cailzie "]. This is not right. Riúpa is the *lagopus ptarmigan*, or l. vulgaris ; while the caper-cailzie is the þiðurr, Dan. Norw. tiur, Swed. tjäder, tetrao urogallus, a bird more than double the size of the riúpa. But " Þórunn Grœningja-riúpa " figures in one instance as " Thor-und Grœnings-rœpe " (p. 25 9), in another as " Thor-Wen the Granings'-ptarmigan " (219 1-2)!

P. 81 14. Thórgeirr goðe (*i.e.*, Thorgeir the famous gode of Ljósavatn, Light-water) figures in the translation under the odd name of " Thor-gar-gode." There are many cases of this amalgamation of title with first name.

P. 82 16. Þórhallr faðer Halldóro ; comes out as " Thor-kell " by inadvertence in the translation.

P. 87 5-6. Hiorleifr . . . es kallaðr vas enn Kven-same :—" Heor-laf . . . who was called the man of Quin [the county] " ; instead of : who was called the *Amorous*. In Icelandic to call a man of a county named Kven " Kven-samr " is as much out of the question as it would be in English to call a man of the county of Kent Kentsome!

Besides, no such county as "Kven" or "Quin" exists in Hordland, or elsewhere in Norway.

P. 87 10-11. Halfr Konungr vas faðer Hiörs Konongs, es hefnde föðor síns með Solva Högna-syne:—"King Half was the father of King Heor, who avenged his father *upon* Solwe, Hagene's son"; instead of: . . . who *in company with* Solwe "Hagene's" son avenged his father. The genealogy here is very plain: The children of Hogni in Njarðey were: Hildr en Mióva and Solwe. Hild's son was Half, and Half's son was Hiör, who, aided by his grand-uncle Solwe, avenged his father (Half) on Asmund, King of Hordland. See the Saga of King Half and Half's "Rekkar," Fornaldarsögur II.

P. 88 19-20. Til ferðar rézk með hónom Ulfr enn Skiálge, frænde hans; ok Steinolfr enn Lége:—"On the voyage with him were Wolf-*squint* (!), his cousin, and Stan-wolf," etc.; instead of: to this journey betook themselves with him Wolf the *Squinter*, etc.

P. 89 4, 5. Klofa-steina, Klofa-steinum, gen. and dat. pl., rendered "Cloven-stone" in both cases.

P. 89 14-15. Reykja-hólom, dat. pl.—the name is unknown in the sing.—rendered: "Reek-hillock."

P. 90 8-9. Geirmundr . . . nam land frá Ryta-gnúp vest*an* til Horns; en þaðan austr til Straumness:—"Geirmund . . . took land in settlement from Gull-peak *west to* the Horn, and thence east to Stream-ness"; instead of: Geirmund . . . took land . . . from Gull-peak in the west east unto Horn, and thence (farther) east to Stream-ness. Gull-peak is west of Horn, not east of it. [-an in local adverbs = Gr. *θεν*, vestan = *δυσμόθεν*.]

P. 91 4. ok börðosk á ekronom fyr útan Klofninga:—"and fought on the cornfields to the west of the 'Clovenings'" is omitted in the translation.

P. 91 4-5. þar vilðo hvárer-tveggjo sá:—"Both wished *to have it*"; instead of: there they both wanted *to sow (corn)*.

P. 91 8-9. Hann átte Herriðe dóttor Gautz Gautreks sonar ens Orva:—"He had to wife Her-rid, daughter of Geat, Geat-ric's son, the open-handed"; instead of: daughter

of "Geat," the son of "Geat-ric" the Openhanded.

P. 62 8. Yngvilldr: trans. wrongly "Ing-unn."

P. 93 11. Þórarenn Krókr nam Króks-fiörð til Hafrafellz frá Króks-fiarðar-nese:—"... *up* to Hafr-fell from Crook-frith's-ness"; instead of: *(west)* to Hafr-fell. "Up," which is the translator's own invention, gives quite a false idea of what is meant; Crook-frith's-ness being the *eastern*, Hafr-fell the *western* promontorial limit of the bay in question, it follows that Thorarin took in settlement the habitable land of the whole frith, from one promontory to the other.

P. 96 4. Þorbiörn Loke ... nam Diúpa-fiörð ok Grónes til Gufu-fiarðar:—not: "*up* to Gowe-frith," but *west* to G., or then simply *unto* G. That is to say: he took in settlement the land of Groness that faced the waters of Deep-firth and extended his land-take as far as the opening of "Gowefrith," the next frith west of Deep-frith.

P. 96 16-17. hann hafðe veret í vestr-víking ok haft af Írlande þræla Írska:—"and had gotten Irish thralls in Ireland"; instead of: ... and had brought from Ireland Irish thralls.

P. 96 20. fór hann inn á Nes:—"he went *inward* to *a ness*"; instead of: he went east-ward to the *Nesses* (*i.e.*, Alftanes, Seltiarnarnes, Gufunes), cf. 23 19-20 above.

P. 97 4. Cetill feck œngan bú-stað á Nesjom:—"Cetil found no place for a homestead in the *Ness*"; instead of: got no messuage on the *Nesses* (the same group as in the preceding paragraph).

P. 97 5-6. á Gufu-skálom (við Guf-á: enn fiórða vetr vas hann á Snæfellz-nese at Gufu-skálom); the words in brackets are missed out in the translation, by reason of the homotelefton Gufu-skálom, with the result, that Cetill is made to go from Borg-frith ... "*east* into Broad-frith," though east of Borg-frith there is nothing but howling wildernesses and glaciers, and Broad-frith lies *N.W* of Borg-frith. However, by inserting the missed-out passage: "by 'Gowe'-river: the fourth winter he spent on Snowfell's-ness at 'Gowe'-hall,'" the direction "east" towards Broad-frith comes right.

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P. 97 17-18. kom af þinge um morgonenn þá es þeir vóro ný-farner braut :—" *was coming* back from the Moot *early* the *next* morning just after they had got away " ; instead of : *came* from the " Moot " *the same* morning when they had just gone away.

P. 98 14. hann nam nes öll til Barða-strandar :—not : " all the ness," but : all the nesses (*i.e.*, Bœjarnes, Svínanes, Skalmarnes, Vattarnes, Hjarðarnes).

P. 102 7-8. því at þar geck eige sól af um skammdege :— " because the sun did not *set* in the short days there " ; instead of : because the sun did not go out of sight there in the day-time of the short-days'-season.

P. 103 19. til Hals en ýtra í Dýra-firðe :—" to the Upper Neck " ; instead of : to the Outer Neck ; *i.e.*, to the western-most of the two localities named Neck on the southern side of Dyri's- (not Deer-) frith.

P. 104 1. Magnus Goðe is a misprint for Magnus góðe, Magnus the Good. The translator renders the name " Magnus *gode* " (gode, italicised, invariably meaning chief, which, indeed, this person was, though he was not *called* gode).

P. 106 9. dótter, read dóttor—Mág-Snorre : " Mac-Snorre " looks like a freak.

S. text :

P. 107 5. Liótr kauper slátr at Gríme til tottogo hundraða, ok galt lœk, er fell meðal landa þeira, sá het Ósómi. Grimr veitte *hann* á eng sína ok gróf land Liótz :

" . . . and paid (for it) with a brook, which fell between their properties, called Osomi (Disgrace). Grim turned it on his meadow and dug (for the purpose) the land of Liot."

Editor's " emended " text " according to Hávarðar Saga " :

ok galt veite-enge es hét Gersœme. Lœkr fell meðal landa þeirra : Grímr veitte *hónom* [1] á eng sína ok gròf land Lióts [2] : " and paid for *them* with a meadow watered by the brook that ran between their lands, and was called Gersemi [Jewel]." [3]

The emendation here is more than doubtful. Hávarðar Saga, to begin with, is a very untrustworthy record. It does not say that Liot's meadow was *called* Gersœme, it says the meadow was the greatest "gersœme" or treasure. But it was that only because the brook Osome, the name of which Hávarðar Saga does not know, could be turned on it for irrigation purposes. Without irrigation it was probably of little value. The Editor's emendation is nothing but loose guesswork, and is not called for.

P. 107 20-108 1. Gestr kvez eigi siá œrlög hans:—"Guest said that he could not *forestall* his doom"; instead of: . . . could not see his fate.

P. 108 5. Austmaðr reidde Gest á heiðe upp, ok studde Gest á bake, es hestr rasaðe under hónom:—"The Eastman *was helping* Guest *up to* the Heath and holding him steady on his horse and the horse stumbled under him"; instead of: The Eastman *took Guest riding* up on to the heath and steadied him on horse-back as the horse stumbled under him.

P. 112 13. Móðer Snæbiarnar Galltar vas Ceolvor ok vóro þeir Tungo-Oddr systra-syner:—"The mother of Snow-beorn Boar was Ceol-ware, and they were first cousins [on the sister-side] *of* Ord o' Tongue"; instead of: The mother of Snow-beorn was "Ceol-ware" and Snow-beorn and Ord o' Tongue were sons of (two) sisters. In "Landnáma-Bóc" I. 10. 4 we have the express statement: "Ceol-ware was the mother's sister of Ord o' Tongue." There is no hint here of any "they" who were first cousins of "Ord."

P. 112 21. þar vóro sauða-hús hans:—"where his sheep-*house was*"; instead of: there his sheep-*pens were*.

P. 113 5-6. Hon hefer kvenna bazt hærð vereð á

[1] The Editor's own form, instead of "hann," which is the reading of S.

[2] In the footnote to this passage, as in several other footnotes to "Landnáma-Bóc," we are told to "see notes," but there are no such notes to be seen in the work!

[3] But the footnote on this very page says: "The *meadow*, not the brook, took the name of *Jewel*." This is a direct disavowal of the translation.

Íslande með Hallgerðe Lang-brók :—" She had the best hair of any woman that have " *(sic)* " ever been in Iceland (save Hall-gerd Long-breeks) " ; instead of : She, together with Hall-gerd Long-breeks, has had the finest hair of all women in Iceland.

P. 113 19 foll. Snow-beorn of Ceol-ware-stead with a company of eleven men pursued Hall-beorn who was accompanied by three men only. Hall-beorn was overtaken : við hæðer þær, es nú heita Hallbiarnar-vörðor. Þeir Hall-biorn fóro á hæðena ok vörðosk þaðan :— " at the hillocks that are now called Hallbeorn's-cairns. Hallbeorn and his men went up on the *hillocks* and defended themselves therefrom " ; instead of : Hall-beorn and his men went upon the *hillock, i.e.,* one of the two hillocks. A company of *four* could not reasonably divide themselves on *hillocks* in defence against a band of twelve.

P. 119 6. Blæingr :—" Clong " ; a footnote states that Blæingr is the reading of S. and Klæingr that of Cd. ; the reverse is the case, and the wrong form of the name is adopted by the translator : " Clong."

P. 119 9, 11. Berse Goðlauss . . . ok átte þar annat bú :— " Berse God-leas [Temple-tenant ?] . . . and *they* had another homestead " : instead of : Berse the Godless . . . and *he* owned *there* another homestead. There is no reason for supposing that " lauss," in goð-lauss, stands in any connection with " leas," if that vocable is meant to express something in the way of tenancy, as " Temple-tenant " seems to indicate. There were godless heathens, who never would sacrifice, not a few of whom are mentioned.

P. 121 18-19. Þeir Helge lögðo út enn sama dag, ok tyndosk aller á Helga-skere fyr Skriðins-enne :—" Helge and his mates put to sea the same day, and were all lost *aboard Helge's ship* off Scridin's-brow " ; instead of : and were all lost *on Helge's-rock* off Scridin's-brow.

P. 122 12. Refr :—" Fox," the by-name of Þórolfr, is left out in the text, but supplied in the translation.

P. 122 17. Skammhöndungr, the by-name of Skegge, is

left out in the text, but given in the translation in the form of "Short-hand."

P. 124 8-10. Hans son vas Þórbrandr, faðer Asbrannz, föðor Solva ens Prúða á Ægis-síðo, ok Þórgeirs es bió at Hólom:—"His son was Thor-brand, the father of Os-brand, the father of Solwi the Proud ['or Brude'?] of Egi-side, and also of Thor-gar [i.e., Thor-brand's son] that dwelt at Hills"; instead of: His son was Thor-brand, the father of Os-brand who was the father of Solwe the Proud at Sea-side and of Thor-gar who dwelt at Holar. The translator's explanatory parenthesis makes Thor-gar of Holar son of his grandfather, although his own translation correctly makes him a son of Os-brand.

P. 125 11. Bœjar-bót is given in the translation as "Pride-of-the-Bench," Bekkjar-bót, which is the reading of S. The reading of Cd. is "Beiar-," which probably is a corruption of Bekkjar, the better reading, though set aside by the Editor.

P. 126 16-17. Ingimundr unðe hverge:—"Ingi-mund could find no peace"; instead of: Ingimund felt nowhere at home.

P. 126 19. í ham-förum, a difficult expression to deal with, is left out in the translation. Ham-för: journey in a shape or form other than the natural, shape-change journey.

P. 127 15. Ingimundr nam Vatz-dal allan upp frá Helga-vatne ok Urðar-vatne fyr austan:—"Ingi-mund took in settlement all Water-dale up from Helge-mere and Wierd-mere in the east"; the original means: Ingimund took in settlement all *the eastern side of* Water-dale up from Helge-mere and "Wierd"-mere. Fyr austan: to the east of the main river that runs through the valley = its eastern side.

P. 128 1. til Gilj-ár:—"to Gills"; instead of: to the Gill-river. The translator has taken Gilj-ár as gen. pl. of Gil, which is not Gilj-ár but Gilja.

P. 128 13. ok siglðe fyr norðan land vestr um Skaga fyrstr manna:—"and sailed *the north-west course* round the Skaw first of all men"; instead of: and sailed by the

north of the land west about Skaw the first of men. So far from sailing a "north-west course round the Skaw' Ingimund's course was practically due west (slightly to the south) until he had cleared the Skaw, when his course changed sharp to due south for Cub-mere.

P. 129 10. systrungr :—"sister's son"; instead of: mother-sister's son, *i.e.*, Liot was the son of a sister to Hrolleif's mother.

P. 129 16-17. ok skyldе ganga or á fyrer Hofs-mönnom :—"and the Temple-men had the first right of going on the river to fish"; instead of: and he (Hrolleif) was to clear out of the river before the men of Temple.

P. 129 20. á ána :—"to the river"; instead of: into the river, which here makes all the difference to the pathetic scene.

P. 130 5. ok hafa kost-grip af arfe :—"(and) get his choice out of the heritage"; instead of: and have of the heritage the prize-keepsake (gripr) he should choose.

P. 131 6. Iökull vas son Bárðar Iökuls sonar, es Olafr konungr enn Helge lét drepa :—"Iockle was the son of Bard, Iockle's son, whom King Olaf the Saint had slain"; instead of: The son of Bard Iockle's son was "Iockle" whom K. Olaf the Saint had slain. The tragic end of "Iockle" Bardson is recorded in the sagas of Olaf the Saint: Fornm. s. V. 29-30, Flat. b. II. 317, Olaf saga ens Helga, 1853, 190-191, Heimsk. (E. Jonsson) II. 422-424, cf. also Fornsögur, ed. G. Vigfússon 1860, pp. 188, 193.

P. 132 15. ok svá þar fyr norðan hals :—"and so *along to the mouth of* the Neck"; instead of: and likewise north of the neck there.

P. 136 19. ok Goðdala, *read* of Goðdali, so Cd., um Goðali alla, S.

P. 136 21. Helgo, not: "Helge" (man) but Helga (woman). This mistake is repeated elsewhere.

P. 137 4. Biarne Brodd-Helga son :—"Beorn-beord Helge's son"; instead of: Bearne Brord-Helge's son. As a rule the translator distinguishes the two names

Biörn and Biarne, but he gives to the latter however the variations: Beorn, Beare, Bearne.

P. 138 18. Hann vas kallaðr Tungo-Care—omitted from the translation.

P. 139 3-4. Orrecs-heiðr :—"Orrec-stead"; instead of: Orrec's-heath; and Höko-staðer:—"Hawk-stead"; instead of: Chin-stead.

P. 139 9. I þann tíma kom út skip í Kolbeins-ár-óse :—"At that time there came out a ship into the mouth of Colban's-river oyce-mouth"; instead of: . . . into the mouth of Colban's-river. Oyce-mouth was perhaps meant as an alternative reading.

P. 140 7. upp frá Þverá—missed out.

P. 140 14-16. Syner þeirra vóro þeir Hergrímr ok Herfiðr, es átte Höllo . . . Gróa hét dótter Herfinnz, ok Höllo; hána átte Róarr :—"Their sons were these: Her-grim and Her-fin, *who had to wife Halla* . . . The *daughters* of Her-fin were Gróa [Gruoch] and Halla, whom Hrod-gar had to wife"; instead of: . . . Groa was the name of the *daughter* of Herfinn *and Halla;* and Hrodgar married her (not Halla, his mother-in-law).

P. 141 2-3. dóttor Sigmundar Þorkels sonar es Glumr vá :—"daughter of Sigmund Thor-kel's son, that slew Glum"; instead of: whom Glum did slay!

P. 141 11. miðle Griót-ár :—"between Grit"; instead of: Grit-river.

P. 141 12. Healta-dalr:—"Shelty-dale," surely: "Shelty's dale" seeing that it was taken in settlement by and named after Healte Thord's son; but p. 271 2 the name is "Healte-dale."

P. 141 20. á-nyt :—"rent"; á-nyt = áa-nyt : hire of ewes. The case arises when farmer A hires from farmer B a certain number of milking ewes for the summer, agreeing to pay a certain amount of money for the use of them. The word is not found in any dictionary I have at hand.

P. 144 5. Staf-ár :—"Staff"; for: Staff-river.

P. 144 11. Stafs-hóll :—"Staff-holt," but 145 3 : Staff-hill; as the place took its name from Oddleifr Stafr, the

name should be Staff's-hill ("holt" is out of question, as it confuses this place north in Skagafrith with Staff-holt south in Borgfrith.

P. 145 12, 17. Ulfs-dala (pl.) :—"Wolf-dale"; instead of: Wolf's-dales.

P. 145 19-20. Óláfr nam . . . Óláfs-fiörð suman :—"Anlaf took in settlement . . . Anlaf's-frith *from the south*"; instead of: *some* part (or part) of Anlaf's-frith. In the *Corrigenda* we are told "*for* suman" to "*read* sunnan," which reading justifies the translation here. But suman is the reading of both the MSS. on which the text is based; and sunnan, which is found in some inferior MSS., is rightly condemned as "wrong" by Jón Sigurdson and all other Editors, naturally on the ground that south of Olaf's-frith, which cuts almost due south into the country, there is nothing to take in settlement but bare mountains.

P. 146 5-6. miðle Ulfs-dala ok Hvann-dala :—"between Wolf-dale and Hwan-dale"; instead of: . . . Wolf's-dales and Hwan-dales.

P. 146 15 16. Hann nam Óláfs-fiörð fyr austan upp til Reykja-ár, ok út til Vá-múla, ok bió at Gunnolfs-á :—"He took in settlement Anlaf's-frith *east-ward* ("upp" left out) to Reek-water, and *west* to Wo-mull, and dwelt at Gund-wolf's-river." "Anlaf's"-firth cuts very nearly due south into the country, and Reek-water is the river that halves the valley running up from the frith, also almost due south into the land. The translation therefore must be: He took in settlement the *eastern side of* "Anlaf's"-frith, *up to* (= inland to, *south* as far as) Reek-water and *out* (= *north*) to Wo-mull. Evidently the Editors had really no idea of the topographical bearings here, nor could they have consulted any map of the country; nor even seems Vigfússon to have known the very common turn of speech: N.N.-fiörðr fyr austan (vestan, etc.) = the eastern (western, etc.) side of N.N.-frith.

P. 146 19. Hrólfs frá Ám :—"Hrodwolf-a-River"; instead of: a-Rivers, ám being dat. pl. of á, a river, if that indeed is the origin of the name. The Editor's

spelling of the name shows that he does not believe in that derivation; and he may be right.

P. 147 7. Þá fór hann til Noregs: hann kom vestr á Agðer :—" then he journeyed *west* into Norway *with twelve men* into Agd . . . "; instead of: then he went to Norway: he came west to Agder. . . . "With twelve men" has got somehow or other into the translation from S., which is not the text on which this passage is based.

P. 147 11. En es á leið um váret :—" But when the spring was coming on "; instead of: But in (the course of) the spring as it was wearing on.

P. 147 13. hann tók hann höndom :—" Beorn caught his hand "; instead of: Beorn laid hands on him.

P. 149 8-10. ok sá, at svartara vas inn at siá myklo til fiarðarens,—es þeir köllo̧ðo Eyja-fiörð af eyjom þeim es þar lágo ute fyrer :—" and saw that it was far blacker [less snow] to look on further up in *a* frith, which they called Ey-frith, because of the islands that *lay out of the mouth of it*"; instead of: and saw that it was far blacker looking up to *the* frith, which they called Ey-frith from the islands that lay there out in the offing. There was no question here of *a* frith to be called Ey-frith; for Helge had dwelt a whole winter at Hamundstead in Svarfadar-dale, a good long way up the very frith he gave this name. The islands from which it took name were not outside the mouth of it, but well within it, in sight from Hamundstead, and "þar úte fyrer" refers to the point of view from Hamund-stead. Off the mouth of Ey-frith there are no islands.

P. 149 17. ok helgaðe sér svá allan fiörðenn nesja miðle :—" and so hallowing to himself all *the country-side* between *the rivers*"; instead of: all *the bay from ness to ness*; that is, from Mastness (Siglunes) on the western, all round unto Rowan-ness (Reynisnes) on the eastern, side of the mouth of Ey-frith, cf. 149 15-16. There is no reference here to "rivers."

P. 150 1-2. varð Þórunn Hyrna léttare í Þórunnar-ey í Eyja-fiarðar-ár-kvíslom :—" Thor-wen Hyrna gave birth

to a child *at the springs of Ey-frith* in Thorwen's-ey" (!) instead of: "Thor-wen" H. was delivered of a child in "Thorwen's-ey," in the forks of Ey-frith-river; *i.e.*, in the delta formed by the Ey-frith river, where it joins the sea at the head of the bay.—The child born, Þór-biörg Holma-sól, is here called: Thor-berg Holm-sun, but 168$_{1}$: Thor-borg Haulm-sun (haulm = halmr!) Of course, she got her by-name from the place of her birth, a Holm.

P. 150$_{4}$. Þver-á en(ne) Ýtre:—"*Upper* Thwart-water"; instead of: *Outer, i.e., Lower*, Thwart-water. On the eastern side of Ey-firth river, up the valley a considerable distance from the head of the bay, there are two homesteads called Thwart-water: Þverá en œfre = Upper Thwart-water, also known as "Monks' Thwart-water," and Þver-á en ýtre = Outer Thwart-water, *i.e.*, the Outermost of the two Thwart-waters, or the one farther down the valley, or nearer the sea, the northern-most, in fact. The translator makes one of these two localities, calling both Upper-Thwart water.

P. 150$_{13-14}$. faðer . . . Arnórs ens Góða Rauðæings:—"father . . . of Arnor the Good, the Red-water-men's *gode*"; góða figures in the translation first correctly as "good" and then as "gode" chief, and Rauðæings = the man's of Red-water, is taken to stand for Rauðæinga = the men's of Red-water, who do not exist.

P. 150$_{19}$. Rauða *read* Rauðe.

P. 151$_{4}$. Olafr Volo-briótr:—"Anlaf *Sibyl*-breaker." We suggest that *knuckle-bone* breaker would do as well: Vala (= knuckle-bone, Lat. talus, Gr. ἀστράγαλος) has gen. sing. völo (-u), which form is also the gen. sing. of völva, "Sibyl."

P. 151$_{12}$. Karl . . . nam strönd alla út frá Ufsom til Mígande:—"Karl . . . took in settlement all the *strands up* from Ufse to Migande"; instead of: all the *Strand out* from Ufse to M. Út means, of course, *out*, down frith, sea-ward or, geographically stated: *north;* while the "up" of the translation = up frith gives the opposite wrong direction. Strönd = Ufsa-Strönd.

P. 151 16-17. Hámundr gaf Erne . . . (lönd) þau es vóro fyr útan Reistar-á :—"Hamund gave Erne . . . *further* the land *west* of Reistar-river"; instead of: Hamund gave to Erne such countrysides as lay *out* from Reist-river, *i.e.*, *north* of Reist-river along the western shore of Eyfrith. *West* of Reist-river there were no countrysides in Hamund's possession to be given away but bare mountains of no extent.

P. 152 5. Breiðdal :—"Bride-dale" must be a slip for Broad-dale, which elsewhere is the translation of this name.

P. 152 9, 14. við hann ero Narfa-sker kend :—"After him Narfe's-*reef is* named"; instead of: After him Narfe's-*rocks are* named.

P. 152 10. Hello-Narfe :—"Slate-Narfe," but six lines below "Cave-Narfe," the translator taking there "hello," which is gen. sing. of hella, slab or slate, for "hellis," gen. sing. of "hellir," a cave.

P. 155 7. En Öndóttr gat halldet féino til handa Þronde systor-syne sínom :—"But Ondott kept hold of the heritage for Throwend *and* his sister's son"; instead of: But Onund managed to retain the money on behalf of Throwend, his sister's son. The context here is very clear: "Landnáma-Bóc" III. 13 1 states how Biorn Hrolf's son from Am was first married to Hlif, and had with her the son Eyvind Eastman. Secondly Beorn married Helga, sister of Ondott, and their son was Thrond (Throwend). There was therefore no temptation for the translator to make of "Thro-wend" somebody who was *not* Ondott's sister's son.

P. 156 2. Þvi at hann vilde ecki segja :—"for he did not wish to say [where the boys were]"; instead of: for he would say nothing.

P. 156 20-21. ok rero braut til eyjar es liggr á Hvine :—"and rowed away to the *islands* that *lay* in the frith of Hwin"; instead of: . . . to *an island* that *lies* in the frith of Hwin; "eyjar" can be gen. sing. and nom. and acc. pl., while "til" governs the gen. exclusively; no mistake therefore ought to have been possible here.

P. 157 2. ok gengo til húss :—" went to the houses," as if the original read : ok gengo til húsa !

P. 157 8. Ásgrímr geck at iarlenom :—" As-grim *walked into the hall* " ; instead of : Asgrim went for the earl. A few lines before it is stated that Asgrim and Asmund " went *to the chamber* in which they were told the Earl was sleeping," and there they were at this moment.

P. 158 8. Ásgrím in the text rendered As-gar in the translation.

P. 159 14. Þeir Ásgrímr biðo á Vekels-hauge enom syðra :—" Asgrim waited for him at the *settlement* of We-kell's Barrow " ; instead of : Asgrim and his company waited on the southern Wekel's-Barrow.

P. 160 1. föðor (*gen.*) Asgríms, *read :* faðer (*nom.*).

P. 160 7. Möðro-fell :—" Madder-field " ; instead of : Madder-fell, a different place to Madder-field = Möðro-veller.

P. 161 1-2. Helge gaf Hrólfe . . . öll lönd fyr austan Eyjafiarðar-á frá Hvále upp, ok bió hann í Gnúpo-felle :— " Helge gave Hrod-wolf . . . all the lands *from the east of Ey-frith* from Erne's-hillock up," etc. ; instead of : Helge gave Hrod-wolf . . . all lands on the east side of Ey-frith-*river* up from Erne's-hillock. This place, the northern limit of Hrod-wolf's settlement, was situated about mid-way up the long valley running south from Ey-frith. Hrod-wolf's lands therefore stood in no connection whatever with the sea.

P. 161 8-9. Helgi gaf . . . Þorgeire . . . land út frá Þver-á til Varð-giár :—" Helge gave . . . to Thor-gar . . . land *west* from Thwart-water to Ward-geow " ; instead of : out from, *i.e., north* from Thwart-water to " Ward-geow." Land given to Thorgar as the translation defines it would have covered the main portion of the territory which Helge had already conferred on his son-in-law, Hamund.

P. 161 15. Heðinn enn Milde, not : " Hedin the Mild," but : the Bounteous.

P. 162 13-14. Þeirra son Ongull enn Svarte ; ok Rafn, faðer Þórðar at Stocka-hlöðum, ok Goðríðr (*nom.*) :—" Their

son was Ongul the Black, and Raven, the father of Thord of Stock-lathe, and of Gudrid"; instead of: Their son was Ongul the Black and Raven the father of Thord of Stock-lade, and (their daughter was) Gudrid. By the translation Gudrid is made a daughter of her own brother Raven.

P. 162 17. Hann nam land . . . út frá Hniósk-á til Grenevíkr:—"He took land in settlement . . . *west* from Tinder-water to Pine-wick"; instead of: . . . from Tinder-water *north* to Pine-wick. Whatever lies "*west*" from the line of "Tinder-water" to "Pine-wick" lies in the waters of the Ey-frith!

P. 163 11. Eyvindr . . . blótaðe þá (*i.e.*, Gunnsteina, acc. pl.):—"Ey-wind . . . sacrificed *there*"; instead of: Ey-wind *worshipped them* (the Gunstones).

P. 164 l. 4 of trans. "He had many children" is added by the translator, from the text of S., with no editorial explanation.

P. 164 15. ok braut skip sítt:—"and ran his ship ashore"; instead of: and wrecked his ship; cf. 167 20, 168 17, and elsewhere.

P. 164 18-19. hann nam land fyr neðan Eyjadals-á:—"He took land in settlement *from under* Ey-dale-water"; instead of: below = north from E.

P. 165 3. faðer Þórgeirs Goða:—"father of Thor-gar-gode"; his name was Thor-gar and he was a gode, and he was referred to in speech as Thorgar the Gode, but never was his name Thor-gar-gode.

P. 166 5. Horða-land:—"Hausda-land," probably misprint for Haurda-land, which is one of the forms adopted by the translator, the others being Horda-land and Hæreda-land.

P. 166 6. Eyvindr fýstesk til Íslannz:—"Ey-wind went to Iceland"; instead of: Ey-wind had a desire to go to Iceland.

P. 167 6. Þórey:—"Thor-ney," by misprint, apparently.

P. 167 11-12. hann nam Þegjanda-dal:—"He took in settlement *Thawing*-dale"; instead of: . . . *Silent*-dale.

P. 167 19. Þióðolfs in the text is a mistake for Þórolfs; oddly enough this is corrected in the translation but left standing in the text.

P. 169 8. hann (Onundr) vas son Blæings Sótasonar, bróðer Balca í Hrúta-firðe:—"He was the son of Blaeng, Soti's son, the brother of Balci of *Red*-frith"; instead of: He was the son of Blaeng Sotisson, *and* brother to Balci of *Ram*-firth.

P. 169 16. Grœnavatn(e), es gengr af Mý-vatne:—"Green-mere that *came* out of Midge-mere"; instead of: Green-mere, *an offshoot* of Midge-mere.

P. 170 3. Fyr þat vog [read: víg] vóro þeir görver norðan or sveitom:—"for this manslaughter they were driven *north out of that country*" (no country named to which "that country" can refer); instead of: for that manslaughter they were *expelled from the communes* in the north.

P. 170 5. Geira-staðer:—"Gar's-dale." Here the text follows Cd., but the translation, the better reading of S.; no editorial comment.

P. 170 6-8. þeirra börn vóro . . . ok Þórgerðr, es átte Þór-arenn Ingiallz son: þeirra son Helgo-Steinarr:—"Their children were . . . and Thor-*gard*, whom Thorarin, the son of Ingi-ald, the son of Helga Stan-here, had to wife"; instead of: . . . and Thor-*gerd*, whom Thorarin Ingiald's son had to wife: their son was Helga's-Steinar. So, by the translation, Thorarin, the father of "Helgo-Steinarr," becomes his *own son's grandson*.

P. 170 12-13. þá fór hann til Íslannz:—"then Einar bought a ship and sailed to Iceland." "Bought a ship" is a loose translation of "þá kauper Einar í skipe" (in S.) = then Einar bought a part in a ship. But why these words should enter into the translation when they are excluded from the text, seems odd.

P. 170 14. Þeir siglðo fyr norðan land ok vestr um Slétto í fiörðenn:—"They sailed north about the land, and went into the *friths* round Plain"; instead of: they sailed north about the land, and west round Plain into

the frith—" fiörðenn," acc. sing., taken for " fiörðona," acc. pl. of fiörðr !

P. 170 17-18. Svá helgoðo þeir ser allan Öxar-fiörð :—" *and then* they hallowed to themselves all Ax-frith " : instead of : *thus* (*i.e.*, in this manner) they hallowed to themselves all Ax-frith. The manner of the hallowing was unique in the history of the settlement.

P. 170 21. Glíro Halli :—" Glire Hall," but 172 11 " Glera Hall."

P. 171 9-10. Oddr fór at leita þeirra, ok fann þá báða œrenda, ok hafðe hvíta-biörn drepet þá, ok só or þeim blóðet :—" A white bear slew them both, Arn-gar and Thorgils. Ord went forth to seek them and the bear was by them and sucking their blood " ; instead of : Odd went in search of them and found them both dead, and a white bear had killed them and was sucking the blood out of them.

P. 171 11. Oddr drap biörnenn ok fœrðe heim, ok át allan :—" Ord slew the bear, and ate it all " ; instead of : O. slew the bear *and brought it home* and ate it all.

P. 172 1. Húns-ness *read* Hunds-ness ; the translator has got at the right reading as he translates : " Hounds-ness." Why was the text then not corrected at the same time ?

P. 172 15. Hroðgeir :—" Hrod " ; " gar " left out inadvertently.

P. 173 8. Vápna-fiarðar-ár :—" Weapon-frith " ; instead of : Weapon-frith-river, which here makes all the difference.

P. 174 3. Þórsteinn :—" Thor-beorn " ; erroneously.

P. 174 18. ok lifðe her fá vettr :—" and lived *there* a few winters " ; instead of : and lived *here* (in this land) but a few winters.

P. 175 6-7. Hakon . . . nam Iökuls-dal allan fyr vestan Iökuls-á, ok fyr ofan Teigar-á, ok bió á Hakonar-stöðum :—" Hacon took . . . all Iockle's-dale from the west of Iockle's-river," the rest of the quotation is sprung over ; instead of : Hakon took . . . all " Iockle's "-dale on the

western side of "Iockle's"-river, and above Teig-water, and dwelt at Hakon's-stead.

P. 175 10. þann löðgo þeir til hofs :—"they gave it to the Temple"; instead of: this they set apart for *a* temple (which was not in existence yet when the gift was made).

P. 176 3-6 Ketill ok Graut-Atle . . . námo land í Fliótz-dale, . . . Lagar-fliótz-strander báðar: Ketill fyr vestan Fliótz-á, miðle Hengi-fors-ár ok Orms-ár . . . 176 20-21 Graut-Atle nam ena eystre strönd Lagar-fliótz, allt á midle Gilj-ár ok Valla-ness, fyr vestan Oxa-lœk :—"Cetil and Grout-Atle . . . took land in settlement in Fleet-dale . . . Cetil took in settlement *both banks of Lake-fleet from the west of Fleet-water*, between Hang-force-river and Worm's-river . . . Grout-Atle took in settlement the east strand of *all* Lake-fleet between *Gill* and Field-ness, west of Oxen-beck"; instead of: Ketil and Grout-Atle . . . took land in Fleet-dale . . . both banks of Lake-fleet: Ketil, to the west of the Lake-Fleet, between Hang-force-river and Worm's-river . . . Grout-Atle took the eastern bank of Lake-fleet *all the way* between Gill-*river* and Fields'-ness, west of Oxen-beck.—The topography here is very clear when we eliminate from the text the Editor's mistake in introducing a "Fliótz-á." Cd., on which the text here is based, reads Fliót, short for Lagar-fliót, "Lake-fleet," which is quite accurate. But S. reads: Fliotz aa milli Hengifors aar, etc. Here the *z* in Fliotz is an involuntary scribal repetition of *z* in Lagarfliotz in the same or the preceding line of the MS. From the phrase: aa miðle = amidst, between, the Editor has cut the aa and tacked it on to Fliotz, and thereby obtained the river-name Fliotz-á; but no river so called exists in the whole of Iceland, for the simple reason that such a name in Icelandic would be about as impossible as *Fluminis-amnis* would be in Latin. This mistake once removed leaves the statement of Cd. perfectly clear: Each brother settles a certain portion of either bank of Lake-fleet; Ketil the *western*, from Hang-force-river (up

the valley) to Worm's-river (down the valley); Atle, the *eastern*, from Gill-river (up valley) to Field-ness (down valley). There is no justification for making "Cetil" settle *both banks* of Lake-Fleet. We shall see, presently, how important it was to understand this passage of "Landnáma-Bóc" correctly.

P. 176 9-11. (*Context:* "Cetil bought from Veþorm Arneid, earl Asbeorn's daughter, whom Holmfast, the son of Veþorm, had taken captive)—þá es þeir Grímr systor-son Veþorms, drápo Asbiörn iarl í Suðreyjom:—"What time Grim We-thorm's sister's son slew earl Os-beorn in the Southreys"; instead of: When Holmfast and Grim, etc., "þeir," they, implying both cousins.

P. 176 16. Enn es kaupet var orðet—"but when the bargain had been made"—is left out.

P. 177 5. Brynjolfr . . . nam land fyr ofan fiall: Fliótz-dal allan fyr ofan Hengifors-á, fyr vestan; en fyr ofan Gils-á fyr austan; . . . ok svá Völlona út til Eyvindar-ár:—"Bryne-wolf . . . took in settlement land *down from* the Fell, all Fleet-dale *down from* Hang-force-water on the west, and *down from* Gil's-water on the east; . . . and also the *field* or *plain* to Ey-wind's river"; instead of: and took in settlement land *above* the Mountain (a standing term for the range of mountains which divides the Fleet-dale-district from the neighbouring East-firths), all Fleet-dale *above* Hang-force-water on the western side, and *above* Gil's-water on the east side and also the *Fields* out (= east) to Ey-wind's-water.

In the preceding chapter it was plainly stated, as the paragraph on 176 3-6 shows, that Cetil's land reached down along the west bank of Lake-fleet from Hang-force-river to Worm's-river, and that his brother's reached down, along the east bank, from Gill-river to Fields'-ness. How then could the translator come upon the idea that Bryniolf's land-take stretched "*down from* Hang-force-water on the west, and *down* from Gil's-water on the east," and thus covered the very settlements of Cetil and Atle? This becomes all the more incredible, when it is

borne in mind that "fyrir ofan" never can mean anything but *above*.

P. 177 16. fyr ofan Gils-á :—"*down from*"; instead of: *above*.

P. 178 15. Hans (*i.e.*, Hrafnkels) son vas Asbiörn, faðer Helga; ok Thorer (nom.), faðer Hrafnkels :—"His son was As-beorn, the father of Helge and of Thore" (gen.), etc.; instead of: His sons were As-beorn father of Helge, and Thore, etc. The translation makes Thore son of his brother Asbeorn, instead of of Hrafnkel ("Raven-kell").

P. 180 3. þeir Hróarr, not: "Hrod-gar's folk," but: he (*i.e.*, Tiorve) and Hrod-gar (his uncle, cf. 179 20).

P. 181 10-11. En þeir fóst-brœðr tóko Austfiörðo (acc. pl.) :—"And the sworn-brethren made East-*frith* (sing.); a bay of this name is unknown. But Austfirðir—East-friths—is a standing collective term for the indented littoral of eastern Iceland from Lodmund-frith in the north to Swan-frith in the south. "Tóko Austfiorðo" therefore = made the East-friths.

P. 181 15. en es hann hafðe lítla hríð leget :—"and when he had *been* a little while"; instead of: and when he had laid down a little while.

P. 181 19. Ingolfs-höfða, Editor's mistake; silently corrected into Heor-laf's-head (Hiörleifs-höfða) in the translation.

P. 182 8. austr fyr Sólheima :—"east *upon* Sun-ham"; instead of: east *beyond* Sun-ham.

P. 184 6. Þórhaddr enn Gamle vas hof-goðe í Thróndheime inn á Mærine :—"Thor-heard the Old was Temple-gode in Throwend-ham *inside on* the More"; instead of: in "Throwend-ham" *up at* More. The translation gives to understand that "More" was a district; but Mærin was the name of the most ancient temple in "Throwend-ham," up at the head of the bay.

P. 184 16-17. fyr neðan Tinnodals-á ok út til Orms-ár :—"*north* of *Tinder*-dale-water and out to Worm's-river"; instead of: *down below (i.e., east of) Flint*-dale-water and out (= *east*) to Worm's-river. North of Flint-dale

water there is nothing but a barren mountain of no extent.

P. 185 4-5. ok nam þar alla ena nœrðre strönd Berofiarðar :—" and there took in settlement all the *nether* strand of Bear-frith " ; instead of : the *northern-(most)* strand . . .

P. 185 5-6 ok fyr sunnan um Búlanz-nes, ok inn til Rauða-skriðna öðrom megin ; ok bió þriá vettr þar es nú heiter Skále :—" and on the south over By-land's-ness and on to Red-slip on the other side, and there he dwelt three winters at the place now called Hall " ; instead of : and on the south side (of Bear-frith he took all the coast) round Byland's-ness and up to Red-screes on the other side ; and he dwelt for three winters at the place now called Hall (Skale). This homestead is still in existence on the *northern* shore of Bear-frith, and not, as the translation indicates, on the south of Bylands-ness in the neighbourhood of Red-slip.

P. 185 9. Biorn . . . nam Alfta-fiörð enn nœrðra :— " Biorn . . . took in settlement *Nether* Elfets-frith " ; instead of : *Northernmost* " Elfet's "-frith.

P. 188 17. hafðe með ser kono sína ok sono :—" and *son* " instead of : *sons.*

P. 188 20. á Nesiom :—" at the Ness " ; instead of : in the Nesses, cf. note to 23 20.

P. 188 16, 22. Hrollaugr . . . fór austr þannog :—" Hrodlaug . . . went to the coast to where they were " ; instead of : H. went east thither (*i.e.*, to Horn-frith, in the extreme east of the country from " Lear-voe " in the extreme S.W.).

P. 189 1-2. ok nam land austan frá Horne til Kví-ár :— " and took land . . . east of Cape-Horn to Fold-river " ; instead of : from Cape Horn in the east south to Fold-river.

P. 190 1-2. Auðunn . . . keypte land . . . útan frá Hömrom (dat. pl.) ok út öðrom megin til Við-borz :— " Ead-wine . . . bought land . . . out from Hammer and on the other side to Wood-ford " ; instead of : " Ead-wine " . . . bought land up from Hammers and

round (the head of the bay) out to "Wood"- (or Wind-) board on the other side.

P. 190 6. Skála-fell :—"Horn-fell"; misprint for Hall-fell (?)

P. 190 5-6. Heina-bergs-ám :—"Hoan-rock-river," but seven lines further: "Horn-quarry-river"; "Hoan" and "Horn" apparently mistakes for Hone. Hone-stone-rivers is a close translation of the name.

P. 191 5. undan Tofta-felle :—"under Toft-fell"; instead of: *away from under* Toft-fell.

P. 192 17. Ketill enn Fíflske :—"Cetil the Fool," but 235 8: "Beguiler."

P. 193 14. land *read* lönd.

P. 194 13. leifðe þeim eige þar vist :—"would not let *him*" instead of "*them*" have quarters there.

P 195 3-4. tímgaðesk :—"*throve*"; instead of: *bred*.

P. 197 17. meiddesk sialfr í viðom (dat. pl.) :—"was himself maimed by the mast"; instead of: in (amidst) the timber (on board), or the timbers of the broken ship; "by the mast" is an impossible rendering of "í viðom."

P. 198 18. Eyvindr enn Eyverske :—"Ey-wend the Ey-wersh [Island-dweller]"; instead of: "Ey-wend" *the Orkney-man*, or *of Orkney*.

P. 200 15. þar bió faðer hans, left out in the translation.

P. 200 18. Þrase vas son Þórolfs :—"Thrase was the son of Thor-wolf Horn-breaker"; this by-name does not belong to Thor-wolf but to his father "Heriolfr," cf. 200 11.

P. 201 1-3. Skógom (dat. pl. of Skógar) :—"Shaw"; instead of: Shaws, three times.

P. 202 8. sende Haralldr konungr menn til hans:—"King Harold sent *a man* . . ."; instead of: . . . *men* . . .

P. 202 15. Þórgerðr :—"Thor-borg" wrongly.

P. 203 10-11. Eyja-sandr:—"Ey-sands," the name is used only in sing.

P. 203 20. Eldo-eið :—"Ellide's tarbet" is an acknowledged false etymology.

P. 203 21. fór svá norðr í Álost á Sandnes :—"went north to Alost in Sandness"; instead of: went north to

Sandness in Alost; Sandness being Thorolf's homestead in the island of Alost.

P. 204 8. from "miðle, after lönd," to "miðle, after land" (l. 10) all is left out in the translation.

P. 204 10-11. Allt fyr norðan Reyðar-vötn:—"right up to *Reyd-mere*" (Reyðr otherwise generally translated Trout-); instead of: all to the north of *Trout-meres*.

P. 204 14-17. Hœngr hafðe ok under sér lönd öll fyr austan Rang-á ena eystre, Vaz-fell til lœkjar þess es fellr fyr útan Breiðabólstað, ok fyr ofan Þver-á, allt nema Dufþax-hollt ok Mýrena:—"Salmon" (*i.e.*, "Cetil Hong [Salmon]," p. 203 tr. 4, 1) "had also under him all the land to the east of East Rang-river *and* Mere-fell to the beck that runs outside the Broad-bowster and above Thwart-water, all save Duf-thac's-holt and the Mere"; instead of: Salmon had also under him all lands to the east of East Rang-river: Waterfell, to wit, unto the beck that flows on the west side of "Boad-bowsterr," and above Thwart-water all (land) save "Duf-thac's"-holt and the Mere.

P. 206 3. föðor-systor:—"foster-sister"; instead of: father's sister.

P. 207 5. Biór einn lá ónumenn fyr austan Fliót, miðle Cross-ár ok Ioldo-steins:—"a gore of land lay between Cross-river and Marc-rock"; instead of: a gore of land lay *unsettled east of (Marc-)Fleet*, between Cross-river and *Mare's*-rock.

P. 208 6. fóro útan:—not: "went *forth*," but: went *from the west*.

P. 208 10-12. Um víg þesse urðo Baugs syner seker aller or Hlíðenne; fór Gunnar í Gunnars-holt; en Eyvindr under Fiöll austr í Eyvindar-hóla; en Sniall-Steinn út í Sniallz-höfða:—"For *this slaughter* the sons of Beag were made outlaws *all over* the Lithe. Gunn-here went to Gunn-here's-holt, and Ey-wend-*under-Fell* eastward to Eywend's-hill, and Stan went to Snell's-head"; instead of: for *these manslaughters* the sons of Baug were outlawed *all of them* from the Lithe; "Gunn-here" went into

residence at (*í*) "Gunn-here's"-holt, but "Ey-wend" went east under the Fells (*i.e.*, Ey-fells, Eyjafiöll) into residence at (*í*) "Ey-wend's"-hills; but Snell-stan went into residence *west* (út) at Snell's-head. No "Ey-wend-" under-Fell is known to have existed.

P. 208 19-20. Þeir vóro báðer afreks-menn um afl ok vænleik:—"they were both men *of valour*, strong and *determined*"; instead of: they were both *peerless* men for strength and *goodliness*.

P. 210 3. Þann (acc. sing.) *read* Þeim (dat. plur.).

P. 210 4. Þá bað Mörðr til handa Eilífe Þórkötlo Ketil-biarnar-dóttor . . . en til handa Sigmunde bað hann (Mörðr) Arngunnar:—"Then Mord asked for Thor-katla, Cetil-beorn's daughter, on behalf of Eilif . . But as for Sigmund, he *took to wife* Arn-gund"; instead of: but on behalf of Sigmund he (Mord) asked for Arngunn.

P 211 7. Odda enn lítla:—"Little-point"; but l. 10 Oddi is translated Ord; elsewhere "Ord or Edge," Oddi never meaning Edge.

P. 212 17. Þórsteinn lét reka (*read* telja) sauð sínn or rétt tottogo hundroð; en þá hlióp alle (*read* alla) réttena þaðan af:—"Thorstan *was wont to* tell over his sheep, *driving them out of the fold* twenty hundred, and then *they stopped counting* for the sheep took to leaping the wall"; instead of: Thorstein had his sheep counted out of a fold up to twenty hundreds, but thereon all the sheep in the fold rushed out.—"Reka" of the text depends on no MS. authority; a footnote by the Editor states that "telja" is the reading of S., leaving it to be inferred that "reka" is the reading of Cd. (Hawk's book), but both MSS. agree in this passage word for word.

P. 213 1. rak sauðenn allan út í forsenn:—"all the sheep rushed down into the Water-fall"; instead of: all the sheep were driven (by magic) into the force.

P. 213 10. en hann galt eige; þvi at hann hafðe sent konunge lítlo áðr hest, etc.:—"but he would not pay, *though* he had sent the king a little before a horse," etc.; instead of: . . . *because* he had sent, etc.

P. 214 12. Þorunnar-halsar, not: Thor-wen's-neck, but: Thor-wen's-necks.

P. 214 22 23. svá at þat hefer enge fundet síðan :—" so that *nought of it* hath *ever* been found "; instead of: so that *no one* has found it *since*.

P. 215 1. Þórsteinn átte fyrr Þóríðe Gunnar's dóttor, Hámundarsonar :—" Thor-stan had to wife first Thor-rid Gun-here's daughter, the son of Ha-mund "; instead of: . . . Thor-rid daughter of " Gun-here " the son of Ha-mund.

P. 215 6. strander *read* Strander.

P. 215 16. Flose átte Goðrúno, Þóris-dóttor, Skegg-Brodda sonar :—" Floce (by misprint) had to wife Gudrun, Thore's-daughter, the son of Beard-Brord "; instead of: . . . Gudrun daughter of Thore the son of Beard-" Brord."

P. 216 1. Rangár-völlo alla ena ýtre :—" Outer Rang-river-wold "; for: the whole of West Rang-river-*wolds*.

P. 216 17. Þiórsár-holta (gen. pl.) :—" of Steers-river-*holt*," for: *holts*.

P. 217 1-2. Hann vas faðer Iórunnar, móðor Goðrúnar, móðor Einars, föðor Magnús byscops :—" He was the father of Ior-wen, the mother of Gudrun, the mother of Einar, the *mother* of bishop Magnus "; instead of: . . . *father* of bp Magnus!

P. 217 17. fyr útan Rauða-lœk :—"*from outside* Red-beck "; instead of: *westward from* Red-beck.

P. 217 21. Asgautr :—" Os-gar," which otherwise represents Asgeirr, and must be a mistake for As-geat.

P. 218 4-5. Hann átte Þórunne Eyversko :—" He had to wife Thor-wen the Island-dweller "; instead of: . . . " Thor-wen " *of Orkney*.

P. 218 7. þaðan (*i.e.*, from " Háfe ") hafðe Hialte, mágr hans, reiðskióta til alþingis :—" Thence did Sholto, his *son-in-law*, get mounts to go to the All-moot "; instead of: from thence Hialti, his (*i.e.*, Þorwald of Ridge's) *brother-in-law*, got mounts to go to the Althing. Hialte was *son-in-law* of Gizur the White, whose daughter, Vilborg, was his wife. But Thor-wald of the Ridge, son

of Skeggi of Haf, was married to Koltorfa, Hialte's sister.[1]

P. 218 14. nam land fyr útan Þiórs-á :—" took land . . . *beyond* Steer's-river " ; instead of : *west* of Steers-river. " Beyond " conveys no topographical sense here.

P. 218 18. Sumer *read* sumar.

P. 219 3. Vemundr enn Gamle . . . mágr Biarnar Buno :—" the *kinsman-in-law* of Beorn Buna " ; this vagueness was not called for here, since in p. 25 4 it had been clearly stated that Beorn had to wife Velaug, the sister of Vemund, whose *brother-in-law*, therefore, he was.

P. 219 11. Alviðra :—" *All-water* " ; an unexpected rendering, seeing that the name had already been appropriately translated All-weather, p. 105 2, 109 4— " water " is out of the question.

P. 219 19-20. Ketill Hello-flage :—" Cetil *Cave-flag* " ; instead of : *Slate-* or *Slab-flaker*. We have here again a case of " hello," gen. sing. of " hella," a slab, being mistaken for " hellis," gen. sing. of " hellir," a cave!

P. 220 5. mægðesk við Hákon iarl Griótgarz son :— " was become kinsman-at-law to earl Hacon Gritgardsson " ; Harald married Asa, daughter of Earl Hakon ; therefore the translation should run : had become *son-in-law* to, etc.

P. 220 8-9. Þeir fundosk á Fiolom í Stafa-ness-vége :— " They met *at Fiola in Staff-ness-voe* " ; instead of : they met *in Staff-ness-voe* in *(the folkland of) Fiale*r. The translator evidently thought that Fiola was some place (island presumably) within the bay of Staff-ness ; but it is the same folk-land which he calls Fiolom 19 3, 55 12, and Fiala-folk 218 21.

P. 220 19. Holtom, dat. pl. :—" *Holt* " ; for *Holts*.

P. 220 21. Stiornu-steinom :—" *Stern-stone* " ; for *Stern-tones*. But it seems odd to render stiornu, gen. sing. of stiarna, a star, by *Stern ;* and the alternative rendering : " *or* Anchor-rock," makes stiornu a gen. of stióri, an anchor, which does not mend matters.

P. 221 3. Atle vas faðer Þórðar Dofna, föðor Þorgils Errobeins-stiúps :—" Atle was the father of Thord Domne,

[1] Cf. Kristnisaga, Biskupasögur I. 21.

the father of Thorgils, Scarleg's *step-father*"; instead of: the father of Thorgils *the stepson* of Scarleg. Only three pages further on the story is clearly told: Thord the father of Thorgils had for wife Thorunn daughter of Asgeir. Thord was lost at sea. A year later *Thorgrim Scarleg* comes to live with his widow, Thorunn, and ultimately marries her and becomes her son's stepfather (Orig. I. p. 223 9-224 2).

P. 221 7. Olvér hafðe land-nám allt fyr útan Gríms-á:—"Alwe took in settlement all along *out to* Grims-water"; instead of: "Alwe" had all the settlement west of Grim's-water. "Fyr útan" can never mean "out to."

P. 221 17-18. hans son var Tyrfingr, faðer Þóríðar, móðor Tyrfings, föðor Þórbiarnar prestz, ok Hámundar p(restz) í Goð-dölom:—"His son was Tyr-fing, the father of Thorrid, the mother of Tyrfing, the father of Thor-beorn the priest of God-dales"; instead of: . . . the father of priest Thor-beorn, *and of priest Hamund* of God-dales.

P. 222 10. Sigurðr Hrise:—"Sig-rod Bastard," but 299 21: "Sig-rod Wrise."

P. 222 11. Þiórs-á:—"*Sker's-river*" for: *Steer's-river.*

P. 222 20-21. (Context: Erne of Weal's-garth (?) summons Bod-were for sheep-stealing. Bod-were handsells all his goods to Atle, son of Ha-stan)—en hann (*i.e.*, Atle) únýtte mál fyrer Erne:—"but he got the case squashed *by* (*Corrigenda:* against) Erne"; instead of: but he brought the action of Erne to nought.

P. 223 10-11. Hann reið heim um nótt, ok vas í blárre kápo:—um nótt, by night, omitted from the translation.

P. 224 4. Sand-lœkr:—"Sheep-brook"; but 225 13 the same stream is rightly called Sand-brook.

P. 224 7. Thorer Dríva:—"Thore Dufa," probably misprint.

P. 225 18-19. Þvi vas hann Barna-karl kallaðr, omitted.

P. 226 9-10. móðer Þóroddz Goða, föður Skafta:—". . . father of *Long-shaft.*" This is the same famous Speaker-at-law who otherwise figures in the translation under these sundry aliases: Skafte or Shafto 182 21, 217 15,

Skapte 232 $_{20}$, Scapte or Shafto 299$_5$; he is never called by any name that suggests Long-shaft. It really looks as if "langa-spiót" or "löngum-spaða," from the family of the Earls of Normandy, had wandered here by some inadvertence into the translation.

P. 227 $_{20\text{-}21}$. (þeir) námo enn œfra hlut Hruna-manna-hrepps, sjón-hending or Múla í Ingiallz-gnúp, fyr ofan Gyldar-haga :—"by taking the upper part of the Rape o' the men of Rune straightforward [*i.e.*, as the crow flies] from *Mull in Ingiald's-peak down over* Gyldes-hay"; instead of: by taking the upper part of the Rape of the men of Rune according to a straight line from the Mull (mentioned a few lines above) unto Ingiald's-peak *above* Gyld-Pasture. Fyr ofan can never mean "down over" any more than it can mean "down below." Clearly the line indicated, the sjón-hending, "glance-throw," passed from the Mull east to Ingiald's-Peak by the *north* of Gyld-Pasture.

P. 228$_7$. Hann (Ketilbiorn) kom í Ellíða-ár-ós fyr neðan Heiðe :—"He put into the mouth of Ellide's-river, *north* of Heath [Blue-Shaw-heath]." The correctness of this parenthetical explanation is more than doubtful. The paragraph from which our quotation is drawn has found its way into the Sturlunga Saga, I. 203, in a somewhat dislocated form; making no mention of Ketilbiorn's place of landing or of its relation to the heath, but averring that he stayed with Thord Skeggi, his father-in-law, the first winter in Iceland "*below Blue-Shaws'-heath*" (Bláskóga heiðe). This italicized statement proves itself by its vagueness to be an interpolation by one who did not know the dwelling-place of Thord. The interpolator read, namely in Hawk's book, that Ketilbiorn went the next spring up over the Heath in search of land and erected a temporary shed at Hall-brink in *Blue-Shaws*,[1] and, ignorant of the localities, jumped to the conclusion that the Heath that Ketilbiorn had crossed to reach Blue-Shaws must have been Blue-Shaws'-heath. Sturla

[1] Sturla's "Landnáma" makes no mention of Blue-Shaws.

Thordson could not be the author of the statement, for he knew well enough where Thord dwelt and where Ketilbiorn stayed the first winter, namely, as he states in his "Landnáma," at *Skeggi's-stead* on the southern bank of Loam-voe's-river within the parish of Mosfell the Southmost, in the immediate proximity of *Mosfells-heath*, which indeed is "the Heath" in question here. But Blue-Shaw-heath was the upland wilderness north of the basin of the lake of Thing-vellir, dividing Borgfiith from the South-Country, a long distance to NE. from Thord Skeggi's residence. Any locality situated "*north*" of Blue-Shaws'-heath must be in a howling wilderness of lavas and scoriac sands.—Some authors have been inclined, on the authority of the Sturlunga passage, to suppose that Moss-fell's-heath was called Blue-Shaws'-heath of old. The transparent spuriousness of the interpolated words deprive that passage of all credit.

P. 228 11. kómo þeir at á þeirre es þeir köllo∂o Œxar-á :—"they came to *a river*, which they called *the river* Axe-water"; instead of: they came to *the* river which they called Axe-water.

P. 229 9-10. þá ók hann silfre*t* upp á fiallet, á tveimr yxnom, ok Hake þræll hans, ok Bót ambótt :—"then he drove the silver up on the fell behind *or* on two oxen, and Hake his thrall, and Bot his bond-woman"; instead of: then he and Hake his thrall and Bot his bond-woman carted the silver on two oxen up on to the mountain.

P. 232 17. fyr útan Varm-á :—"*outside* Warm-river"; instead of: *west* of Warm-river.

P. 233 5. Súgande :—"Stigande," wrongly.

P. 235 5. Graut-Atle ok Ketell Þi∂randa syner :— . . . "*son*," for *sons*, cf. p. 176 3.

P. 235 10. Höf∂a-Þór∂r :—"Thord o' the Heads"; but Thord of Head 84 1, Thord o' Head 129 13, 134 5, 135 1, 141 1, 144 10.

"LIBELLUS ISLANDORUM."

P. 287 3-4. En með þvi at þeim líkaðe svá at hava eða þar viðr auca, þá skrifaða-ec þessa of et sama far . . . :—"And with as much of it as they wished to have thus or to add thereto. I have written also this one of the same. . . ." Instead of: But according as it pleased them to let the matter stand as it was, or to add thereto, I wrote this (book) on the same course of events (far).

P. 288 12. Hann bygðe suðr í Reykjar-víc,—þar es Ingolfs-höfðe callaðr, fyr austan Minþacs-eyre, sem hann com fyrst á land:—"He settled south in Reek-wick, *at a place* called Ing-wolf's head, east from Min-thac's Eyre, where he first came to land"; instead of: He settled south in Reek-wic. It is called Ingolf's-head there, east of Minthaks Eyre, where he first came to land. Ingolf's-head on the east coast of Iceland is separated from Reykjavík by a distance of more than 200 miles. This mistake would certainly have been obviated if in the text the punctuation of the MSS. had been observed, which put a full stop after "Raikiar vic," and in which all editions of "Libellus" agree.

P. 292 21. Helga (woman):—"Helge" (man); the same mistake we have met with elsewhere.

P. 292 22. En þeir vóro sótter á þinge því es vas í Borgar-firðe í þeim stað es síðan es callat Þing-nes:—"*And the suit was taken* at the Moot that was in Borg-frith, in the place that was afterwards called Thing-ness"; instead of: But *they* (Thorvald Tongue-Odd's son and Hen-Thore) *were prosecuted*, etc.

P. 295 3. Þiórs-á:—"Thurs-water"; otherwise Steer's- and Sker's-water!

P. 295 4. Þiórs-ár-dalr:—"Thurs-water-Dale"; otherwise Steer-water-, Steer's-river-, and Thior's-water-dale.

P. 295 4. Gizorr enn Hvíte Teitz son, Ketilbiarnar sonar:—"Gizor the White, the son of Tait, the son of Cetil-beorn's son"; instead of: . . . the son of Cetil-beorn.

P. 295 12. oc ætlaðe at láta meiða eða drepa ossa landa fyrer (*read* fyrer,) þá es þar vóro austr :—" and was about to have those of our land *murdered* or slain who were then in the east " ; instead of : and intended to have maimed or slain *therefor*[1] those of our countrymen who were east there.—Not for a moment could Are impute to the King the intention of committing *murder ;* besides, " meiða " never means to murder.

P. 300 1, 5. nýtr, not : " accomplished," but : profitable.

P. 300 5-6. Ísleifr átte iii sono ; þeir urðo aller höfðingjar nýter : Gizorr byscop ; oc Teitr prestr, father Hallz ; oc Þórvalldr :—" Is-laf had three sons . . . : Gizor the bishop, and Tait the priest, the father of Hall and Thor-wald " ; a comma or semi-colon after Hall is necessary to remove ambiguity, as Thor-wald was not the son of Tait, as the translation has it, but of Isleif.

P. 302 4-7. vas þat í lög leitt, at aller menn . . . töldo oc v rðo allt fé sítt, oc sóro at rétt virt være, . . . oc gœrðo tíund af síðan :—" it was made law that all men . . . *should count* and *value* all their wealth, and swear what the true worth was . . . and then give tithes thereof " ; instead of : it was made law that all men . . . made a statement and valuation of all their wealth and swore that the appraisement was right . . . and then fixed a tithe thereof. The statement deals with the historical effect of the law, not the purpose of the legislators.

P. 302 9-10. at fè allt vas virt með svar-dögom, þat es á Íslande vas ; oc landet sialft ; oc tiunder af gœrvar :—" that all wealth should be valued under oath that was then in Iceland and tithes given of it " ; instead of : that all wealth then in Iceland was valued under oath, *and even the land itself ;* and tithes were assessed thereon.

P. 303 8. at lög or skyllde scrifa á bóc at Hafliða Móss sonar :—" that our law should be written in a book *by* Haf-lidi Marson " ; instead of : . . . at the house of Haflidi Marson.

[1] That is for the treatment Thangbrand, according to his own report, had been the object of in Iceland.

P. 303 9. at sögo oc umbráðe þeirra Berg-þórs:—"according to the *speech* and counsel of Bergthor"; instead of: according to the *inditement* and *arrangement* of Bergthor and his associates.

P. 303 10. Scylldo þeir gœrva nýmæle þau öll í lögom, es þeim litesc þau betre an en forno lög:—"they were to make all *the novellae in the land*, which they should deem better than the old laws"; instead of: they were to make all *such amendments to the laws*, as seemed to them better than the old laws.

P. 303 12-13. ok þau öll (skyllde) halda es enn meiri hlutr manna mælte þá eige gegn:—"and keep all those which the greater part of men said nought against"; instead of: and all such *should be holden to* as the more part of men *should not* oppose *then*.

P. 303 13-14. en þat varð at fram fara:—"And it came to pass" (that the manslaughter section was then written). The "Editor" deals with "fram fara" as a verb, as one word (framfara), meaning the same thing as the phrase "at fara fram," to proceed, pass. No such verb, however, as framfara is on record. And against its being a verb here is the pret. "varð" = must needs, indicating that the writing down of the law "came to pass" in spite of all opposition. But no such opposition existed. There can be no doubt that here we have to deal with a noun. The old vellum read: "framfara," as is evident from the fact that the word is so written in both the copies taken of it by Jón Ellindsson. "Framfara" must be dat. sing. of framfari (formed in strict analogy with misfari), *progress*. The meaning of the quotation therefore is: And such (þat) progress resulted (varð) or: And it resulted in such a progress that (so and so much was written of the law).

P. 303 19. at biðja skyllde Þórlac Rúnolfs son, Þórleics sonar . . . at hann skyllde láta vígjasc til byscops:—"that they should ask Thorlac, Run-wolf's son, the son of Thorlac,"[1] etc.; who, then, was "son of Thorlak" according to the translation?

P. 304 1-2. Ok fór hann útan þat sumar; en com út et næsta epter. ok vas þá vígðr til byscops:—And he [Thor-lac] went abroad that summer, and came out the next after and was then hallowed bishop"; instead of: and was then a hallowed bishop; "var vígðr" with a pluperfect sense: was already = had been consecrated bishop.

P. 304 7. Þá vas Ioan Ogmundar son vígðr til byscops fyrstr til stóls at Hólom:—"then John, Ogmund's son, was hallowed bishop first to the sea of Holar"; instead of: was hallowed *the first* bishop to the see of Holar.

P. 304 8-10. En xii vetrom síðarr, þá es Gizorr hafðe allz vereð byscop xxxvj vetra, þá vas Þórlácr vígðr:—"But twelve winters *after Gizor had been made bishop*, in all six-and-thirty winters, then Thor-lac was hallowed . . ."; instead of: But twelve winters later, whenas Gizor had been bishop for altogether six-and-thirty winters, Thor-lac was hallowed.—In the lines immediately preceding this quotation Ari says, that Bp John was consecrated, when Gizor had been Bp for xxiiij years, but xii winters later, when Gizor had been bishop (xxiiij + xii =) thirty-six years, Thorlac was consecrated. This happened, not as the translation says twelve years after Gizor's, but twelve years after John of Holar's consecration.

P. 304 11. Þá vas Þórlácr ii vetrom meir an xxx:—"Thor-lac was *there* (*i.e.*, at Skalaholt presumably) two winters more than thirty"; instead of: Thorlac was *then* (at the time of his consecration) thirty-two years of age. But his episcopal sojourn at Skalaholt extended only to fifteen years.

[1] The translation gives Thorlac for both the names Þórlakr and Þórleikr, with the sole exception of the latter being rendered Thor-laic p. 98 12.

EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON.

REVIEWS.

THE SAGA LIBRARY. Done into English out of the Icelandic by WILLIAM MORRIS and EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON. 6 Vols. *London: Bernard Quaritch. Price 12s. 6d. net.*

THE appearance of the sixth volume of the Saga Library gives the opportunity for a brief notice as a whole of this great undertaking, now, alas! never likely to be completed. Among the works originally promised were translations of the two Eddas and of various important Sagas, besides re-issues of the Volsunga Saga, Grettir's Saga, and the three short Sagas published under the title of "Three Northern Love Stories." We appeal to Mr. Magnússon and Mr. Quaritch to include at least these latter in the series under review. It is surely owing to the memory of William Morris that the great work he projected should include all the Sagas which he himself helped to translate, and these works have been long out of print.

Although the performance falls short of the promise, yet a goodly tale of work remains, for which lovers of the Sagas may well be thankful. The six published volumes contain, first, three short Sagas of varying types, the stories of Howard the Halt, of the Banded Men, and of Hen Thorir; second, "Eyrbyggja," one of the greater Sagas, and "Heiðarviga Saga," which is one of the oldest and of great interest, though unhappily incomplete; thirdly, running through the last four of the published volumes, the great historical work known as "Heimskringla," which has long won a recognized place among the world's great histories. This is now for the first time Englished directly from the original Icelandic, the version by Samuel Laing, for which many of us have had cause to be devoutly thankful, being rendered from a version in modern Norwegian. When to these translations are added prefaces dealing fully with the history and geography of the Icelandic Sagas, notes, lists and explanations of kennings, genealogies, indexes, etc., some idea of the value of the work to scholars and students may be gleaned.

First and foremost, however, stands the translation itself, and, as the style of the Saga Library has provoked much criticism, not altogether without reason, owing to William Morris's love of archaic English, it is only fair to quote what Mr. Magnússon in the preface to the latest volume has to say in defence:—

> As to the *style* of Morris little need be said except this, that it is a strange misunderstanding to describe all terms in his translations which are not familiar to the reading public as "pseudo-Middle-English." Anyone in a position to collate the Icelandic text with the translation will see at a glance that in the overwhelming majority of cases these terms are literal translations of the Icelandic originals. . It is a strange piece of impertinence to hint at "*pseudo*-Middle-English" scholarship in a man who, in a sense, might be said to be a living edition of all that was best in M.E. literature. The question is simply this: Is it worth while to carry closeness of translation to this length, albeit that it is an interesting and amusing experiment? That is a matter of taste; therefore not of dispute.

Probably everyone who has read and tried to render any portions of the Sagas into English will have felt the fascination alluded to by Mr. Magnússon, and will have been tempted to use the archaic words and phrases that come so closely to the words and idioms of the original Icelandic. Yet it can hardly be denied that it is this feature in these translations which has stood in the way of their popularity, and has given fresh currency to the ignorant idea that Sagas are something strange and weird, in which the average reader would find it impossible to interest himself. Morris's own opinion, quoted in this preface, "that the realism of the Icelandic Sagas would secure for them a perennial popularity in England," would, we believe, prove correct, if once they were put before the reader in a suitable form. In spite of this feature in the translations, and often indeed because of it, they are astonishingly forceful, and, beside them, Laing's version, which is free from archaic oddities, but labours under the disadvantage of being a translation from a translation, seems flat and tame. About all the work of Morris and Magnússon, moreover, there is a literary air which distinguishes it favourably from such versions of Sagas as those contained in the "Origines Islandicae," while they have the great merit of dealing faithfully with their texts, and do not leave integral parts of the story, as it has come down to us, untranslated from a theory that these are later additions to, or expansion of, the material of which the Saga originally consisted.

The new volume of the Saga Library consists of the preface, introduction, indexes, etc., to the "Heimskringla." It is, however, far more interesting even to the general reader than would be supposed from a list of its contents. The preface, besides a very interesting description of the way in which the joint translators divided the work and of their aims and methods, contains a charming appreciation of William Morris by his friend and fellow-worker. A memoir of Snorri Sturlason, the author of "Heimskringla," follows, covering some seventy odd pages. This, to the best of our belief, is the only account of this great historian and his work, on anything like an adequate scale, which has appeared in English. It is divided into two sections, the first biographical, dealing with Snorri as the Chief, and giving a complete picture of his life and of the events in Iceland and Norway in which he played a part. The second deals with Snorri as Author. It includes some account of the writers who preceded him and to whom he was partly indebted for his material, as well as of his different works and the various manuscripts of "Heimskringla" and other historical Sagas connected with it on which we have to depend. Both sections are full of interest, and the second in particular will be of great value to students.

The indexes, of which there are three, are no mere lists of names and page references, but indicate also the subject matter of each reference. They practically form an analysis of the whole work, and will be invaluable to anyone who has to refer to it. The first deals with names of persons and peoples, the second with place-names, giving the modern name and locality, the third with the subject matter. With regard to this third index the author says in the preface:—

> A register or a dictionary of terms illustrative of the culture of the life of the ancient Scandinavians (and Icelanders) has been for a long time a keenly-felt desideratum. This want, so far as the Heimskringla is concerned, ought now, approximately at least, to be supplied; for I trust that nothing of real importance has been overlooked, nor any item included of no importance at all.

This is no idle boast, as may be gathered from the fact that the notices relating to Dress and Weapons, which are grouped together, extend over ten pages, while those relating to the Ship and her equipment cover no les than thirty-three. We have, however, found one omission in the latter on a point where we sought enlightenment. Chapter 51 of the Ynglinga Saga tells how King Eystein, sitting in his ship, was swept overboard by "the sail-yard" of "another ship which was sailing anigh." Laing's version says "the boom of the other ship struck the king." There is no hint that the sail came down, so we fail to see how the king could have been hit by the yard; yet it seems unlikely that the square sail of the period could have been fitted with a boom. The subject-index has no reference to either sail-yard or boom, and we do not find any note which might throw light on the passage.

We have also discovered a misprint in the Index of Places, where Thelmark is described as an "island," instead of an *inland*, "folkland of Norway."

A few such slips are almost inevitable in a work of such labour. They cannot detract from the value of the work, which is a worthy complement of the volumes which have preceded it.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

VIKINGERNE, BILLEDER FRA VORE FORFÆDRES LIV. By ALEXANDER BUGGE. ANDEN SAMLING. *København og Kristiania.*

AGAIN Professor Bugge has contributed to the rapidly increasing literature on the Vikings of old, a valuable and highly enjoyable book. It is, perhaps, not quite as fresh as was the volume issued in 1904, but it is every whit as solid, though the topics dwelt on now are not always so fascinating. The subjects Professor Bugge deals with he groups under five headings. After an introductory essay, he comes to the first chapter of his work, the first Viking period in the North. The second chapter deals with the people of the Viking period contrasted with the people of the present time; their similarity to primitive people in general; their higher culture and differences from other primitive people. Chapter three sets forth the itinerary life, and life at Court in the North; and chapter four is occupied with Danes and Norsemen in England.

At starting, our author declares that if we are to come to a thorough understanding of the period which now goes under the name of "Viking-period," we must remember that it was preceded by an earlier period of a similar character, the "Migration-of-Nations" period, which, in round numbers, may be said to run from the middle of the third to the middle of the sixth century.

What in this chapter will arrest special attention is Professor Bugge's

account of the much-debated Eruli, and their relations to the Danes. Danes are first mentioned by Jordanes, who says that they drove the Eruli away from their homes. The primitive home of the Danes was, as students of history generally grant, the southern part of Sweden, now called Skåne (Skaane). From this tract the Danes invaded and made themselves masters of the island and continental territories which now go by the name of Denmark. Want of space prevents our following the Professor's long account of the extraordinary wild and shiftful war wanderings of the Eruli. He comes to the conclusion that they never were a tribal nationality, but a community of warriors from all northern lands. In that respect he attaches a special importance to two facts—first, that no hereditary, but only an elective chiefship obtained among them, and secondly, that, while all other tribes in Scandinavia have given names to the territories they occupied, not a single territorial name traces its origin to the Eruli, or its Scandinavian form Erilar. They were a military caste, not a tribe; hence the fact that Erilar is the primitive form of Jarl, a prince's military and administrative *locum tenens*, not a head of a tribe. Justly, as we think, Professor Bugge lays stress on the fact that Halogaland (The Holy Land), in northernmost Norway, also was active in Viking-warfare at this early period, and was ruled by kings. Halogaland's early wealth and importance must have been due chiefly to its trade in fish.

From Primitive Man, the Viking of the later period retained many traditions, such as not cutting the hair until a deed of prowess conferred the privilege on the wearer. Various savage traits ascribed to Vikings are shown to be revivals of a primitive state of barbarism.[1] Of similar origin is the "Swine-array" of battle, the war-arrow call-to-arms, the devotion of enemies to perdition by the ceremonial throw of a spear over them, insulting altercation as a proem to battle, &c. From past ages superstitions follow the fighter in his bloody career: Valkyrias preside at the high court of battle over life and death, and decide the future state of the fallen; it is they, apparently, who have the power even to spell-bind the doomed by a sort, not of panic fear like the Celtic *geilt*, but of paralysing dismay; associated with the demonic powers of war are ravens, vultures, wolves, which infest the field of battle after the fray. What imagination this association could call forth is shown in Hornklofi's Ravensong, where the Valkyrja addresses the ravens:

What now, ye ravens,	Flesh clogs your talons,
Whence have ye drifted,	Your throat breathes of carrion;
With beaks that are gory	Nigh unto corpses
At break o' the morning?	Ye spent the night, surely?

Professor Bugge lays stress on the fact that, as compared with other primitive people, the Vikings, "in spite of all their barbarism and bloodthirstiness, are not savages; they have a capacity for civilisation." But why? One main cause, we think, was this, that when we get the first glimpse of Viking life in the North, society is already so far advanced

[1] It deserves to be noticed that *torture*, properly speaking, was foreign to Viking ways of doing and acting. We are inclined to father it in the main on Byzantine Christianity.

that the life at least of each free individual is *worth* something; but in that fact is embedded the primitive consciousness of right, and out of that consciousness civilisation flows. The test of a savage is not his conduct to enemies in war, but his manner, when in power, of dealing with his own kith and kin. The difference between the savage and the Viking may perhaps be summed up thus shortly: the former is a slave before God and prince, the latter free before both.

Journeys by sea and travels by land always tell a true tale of the civilisation of the regions they are confined to. "On Journey to the King's Court," is, therefore, a very well-chosen subject by Professor Bugge in illustration of that side of life during the Viking period, which may be labelled "public order." Sea voyages were dangerous on account of pirates infesting particularly the narrower seas. Even more dangerous to travellers than the sea was the land, especially out of the beaten tracks, where, through woods and wildernesses, roamed at large (on *skis* in winter) desperate characters in conflict with the law of the settled land. Only bridle-paths did the service, as a rule, of highways. The real highway for travellers was the sea, hence the site of royal residences of old was near the highway, seaward, not inland. These residences are briefly described, together with their environments, and their difference from West-European castles pointed out. Of buildings in a homestead, the *dyngja*, or women's bower, is specially, but very briefly mentioned. It is a building which is dying out in Norway when its history begins, as no *dyngja* seems to be mentioned there after 898; nor is it on record in Iceland, apparently, after 1024. It does not occur in the songs of the Edda and the *salkonur* of those poems can scarcely be put in connection with the *dyngja*, an underground abode, while the *salr* was an overground one. The last portion of this section is devoted to Harald Fairhair, and his court is shown as an exponent of the great conqueror's state and splendour, and as the intellectual circle of the whole nation.

On the section: "Danes and Norsemen in England" (Britain) we have no space left to say more than that Professor Bugge's study of the Domesday-book ought to be particularly interesting for English historians. Many of his ingenious interpretations he gives as mere guesses which, in the case of such a lapidary record they must necessarily be.

We are most thankful to Professor Bugge for this brilliant contribution to the history of the Vikings; too thankful in fact to care to put on record our dissent from him on various points. The book is a gallery of *pictures* (Billeder) from the life of the Vikings; critical dissertations on debatable points are therefore excluded by the plan of the work; and matters are taken for granted which do not quite answer that description.

The editorial work—owing, no doubt, to the fact that the proofs were read south in Copenhagen—is somewhat lax occasionally. Thus lines 13-14 on page 307 should stand as lines 1-2 on that page. P. 304_{26} for *midderlig* read: *middelalderlig*. P. $309_{22\text{-}23}$ for *Lodbrokssonum* read: *Loðbrókarsonum*.

EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON.

CAITHREIM CELLACHAIN CAISIL; The victorious career of Cellachan of Cashel, or the Wars between the Irishmen and the Norsemen in the middle of the 10th Century. The original Irish Text, edited with translation and notes by ALEXANDER BUGGE, Professor in the University of Christiania, published for "Det Norske Historiske Kildeskriftfond." *Christiania: J. Chr. Gundersens Bogtrykkeri, 1905. Price 5s. net.*

ON THE FOMORIANS AND THE NORSEMAN, by DUALD MACFIRBIS. The original Irish Text, edited with translation and notes by ALEXANDER BUGGE. *Christiania: J. Chr. Gundersens Bogtrykkeri, 1905. Price 1s. 6d. net.*

It is with a certain sense of self-reproach that workers in the field of Irish learning receive from the hands of a Norwegian scholar two texts, now published for the first time from Irish manuscripts, which bear upon the history of the Norsemen in Ireland. Dr. Alexander Bugge has already done good service to the same cause by the publication of his articles in the *Historisk Tidsskrift*; and his recent publication in which, among other questions, he deals with the influence of the Celt on the Norseman,[1] shows that he is not confining his attention exclusively to the historical side of the problems offered by the interaction of the Celtic and Northern races, but is following in the footsteps of his father, Dr. Sophus Bugge, and extending his investigations to the solution of the literary questions that arise out of the historic connection between the two peoples.

The first of the two tracts before us treats of the resistance offered by a prince of Eastern Munster, Cellachan of Cashel, to the Danes of Limerick, Waterford, and Dublin. He lived in stirring times, for he was a contemporary of the famous Olaf Cuaran (Olav Kvaaran) or Olaf o' the Sandal, and if he came to the princedom of Cashel in 934, as Dr. Bugge thinks (he is first mentioned in the Irish annals in the year 936), he rose to local power just before the drawing off of the flower of the Norse troops from Ireland by Olaf Godfreyson, King of Dublin, and Olaf Cuaran, to contend for the Crown of Northumbria at the great battle of Brunanburgh (937) against Æthelstan of England. The power of the Danes must have been much shaken by the decisive defeat sustained at Brunanburgh, and though, in the words of the fierce pæan of victory preserved in the pages of the English Chronicle, "The Northmen departed, in their nailed barks, o'er the deep water, Dublin to seek," it was only a broken fragment of the fine army which returned to Ireland. A few years later (944) the Danes of Dublin were driven out of the city by a prince of Leinster, and the third period of their occupation ended in its total destruction by fire and the flight of the Danes to a neighbouring fort, and the expulsion of Blacaire, their prince and leader.

We do not agree with Dr. Bugge in considering that Sitric, who is mentioned in our Saga as harrying Waterford, and also as a principal chieftain of the Danes of Dublin, was actually King. The frequent

[1] "Vikingerne, Billeder fra vore Forfædres Liv." See Part I, page 251.

long absences of the two Olafs from Dublin on foreign expeditions would necessitate the placing of some person of position, probably a prince of one of the royal houses, as acting Lieutenant during their absence. We find Blacaire and Olaf Cuaran both apparently exercising authority on the return of Olaf to Dublin, and it is more natural and simple to suppose that Sitric and Blacaire were military leaders, holding enlarged powers when their princes were absent, than to imagine four reigning princes calling themselves at the same moment Kings of Dublin. This would fulfil all the requirements, and would explain why this Sitric is not mentioned in the Annals. Moreover, we learn from a Northern poem that Sitric was carried off as a hostage for the Danes of Dublin by the powerful King of the O'Neills, Murtough of the Leather Cloaks, whose exploits fill so large a place in the history of this period; and it is unlikely that a prince actually occupying the throne would have been given in hostage for his people. But it was common for a prince of the royal house to be detained in this way; usually the son or cousin of the King or Chief was kept as hostage, and we imagine this to have been the case in the present instance. It was only in the case of Cellachan himself that Murtough, having defeated him, would accept no other hostage, and the fact that he carried away a reigning prince of Munster in fetters to Donegal made a sensation at the time which formed the burthen of many poems.

The career of Cellachan of Cashel is not nearly so creditable or disinterested as is that of the Northern Prince, and we do not wonder at the deadly enmity which is reflected in this Saga as existing between them. It was Murtough who betrayed the coming of Cellachan's deliverers to the Norsemen of Armagh when the Munster prince was shut up there, and who endeavoured to obstruct their passage through his country. Cellachan, during the early years of his life, showed no hesitation in joining with the enemies of his country to gain his own ends; he is more occupied with devastating Meath and Connaught in conjunction with the Gaill than in driving them out of the country; and it is with a certain satisfaction that we see him carried a chained captive to Donegal in his early years, and later, bound to the mast-head of a Danish ship in the harbour of Dundalk. The Annals of Clonmacnois call him "that unruly Kinge of Mounster that partaked with the Danes." Wholly unmindful of the great public events that were happening in his own and the sister countries, Cellachan pursued his own selfish and unworthy policy of self-aggrandizement, and but for the light thrown upon his career by the Saga which bears his name, he would probably have been forgotten by his country.

The piece bears all the ordinary marks of a Munster composition of the period. Its style is florid and it bears so close a resemblance in some passages to the "Wars of the Gael and Gall" that there has either been copying from the one to the other or both have adopted a current method of expression. The second piece before us "On the Fomorians and the Norseman" shows the same knowledge of a common original. This piece, written by the great Irish genealogist, Duald MacFirbis, who lived at the close of the 16th century, is an extract from his large work,

the Book of Pedigrees; it contains a brief summary of the history of the Norse descents, and the pedigrees of Irish families descended from them, with the pedigrees of the MacLeods and MacCabes. Matters of interest in these tracts are the enumeration of the slain chieftains of Munster by the heads brought in from the battle, which closely resembles the old Scoto-Irish "Lay of the Heads"; the mention of the mail-clad Danes, as compared with the Irish troops who fought in their ordinary linen and woven garments, and of the disabilities under which the Irish laboured in consequence; the mention of the wife of the Coarb or Abbot-bishop of Cashel, showing the continuance of marriages among the Irish clergy of high rank up to the 10th century; and that of the famous Amazon, the "Red Maiden," in Tract 2, on which Dr. Bugge gives an interesting note. There are numerous passages which recall similar incidents in romantic tales and in Irish translations from the Classics; some of these Dr. Bugge has pointed out in his notes.

ELEANOR HULL.

BIDRAG TIL DET SIDSTE AFSNIT AF NORDBOERNES HISTORIE I IRLAND. By ALEXANDER BUGGE. Reprint from *Aarböger for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1905.

THESE gleanings from the Public Record Office in Dublin deal with traces of the Northmen in Ireland after the English Conquest, and thus form the last link of the author's series of contributions to the history of the Northmen in Ireland. He is inclined to think that, while Dublin and Waterford were Norwegian colonies, Limerick and Cork were Danish, for the two principal Sagas of Munster only apply the names, Danair, Danmarcaigh, and Dark Gentiles, to the settlers of the two last-named towns. In the later centuries, especially after 1170, they were called Eastmen (Ostmanni), and as late as 1295 the spelling Oustmans shows that the Norse pronunciation of the initial diphthong was still kept up. They continued to have their own privileges, liberties and laws, and were considered to be the equals of Englishmen and free men in contradistinction to the Irish natives.

The messengers who urged King Hakon in 1263 to come and take Ireland, "for they held all the best places along the coast," must have been Ostmen.

Armand (ármaðr, ármann), the title of the ruling chieftain of Waterford, who was taken prisoner in 1170, throws a light on the new uses to which Norse terms were applied in Ireland.

The derivation of Wexford from Veisufjörðr, through a thirteenth century form, Wesefordia, is new.

JÓN STEFÁNSSON.

HEROES OF ICELAND. Adapted from Dasent's Translation of "The Story of Burnt Njal," the great Icelandic Saga. With a new preface, introduction and notes by ALLEN FRENCH. Illustrated by E. W. D. HAMILTON. *London: David Nutt. Price 5s.*

IT can hardly be denied that there was room for an abridgement of "Burnt Njal." However much we may love and prize Dasent's translation, one has to admit that the complexity of the story and the extraordinary number of persons who pass across its pages make it difficult to bear in mind all the details, or to keep the minor personages distinct, even when one has read it again and again. This must be still more a hindrance with those who are not naturally drawn to the glorious Northern literature and require to be convinced of its beauty and attractiveness, and to them Mr. French's work may be heartily commended. They will find it a very fair representation of the original, while the appreciation of the story in the preface and the introduction are quite sufficient for those who have not time or patience to study Dasent, or the masterly examination of Njala and other Sagas in Professor Ker's "Epic and Romance." The author states that in preparing the abridgement "clearness of meaning and continuity of narrative have been the sole aims," and "it is believed that the present edition contains everything of real interest, in a story without halt, or repetition, or irrelevancy." In re-casting the story on these lines it is inevitable that much of the flavour and charm of the original, which lies partly in the way the story is told, must evaporate, while ideas as to what is of real interest must needs differ greatly; but for the purpose he had in view the author has done his work not unskilfully, though the clash of weapons and slaying of men loom even larger in the abridgement than they do in the original. But boys, to whom the book should appeal, will not find that a fault and, if a few of them are led on to the study of the original and the kindred work of other Sagas, Mr. French will have earned his reward. The illustrations are well conceived, but the artist has little knowledge of the old life of the North and has not studied his text very closely, or he would not have represented Icelanders as fighting half-naked, or the scene of Gunnar's death as in an open valley, instead of in his hall. Possibly the former error, which greatly mars the effect of his drawings, is due to the mention in the Saga of "baresarks" and to an idea that this meant men who fought naked. The winged helmet (see Viking Notes, p. 412) of course appears in several of the pictures, but this is now so firmly established an attribute of the Viking of fiction, or the stage, that an artist can hardly be blamed for adopting it. It is unfortunate, however, that he has chosen to illustrate the words "Many men went over into Hauskuld's Thing" by a picture apparently meant to represent a "trek" from one place to another. The reference is of course merely to that of men transferring themselves from the jurisdiction of one "goði" to another. We must also call attention, as we have had occasion to do before, to a mistaken idea as to the right pronunciation of th in Icelandic. A note on the pronunciation of names says: "Th

has invariably the sound of T." This is true of modern Norwegian or Danish, but not of Icelandic, ancient or modern, where both sounds of th exist as we have them in English.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

FROM PALEOLITH TO MOTOR CAR; OR, HEACHAM TALES. By HARRY LOWERISON. Illustrated. *London: A. J. Whiten and the Clarion Newspaper Co., Ltd.*

THE author describes this book as the first attempt after the late Grant Allen's "Annals of Churnside" to localise English history. This he does in a series of fourteen stories whose scene is Heacham in North-West Norfolk at various dates from the Paleolithic Period to the present day. Local colour is of course very pronounced, and the physical changes which the district has undergone are described, the earliest tale dating back to the time when a plain occupied a great part of what is now the North Sea. Mr. Lowerison's descriptions of prehistoric remains and local discoveries of flint-implements, etc., are interesting and cleverly worked into the stories, while he does perhaps even more than justice to the savagery of man in early times. But from the periods of the Saxon and Danish Settlements, in which we are mainly interested, the clash of arms is almost absent. That a tribe of Saxons should chance to land and settle peacefully on a part of the coast that was deserted owing to pestilence is of course quite possible, but the picture of the Danish landing is less convincing. It is hardly credible that a Danish ship should have left the host to make an independent settlement at a time when Ingvar and Hubba were attacking East Anglia, or that the Saxon warriors of the coast villages should have been at home instead of with the East Anglian army, as depicted by Mr. Lowerison. It is doubtful also how far the author is justified in making an Angle of the heathen period tell the legends of the Edda, the Baldur myth for instance, as part of the mythology of his race, for while there can be no doubt that the Anglo-Saxon mythology was substantially the same as the Scandinavian, the myths of the earlier race are so completely lost that we cannot say they were identical with the Eddaic myths. Some writers of course would have it that these latter are mostly of very late origin. We also greatly regret that the author has given fresh currency to the old error that the warriors in Valhalla "drink mead out of the skulls of the enemies they have slain." The blunder that turned "the curved horns from the skull," *i.e.*, drinking-horns, into "the curved bones of the skull," is, we believe, largely responsible for the belief that the Scandinavians were savages and their religion a blood-thirsty glorification of fighting and revenge. We are bound to enter a protest, though we understand that the author has corrected the error in a second edition which will appear shortly. The book thoroughly deserves the success it has achieved, for the author has attained the object he aimed at, though it is possible for the students of a particular period, who want accuracy in every detail, to pick holes in his work.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

STORIES FROM THE NORTHERN SAGAS, selected from various translations and edited by ALBANY F. MAJOR and E. E. SPEIGHT, with a Preface by the late Professor YORK POWELL. With illustrations by W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A. and R. MORTON NANCE. Second edition revised and enlarged. *London: Horace Marshall & Son. Price 2s. 6d.*

Carlyle, after finishing "Frederick the Great," said to his friend John Ruskin: "If I had known the Sagas earlier in life, Frederick would never have been written." Their rugged, dramatic force, so closely akin to his own, appealed to him. The editors of this excellent volume are giving their countrymen the opportunity to learn early in life of the deeds of their Viking ancestors, told in their own words. The fact that a second edition has been called for and that the London County Council has authorised the book for use in schools is eloquent of success.

It is true as the Italian proverb has it, *traduttore traditore*, a translator is a traitor. The editors have depended largely on earlier translations, but they have improved upon them and made them more readable. The only one of the translations used not fully adequate is Laing's of Heimskringla. And here a stickler for consistency might say that they have dealt too leniently with the earlier translators in the spelling of names. Aki, Aake, Hauskuld, Höskuld, Astrida, Astrid, Thorodd, Thorod are examples and Hoy is Háey, not Há. This, however, is not of the slightest consequence, for their aim and purpose is to bring home to the reader the intense human interest of the Sagas, which usually is wrapped up and hidden in the verbiage of Dryasdust and his companions. To open the eyes of Englishmen to the treasures that they possess here, which still lie unused, is a noble work.

It is worth noticing that Prof. York Powell in his singularly stimulating preface writes "wicking." This is based on the fact that the word is found in Old English before the Viking time in England, namely, in the Epinal Glossary about A.D. 700. There seems, however, no reason why it should not be a loan-word in this passage, since there had already then been intercourse and trade for centuries between England and Scandinavia.

JÓN STEFÁNSSON.

BRITAIN'S SEA STORY, B.C. 55—A.D. 1805: Being the Story of British Heroism in Voyaging and Sea-Fight from Alfred's Time to the Battle of Trafalgar. With an Introduction tracing the development of the structure of Sailing Ships from the earliest times. Edited by E. E. SPEIGHT, B.A., F.R.G.S., and R. MORTON NANCE. Illustrated from paintings by R. Morton Nance. *London: Hodder & Stoughton. Price 2s. net.*

THE scope of this book is so fully set forth in its title that it is only necessary to say that the story it relates is set forth in passages selected from sagas, chronicles, and various writers. Mr. Nance's name is a guarantee of the accuracy of the illustrations and, as Mr. Speight is

largely responsible for the fact that the Viking Age is gradually being recognised, even in school books, as a part of British history, it is needless to say that the records of that period play a due part in the earlier pages. For the introduction the editors, as they acknowledge, are largely indebted to Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon's paper on ship-building in early times in the North in the last SAGA-BOOK. We note a slip in the "Chronological Outline," where Olaf the Saint's defeat "at the great sea-fight at Stiklestad" appears. No doubt Olaf Tryggvisson's defeat at Svoldr is meant, as Stiklestad was a land battle. The editors believe that this book is "the first to give a simple, concise account of British ships and sea exploits" through the period in question. If so, the fact is strange, and they are to be congratulated on being the first to observe such a yawning gap and on the ability with which they have filled it

A. F. M.

THE PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES. A HANDBOOK FOR CURATORS. Translated, by permission of the Authorities of the Royal Museums, from the German of DR. FREDRICH RATHGEN, Director of the Laboratory of the Royal Museums, Berlin, by GEORGE A. AUDEN, M.A., M.D. (Cantab.) and HAROLD A. AUDEN, M.Sc. (Vict.), D.Sc. (Tübingen). *Cambridge University Press. Price 4s. 6d. net.*

THIS is a book which should be invaluable to all curators of museums or collectors of antiquities, and the translators deserve their gratitude for the work they have undertaken. After a preface treating of the literature of the subject, the book deals exhaustively with the changes undergone by antiquities of all kinds in earth and air, the various methods of preserving and renovating them, and their subsequent care after undergoing preservative treatment. It is to be hoped that the book will find its way to every museum and collection of antiquities, and do something to arrest the deplorable decay which too often sets in after objects, which have been recovered comparatively uninjured from kindly oblivion, have been entrusted to what should be safe keeping and an intelligent regard.

A. F. M.

WALL PICTURES FOR HISTORY LESSONS, FIRST SERIES, OLD ENGLISH PERIOD. *London: Horace Marshall & Son. Price 9s. net for the set, or 2s. 6d. net each.*

THESE pictures are the first of a series specially designed as aids to the teaching of history, and are well designed for the purpose. The child who has not only been told about King Alfred, but has seen the picture of his jewel, is not likely to share the views of the small boy who learned history, but objected to being asked about King Alfred because "that's prehistoric": and such pictures as those of the old English drinking-horn, shield and byrnie, or of the Viking ship, would be admirable object-lessons for a class reading such a book as Miss C. L. Thomson's "The Adventures of Beowulf," published by the same firm. Pictures of

"Harvesting" from an old English Calendar and of William the Conqueror crossing the Channel and the Death of Harold from the Bayeux Tapestry complete this series, for which the publishers deserve the thanks of all interested in our children learning aright the story of their race.

A. F. M.

TALES OF THULE. By JOHN NICOLSON. *Paisley: Alexander Gardner.*

THIS is a little volume of Shetland tales which natives of "the Old Rock" will no doubt welcome, and which are not without interest for students of northern folk-lore and customs. The interest of the stories lies mainly in their environment and the glimpses they give of life among the fishermen and farmers of Shetland.

A. F. M.

Curtis & Beamish Ltd., Printers, Coventry.

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