



Saga=Book
OF
The Viking Club

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1908-1909



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Saga=Book

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VOL. VI.

PROCEEDINGS

LONDON

PRIVATELY PRINTED FOR THE VIKING CLUB

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON KING'S COLLEGE

1908-1909

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

SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1908.

MEETING, JANUARY 31ST.

Professor I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D. (Vice-President), in the Chair.

The following papers were read:—

“The First Christian Martyr in Russia,” by Francis P. Marchant, printed on pp. 28-30.

“The Vikings in Spain: From Arabic (Moorish) and Spanish Sources,” by Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D., Vice-President, printed on pp. 31-46.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. A. F. Major, Miss Keith Dowding, Miss Pochin, Mr. Marchant, Mr. Emslie, and Mr. Roland St Clair took part.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 28TH.

Professor W. P. KER, LL.D. (President), in the Chair.

The following papers were read:—

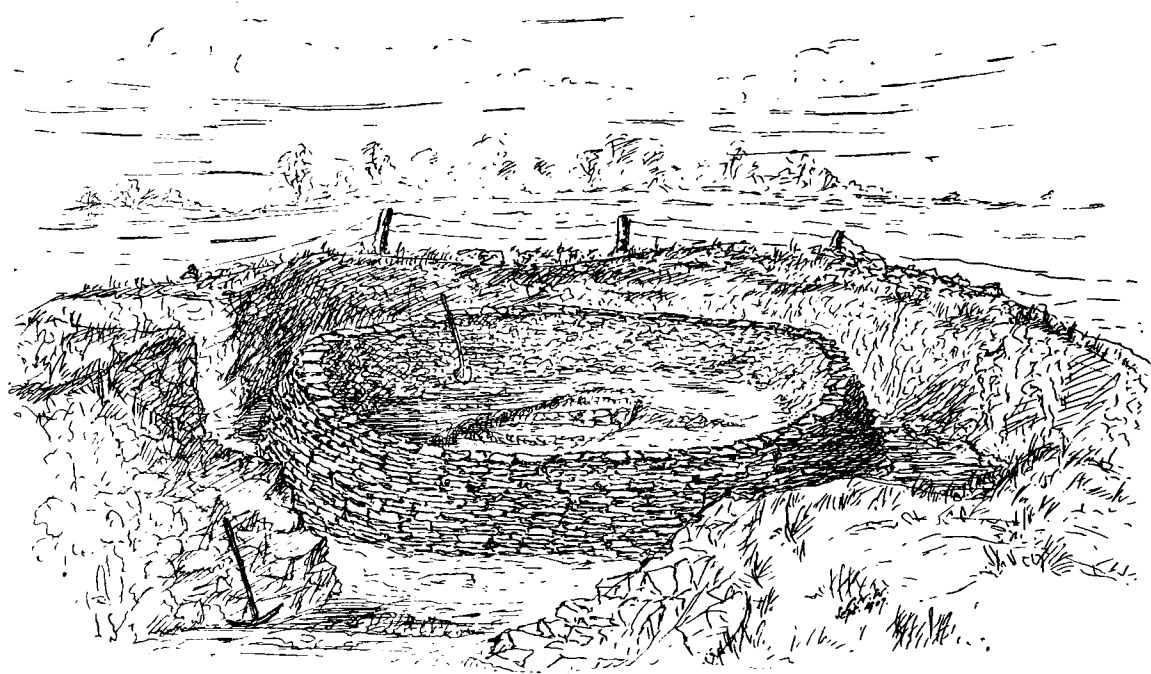
“On the Sites of Three ‘Danish’ Camps and an Anglian Burying-Ground in East Anglia,” by Bellerby Lowerison, Hon. District Secretary, Norfolk, printed on pp. 47-58. Mr. A. F. Major and Mr. A. G. Chater took part in the discussion.

“Brunanburh and Vinheið in Ingulf’s Chronicle and Egil’s Saga,” by the Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., Hon. District Secretary, Somerset, printed on pp. 59-67. In the discussion which followed Professor Ker, Mr. Bellerby Lowerison, and Mr. A. F. Major took part.

MEETING, MARCH 20TH.

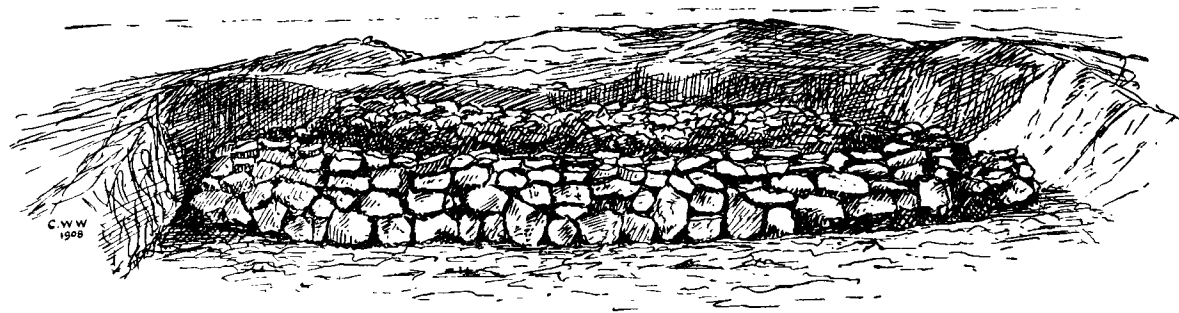
Professor W. P. KER, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. H. St. George Gray, Assistant Secretary and Curator, Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, and Hon. Corresponding Member, Viking Club, read a Report on the Excavations at Wick Barrow, Stoke Courcy, Somerset, in which he described the result of the work carried out under the auspices of the two Societies in April and September, 1907. The mound was composed of local stone and earth, compactly piled, and averaged 84 feet in diameter at the base, with a height of 9 feet. Within this was found a circular dry-stone wall, well built of lias slabs, averaging 3 feet 6 inches in height, and enclosing a space 27 feet in diameter. The wall rested on an apparently natural bed of clay overlying the lias rock, and the space within it was filled in with compact earth and stones of the same character as the rest of the mound. At about the level of the top of the wall, and within its circumference, were found three contracted interments, each accompanied by typical Early Bronze Age drinking-vessels. Measurements of the bones also afforded evidence that the individuals had belonged to a mixed Neolithic and Early Bronze Age race. Besides the pottery, a very fine flint knife-dagger and a small flint knife were found with one of the skeletons, while another was accompanied by four flint scrapers, a flint knife, and a polishing-stone. A mixed pile of bones was also found, belonging apparently to some five adults and one child, fragments of a skull among them bearing the impression of a woven fabric as if from being wrapped up in some kind of cloth. The main interment which the explorers expected to find within the walled enclosure had disappeared, and the evidence showed that at some earlier period the mound had been dug into from the top and the central interment rifled. But almost in the centre of the enclosure, and about a foot above the old surface line, a piece of a



THE EXCAVATIONS AT WICK MOUND, SHOWING THE INTERIOR WALL.

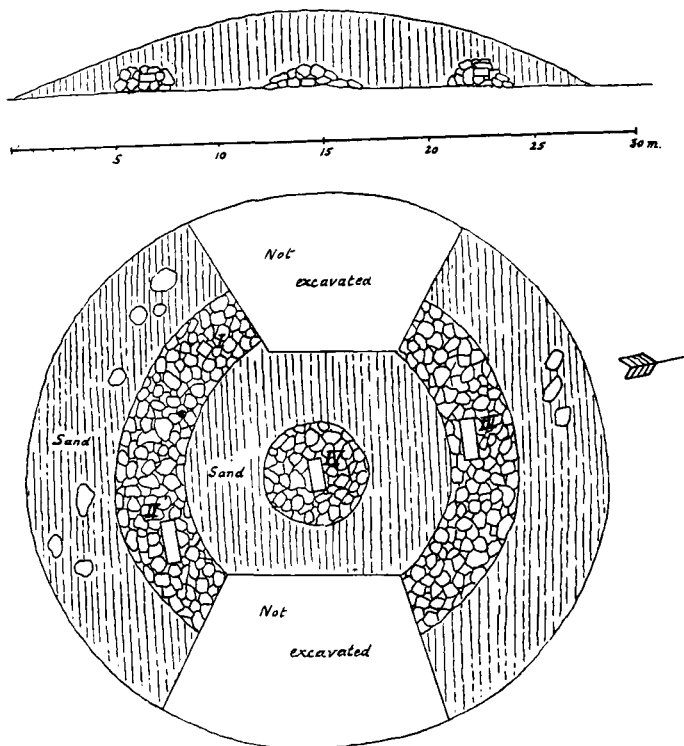
From a Sketch.



WALLED ENCLOSURE IN A HOWE AT ASBO, JUTLAND, DENMARK.
Sketched from a Photograph.

Roman *mortarium* was discovered, while close to it, and within a few inches of the ground level, was a "third brass" coin of Constantine I., struck about A.D. 335-337 at Lugdunum. After carefully reviewing all the circumstances, the only conclusion the explorers could arrive at was that the opening of the barrow had taken place during the Roman period. The circular wall within the mound is a very rare feature in British barrows, the closest, if not the only, parallel known being apparently the so-called "horned" cairn at Ormiegill in Caithness. Barrows surrounded outside, or near the outside, with facing walls are somewhat more common, as at Nether Swell, Eyford and Upper Swell in Gloucestershire, Mining Low in Derbyshire, and the great barrow at Newgrange, Co. Meath. Similar constructions have been found in both Denmark and Norway. A long barrow at Asbo, in the parish of Bække, Ribe County, Jutland, was encircled by a regularly built stone wall. When found this was covered by the earth composing the howe, but the covering was slight, and the wall may have originally been visible. Within the wall in the centre of the howe was a grave covered by an oblong heap of stones, which had held an unburnt burial. The only relic found was a little gold ring covered by gold thread twisted spirally. This grave dates from the Early Bronze Age, but from near the end of that period. Similar less regular circles constructed of stones are not uncommon in Denmark, and they are generally covered with earth. None of these Danish walls, however, are so high as the retaining-wall in Wick Barrow, and as a rule they are much more roughly built and of much larger stones. An instance from Norway was discovered by Mr. A. Lorange, then curator of the Bergen Museum, in 1879, in a large tumulus called "Melhaug," at Sole in the district of Jæderen. Here the wall was some 13 feet within the tumulus, and averaged about $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet in height and nearly 10 feet in breadth. It was built of stones on the ground level, and made a circular enclosure round

the central part of the mound, precisely as at Wick. There was a grave chamber of stone within the enclosure and a similar grave in the wall, both containing burials of the Early Bronze Age. There was also a small cist in the wall containing cremated bones and a knife, pin



PLAN AND SECTION OF "MELHAUG," SOLE, JÆDEREN, NORWAY.

Information about the mounds in Denmark and Norway was supplied by Mr. H. A. Kjær and Dr. H. Schetelig, and the Illustrations reproduced by permission of Dr. Sophus Muller and Herr Jens Holmboe.

and arrow-head of bronze. Professor G. Gustafson has also found in the interior of a barrow in Jæderen an enclosure of stone slabs set on edge surrounding an Early Bronze Age interment.

In the discussion which followed, the President, Mr. J. Harris Stone and Mr. A. F. Major took part.

The lecture was illustrated by many lantern slides from photographs taken during the excavations, and the drinking-vessels and other finds were exhibited, together with a sectional model of the barrow, showing the walled enclosure, constructed by the Rev. C. W. Whistler.

MEETING, MARCH 27TH.

Professor W. P. KER, LL.D. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. Allen Mawer, M.A., read a paper on "Ragnar Lothbrók and his Sons," which is printed on pp. 68-89. In the discussion which followed, Miss Eleanor Hull, Mr. A. F. Major, and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MAY 1ST.

Professor W. P. KER, LL.D. (President), in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, May 1st, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year were laid before the meeting and unanimously adopted, and the officers of the Club for the ensuing year were elected.

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Hon. Life Member and Hon. Vice-President, then read the second part of his paper on "The Last of the Icelandic Commonwealth," which is printed on pp. 90-122. Part I. will be found in the last number of the SAGA-BOOK.

Following the reading of the paper, the President made a few remarks, to which Mr. E. Magnússon replied.

VIKING CONCERT, MAY 7TH.

His Excellency, M. de Bille, the Danish Minister, was present at the Viking Concert, which was held at

the Steinway Hall, on Thursday, May 7th, at 8 p.m., under the honorary direction of Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Johnston, Chairman of Council and Hon. Secretary, in which the following artistes took part:—Miss Rodolfa Llombino, soprano; Mr. W. A. Peterkin, bass; Mr. A. C. Handley Davies, violinist; Miss Adelaide Dodgson, pianist; and a select choir arranged by Mr. Jack Morgan. The concert opened with the Danish National Anthem, and the principal item on the programme was the rendering by the Select Choir of a *Cyclus of Odes* (composed in honour of the visit of H.M. the King of Denmark to Iceland in 1907) by Sveinbjörn Sveinbjörnsson, Kt., Dbrg. The Icelandic words of the Odes are by Þorsteinn Gíslason, but the Odes were sung in English.

SUMMARY OF ODES.

- (a) *Welcome to Iceland.* Chorus, Contralto and Tenor Solos.

The King is bid welcome, and expression is given to the joy which the Icelandic people feel in his having honoured their country with his presence. In the second and following verses Fjallkonan (the Mountain Queen, emblem of Iceland) is made to welcome the King.

- (b) *Dana Gramur (King of Denmark).* Tenor Solo and Chorus.

An address to the King, who is asked to listen to the ancient tongue. In the Solo a comparison is made between the warlike spirit of older times and the more peaceful tendencies of the present day. In the third verse mention is made of the late King which is followed by a chorus of praise and welcome.

- (c) *Danmerkurljóð (Ode to Denmark).* Soprano Solo and Chorus.

Ode to Denmark, founded on one of the best known Danish National songs, which is used as a *Canto Fermo*, and sung in Danish.

- (d) *Heilir Frændur (Hail Kinsmen).* Duet for two Basses.

Ode to the Danish Members of Parliament, who, with the King, were the guests of Iceland.

- (e) *Brotherhood of the Four Northern Nations.* Chorus.

The sentiment of Brotherhood between the four Northern Nations, who, like the branches of a tree, are sprung from the same root.

THE SELECT CHOIR. *Accompanied by the Composer.*

The other items were

Songs	..	..	"Autumn "	..	Lanze-Müller
			"I Love Thee "	..	.. Grieg
			"Swedish Folksong "	Arranged by Dannström	
			Miss RODOLFA LLOMBINO.		

Song .. "The Viking's Grave" *Sveinbjörn Sveinbjörnsson*
 Mr. W. A. PETERKIN.
Accompanied by the Composer.

Violin Solo .. "Capriccio" *Gade*
 Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin, in G. Op. 13 *Grieg*
 Lento, Allegro and Allegro Vivace.
 Allegretto tranquillo.
 Allegro animato.

Miss ADELAIDE DODGSON and Mr. A. C. HANDLEY-DAVIES.

Part Song .. "Iceland" *Sveinbjörn Sveinbjörnsson*
 Part Song .. "The Hardy Norseman's House of Yore" *Pearsall*
 THE SELECT CHOIR.

Soprani—Master LESLIE COLE, Miss K. PRICE PRICE.

Contralti—Miss CONSTANCE M. SMITH, Mrs. M. HUGHES.

Tenori—Mr. ALBERT A. MAIDEN, Mr. WALTER CARR.

Bassi—Mr. JACK MORGAN, Mr. GILBERT LAWSON.

NATIONAL ANTHEM—GOD SAVE THE KING.

ANNUAL DINNER, JUNE 26TH.

The Annual Dinner was held at the Trocadero Restaurant, Piccadilly, on Friday, June 26th, at 7.45 p.m., Professor W. P. Ker, LL.D., in the Chair. The Vice-Presidents were Professor I. Gollancz, Litt.D., Miss S. C. Rücker, Mr. H. L. Brækstad, Mr. W. F. Kirby. Mr. Edmund Gosse, LL.D., librarian to the House of Lords, and Mrs. Gosse, were the guests of the evening. About forty-nine members and guests sat down to dinner, and among those present were Miss Eleanor Hull, Miss E. Constance Jones, Principal of Girton College, and all the principal officers of the Club. The President proposed the toast of "The Guests." Mr. Gosse, in responding, reminded those present that it was not till 1873 that the then Master of the Rolls (Sir J. Romilly) published the first English translation of the "Orkney Saga." It was by the publication of that translation that the speaker was first led to the study of Northern history. That was, he said, the book of the Earls of Orkney, who were the very Vikings "par excellence,"

people on whom the imagination loved to brood, who had departed from the Norwegian tyranny, and set up in Orkney their own wild internecine life. He hoped that the Club would not become so learned as to penetrate all the mysteries that hung over that period. Let them not, he pleaded, take away the bloom. Let them leave us the conception that these people wore golden helmets and spoke in lyric poetry, and were really like the pictures painted by the late Sir Noel Paton. Antiquarians should remember that if we knew everything we should believe in nothing. It was the mystery of ignorance, the hope of finding what never would be found, which kept alive the light of imagination. The history of Orkney, the Saga of Orkney, was almost the most moving and exciting of all the archaic histories of the Empire; and the energies that had been kept alive there for 1300 years showed what had been the vigour and the importance of our composite race.

Mr. Albany F. Major, Hon. Editor, proposed the toast to the Club, to which the President replied.

During the evening a selection of vocal and instrumental music was performed by Miss Ivy Angove, violinist, Mr. Jack Morgan, vocalist, and Mr. Alexander Popham, pianist.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 20TH.

MR. ALBANY F. MAJOR (*Hon. Editor*), in the Chair.

The Law Book, as revised by Council, was unanimously adopted by the Special General Meeting, and has been issued to all members.

Mr. Edward Lovett, F.R.H.S., Member of the Folk-Lore Society, gave a lecture on "The Origin, Folk-Lore, and History of the Child's Doll," with lantern illustrations, in which he said that the child's doll is, in many parts of the world, so mixed up with symbolism and ceremonial, that it seems more than possible that,

as a toy, it emanated from something analagous to the religious motive, as is the case with so many game toys in use in the present day. In some countries, indeed, the transition from the ceremonial doll to the child's toy doll is direct, as in the case of the dolls of the Moqui Indians of Arizona, whilst the dolls of Malta are still called by Saints' names. Again, Christmas dolls represent, especially on the Continent, St. Nicholas in various forms, as well as Ruprecht. This type, again, has given place to the Christ child as a Christmas doll, not only in Germany, but even in Yorkshire.

Dolls, as symbols, are much in evidence. As a survival of the human sacrifice, a doll was thrown into the Nile to propitiate the Nile god for a "Good Nile." A similar illustration is the discovery of doll figures below the foundation of houses, a survival of the human sacrifice to propitiate the earth god.

A remarkable instance of the use of dolls in witchcraft existed about eighty years ago in Somersetshire! When two peasants had a deadly quarrel, the aggrieved party would buy a common wax doll, which he regarded as representing his enemy. Into this doll he stuck pins, but not into a vital part. This would cause grievous pains to the aggressor, who, of course, had been made aware of the act of witchcraft. As a last resort, the wax doll was placed in the chimney, where, by melting, it would cause the person it represented, to waste away. In the meantime the terrified victims would consult the local wizard, and "for a consideration" the latter would remove the spell.

As marionettes, dolls may be found not only all over Europe, but in China, Japan, India, Africa, and other places. The details of the performance vary considerably, but the general idea of some form of moral representation is practically the same. Instances in which a doll figure acts as the receptacle of the spirit, or part of it, of a dead man, exist in such widely separated places as China, New Guinea, and Central Africa.

In short, there is far more in the simple child's doll than is dreamed of in our philosophy.

The Chairman made a few remarks, to which Mr. Lovett replied.

In the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Mr. A. W. Johnston, and the lecturer took part.

*** Mr. Lovett will be very grateful if any readers of the SAGA-BOOK can supply him with instances from Scandinavian countries in ancient or modern times showing similar uses of or ideas respecting the child's doll.*

MEETING, DECEMBER 11TH.

Professor W. P. KER, LL.D. (President), in the Chair.

The following paper was read, and is printed on pp. 123-161 :—

“A Scandinavian Ship Burial in Brittany,” by P. du Chatellier and L. Le Pontois.

The President, Mr. A. F. Major, and Mr. A. W. Johnston took part in the discussion which followed.

SEAFARING AND SHIPPING DURING THE VIKING AGES.

By Prof. ALEXANDER BUGGE, Hon. Life Member.

THE Norwegians are still a seafaring nation. The long coast, with the many fiords and thousands of islands, foster boys who, from their earliest childhood, are accustomed to the sea and, when growing up, become hardy seamen. But shipping is not of recent date in Norway. The annals of English trade and commerce will tell you that during the mediæval ages, before the Hanseatic League got the upper hand of the other northern trading nations, Norwegian ships every year used to sail to Grimsby, Boston, King's Lynn, and other ports on the eastern coast of England.¹ And the further we go back in history the more we see that the Norwegians and the other Scandinavian peoples—Danes, Swedes, and the inhabitants of Gotland—were the principal seafaring nations of Northern Europe.

The Museum of Antiquities of Christiania preserves some wonderful specimens of ships from the Viking Ages, *i.e.*, from the 9th and 10th centuries, especially the Gokstad and the Oseberg Ships. The Gokstad ship is, though rather small, a perfect Viking ship, and shows what a high degree of perfection the art of ship-building had already reached in those olden times.

The chief claim to a place of honour for Northmen in mediæval history is indeed not only the Eddic Poems and the Sagas, but what they have done for the opening up of trade and shipping on the North Sea and the Baltic.

¹ We learn this from the Customs Rolls in the Public Record Office, London, which are to be published in "Diplomatarium Norvegicum, Vol. xix.

European commerce and economic life have never been at a lower ebb than at the time of Charlemagne, and more especially of his successors in the 9th century. Never has the value of gold and silver money been so high and the price of commodities so low. In England, as well as in France and Germany, there was no native class of merchants. The merchant had no fixed home; he was a stroller, and mostly a foreigner, a Jew, a Greek, or a Syrian—or, later on, an Italian. The Syrians, especially, were the great merchants, and especially the money merchants, of the epoch of the Merovings. At the time of the Roman emperors they had already established themselves in all the important cities of the Roman Empire. But at the time of Charlemagne there was no regular traffic and commerce between the different European countries, except what the Arabs in the south and the east, and the barbarians in the north, carried on.

With the barbarians I also, though it is not quite exact, reckon the Frisians, who, indeed, were the great seafaring nation of the North Sea. They exported, about the year 800, their woollen cloth, for which the Netherlands always have been famous, to all parts of Europe, and had factories in the most important towns of western Germany—for instance, Mainz and Worms. But the Frisians also crossed the North Sea, and sailed to England, as well as to Norway and Denmark. Their chief town, Duurstede (on the Rhine, not far from Utrecht, now a village only), was probably the most important port of Western Europe. Here ended the highway of commerce that from Italy brought the commodities of the Orient to Western Europe. Duurstede stood in commercial connection not only with the British Islands and Inner Germany, but also with the Danish town, Sleswick, and even with the far-away Swedish town, Birka, on Lake Mälaren. Pieces of money, coined by Charlemagne at Duurstede, have been found in Denmark, Sweden, and Southern Nor-

way. The earliest Scandinavian coins, which about the year 900 were stamped in Denmark, are imitations of the coins of Duurstede.¹

The Frisians had their flourishing age in the 8th century, when they were the most daring seafarers of the northern seas. The ancient historian, Adam of Bremen, whose history of the Church of Hamburg is such an inexhaustible source for northern researches, even tells about a Polar expedition undertaken by Frisian noblemen. The great invention of the Frisians was the typical ship of the Middle Ages, the Cog, a flat-bottomed, high-boarded, and strong ship, using sails alone, and quite different from the Viking ships, which used the sail as well as oars.² The cog was during the Middle Ages especially the ship of the Hanseatic League, but recent researches have proved that the cog, in the 9th century, was already used by the Frisians who lived on the Zuyder Sea. The Frisians were superseded by the Vikings, who not only were pirates and daring seafarers, but also plucky and able merchants.

You know Erik the Red, who discovered Greenland, and his son, Leif the Lucky, who discovered America (Vinland). You may perhaps also have heard of a still greater man, a worthy predecessor of our Nansen, Ottar, who is the first man who passed the northern coast of Norway, discovered the North Cape, and came to the White Sea, six hundred years before the time of Richard Chancellor. Ottar (Ohtere) came, later on, to the court of Alfred the Great, became his man, and told about his voyage to the king, who has preserved the story of it in his translation of Orosius. From

¹ These coins were probably stamped at Hedeby (Sleswick); cf. A. Bugge, "Vesterlandenes Indflydelse," and Hanberg, *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark I.*, 35 ff. The Swedish antiquarian, Dr. Hildebrand, however, thinks that they are from Birka.

² Professor D. Schäfer, as well as Dr. W. Vogel, have proved that the cog is mentioned in the 10th century, and perhaps even earlier. The word cog (French *coque*) however seems not to be of Dutch origin.

that time a considerable trade was carried on from the regions of the White Sea to Northern Norway, and thence to Western Europe. Most of the furs that about the year 1000 were used in England probably came from the Land of the Midnight Sun. The chieftains of this region, called Haalogaland, were among the first and richest of Norway, and carried on a considerable shipping and commerce, especially to the British Isles.¹ Their riches partly consisted in furs and partly in dried codfish from the great fisheries in Lofoten. In the background of this flourishing commercial life, we must see the strong position which this most northern part of Norway occupied during the Viking Ages, not only politically, but also from a literary standpoint. One of the first Norwegian skalds, Eyvind Skaldaspiller, who made the beautiful dirge Hákonarmál, was born up here, and one of the oldest and most striking Eddic poems, the Lay of Weland the Smith, undoubtedly bears traces of having been written in the northernmost part of Norway, where the Finns are skiing and hunting the wolf and the bear, and the wild swans are swimming on the deep lakes.

Later on—about the year 1070—the city of Bergen was built, and the people of Haalogaland sailed to this town, and not to England, with their fish and furs. But the traffic with the White Sea was still carried on, and even at the beginning of the thirteenth century we hear of Norwegian expeditions to the White Sea, to the Biarmes, a Finnish people who lived up here. One of the Norwegians, who took part in these expeditions, afterwards went to Pusdal in eastern Russia, and thence to Palestine, whence he returned to Norway. This chieftain was certainly not the first Norwegian who had taken the road from Haalogaland to the White Sea and thence to Russia. There have been several treasures of silver armlets and brooches found in the northernmost part of Norway that certainly came from

¹ Cf. my paper on Haalogaland in *Norsk historisk Tidsskrift*, 1908.

Russia and the countries round the Gulf of Finland.

As it was the Norwegians who opened up the traffic on the White Sea, so it was another Scandinavian nation, the Swedes, who opened up another much more important highway of commerce from Eastern to Western Europe. Already before the beginning of the Viking Age, before the year 800, the Danes, as well as the Swedes, had merchant colonies on the southern and eastern coasts of the Baltic Sea. In a town called Reric, on the coast of Mecklenburg, there lived Danish merchants, and the Danish King (Godfrid) had custom-house receipts from this town.¹ At a later time you know the celebrated Danish Viking colony (*Sæborg* as it is called) in Jomsborg, in the Isle of Wollin, at the mouth of the Oder. Jomsborg, or Julin, was during the 11th century the centre of the traffic on the Baltic. When you sail from the Oder eastward you come to the Gulf of Riga. You have to pass a promontory, which is still called by its Scandinavian name, *Domesnæs*, and sail to the mouth of the river Düna. At nearly the same place where the city of Riga was erected later on, there must have been, about the year 800, or perhaps still earlier, a Swedish Viking colony and merchant settlement on the same lines as Jomsborg. Rimbert, in his life of the holy Ansgar, tells us that the Swedes long before the year 853, had been the lords of Curland. But in that year they made a new expedition, trying to regain their old possession, and conquered a fortified Courland town, which Rimbert calls *Seeburg*. This name must be Scandinavian, and the same as the above-mentioned *Sæborg*, "a fortress on the sea," which we find also as the name of Jomsborg. We may conclude from this that Seeburg had been given its name by the Swedes and, like the Jomsborg one, had contained Scandinavian soldiers and merchants. But if this is so, the site of Seeburg must have been at the mouth of

¹ This is told by the Frankish Annals from the time of Charlemagne.

the Düna, where the great commercial highway to inner Russia and to the Black Sea began. This way, during the Viking Ages and the early Middle Ages, was much frequented by the inhabitants of Gotland, as we learn from runic inscriptions, as well as from the "Guta Saga" (the Saga of the Gotlander).

The centre of the eastern traffic was, however, Novgorod, on the lake of Ilmen, and one of the principal marts of ancient Europe. I am very sorry that time does not allow me to-night to enter into the history and institutions of that most interesting town. Novgorod is, in fact, the only Russian town that has a history of its own, a history which presents curious similarities to the history of many other mediæval free towns. The laws and institutions of Novgorod present many traces of Scandinavian influence.¹ This is not strange when you remember that Novgorod was the first town where Rurik—the Swedish conqueror of Russia—had his residence, and that Novgorod, later on, always stood in lively connection with the Scandinavian countries. The princes of Novgorod had their bodyguard of Varjags, and were married to Swedish princesses. And Norwegian kings and princes, like Olav Tryggvason and Saint Olav and Harald Hardraade, lived there for years. A church dedicated to St. Olav is already mentioned in a Swedish Runic inscription from the latter part of the 11th century, and became later on the church of the Gotlanders in Novgorod.

Most of the Norsemen who visited Novgorod, however, were not soldiers or adventurers, but merchants, who exported Russian furs, Greek and Arabian silks and brocades, and Indian spices and aromatics to Western Europe. The Baltic-Arabic trade reached its height during the 10th century, and we may draw conclusions as to its importance from the fact that there have been found on the island of Gotland alone about

¹ Cf. A. Bugge, "Novgorod som Varjagisk By," *Nordisk tidskrift för Litteratur, Kunst, etc.*, 1907.

30,000 Arabic silver coins, most of them being from Central Asia, and dating from the 10th century. The inhabitants of Gotland, which island was already in the Viking Ages one of the centres of the Baltic traffic, had, probably as early as in the 11th century, their own factory in Novgorod. This factory belonged to the three divisions of Gotland in common, but was let from about the year 1400 to the members of the Hanseatic League, who had followed in the footsteps of the Gotlanders and, during the latter part of the 12th century, established their own factory in Novgorod.

The place-names on the route from the Gulf of Finland to Novgorod clearly show that it was not the Germans, but Scandinavian people—Swedes and Gotlanders—who opened the traffic to Novgorod. In the Record Office of the City of Lubeck there is a record from the year 1268, which indicates to us the fairway up to Novgorod. And the interesting thing is that the principal places along the fairway in this German record have got Scandinavian names (not Russian or Low German).

The territory of the Prince of Novgorod commenced in the Finnish Gulf at a small island called Berkö or Björkö (the island of birches). Thence ships sailed up the Neva, crossed the lake of Ladoga, and anchored at Old Ladoga, the *Aldeigjuborg* of our ancestors. Here the river Wolchow disembogues into the Lake of Ladoga. The mouth of the river the Germans called *Wolchoweminne*, from Old Norse *minni*, "the mouth of a river." The ships could not pass further because of the rapids of the Volchow; therefore the merchants had to send for the flat-bottomed Russian boats called *lodies*. The rowers of these boats formed, according to mediæval custom, a guild of their own, with an alderman at their head, and were by the Hanseatic merchants called *vorschkerle*, that is *forskarlar*, "the waterfall-men." Several places on the way up from Old Ladoga to Novgorod had also got Scandinavian names, such

as *Gestevelt* (from Old Norse *gestr*), "field of the guests," and *Dhrelleborch* (i.e., *Þrælaborg*, "the fortress of the serfs.")¹

This only too brief survey will, I hope, show you that it is not the Germans, but Scandinavian people, who opened up the traffic on the Baltic and between Eastern and Western Europe. For seafaring and traffic on the North Sea the old Norsemen have probably not done less. There were, you know, Viking settlements not only in Normandy, but also in the Low Countries. The flourishing ages of Rouen date from the reign of Rollo, who made Rouen into one of the chief marts of France. Fréville, one of the modern historians of Rouen, says that the Normans who settled in France, not only revived, but—one feels inclined to say—even created the great sea-traffic between Rouen and the northern countries. The Normans also taught the Frenchmen whale-fishing. There were in Normandy large companies of whale-fishers called by the Scandinavian name *U'almanni*; and whale-meat soon became one of the principal articles of export from Rouen to England. Several Scandinavian words in the French language still show what the Normans have done for developing the

¹ It is well known that the rapids in the Dnieper—on the chief route from Novgorod to the Black Sea—also had Scandinavian names. About a year ago a Runic inscription was found on an island in the Black Sea, not far from the mouth of the Dnieper. The inscription itself is not very interesting; the stone was probably erected by a Swedish merchant to his kinsmen. But the name of the island is curious; it is called Berkowetz (the Birken Island), and corresponds to old Norse *Bjarkey*, the name of several ancient trading centres in the Scandinavian countries, Björkö in Ingermannland, on the way to the mouth of the Newa and to Nowgorod, Björkö in Malaren, Birkö at the mouth of Torneå (an ancient centre of trade in Swedish Lapland), Bjarkey in Häalogaland, etc. From the Swedish Björkö the Municipal and Commercial Laws in the Scandinavian countries were called *Bjarkeyarréttr*. That the name of the Russian island is connected with *Bjarkey* becomes still more probable from the fact that the birch does not seem to grow as far south as the Black Sea, as Dr. Wille, of the University of Christiania, kindly informs me.

shipping of northern France—words like *hunne* (Old Norse *húnn* “top of the mast”), *esnèque* (O.N. *snekkja*, “a small boat”), *matelot* (O.N. *motunautr*, “a sailor”), and *esturman* (O.N. *stýrimaðr*, “a mate.”)

Even in the Low Countries, whose inhabitants have always been great seafarers since the days of old, ancient records present traces of influence from the Norsemen upon the shipping of these countries. The word “hunn” (*hunspaen*) occurs also in old Dutch records,¹ and in a charter from the 14th century for the Germans who sailed to Dortrecht, you will find the word *leidzagegelt* “pilotag:” (c.f. O.N. *leiðsögumaðr*, “a pilot.”)

It is also from the Danes and Norwegians who, during the Viking Ages, settled in England, that he greatest seafaring nation of the world has learned seamanship. If you sail along the coasts of Great Britain, you will find on the southern, as well as on the eastern and western coasts, Scandinavian place-names. At the mouth of the Thames, Sheppey, Sheerness, and Shoeburyness, are probably Scandinavian names; Southwark is, you know, supposed to be the Old Norse *Suðrvirki*, and the “husting” in the City is a Danish institution dating from the time of King Knut. Further north, on the northern side of the Wash, you have a promontory called Skegness, and at the mouth of the Humber you have on the southern side Grimsby, founded by a Viking called Grim, and the home of Havelok the Dane. Just opposite Grimsby, there was a town called Ravensere (that is to say, Old Norse, *Hrafnseyrr*). Further north you will find along the sea coast Whitby and several other Scandinavian names.

Still more noteworthy are perhaps the names along the coast of Wales and the Bristol Channel, from Chester to Bristol. The interesting researches of Mr.

¹ *Kameraars rekeningen van Devenke.*

Moffat¹ have proved that there were in southern Wales Norse—(probably Norwegian)—settlements in the neighbourhood of Tenby and of Swansea, as well as in other places. These settlements must have existed even after the Viking Ages, and their inhabitants must have been mostly merchants. When the English had conquered Dublin, this town got a partly new population, mostly consisting of men from Haverford, Milford, Swansea, Bristol, and other neighbouring places, and a great part of these new settlers have got distinctly Scandinavian names. It is also a curious fact that the reigning family of Waterford, one of the Norse settlements in Ireland before the English Conquest, the MacGillemorries, are said to have come from Devonshire. The MacGillemorries were, however, in spite of the Celtic name, neither Irish nor English, but came from a distinctly Scandinavian stock.²

When we keep this in mind, it is no wonder that the place-names teach us that it was people of Danish and of Norwegian origin who, during the Early Middle Ages, carried on most of the sea-traffic between Chester and Bristol. At the mouth of the Mersey you find the Point of Air (from Old Norse *eyrr*, a flat, sandy promontory), the same place-name which you have got in the Isle of Man. Then you pass Great Orme's Head (O.N. *Ormshofud*), come to the island of Anglesey (the *Ōngulsey* of the Vikings), and pass the Skerries, Main Piscar Rock (from O.N. *fiskarr*, "a fisher-

¹ See his paper on "Norse Place-names in Gower (Glamorganshire)," *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. II., pp. 95-117.

² The Rev. C. W. Whistler has also shown strong reasons for believing that there were settlements of Scandinavians in heathen times on the south shore of the Bristol Channel, near the mouth of the River Parrett; see his paper on "Tradition and Folk-lore of the Quantocks," *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. v., pp. 142-150, and *District Reports*, ib. Vol. ii., pp. 42 and 151. It is not impossible that at one time the boundary of Devon may have extended as far as to the River Parrett, while Norse settlements probably existed further west on the coasts of both Devon and Cornwall, though the evidence for them has not been examined as yet with the care which the subject deserves.—A. F. MAJOR.

man ”), and several other small islands. Off the north-western promontory of Wales you will pass the small island of Bardsey (O.N. Barðsey), and not far from St. David's Head you will see another small island, Ramsey (Hrafsey).

I wonder if it was by accident merely that the first English ships which—at the beginning of the 15th century—went to the Iceland fisheries, came from Bristol and Grimsby, and that these two towns in the Middle Ages had the most daring seafarers of the British Islands.

What we know of the private life of the Norsemen in their settlements in this island is not much, not as much, by far, as we know about the Norsemen in Ireland. But still we know enough to see that they have been an important factor in the development, not only of seafaring, but also of commercial, and even of town life in England. It is rather strange that the Norsemen, who, in their own home, had almost no towns, in England lived principally in fortified towns. The five Danish burghs is the first federation of boroughs known in this island, and in fact the earliest federation of towns known outside Italy. We do not know much about the municipal constitution of the Five Burghs, *i.e.*, Lincoln, Stamford, Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester. We only know that they were associated in some way, that they had their common court, or “thing” as we call it, and that each town besides had its own court. But we know that municipal freedom was more developed here than in other Anglo-Saxon towns. The Five Burghs, as well as other Norse towns, were in the time of William the Conqueror, the only English towns which had their own local magistrates. You meet them in Domesday Book, where they are called *Lawmen* (*lagmanni*) or *iudices*. They are always twelve in number, and preside in the local courts. Their name, lawman, corresponds to the Norse *lögmaðr*, “a man who knows the law.” But their

position corresponds more closely to that of the *lǫgrétismenn*, i.e., the members of the *lǫgrétta*, that is to say, the inner circle of Scandinavian courts, consisting of twelve men, where all lawsuits were prepared and before whom all actions were brought. In the course of time the lawmen developed into local magistrates, in the same way as the German "Schöffen" and the French "échévins," who, as local magistrates, have developed from the *scabini*, who at the time of Charlemagne, were members of the Frankish courts. After the time of William the Conqueror, we do not hear much about the lawmen; but we know that at the time of Edward the First they still existed in Stamford.

Still more interesting is perhaps the influence of the Norsemen upon another very important part of Early English social life—the Guilds. In no European country have the Guilds found a wider extension than in Anglo-Saxon England. We already find them in existence at the time of Alfred the Great. They formed, so to say, the nucleus of municipal freedom. Every Anglo-Saxon, clergyman as well as layman, nobleman as well as peasant and townsman, was member of a guild. There were both religious guilds or fraternities, social guilds, frith guilds, guilds of townsmen, and probably also (in the 11th century at least) merchants' guilds. The Danes and Norwegians who settled in England at an early date also united in guilds. We know that King Knut and his son Harold were members of a religious guild connected with the Church of Canterbury. And one of the few Anglo-Saxon guilds, whose statutes are preserved, that of Abbotsbury in Dorsetshire, was founded by a Dane named Orky or Urki, one of King Knut's men. A place in Yorkshire is at the present day called Mill-housdale, which is a corrupted form of Gildhusdal,¹ i.e., the valley of the guildhouse or guildhall. The name by which the same place is called in Domesday

¹ Cf. "Kirkby's Inquest," Surtee's Soc. Publ.

Book, "Gildhusdal," is, however, not Anglo-Saxon, but Old Norse. We may conclude from this that Millhousdale in olden times was the site of a guildhall, where the Norse settlers of this district gathered and held their meetings.

The Norsemen who settled in England not only learned from the English to unite into guilds, they also transferred this institution from England to their own countries. The Norwegian and the Danish guilds (the Swedish ones we know very little about) do not trace their origin back to the Viking Age or to institutions originally Scandinavian or heathen. The Sagas clearly indicate that it was the Norwegian king, Olav Kyrre, who, in the latter part of the 11th century, founded the first Norwegian guilds. The Danish guilds date from about the same time. But there is such a great resemblance between the Norwegian and the Danish guilds on one side and the Anglo-Saxon guilds on the other, that we may certainly conclude that the guild institution has been transferred to the Scandinavian countries from England. This is a well-known fact. The great authority upon the guild question, the German, Karl Hegel, is of the same opinion. He thinks that the guilds were transferred to Denmark at the time of King Knut, who himself was a guild brother.

At the same time the Danish and Norwegian guilds naturally got their peculiar character, and adopted several institutions of Scandinavian origin. The revenge for bloodshed formed, as you know, an important factor of old Northern life. And in consequence the duty of the members of a guild to avenge their brothers was accentuated. When a Norwegian chieftain, in olden times, died, his son gave a great festival, to which all the members of his family and his neighbours were invited, and at which he was recognised as the successor of his father. This institution, the funeral feast, or "Arveöl," as we called it,

was also adopted by the Norwegian guilds. When a member of a Norwegian guild died, his son and the guild joined in giving the funeral festival and in defraying the expenses. And during this festival the son took the seat of his father as member of the guild.

But is it not curious that we find these same institutions in an Anglo-Saxon guild of the 12th century, that of the Thanes of Cambridge? Cambridge belonged once to the Dane-law, and that is no doubt the reason why we find in the statutes of the above-mentioned guild traces of Norse influence. If a member of the guild was killed, it was the duty of his guild brothers to avenge his death. This is in fact the only Anglo-Saxon guild where we find traces of the revenge for bloodshed. Another passage in the statutes of the Cambridge guild still more clearly presents traces of Scandinavian influence. If a brother dies, then the statutes say: "*And 3e gyldscipe hyrfe be healfre feorme þone forðferelan.*" Kemble, in his "*Saxons in England*," translates this: "And let the gildship inherit of the dead half a farm." But this translation gives no meaning. *Hyrfe* cannot here have its usual meaning, "to inherit," but must be the Old Norse *erfa*, which also means "to give a funeral festival." I therefore translate the passage: "And that the guild defray half the expenses of the funeral festival after the dead." In other words, the Cambridge guild has adopted an originally Scandinavian institution, which also forms an important feature of the Old Norwegian guilds.

And this is not the only instance of Danish or Norwegian influence. In "*Liber Wintoniensis*" (a sequel to the Domesday Book), a guildhall at Winchester bears the name "*hantachen-sele.*" Gross, in his standard work, "*The Gild Merchant*," says that this looks like a corruption of "*hansele*" (German "*hansa-saal*"). But he is not right. "*Hantachen-sele*" is an Old Norse word; the first part of it is the Old Norse

handartak (shake of the hand). It was from the very beginning of the guilds, a custom that new guild-brothers, when entering the fraternity, shook hands and promised to obey the statutes of the guild.

But the country where we most clearly see the influence of the Norsemen upon trade, shipping, and town-life, is Ireland. Ireland had before the arrival of the Vikings no real towns. All the more important Irish seaports—Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Cork, and Limerick, were founded during the 9th and 10th centuries by the Norwegian (and partly Danish) settlers. In these towns the Norse language was still spoken in the 13th century, and the descendants of the Vikings (*Austmenn-Ostmanni*, as they were called) formed even later a distinct nationality. They lived mostly as traders and seafarers, and helped greatly to bring Ireland into closer connection with foreign countries. You may see their importance for Ireland from the fact that mediæval historians tell that the Ostmen who came from Norway got permission from Irish kings to settle in Ireland, in order to bring the Irish the foreign commodities which they wanted. The commerce that these Norse settlers carried on during the 10th and 11th centuries was indeed very important. They followed the old Irish trade route to the mouths of the Loire and the Gironde. They pursued a most lively traffic with Bristol and Chester. They sailed to Iceland and to Norway. We find them even trading in distant Novgorod.

But the Viking Ages ended. Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes became Christians. The Danish sway in England came to an end. The Scandinavian peoples were superseded as masters of the North Sea and the Baltic by English, Dutch, and Germans. The foundation of German towns on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea, and the foundation of the Hanseatic League, was a death-blow to the commerce and shipping that had been carried on since the Viking Ages.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN MARTYR IN RUSSIA.

BY FRANCIS P. MARCHANT.

THE fascinating story of the introduction of Christianity into Russia by way of Kiev is familiar to all students of Russian history. Shortly, Prince Vladimir of Kiev, weary of primitive heathenism, sent ambassadors to investigate and report on the chief religious systems of his day—the Greek Church, Roman Catholicism, Judaism, and Islâm—and on hearing their reports decided in favour of Byzantine Christianity. Dean Stanley, in his work on the Eastern Church, mentions the effect produced on the barbarian envoys by the ornate ritual and the sight of white-robed priests and choristers, in the Greek cathedral, and how a spirit of pious subtlety moved their Greek hosts to tell them that angels themselves joined in the elaborate services. Lasting honour is due to the great “Apostles of the Slavs,” SS. Cyril and Methodius, who reduced the Slav tongue to writing, translated the Scriptures, and in the face of heathen ignorance and jealousy of rival Churchmen spread the lights of Christianity and civilization in southern Russia, Moravia, and Bohemia.

In the *Bulletin* of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, Series VI., No. 9, 1907, appears a brief paper by Mr. A. A. Shakhmatov, bearing the title “Who was the first Russian Christian martyr?” The author, who has made a study of the monastic accounts of Prince St. Vladimir, says that three different names are given for the spot where the people of Kiev were baptized: (1) The church of the holy martyr Turov, (2)

where the Petrov church stands, and (3) where the church of the martyrs Boris and Gleb stands. On this occasion the Slav idol Perun was thrown into the river Dnieper, in the ardour of Vladimir's reforming zeal. Perun, says my friend Professor Louis Leger, of Paris, a leading authority on the Slavs, is an analogue of Thor, "*cette vieille barbe rouge.*" But our old friend Thor, whom Carlyle calls "Thor red-bearded, with his sun-blue eyes, cheery heart, and strong thunder-hammer," is vastly more attractive than the morose Perun, described in Dahl's great glossary of the Russian language as a "tall, broad-shouldered, bull-headed creature, with black hair and eyes and a golden beard, a bow in his right hand, and in his left a quiver with arrows; he travels through the sky in a chariot, launching fiery shafts."

After this preliminary, let us come to the main point of the Russian writer—the identity of the first Russian Christian martyr. What is the meaning of the name "Turov" church? It is considered that "Turov," the regular adjective derived from the name "Tur," is the correct name of the church, and that "Petrov" is a later editorial emendation for the purpose of avoiding the unintelligible name "Tur." (The church of Boris and Gleb is not discussed). Some commentators have referred to "taurus" for explanation, others have thought that "Turov church" was a Variag temple in honour of Thor. Mr. Shakhmatov comes to the conclusion that the church where the wholesale baptism took place was in memory of a martyred Christian Variag named Tur. Tur had a son whom he refused to offer as a sacrifice to heathen idols, whereupon father and son were slain by the people of Kiev in 983. The exact names of these Variags have not been preserved, perhaps because they bore non-Christian names, but later commentators have made suggestions as to their baptismal names. The adjective "Turov" applied to the church points in the direction of Mr. Shakhmatov's

supposition. In conclusion, while not denying that "Tur" may be a Slav name, he thinks that the martyred Variag's name was not "Tur" but "Turi," after analogy with the Norse names Karli, Bruni, Slodi, Bondi, Tuki. He can point to a Prince Tury, companion of a Viking chief Rogvolod.

Scandinavian influence on Russian history is so important, and it would indeed shed additional glory on the Norsemen if the first Russian Christian martyr were of Variag origin, a stock of which the Viking Club and we as individual lovers of the Vikings are justly and properly proud.

THE VIKINGS IN SPAIN.

FROM ARABIC (MOORISH) AND SPANISH SOURCES.

By JÓN STEFÁNSSON, Ph D., Vice-President.

UNDER the Ommayad dynasty in Cordoba the Moors in Spain had, in the 9th and 10th centuries, reached a height of culture and civilisation far beyond any country in Europe. In science and learning, in art and literature they were the masters at whose table Europe picked up the crumbs. They were first in peace as they were first in war. And now the Vikings were to measure their strength against the invincible Arab legions, fresh from their conquests round the basin of the Mediterranean. Elsewhere Viking victories have been attributed to deficient organization on the part of those attacked. Here the best organized military force then existent, anywhere, was defeated by them. We have only the story of one side, the Arabs, and I will let their historians tell it in their own words. No stronger proof, no more powerful proof of the ability of Norse Vikings to overcome hopeless difficulties, to lose heart in no emergency, can be adduced than the sober tale of the Arab, so superior to the chronicles of Christian Spain, with their credulous exaggerations and meagre facts.

The chief Spanish sources for our knowledge of Viking raids in Spain are:—

Chronicon Sebastiani Salmanticensis, A.D. 763-866.

Chronicon Albeldense, A.D. 763-883.

Chronicon Sampiri, A.D. 866-982.

Chronicon Pelagii, A.D. 982-1109.

Cronica General by King Alfonso el Sabio (the learned) (died 1284).

These deal mainly with Viking attacks on Galicia.

The chief Arabic sources are :—

Ibn-al-Kutia (*i.e.*, son of the Gothic woman), of Cordoba, died 977.

Ibn-Hayan, of Cordova, a great historian, 987-1076.

Al Bekri, geographer, died 1094.

Ibn-Khaldun, 1332-1406.

Ibn-Adhari, wrote about A.D. 1299, copying writers of the 10th century.

Nowairi, 1284-1332.

Ibn-Dihya, died 1235, tells of the embassy of Al Ghazal.

The Spanish sources call the Vikings by many names, such as :—*hombre del norte* (Northman), *Nortmanni*, *Normanni*, *Nordomanni*, *Lordomani*, *Lormanés*, *Lodormani*, *Lotimani*, *Lothomani*, sons of Belial, wolves, barbarians; and in Alfonso el Sabio : *Almojuces*, *Almozudes*, *Almonides*, these last being all corruptions of the Arab name *Madjus*, *i.e.*, magus, magician, worshipper of many gods, heathen. This is the only Arab name for the Vikings.

I. FIRST VIKING ATTACK ON SPAIN AND ON THE MOORS, A.D., 844.

The Spanish Chronicles relate that "the cruel people never before seen in our parts" attacked Asturia during the reign of Ramiro I., 842-850. We know from Arab sources that it was in the summer of 844. From other annals of the period we gather that the invaders were the comrades of Hasting and Björn Ironside. They had previously been coasting France and rowing up the Seine, Loire, and Garonne, and now descended on the north coast of Spain. They plundered widely, but lost heavily when they attacked Coruña, owing to the engines for throwing missiles used against them. Ramiro, with his warlike mountaineers, defeated them at Hercules Tower, the old light-house near the city. They fled to their ships and much booty was recovered, while 70¹ of their ships were burnt.

¹ This number seems exaggerated.

In the following accounts we shall see that they were able to beard the Khalifa himself after this so-called defeat, which Ramiro celebrated by laying costly gifts of gold, silver, and silks on the shrine of St. James at Sant Iago.

We may begin the record from Arabic sources, with Ibn-al-Khutia's story of how the Emir, or Khalif, of the Moorish Empire in Spain, Abdurrrhaman II. (822-852), dreamt a dream foreboding great events.

IBN-AL-KUTIA. *Year 230 (i.e., September 17, 844-October 1, 845):—*

When the great mosque in Seville was finished, Abdurrrhaman dreamt that he entered it and found the prophet lying dead, in shrouds, in the holiest part of it. When he awoke, he was sorely grieved, and when he asked the soothsayers about the meaning of this dream, they answered that divine service would cease for a time in this mosque. This came to pass when Madjus had seized the city. Several Sheikhs in Seville have told that Madjus shot burning arrows at the roof of the Mosque, and that parts of the roof caught by these fell down. Even to-day¹ traces of these arrows may be seen there. When Madjus found that they would not succeed in burning the Mosque in this way, they piled up wood and reeds in the nave. They meant to set it on fire, and hoped the fire would reach the roof. But a young man coming from the holiest part of the Mosque met them. He drove them out of the Mosque, and prevented them from returning there the three following days, until the day when the great battle was fought. Madjus said the young man who drove them out of the Mosque was of an extraordinary beauty.

The detailed account of the events of the campaign, given by the same author, is as follows:—

Abdurrrhaman (II., 822-852) built the great Mosque in Seville, and when the walls of this city had been destroyed by Madjus in 230 he rebuilt them. The arrival of these barbarians struck terror into the heart of the inhabitants. All fled and sought a refuge, partly in the mountains of the neighbourhood, partly in Carmona. In all the west there was none who dared to meet them in battle. Therefore the inhabitants of Cordoba and the nearest districts were called to arms as soon as Madjus had landed on the coast in the farthest west, and had seized the plains of Lisbon. Our leaders with their troops took up a position at Carmona, but, as the enemy was uncommonly brave,

¹*i.e., in the tenth century, when the author lived.*

they dared not attack them before the arrival of soldiers from the border. . . . (The border chieftain Musa-ibn-Kasi made his own camp, and would not join forces). . . . The border chieftains demanded news of the movements of the enemy, and the commander answered that Madjus sent every day detachments towards Firrich, Lacant, Cordoba, and Moron.¹ They (the chieftains) then asked, if there were not, near Seville, a place where they could lie in ambush without being seen. The commander told them of the village Quintos-Maáfir, south-east of Seville. They moved there in the middle of the night, and sat in ambush. One of their men, with a bundle of faggots, was set to keep watch from the tower of the village church. At sunrise the guard made known that a host of 16,000 Madjus was marching on Moron. The Moslem let them pass, cut them off from Seville, and cut them down. Then our leaders advanced, entered Seville, and found its commander besieged in the castle. They joined forces, and the inhabitants returned to the city in multitudes.

Besides the host that had been cut down, two other hosts of Madjus had moved out, one towards Lacant, the other towards the quarter of the tribe of Beni-'l-Laith, in Cordova. But when the Madjus who remained in Seville saw the Moslem army coming, and heard of the disaster that the detachment marching on Moron had met with, they suddenly embarked. When they were sailing up the river towards a castle, they met their countrymen, and when these had also embarked, they all together began to sail down the river, while the inhabitants of the country poured on them curses and threw stones at them. When they had arrived a mile (league) below Seville, Madjus shouted to the people, "Leave us in peace, if you wish to buy prisoners of us." People then ceased to throw stones at them, and they allowed everybody to ransom prisoners. A certain sum was paid for most of them, but Madjus refused both gold and silver. They took only clothes and food.

After this the Emir Abdurrrhaman took measures of safety. He built an arsenal in Seville, ordered ships to be built, and gathered sailors on the coasts of Andalus; to these he gave very high wages, and provided them with war engines and naphtha. When Madjus returned next, in 244 (19th April, 858—7th April, 859), during the reign of Emir Mohammed, battle was given them at the mouth of the river,² and when they had been beaten and several of their ships burnt, they departed.

The continuation of Ibn-Kutia is out of place here since it deals with the Viking expedition 859-61. (See Expedition II.).

¹ Firrich, N.E. of Seville; Lacant, N.W. of Seville; Moron, 25 miles S.E. of Seville.

² Guadalquivir.

IBN-ADHARI. Year 229 (i.e., September 30, 843-September 17, 844):—

In the year 229 a letter arrived in the capital (Cordoba) from Wahballahibn-Hazm, governor at Lisbon. He wrote therein that Madjus had been seen on the coast of his province, in 54 ships, and in the same number of smaller vessels. Abdurrhaman gave to him, as to other governors in provinces adjoining the sea, authority to take all needful measures.”

The taking of Seville by Madjus in 230.

“ Madjus arrived in about 80 ships. One might say they had, as it were, filled the ocean with dark red ¹ birds, in the same way as they had filled the hearts of men with fear and trembling. After landing at Lisbon, they sailed to Cadiz, then to Sidona,² then to Seville. They besieged this city, and took it by storm. After letting the inhabitants suffer the terrors of imprisonment or death, they remained there seven days, during which they let the people empty the cup of bitterness.

As soon as Abdurrhaman had news of this, he gave to the Hadjib (Prime Minister) Isâ ibn-Chohaid the command of the cavalry. Moslem hastened to gather under the banner of this general, and to join him as closely as the eyelid is joined to the eye. Abdullah ibn-Kolaib, Ibn-Wasim, and other great chieftains also joined the cavalry. The commander-in-chief made Axarafe (a high hill near Seville) his headquarters, and wrote to the governors all round to command them to call their men to arms. They went to Cordoba, and the eunuch Nasr took them to the army.

But Madjus continually received reinforcements, and, according to the author of the book, Bahdja, an-n-afs, they continued for thirteen days to kill men and drag women and children into slavery. Instead of thirteen days the author of Dorar al-Kalayid, says seven days, and we have followed him above. After some skirmishes with Moslem they (Madjus) went to Kaptel (an island in the Guadalquivir) where they stayed three days. They then entered Caura,³ twelve miles from Seville, where they murdered many people. Then they took Talyata,⁴ two miles from Seville. There they spent the night, and were seen next morning at Al-Fakkharin.⁵ Then they re-embarked and joined battle with Moslem, who were put to flight and lost so many men that they could not be numbered. After returning to their ships, Madjus sailed to Sidona, and then to

¹ From the colour of the Viking sails.

² Sidona, the capital of the district, situated between the Guadalquivir and Gibraltar, in Spain.

³ Now Coria.

⁴ S. of Seville, on the river.

⁵ Now Alfarache, 2 miles S.W. of Seville, on the Guadalquivir.

Cadiz, after Abdurrrhaman had sent his generals against them and fought them, sometimes successfully, sometimes with loss. At last, when war engines were used against them, and reinforcements had arrived from Cordoba, Madjus were put to flight. They (the Moors) killed about 500 of their men, and took four of their ships with all their cargoes. Ibn-Wazim had these burnt, after selling all that was found in them. Then they (Madjus) were defeated at Talyata on the 25 Safar of this year (Nov. 11, 844). Many were killed, others hanged at Seville, others hanged in the palm trees at Talyata, and thirty of their ships were burnt. Those who escaped from the bloodshed embarked. They went to Niebla,¹ and then to Lisbon, and were no more heard of. They arrived at Seville on the 14 Moharram, 230 (Oct. 1st, 844), and forty-two days had passed from the day when they entered Seville until those of them who were not put to the sword departed. Their general was killed. To punish them for their crimes, God gave them to our sword and destroyed them, numerous as they were. When they had been annihilated, the government made this happy event known through all the provinces, and Abdurrrhaman also wrote to the Cinhadja tribe in Tanger, to tell them that with God's help he had succeeded in destroying Madjus. At the same time he sent them the heads of the general, and of two hundred of the noblest Madjus warriors.

NOWAIRI: The Story of the Incursion of the Heathen into Moslem Spain:—

In 230 (18 Sept., 844—6 Sept., 845) Madjus, from distant parts of Andalus (*i.e.*, from Galicia) made an expedition into the land of Moslem. They (Madjus) were first seen at Lisbon in the month of Dzu'l-hiddja (20 Aug.—17 Sept., 844), year 229. They remained there thirteen days, during which Moslem fought several battles against them. Then they went to Cadiz and to Sidona. There a great battle took place between them and Moslem. On Moharram 8 (Sept. 25) they encamped 12 parasangs (Persian miles) from Seville. Moslem marched against them, but on the 12 Moharram (Sept. 29) suffered defeat and lost many men. Then Madjus came and encamped two miles from Seville. The inhabitants of Seville came out and fought them, but were beaten on the 14 Moharram (Oct. 1). Many were killed or fell into the hands of Madjus, who spared nothing, not even the beasts of burden. When the victors had entered the city, they remained there a day and a night, whereupon they returned to their ships. When they saw Abdurrrhaman's army coming, they hastened to meet it. Moslem stood their ground, and in the battle 70 heathen lost their lives. The others fled and embarked, as Moslem dared not pursue them.

¹ On the river Tinto, W. of Seville.

Then Abdurrhaman sent another army against them. A new battle was fought, which was very hard, but Madjus retired. On Nov. 17th the Moslem army began to pursue them, and, after being reinforced from all parts, attacked them again from all sides. Then Madjus fled, after losing about 500 men. They (the Moors) took four ships from them, which were burnt, after being emptied of their cargoes. Then Madjus went to Niebla, where they seized a galley, and after encamping on an island ¹ near Corias (?), they divided their booty there. Moslem sailed up the river (Tinto) to attack them, and killed two of them. Madjus then re-embarked, and raided the province of Sidona. They seized there much food and took many prisoners, but two days after they came Abdurrhaman's ships arrived at Seville, and when they approached Madjus returned to Niebla, where they made raids and took prisoners. Then they went to Ocsonoba, and then to Beja.² When finally they had returned to Lisbon, they left the coast of Spain, so that no more was heard of them, and men's minds were quiet."

*The embassy of Al-Ghazal at the Court of the Madjus King in A.D. 845.*³

In 1868 the British Museum acquired an Arabic MS. of one of the works of Ibn-Dihya (died at Cairo, A.D. 1235). The passage of it which we shall quote is taken by Ibn-Dihya from Ibn-Alcama (died A.D. 896), who had the story from the lips of Al-Ghazal himself, called "the gazelle" because of his beauty. He seems to have been on an embassy at the court of King Harek of Denmark. It is clearly a trustworthy account, at first hand, and it was given to the Orientalist Congress of 1889 in Professor Dozy's translation, which we use here:—

A Madjus ambassador came to make peace with Abdurrhaman (after the defeat of the Seville expedition in the autumn of 844), who sent Al-Ghazal on an embassy to the Madjus king; for Al-Ghazal had great presence of mind, and no door remained closed to him. Al-Ghazal took costly presents with him on board, and sailed in his own ship along with the Madjus ship. He arrived at one of their islands, where he rested and repaired his ship. The Madjus ambassador then sailed first to announce his arrival. They sailed to where the king resided.

¹ Probably the island of Saltes, near Huelva (?).

² In the southmost province of Portugal.

³ Actes du 8. Congrès International des Orientalistes en 1889; communicated by A. Fabricius.

It was a great island in the ocean, and in it were running waters and gardens. It was three days' journey from the continent. Innumerable Madjus were there, and near were many other isles, small and great, inhabited by Madjus, and the continent (up there) also belongs to them. It is a large country, and it takes several days to pass through it. Madjus were then heathen, but are now Christians. The king had a house ready for the embassy, and two days after they arrived he called them to his presence, but Al-Ghazal made it a condition that he need not bend his body, but might keep his home habits. The king consented, yet, when they came to the hall, its door had been made so low, by order, that they must bend themselves in entering. Then Al-Ghazal sat down outside, and by help of his feet pushed himself along till he was inside the door, when he stood up.

The hall was filled with resplendent arms, but Al-Ghazal gave no sign of astonishment or fear, and, standing, spoke: "Hail and benediction, O king, to you and all in your presence! May you have long glory, life and the protection of God." After listening to the interpreter, the king said, admiringly: "This is one of the wise men of his nation." Surprised at his entering feet first, sitting on the ground, he said: "We wished to humiliate him, but he took revenge by showing me the soles of his feet first. If he were not ambassador, we should be offended."

Then Abdurrrhaman's letter was read to him. He liked it well, and tucked it into his breast. Then the Moorish trunks were opened, and the presents taken out. The king examined them carefully, and was pleased, and dismissed them. Al-Ghazal held his own often since in disputes with sages of the Madjus, or in bouts of fencing.

The Queen, hearing this, sent for him. He saluted and looked at her, silent, a long while. "Ask him," she said to the interpreter, "why he stares thus long at me? Does he find me beautiful, or the contrary?" Al-Ghazal said: "The cause of it is that I knew not such (beauty) was to be found in the world! I have seen among the Arabs women selected from the most beautiful of all nations, but never have I set eye on beauty approaching this." "Ask him if he is joking or talking seriously?" she asked. "Seriously," he said. "Are there not beautiful women then in your country?" she asked. "Let me see some of your ladies that I may compare," he said. They came. He regarded them from head to foot, and said: "They have beauty, but it is not like the Queen's, for all the world cannot appraise that at its just worth, but only the poets, and if the Queen wishes, I shall describe her beauty and noble qualities in a poem that will be recited in all our countries. With great joy will I do that."

Here is the poem .

" You have to resist, O my heart, a love that troubles thee, and against which you defend yourself as a lion. You are in love with a Norman lady, who never lets the sun of beauty set, and who lives at the rarely visited extremity of the world. Noud (Nôd), fair lady, who hast the freshness of youth, and whose face shines like a star, never, I swear, have I seen a person who has charmed my heart like you, and if I said one day my eyes had seen your like, I would surely lie."

The Queen was so pleased that she trembled. She offered him a present, which he refused. " Ask him why he refused," she said to the interpreter; " is it the present or myself that he despises? " Al-Ghazal answered: " Verily, the present is splendid, and it is a great honour to receive it from her, for she is a Queen and a King's daughter; but the present that satisfies me is my good luck to see her and be received kindly. That is the greatest present she can give me, and also if she would be pleased to give me permission to come here at all hours." The Queen said. " I will that the present be carried to his house, and I permit him to come as often as he likes. Never will my door be forbidden to him, and always I shall receive him most honourably."

Ibn-Alcama asked Al-Ghazal: " Was she then so beautiful as you said to her (she was)? " " She was not ill-looking, but I needed her, and in talking thus I won her favour and gained more than I expected." Al-Ghazal's companion said: " The Queen was so charmed she let him come every day, and if he came not she sent for him, and he stayed, telling of Moslem, their land, history, and people, and after every visit she sent presents to his house. His visits were talked of too much, and his companions counselled him to be more prudent. Al-Ghazal then came rarely. She asked him why. He told. She said, smiling. " Jealousy is not among our customs. With us wives don't stop with their husbands longer than they wish to, themselves, and when their husbands have ceased to please them they quit them." (Madjus women are compelled to marry within their own rank, the author remarks). Thus Al-Ghazal was reassured, and continued his visits.

Now Al-Ghazal was a man of fifty years, and though he was youthful in all the arts, yet his hair was grey. She asked him how old he was. " Twenty," he said. " How can a man of twenty have grey hair? " " Why not? Have you never seen a chicken that is born with grey hair? " Queen Noud (Nôd) laughed, and commanded him to dye his hair black. On his return home, Al-Ghazal stopped at Sant Iago two months, and delivered a letter from the Madjus king commending himself. He went on to Castille and Toledo, arriving at Cordoba after an absence of twenty months.

Allowing for some embroidery by Arab imagination this account must be taken as true in the main. It proves that the intercourse and the interrelations of Scandinavia with the Orient were closer than we think in those times. This is also borne out by the large number of Oriental coins, found especially in Sweden. The independence and high status of Scandinavian women, so utterly at variance with the Arab ideal, is here corroborated. The Queen's name may be a corruption of Oddny, Iðun, or even of Aud(r). Al-Ghazal evidently arrived at Hleiðra in Sjælland, the seat of the Danish kings. Sjælland is the "great island" with "running waters and gardens." That "many other isles, small and great, inhabited by Madjus, were near," corresponds to the reality. The "continent up there," which "also belongs to them," may be Jutland.

II. SECOND VIKING EXPEDITION TO SPAIN, A.D. 859-61. IBN-ADHARI writes:—

In the year 245 (8 April, 859—March 27, 860) Madjus were seen again, and this time with 62 ships on the Western coasts. They found them well guarded, for Moslem ships cruised from the coast of France (in the Mediterranean) to that of Galicia in the Far West. Two of their ships, the vanguard of the others, were hunted by the guardships and taken in a harbour in the province of Beja. Silver, gold, prisoners, and provisions were found in them. The other Madjus ships sailed on along the coast, and arrived at the mouth of the river by Seville. Then the Emir¹ bade the army start, and made known everywhere that men should come under the banners of the Hadjib, Isá-ibn-Hasan. Madjus left the river mouth and sailed to Algeziras,² which they took, and where they burnt the grand mosque. Then they crossed over to Africa, and plundered the inhabitants of that country, whereupon they returned to the coast of Spain, landed on the coast of Todmir,³ and advanced to the fort of Orihuela. Then they sailed to France, and spent the winter there. They made many prisoners, took much money, and made themselves masters of a city where they settled, and which to-day is called by their name. Then they returned to the coast of Spain, but they had already lost

¹ Mohammed I., 852-886.

² Algeziras, now so well known.

³ The province of Murcia.

more than forty of their ships (in a storm), and when they joined battle with the fleet of the Emir Mohammed on the coast of Sidona, they lost two others, laden with great riches. Their other ships went on their way.

NOWAIRI :—

In the year 245 Madjus came in their ships to attack Spain. They arrived in the province of Seville, and, when they had taken its capital, they burnt there the grand mosque. Then they crossed to Africa, whereupon they returned to Spain and, when the troops in Todmir had fled, they seized the fort of Orihuela. Then they advanced to the borders of France, made a raid into that country, and took much booty and many prisoners. On their way back they met the fleet of the Emir Mohammed, began a battle with it and lost four of their ships, two of which were burnt. What was in the two others fell into the hands of Moslem. Then began Madjus to fight furiously, and a great multitude of Moslem died as martyrs. Madjus went all the way to Pampelona,¹ and made prisoner its Frankish lord, Garcia.² His ransom was 90,000 dinars (70,000 dinars, *Ibn-Khaldun*, an oriental gold coin).

IBN-AL-KUTIA :—

After leaving Seville they went to Nekor,³ where they took prisoner the grandfather of Ibn-Salih, but the Emir Abdurrrhaman ibn-Hakam ransomed him, and out of gratitude for this deed the Beni-Salih have always been the friends of the Omayyads. Thereupon Madjus plundered both coasts at once and on this expedition, which lasted fourteen years, they came to the Rum-land (*i.e.*, Rome-land, Italy) and to Alexandria.

BEKRI :—

Madjus—God curse them—landed at Nekor * in the year 244 (19 April, 858—7 April, 859). They took the city, plundered it, and made its inhabitants slaves, except those who saved themselves by flight. Among their prisoners were Ama-arrahman and Khanula, daughters of Wakif ibn-Motacim ibn-Salih. Mohammed ibn-Abdurrrhaman ransomed them. Madjus stayed eight days in Nekor.

SEBASTIAN OF SALAMANCA :—

At this time (reign of Ordoño I. 850—866) Lordomani attacked our coasts (Galicia) the second time. Then they went to Spain. They murdered, burnt, and plundered everywhere, harrying all the coasts of this country. After sailing through the straits

¹ They could only get to Pampelona from the Bay of Biscay.

² King of Navarre, A.D. 857-882.

³ Nekor is in the Spanish possessions on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, near Cape Tres Forcas, on a river, a little inland.

they took Nachor, a city in Mauretania, where they killed a multitude of Moslem. Then they attacked the isles of Majorca, Formentera, and Minorca, where they killed all the people. Finally they sailed to Greece, and after an expedition lasting three years, returned to their fatherland.

Wace, Benoit S. More, and William of Jumièges, state that Björn Ironside and Hasting led this expedition. After seizing the Balearic islands (Sebastian, Alfonso el Sabio) and Pampelona (Nowairi), they plundered and fired a monastery on the French border, sailed up the Rhone, plundered Nimes and Arles (Chron. Nem.), and camped on the isle of Camaria (Camargues), near the mouth of the Rhone. (Prudentius, Chron. Gest. Normann). It was during this expedition that Hasting took Pisa and Luna, in Italy. Ibn-al-Kutia, Sebastian and Alfonso el Sabio all say they landed in Greece. On their return in 861 they lost 40 ships in a storm in the straits (Ibn-Adhari). William of Jumièges tells of this loss of ships, too.

The story told in the Irish *Three Fragments* (ed. O'Donovan, p. 159-163) of the warfare of the three sons of Ragnar Lodbrok in Africa, fits in perfectly with the expedition to Nekor. The Irish tradition is also true when it tells how many of them were drowned in a storm in the straits on their way back. Many Blue Men (Moors) were brought as prisoners to Ireland.

III. THIRD VIKING EXPEDITION TO SPAIN, A.D. 964-966.

IBN-ADHARI :—

On the first Redjeb in the year 355 (June 23, 966), the Khalifa Hakam II. received a letter from Kasr abi-Danis.¹ It told that a fleet of Madjus had been seen in western seas near this place, that the inhabitants of all this coast were greatly anxious, as they knew that Madjus used formerly to make raids into Spain, and finally that the fleet consisted of 28 ships. Thereupon other letters with news of Madjus came from these coasts; they told among other things that Madjus had plundered here and there, and had arrived at the plain of Lisbon. Moslem then went against them, and gave them battle, in which many of our men died as martyrs, but several heathen found their death there,

¹ Alcacer, Estremadura, Portugal.

too. Then the Moslem fleet came out of the Seville harbour (the mouth of the Guadalquivir), and attacked the Madjus fleet in the river at Silves. Ours put out of action several hostile ships, freed the Moslem prisoners on board, killed a great multitude of heathen, and put the others to flight. After this, news arrived every moment at Cordoba from the west coast of the movements of Madjus, until God sent them away. .

In the same year Hakam II. commanded Ibn-Fotais (his admiral) to go back to the river (Guadalquivir) at Cordoba, and build ships there in imitation of the Madjus (may God slay them!) ships. He hoped they would take these ships to be their own, and approach them closely.

IBN-KHALDUN tells the same, more shortly.

This reminds one of Alfred the Great building ships in imitation of Viking longships. These Vikings were probably the same as those who raided Galicia in 964 (Dudo, William of Jumièges).

IV. FOURTH VIKING EXPEDITION TO SPAIN, A.D. 968-71.

SAMPIRO tells us of this expedition that in the second year of Ramiro III., 968, a Norman fleet of 100 ships, under King Gundered (Guðröð) landed in Galicia. Like a flood they spread over the country, plundering towns and villages, and "none could stop them." They overran all Galicia and came back to their ships with much booty and numerous prisoners. Then they decided to attack the shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela, replete with treasures and gifts as it was. They left their fleet in Arosa Bay and marched inland. When Bishop Sisenand heard that they made slaves of all men and women they met and dragged them along, plundering the country, he was seized with rage. He attacked them at Fornellos on March 29, 970, and was killed in a furious battle. The holy shrine of St. James was taken. For three years they were masters of the country. But the Lord repaid them and took revenge on them. Even as they made prisoners of Christians and put many to the sword, so they suffered much hardship themselves ere they left Galicia. When they were returning to their

ships, laden with booty, a multitude of men, thirsting for revenge, took them at a disadvantage. Gonsalo Sanchez, count of Galicia, surprised them with a large army near their ships, near Ferrol, on the point of sailing away with their prisoners and booty. Bitter was the fight, but with the help of St. James he won the victory. Most of them fell with their King Guðröð, the rest were made prisoners and "none remained to lift arms against the Christians." The prisoners were freed and the Viking ships were burnt.

Yet some of the Vikings did escape nevertheless, for IBN-ADHARI says:—

In the beginning of the month of Ramadhan, year 360 (about July 1, 971), the news reached Cordoba that Madjus - Alordomani (whom God curse!) had been seen on the sea, and intended, as was their custom, to attack the western coast of Andalus. The Sultan then commanded his admiral to hurry to Almeria, take the fleet there to Seville, and collect all the other squadrons in the west.

Nothing more is heard of the Vikings. The Moorish navy appears to have been too strong for them to attack. At any rate, they departed.

Thus the attempt to settle down and found a colony in Galicia was frustrated, after the Vikings had been masters of the country for three years. Spain was not to have its Normandy as France had. There are, however, according to A. Fabricius, to-day three villages near Coïmbra, in Portugal, called *Lordomaõ* [pronounced Lordoman(g)], names derived from the Spanish name for the Vikings, Nordoman, Nortman, Lordoman.

A Spanish legend tells that the holy bishop, Gonsalo, knelt in deep prayer on the top of a high hill during the battle with the Vikings, and every time he looked up a Norman ship sank into the sea; they all sank, except the leader's ship, which God and St. Gonsalo saved so that he might tell his countrymen of this event.

The Arab story tells its own tale. It is a lesson in the influence of sea-power on history. The tactics of the Vikings in Andalusia are the same as we know from the

Saxon Chronicle they were in England. They retired upon the rivers, they make a *point d'appui* of islands, but this was only possible so long as the enemy did not become a match for them at sea. The Arabs set about doing this so effectually that for a century after the second Viking expedition to Spain, 859-861, the Vikings turn their attention to countries less well defended, till the year 964.

Nowairi says of the Vikings: "Their ships were well built and well provided with men and with all necessaries." The Moors paid them the sincerest compliment possible, when the Khalifa *built exact replicas of the Viking ships*. If we reckon about eighty men on the average, on board each Viking ship (Steenstrup), we find that the armies with which they invaded the Moorish Empire were by no means small, from the point of view of that age.

They searched for the treasures stowed away in mosques just as they plundered churches and monasteries *par excellence*, because of the rich booty found there. This had nothing to do with religion.

It may be added, to complete the subject, that St. Olaf, in A.D. 1014, probably reached the coast of the Spanish peninsula, and some of the battles recorded in his Saga may have been fought there. The places cannot be identified, but it is stated that he was turned back by a dream, while waiting for a fair wind to take him to Niörvasund, the Straits of Gibraltar. Sigurd Jórsalafari (the Crusader) had 60 ships and 10,000 warriors on his crusade, which lasted 1107-1111. He fought a fleet of Moorish galleys in 1109, took Cintra, fought a battle at Lisbon, captured "Alkasse"¹ (*al Kasr*, Arabic, a fort), and harried the Balearic Isles. Earl Rögnvald, of Orkney, went on a crusade with 2,000 men, 1153-1155, captured a castle in Galicia, and harried much in heathen (Moorish) Spain. According also to Knytlinga Saga the Danish

¹Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon identifies this with Alcazer do Sal in Southern Portugal. *Heimskringla*, Vol. IV., p. 240, in the Saga Library, London, 1905.—A. F. M.

Earl Ulf (11th century), "conquered and harried Galizuland and made there much warfare. Hence he was called Galizu Ulf." Saxo calls him *Ulvo Gallicianus*.

Dozy (died 1883) "*Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge*," 3rd ed. vol. ii., Leiden, 1881, is the chief source of this paper, since the Dutch professor prints the Arabic text and a translation in French of the Arabic records quoted. Werlauff, Mooyer, Professor Steenstrup and Fabricius have written on this subject. The two last-named have used Dozy's work and some of the Spanish Chronicles.

I have no doubt that an Arabic scholar would find more about the Vikings in Moorish literature, but what little I have been able to give here seems of sufficient interest to inspire further research by those better equipped than myself for the task.

THE SITES OF THREE DANISH CAMPS AND AN ANGLIAN BURYING GROUND IN EAST ANGLIA.

By BELLERBY LOWERISON, Hon. Dist. Secy., Norfolk.

THE three camps lie in the north-east of Norfolk, and to me the most interesting is that close to Holkham Station, near Wells. It is situated on an alluvial marsh, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea, and is raised maybe eight feet above the surrounding level. This rise is probably due to a little out-lier of glacial detritus. The marshes generally along this coast are underlaid by boulder clay, and the banks of the camp are largely composed of broken flints, sub-angular chalk fragments, etc. We found no scratched or striated stones however, after careful search, but it is very unlikely that the builders of the camp would bring their material from the chalk bluffs half-a-mile away across the marsh.

The camp is about 700 yards round the crest of the inner rampart.

The coast is here flat and sandy, backed by large dunes or "meals," bound together by marram grass. The Northmen's keels would have no difficulty in landing, but there is no shelter near, though the anchorage would serve. It is to be remembered that great changes have taken place in the coast-line during the historic period.

On the west there is no ditch or bank round the camp, but what seems a natural bluff falls steeply for perhaps ten feet to the sea marsh. This is true also of the south side, though here there is a ditch which has probably been dug later to drain a marshy wood.

On the north a double bank has been thrown up,

enclosing a ditch, now dry. The inner rampart is broken near the north-east angle by a little drainage-gutter, probably natural, and this may be responsible for carrying the original mound away. In the north-west angle of the camp area there is another natural depression, irregular, and this is drained by a gutter which cuts through both mounds and joins a later, straight drain, which runs along that side.

The east face is defended by a single rampart and foss, broken near the centre by what probably represents the gate of the camp.

Near the south-east angle is a pond, nearly circular, with gently sloping, regular sides, and with a flat bottom. This, in the driest weather in which we have seen it, has a little clear water in it, perhaps a foot deep, and I think it may be a dewpond. The water of the marsh all round is brackish and liable at any time to inundation by the sea.

The interior of the camp slopes gently down from the west to the south, and there are other nearly circular depressions, which may be where Neolithic man had his dug-out "pit dwellings," or may be the remains of the turf banks that the Northmen heaped round their booths. Round the rabbit burrows one gets undoubted evidence of the presence at one time of Neolithic man. We picked up during one visit twenty undoubted implements, some "cores," and more flakes and "wasters," but not one "pot-boiler," and one learns to look on these latter as perhaps the most indisputable evidence of the settled presence of the men of the later Stone Age.

The recently-published Victoria History of the county follows the Ordnance Map in calling this and the next camps Danish. Mr. W. Rye, in his History of Norfolk, claims that the Danes of this region were probably pre-Roman settlers, adducing such evidence as that the Roman Branodunum close by is compounded with a Danish prefix: Bran-. Is not Bran Celtic also?

Certainly, Danish place-names are common enough all round, thorpes and bys, and tofts and setts; but, again, is Mr. Rye right in equating -ham with -holm, as he does to make some of his alleged Danish settlements?

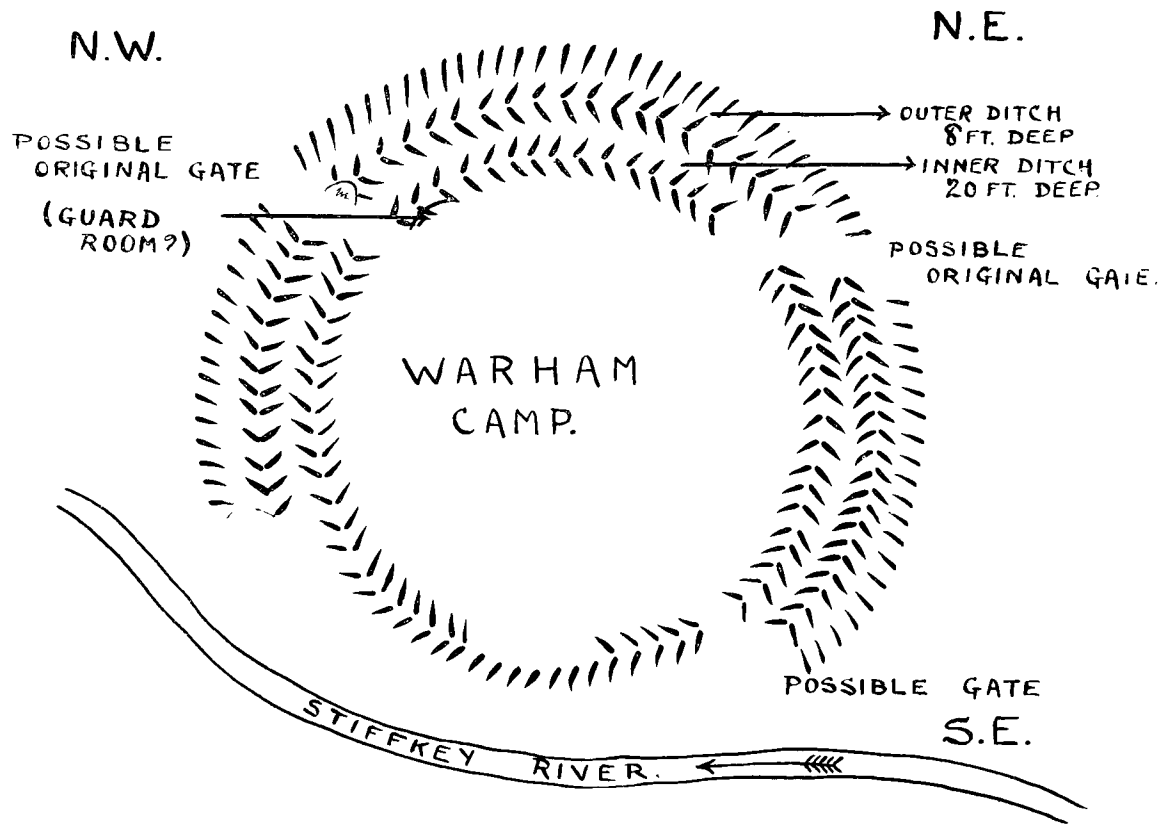
The next camp is situated further inland on a chalky plateau sloping to the Stiffkey (or Stewkey, as it is locally called) river, and near the hamlet of Warham (or Wareham). It may be, following the river's windings, six miles to the sea, but it is very probable that the Danes found no difficulty in bringing their shallow keels up the river, which is, even yet, perhaps 18 feet across in parts, and runs rather swiftly, with an average depth of fifteen inches.

I cannot think, however, that even in Danish times, this camp could ever have been erected to guard a ford.

The camp is very regular, its inner surface, a nearly level sward, sloping gently to the brook on the south, and beautifully circular. It has been ploughed within living memory. The two ramparts are broken only at the "gates," and on the south side near the river, where they have probably never been raised. The river and the marsh beyond would probably be defence enough here, backed, of course, by wooden palisades, etc.

The diameter of the enclosed inner area is about 150 yards; and the circumference, round the top of the inner vallum, works out, therefore, at a little over that length, perhaps 480 yards. The area of the inner space is thus about 3-4 acres.

I said that the site was a chalky slope. In all probability the rise is due to a mass of contorted drift. In many places this drift is largely intercalated with boulder clay, and to this firm and sticky substance the splendid conditions of foss and vallum here may be due, because the slopes of the inner ditch are probably practically the same as at first. From crest to crest this ditch is 70 feet across, and the slopes are about 41 feet on each side. This gives 20 feet as the depth of the



ditch, and nearly 40° as the angle of the slope. It is very much like scrambling up a 13th century roof to climb those banks. Before they were clothed with grass, and when they were defended by stone axe or northern shield and spear, they must have been practically impregnable.

Approaching the camp from the north you first have a ditch eight feet in depth, then a steep crest to scale; this drops to another ditch, about 20 feet deep, with very steep sides; now add a palisade at the top (and probably both Neolithic man and Dane used that), crown your castle with clubs and axes swung by brawny arms, and you will probably allow my claim of practical impregnability.

For nearly one-third of the circumference, (all my measurements are only approximate), the outer vallum and both ditches cease. This is on the south where the river runs.

Besides this, what may be termed the watergate, there is another entrance to the north-west, where the banks are levelled, and the ditches filled. If this were original, a circular excavation in the inner vallum might well have been dug out or left at its original level in order to put there a shelter for the gate-guard. The situation reminds one strongly of the guard-rooms one finds inside the gates of Roman camps.

But unhappily for that theory, the camp is said to have been ploughed, and this "gate" points directly to the nearest farmhouse, to which the corn would have to be carted. The round pit may well have been dug first to try the character of the bank when seeking marl for the fields.

One is sorry to set up a straw-man theory and then incontinently to knock it down. But—we remember Bill Stumps.

The depression on the north-east may much more probably be an original gate. The banks are not quite erased, the ditches not quite filled up, and the outer

bank is not removed right opposite the inner, but some few yards to the east, so the invader who broke the first gate would be under an enfilading fire. And as one reads in all the Sagas of the plentiful supply of throwing-stones stored by the Northmen, one pities such attacking parties if the Northmen held the fort.

A further filling up of the ditch, where the outer vallum ends on the south-east, and the ceasing just there of the inner rampart, are not easily explainable. At the Renaissance, when everything that was not Latin or Greek, ought to be, were there some unconscious humourists who made these gates, north-west and south-east, to assimilate such a Gothic camp to correct classical form? My friend, Canon Scott-Holland, has seemed to betray some such sentiment to me about my beloved Gothic cathedrals when he compared them with St. Paul's.

Joking apart, there is a deal of mustard of gates to so little meat of living space; if the four are all original the folk who lived there would have done very well to sell some of their gates and buy some town with the money.

On the south the distance, entirely unguarded, except for a slight fall, may be twelve yards, and the distance to the river may be six. The marshy meadow opposite is known as Swiney. "And some say," the parson told me, "that swine were fed there once." But swine cannot eat water, at least not to get fat on it; and the gentle old man allowed that Dr. Jessop himself had preferred for etymology a reference to Swein's low-lying meadow.

In the public-house of the village it was further gleaned that a "Danish Anchor" had been found in that meadow, "once upon a time." But that "once upon a time" is dear to us only when studying folklore. No one could say how it was found, when it was found, who got possession of it, or why it was called Danish.

On the other hand no scientific man would dispute the value of floating legends like this. "Danish" camp, Swiney, a "Danish" anchor, Danish names in plenty about—we seem to be on the way to establishing a cumulative proof of the period to which the camp belongs.

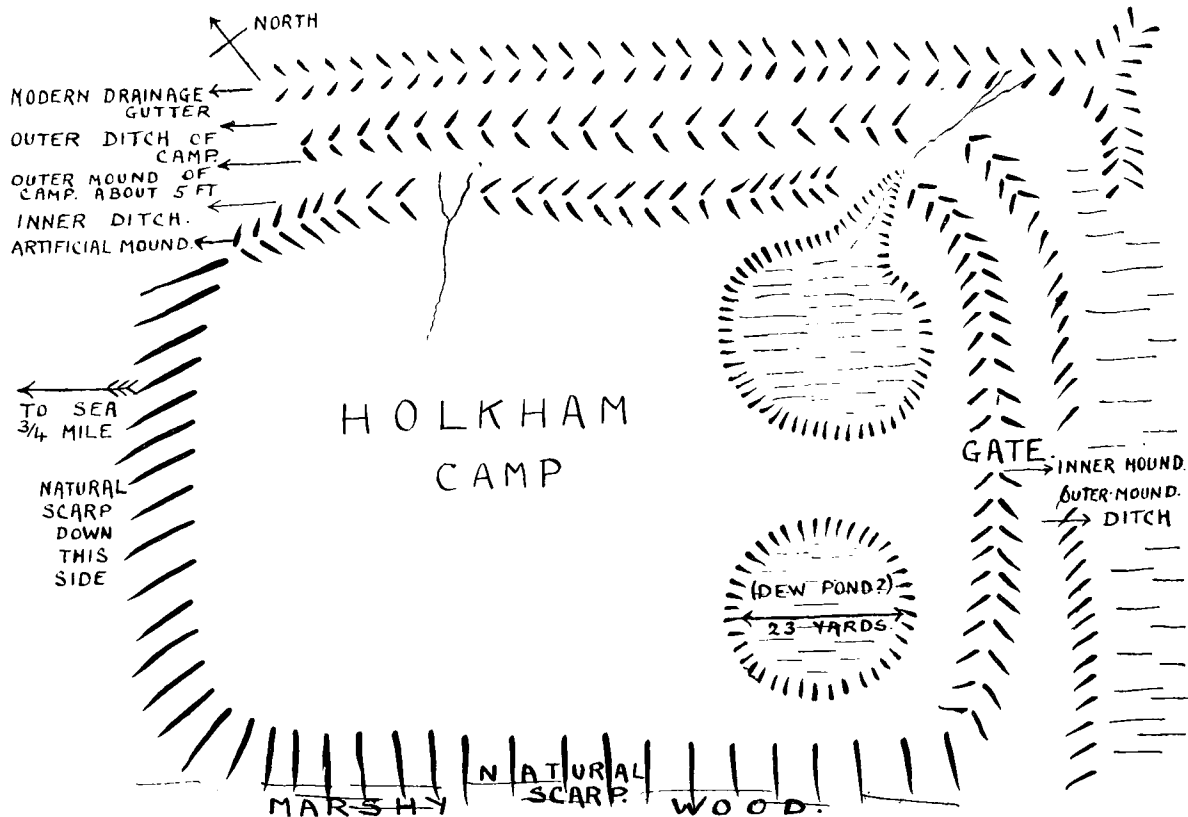
We found not a trace of Neolithic implements on the broken slopes. In a neighbouring ploughed field we found two, rude, and approximating to the Cissbury type.

Of the third alleged camp it is very well that it is boldly marked on the ordnance map, because the foss and vallum alike are nearly obliterated under the plough. It seems to have been nearly square, with rounded angles, enclosing a space of about five acres. It is at the fork of two ancient grass-grown roads, one of which, leading up from the adjacent village of Creake, is named Bloodgate Hill. There, too, as over so much of the surface of Norfolk, are scattered Neoliths. And with this very scanty information I am sorry to have to leave this "Danish" camp.

Now to the Anglian burial ground. In the park of Hunstanton Hall, the residence of Hamon le Strange, there is an esker, or mound, of glacial drift, of sickle shape, about half a mile long, and at its highest perhaps seventy feet high. It is undoubtedly of glacial origin, because we have in our school museum some very good glaciated boulders from it. On the highest point a look-out tower or summer-house was built in the Jacobean period. The material from the foundation trenches was probably spread round about, and some of the fragmentary skeletons found there may have been broken in these processes.

Forty years ago or so Mr. le Strange unearthed a spear here while rabbiting, and he and Prof. McKenny Hughes re-opened in 1900 what proved to be a cemetery.

A trench, 16 or 17 feet long, and 4 feet deep, was dug close to the tower, and carried along the top of the



ridge. At 4 feet a bed of undisturbed sand or gravel seems to have been reached and maintained.

Among the first articles found in re-made ground were a disc of bronze, evidently the back of a circular brooch, two small beads of yellow ware, and a bronze pin and ring.

Next came a large spearhead, bent as if wrenched up in some former excavation. Close to this was a small broken skeleton, also disturbed; and below, a large skeleton of an older person, lying on its side, with the hands raised and the knees drawn up. This is a common attitude in interments of pre-Roman date, but is not found in graves of Saxon origin.

(I am practically quoting Prof. McKenny Hughes' paper. May the burial-place not originally belong to pre-Roman folk, Dane or Anglian, I ask?)

To the north was a skeleton of a small man lying at full length with the boss of a shield on his breast, a spear by his side, and near his feet scattered fragments of iron.

East of this occurred a detached skull, and near it a circular brooch, with four spokes inside the margin, arranged like a swastika.

Further on the skull of a child was found, with broken limb-bones, in disturbed ground. Near the skull was the circular bronze back of a brooch, with a lump of iron rust, and some of the material of the dress adhering to it. Next came two long yellow glass beads, and small glass rods made up of several beads with a pearly nacreous lustre. One whole necklace was found on a skeleton. Examples of beads were found in fluted blue glass, other long ones in yellow, and small, round ones, in yellow opaque glass, faceted jet, and roughly cut amber, with bits of the bronze hoops of a bucket.

On the breast of a large skeleton was found a fine brooch. The clavicle was stained green from the bronze. A string of amber beads, arranged according

to size, seemed to have passed through a loop on the back of this brooch. Not far off were found the boss of a shield, a fragmentary skeleton of similar size, and a brooch like the last. The next find was an adult skeleton, lying on its side, with one leg thrown back, and by its side a long spearhead and bits of two short knives. Near them lay a fine round brooch, with small bosses which had probably been enamelled. In a little deeper burial close by, the limbs of the skeleton were dug through. It wore a necklace of sixty amber beads, some of them ground flat.

One nearly perfect cinerary urn was found, with fragments of others. They were of rough material and making, of a dark alluvial clay, the patterns being in irregular lines, and triangular groups of dots disposed as sexfoils.

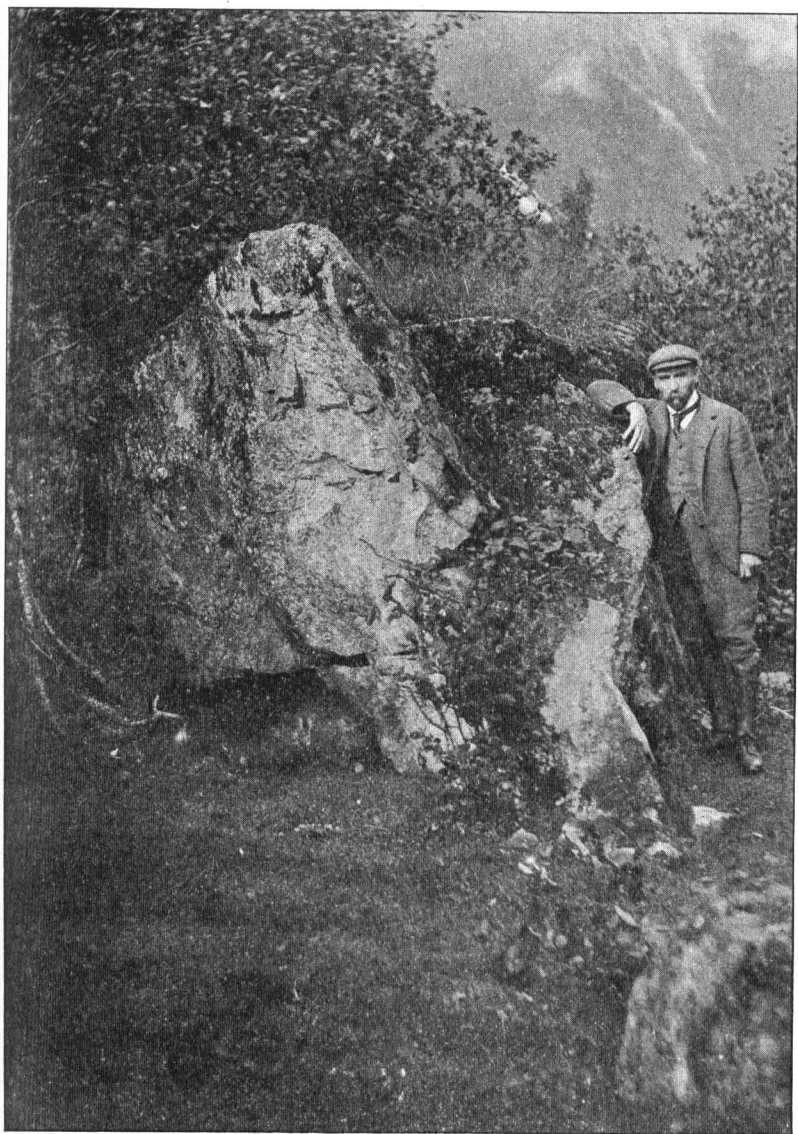
The ground, in places, seemed to have been turned over and over, older interments being disturbed by newer, and the average depth at which the bones were found was 3ft. 6in.

Thus far Professor MacKenny Hughes, a little boiled down, but omitting no serious item. In the next year, 1902, Mr. le Strange again followed up the excavations.

On the 26th July were found two skeletons, two plain, circular brooches, a small iron knife, and an amber bead.

Later, the skeleton of a very tall man was found, and near him an iron spear-head and bits of the broken boss of his shield. But the best find was a very fine cruciform brooch of bronze, with an intricate pattern, on which are traces of gilding. On the upper corners are lozenge-shaped plates of silver, welded to the bronze, and round plates of the same metal at the ends of the arms. The brooch has been anciently fractured and carefully mended by two bronze rivets.

The things found are now in the possession of Mr. le Strange at Hunstanton Hall, and it is to his courtesy that I owe my information on the subject.



ALTAR TO THOR, MUNDAL.

Since reading this paper to the Society I have carefully read Dr. Christison's "Early Fortifications in Scotland," and Mr. Hadrian Allcroft's fine "Earthwork of England," only to learn what I had feared, that only the spade will clear up, and perhaps that not certainly, the mystery that enshrouds our "Danish" Camps.

Finally. The photos shown of the altar to Thor were sent to me by my good friend Mikkell Mundal, of Mundal, Fjerland, Sogn. I have a boys' book on the stocks, a book dealing with the fight between Odinism and Christianity, and after touring Scandinavia from end to end, I determined to put the hall of my hero where the hotel now stands at the mouth of the Mundal valley in Fjerland. I told Mikkell that after I reached England; and Mikkell answered that when the foundations for the hotel were laid evidence of a Viking habitation was found. Of that I hope to give the Society further information later on. Meanwhile here is the photograph of the stone, traditionally an altar to Thor, and still called the "Offer-stein." It stands a short distance behind the hotel on the left bank and near to the Mundal river. (*Page 57*).

The only book in my library dealing with the ritual of the Scandinavians,¹ barring the frequent, though non-descriptive references in the Sagas, says that human victims were broken on such altars, which I take it, means that their backs were broken by their being forcibly thrown on the stones. This may account for the top of the stone being left ridged.

¹ "The Religion of Ancient Scandinavia," by W. A. Craigie (Constable, 1/-), p. 59.—"At Thorsness, in the west of Iceland, tradition long pointed out the 'doom-ring,' in which men had been adjudged for sacrifice, and the stone within it, called Thor's stone, on which they were killed by being broken."

BRUNANBURH AND VINHEITH IN INGULF'S CHRONICLE AND EGIL'S SAGA.

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

IN the account of the life of Abbot Turketul, or Thurketyl, of Crowland, given by Ingulf, and stated by him to have been based on acts recorded by a relation of the Abbot, occurs an account of the battle of Brunanburh, which is more full in its details than any other preserved by the English Chroniclers. If we are to believe Ingulf's statement, it is a record of oral tradition gathered from an actual participator in the fight.

It is of course generally admitted that the historic Ingulf cannot have been the author of the Chronicle which passes under his name, and when "Ingulf" is referred to in these pages it will be understood that the reference is to the author or compiler of the work in question. Whoever this writer or compiler may have been, there can be little or no doubt that he was very closely connected with Crowland Abbey, and must have had access to the records and traditions of the place. When therefore there is no assignable motive for falsification or forgery we may allow some weight to his use of local knowledge.

Two accounts of the battle are given in this Chronicle. The first comes in its correct position chronologically, does not mention the battle by name, and gives the bare facts as recorded in the chronicles generally, with the addition of Athelstan's visit to the shrine of St. John of Beverley, where he pledged his dagger for victory. In the second account the site of

the battle is given as "Brunford." The details are, as we have said, peculiar to Ingulf, and there appears to be no motive for recording the battle a second time except the desire to preserve a genuine tradition respecting Abbot Turketul.

Quite apart from the question of the authenticity of the work attributed to Ingulf, or the date at which it may have been written down, this tradition, wherever it occurred, would be worth consideration, if only as a specimen of an English family tradition analogous to a fragment from an Icelandic saga, originating in the district of England most influenced by long successions of Scandinavian inroads and settlements. As such it is specially worth comparison with the account of the Battle of Vinheið given in the "Saga of Egil Skallagrimsson" without raising the question of the authenticity or accuracy of either, but considering them as equally specimens of uncorrected oral tradition of an actual historic happening, however either or both may have been preserved. There is a close likeness, which amounts to more than parallelism, between the two accounts, which, if it do no more, should go far towards settlement of the question as to whether Vinheið does not actually represent Brunanburh, though with some misplacement of date, due to the reduction of a long oral Saga to writing, in the Icelandic account.

The two traditional accounts are as follows. It may be premised that the English version describes an attack by King Olaf on the English camp on the night preceding the actual battle, which is not recorded in the Saga. This, however, gives details of some fierce advance guard fighting on the second day previous to the engagement, and the two accounts are therefore so far in agreement that they both record fighting before the arrival on the field of the main forces.

Both accounts are concerned with the fortunes of the wing of the English forces which faced the Scottish contingent.

“THE HISTORY OF INGULF.” Translated by Rev. J. Stevenson. (“The Church Historians of England.” Vol. II., Part II.).

“The acts of the Lord Turketul the Abbot have been written by Abbot Egelric, the younger, his relation.” (Final par. of “History.”)

“I will in no wise refrain from briefly inserting in my work such statements as shall be found most necessary for the information as well of us as of our successors, according as I have heard them both from my aged brethren who are still living, and who received the information in a true narration from their immediate predecessors.” Preface, 1st par.).

EARLIER YEARS OF LIFE OF ABBOT TURKETUL.

To oppose this king (Athelstan) an insurrection was originated by Analaph son of Sitric, formerly king of Northumbria . . . Constantine, king of the Scots, and Eugenius, king of the Cumbrians, and a numberless foreign band of other kings and earls, were joined in the closest treaty with him . . . and assembled at Brunford in Northumbria to oppose King Athelstan.

Here is related the night attack on the English camp:—

Athelstan and his army, as the morning dawned, approached the scene of carnage ready and prepared to make an attack on the barbarians, who had toiled all night, and now were wearied and disordered in their ranks. It chanced that King Athelstan, who led all the West Saxons, was opposed to the troops of Analaph's band; and his Chancellor Turketul, at the head of the Londoners and all the Mercians, met Constantine's band.

After the fight had continued for a long time with great fierceness, and neither side gave way (such was the multitude of the pagans), the Chancellor Turketul, having taken with him a few of the Londoners, whom he knew to be the bravest, and a certain leader of the Wiccii, Singrin (alt. Syngrinus) by name, a man of tried courage, rushed against the foe, he himself taking the lead, in height towering above all, in bone and sinew firm and brawny, and in the midst of the heroes of London remarkable for his robust strength. Penetrating the wedges of the enemy he laid them prostrate right and left, and having passed through the bands of the people of the Orkneys and the Picts, and surrounded by a forest of spears and darts which had been hurled against him, but which his faithful breastplate had rendered ineffectual, he pierced the wedge-like bands of the Cumbrians and Scots with his followers. At length, having with much slaughter reached the king himself, he hurled him

from his horse, and in every way attempted to take him alive; but the Scots closing round their king to defend him with all their strength, and a greater number being engaged against a few, and, above all, attacking Turketul alone, he then for the first time, as he afterwards confessed, repented of the rashness. And now he was almost on the point of being overwhelmed by the Scots, and their king was almost rescued from his hands, when Singrin, the leader, slew him with his sword. When Constantine, the king of the Scots, was thus despatched, the Scots retreated, and left a more open passage for Turketul and his soldiers. And his death being speedily made known through the whole army, Analaph and all his men took to flight. An unheard of host of pagans fell on the field; and Turketul used often to boast that the Lord preserved him in so severe a conflict, and that he was most happy and fortunate in not having either slain or mutilated a single man, though one might lawfully fight for his country, and above all against pagans."

"SAGA OF EGIL SKALLAGRIMSSON." Translated by Rev. W. C. Green. ("Vinheath by Vinwood.")

Overnight fighting between Hring and Aðils of Bretland with the advance force under Thorolf and Egil, before the arrival of Athelstan or of Olaf.

Chap. LIII. Thorolf was thus armed . . . in his hand he had a halberd . . . such weapons were called mail piercers. Egil was armed in the same way as Thorolf. He was girded with the sword that he called "Adder" . . . neither of the two had shirts of mail.

With the halberd Thorolf slays Earl Hring in the first day's fighting of the advance guards.

Chap. LIV. King Athelstan heard rumour that there had been fighting on the heath. At once he and all his host made ready and marched northward to the heath. . . They all remained together for the night.

No sooner did day dawn than Athelstan waked up his army. He held conference with his captains, and told them how his forces should be arranged. His own division he first arranged, and in the van thereof he set those companies which were the smartest. Then he said that Egil should command these. "But Thorolf," said he, "shall be with his own men and such others as I shall add thereto. This force shall be opposed to that part of the enemy which is loose and not in set array, for the Scots are ever loose in array. Often they prove dangerous if men are not wary, but they are unsteady in the field, if boldly faced."

Egil objects to parting from his brother, but is overruled.

After this they formed in divisions as the king had arranged, and the standards were raised. The king's division stood on the plain towards the river. Thorolf's division moved on the higher ground beside the wood. King Olaf drew up his forces when he saw that King Athelstan had done so. He also made two divisions, and his own standard and the division he himself commanded he opposed to King Athelstan and his division . but King Olaf's second division moved near the wood against the force under Thorolf. The commanders thereof were Scots earls, the men mostly Scots, and it was a great multitude.

And now the armies closed, and soon the battle waxed fierce. Thorolf pressed eagerly forward, causing his banner to be borne onwards along the woodside. He thought to go so far forward as to turn on the Scots king's division behind their shields. His own men held their shields before them; they trusted to the wood to cover their right side. So far in advance went Thorolf that few of his men were before him. But just when he was least on his guard, out leaped from the wood earl Adils and his followers. They thrust at once at Thorolf with many halberds, and there by the wood he fell. But Thorfid, who bore the standard, drew back to where the men stood thicker. Adils now attacked them, and a fierce contest was there. The Scots shouted a shout of victory, as having slain the enemy's chieftain.

This shout when Egil heard, and saw Thorolf's standard going back, he felt sure that Thorolf himself would not be with it. So he bounded thither over the space between the two divisions. Full soon learnt he the tidings of what was done, when he came to his own men. Then did he keenly spur them on to the charge, himself foremost in the van. He had in his hand his sword "Adder." Forward Egil pressed, and hewed on either hand of him, felling many men. Thorfid bore the standard close after him; behind the standard came the rest. Right sharp was the conflict there. Egil went forward till he met earl Adils. Few blows did they exchange ere earl Adils fell, and many men around him. But after the earl's death his followers fled. Egil and his force pursued, and slew all whom they overtook. Nor stood those Scots earls long when they saw the others, their fellows, fly, but at once they took to their heels.

Whereupon Egil and his men made for where King Olaf's division was, and coming on them behind their shields soon wrought great havoc. The division wavered and broke up. Many of King Olaf's men then fled.

But King Athelstan, when he perceived King Olaf's division beginning to break, then spurred on his force, and bade his standard advance. A fierce onset was made, so that King Olaf's

force recoiled, and there was a great slaughter. King Olaf fell there, and the greater part of the force which he had had. . . . Thus King Athelstan gained a signal victory.

It will be seen that the two accounts have a remarkable agreement in detail:—

INGULF'S CHRONICLE.

Athelstan, with the West Saxons, opposes Olaf.

Turketul, with the Mercians and Londoners, opposes Constantine.

At the hottest period of the engagement, Turketul, with a picked force under Syngrin, leader of the Wiccii, cuts through the first line of the enemy.

The Scots rally, and make a determined attack on Turketul, from which only his "faithful breastplate" saves him.

Turketul's force is almost overwhelmed, when Syngrin slays the Scots' leader with his sword.

On the fall of the Scots' leader, the advance continues. The other division of the enemy (Olaf's) breaks up on learning of the Scottish reverse.

EGIL'S SAGA.

Athelstan, with his own men, faces Olaf's division.

The second (Thorolf Skallagrimsson's) division faces the Scots.

At the hottest period of the engagement, Thorolf Skallagrimsson, with his picked "Wicingas," cuts through the forces opposed to him.

A sudden fresh attack is made on this advanced force, and Thorolf Skallagrimsson is slain.

Egil Skallagrimsson succeeds his brother, and slays the Scots' leader with the sword "Adder."

On the fall of the Scots' leader, Egil and his men fall on the first (Olaf's) division of the enemy and rout it.

It seems impossible to doubt that these two accounts refer to the same battle. We have in fact an English tradition of Brunanburh, and an Icelandic tradition of Vinheið, which are so close in detail that they must refer to the same contest, and incidentally corroborate one another, at the least in many points. Each account is avowedly written as the personal experience of a leader, in one case of a whole division, and in the other of a picked section, on the same wing of Athelstan's forces.

It is not at all straining probability, considering the close correspondence in detail, to suppose that this

section leader was acting under this divisional commander, and that, in fact, Skallagrimsson was leading Turketul's picked men, and that the "Syngrin" of the English account is an orally blundered rendering of "Skallagrim." In any case the name has a suspiciously un-English form.

This Syngrin is said to be a leader of the Wiccii (Hwiccas). The Saga tells us that Thorolf Skallagrimsson led his own "Wicingas," to use the English term, and some others, as a leader on the extreme right wing of the English second division, the division with which alone both accounts are concerned. The English account says that this division was composed of Mercians, among whom would be Hwiccas from the Severn Valley, and Londoners, these last being apparently under the special command of Turketul. But Turketul was rather a director than a leader, the actual fighting devolving on his section leader, Syngrin, which is significant.

Skallagrimsson's Vikings were placed on the extreme wing as a steady force which would not be demoralised by the wild tactics of the Scots. The Hwiccas might well be placed in the same division, as used to the loose fighting of the Welsh frontier, while the steadiness of the London forces is well known. The Saga gives us the definite information that Athelstan chose the position of his forces carefully; and perhaps none of the English would be better associated with a foreign contingent than the men from the great port, where the Viking, as a friendly trader, was no stranger.

Turketul's picked force therefore consisted of Londoners, Hwiccas, and Wicingas. Given a Viking contingent, one would expect it to be foremost, as the Saga records. But it is not improbable that while the name of the leader of the contingent is remembered, the English oral tradition has substituted "Hwicca" for "Wicinga," and that "Skallagrim the Wicinga" has thus become "Syngrin the Hwicca." The tendency

to retain the English name of one contingent would be great, and the Saxon idiom does not add the "son" to a patronymic. It will of course be noticed that the English tradition does not record the fall of any English leader of note during the rally of the Scots. But oral tradition in recording that a "Syngrin" led the picked men of Turketul into action, and that a "Syngrin" slew the Scots leader and converted near defeat into victory, would forget that the two were brothers, even if Turketul had noticed that the Vikings had a fresh leader of the same name. The two sons of Skallagrim were armed alike, save for Thorolf's halberd, and Turketul remembered the swordmanship of the man who slew the leading Scot, even as the Saga records his doing the deed with the sword "Adder." Turketul would be concerned not so much with the details of the advance, as with his own rescue, and the turning-point of the battle.

In the same way the Saga has not mentioned Turketul, being concerned only with its own heroes. It takes no account of a mere director and onlooker, however, dignified, and Turketul himself boasts that he has actually hurt no one in the battle. It is possible, indeed, that the "faithful breastplate" which saved him may really represent his "shieldwall" under Syngrin or Skallagrim.

It may be noticed that the English tradition has so far preserved Turketul's account of his experiences accurately that the "wedge" formation of the northern forces is specially mentioned.

Another point which may deserve notice is the personality of the Scots leader slain. The danger to Turketul came when, after cutting through the Orkney-men and Picts, the Scots and Cumbrians were met with. The corresponding danger to Thorolf is from the flank attack of Earl Aðils of Bretland. As the Cumbrian contingent would be in the main British, the two accounts correspond so far. The name given by

Turketul to the Cumbrian leader is "Eugenius," which seems to be a Latinization of "Atheling."

Ingulf is wrong in saying that the king of the Scots (Constantine) himself was slain, as the Saga is wrong in recording the death of Olaf. It is, however, not impossible that the son of Constantine—a Scots Atheling—who is known to have fallen at Brunanburh, may have been in command of the Cumbrians, together with others of the Scots force, and may be represented by the "Earl Aðils" of the Saga.¹

While entirely deprecating any conclusion as to the authority of Ingulf, in whose writings this English tradition is preserved, or insistence on the accuracy of the Egil Saga, it would seem that with two independent accounts of an English battle corresponding so strangely as to preclude the idea of independent invention, we have at least a *primâ-facie* case for considering the two as referring to the identical historic event, if not also to the leader whose sword turned the fortunes of the battle. I am not aware that the two accounts have ever been compared previously, and attention should at least be drawn to their significant correspondence, even if the comparison will not stand criticism in detail. But the discrepancies between the two do not seem more than may fairly be accounted for by time and the variation of oral transmission.

¹ Professor W. G. Collingwood, in his "Scandinavian Britain," p. 208, says of Cumberland. "Early in the tenth century we find it under native Welsh kings as part of Strathclyde, a kingdom closely connected with Scotland, and ultimately, if not at first, held by the Tanist to the Scottish crown." History therefore seems to favour Mr. Whistler's suggestion that the son of the Scots' king may have been in command of the Cumbrians. Professor Collingwood says (l.c.p. 135) that this prince was named Ceallach. The name "Aðils" is certainly not genuine. It has been pointed out that it is a Swedish name, and only found at a very early period, and that rarely, while in some MSS. of "Egla" the name appears as "Aris."—[A. F. MAJOR].

RAGNAR LOTHBRÓK AND HIS SONS.

BY PROFESSOR ALLEN MAWER, M.A.

IN the history of the earlier Viking invasions of the British Islands and of Frankish territory on the Continent, no figures loom more largely than those of Ragnar Lothbrók and his sons. We know the names of a good many of those warrior leaders who struck terror into the hearts of Irish, English, and Franks alike, but beyond that we cannot as a rule go. We know nothing of their personal characteristics, little, if anything, of their family connections, their forefathers, or their descendants, and nothing of their lives. To each of their names is attached the record of some isolated battle, siege, or raid, but their personality is for the most part hidden from us as securely as if we had no record of them at all.

Of these names none are more familiar to us than those of Ragnar Lothbrók and his sons. Is their case different? We have in their case at least a large mass of material in the form of saga, tradition, and historical record, such as we have for no other of the great Viking leaders, and the aim of this paper is to discuss this material with a view to the reconstruction of the life and figure of Ragnar Lothbrók and his sons, and to show that for Ragnar and his sons the case *is* different, that we have at least some definite knowledge of their lives, family connections, personal history, and even of their personal characteristics.

Our materials for reconstructing the life of Ragnar Lothbrók and his sons are as follows:—

(1) *Ragnar Loðbróks Saga* and the *Tháttur af Ragnarssonum*. These represent Icelandic tradition of a comparatively late date. The Saga belongs probably

to the second half of the 13th century, and the *Tháttur* may be even later. The *Saga* knows of the invasion of England by Harold Hardrada and of the conquest of England by William the Bastard, while the *Tháttur* shows the influence of the continental annals, more especially in the forms of the personal and place-names quoted.

(2) The poem known commonly as "*Krákumál*," Ragnar's death-song when in the power of King Ella. This is probably earlier than either of the *Sagas*, and is dated by Vigfusson in the first half of the 12th century.

(3) The story as found in the ninth book of Saxo's history. It has been shown by Olrik, in his monograph on the sources of Saxo's history, that the whole colouring of the Ragnar story, as found in Saxo, is Norse and not Danish, and that it agrees in its main outlines with Ragnar's *Saga* and *Krákumál*. Danish sources do not know of Ragnar on the throne of Denmark. The only part of Saxo's story which is due to Danish influence is the story of the birth and death of Ubbo, one of Ragnar's sons.

(4) Of other Scandinavian authorities we need only mention Sven Aggeson's Danish history of the 12th century, the lost *Skjöldunga Saga*, of which fragments have been preserved in Arngrim's recension of the 16th century, important for the history of Ragnar's family, and occasional references in other sagas.

(5) English, Irish, and Continental annals are full of references to the activities of the sons of Ragnar Lothbrók, and it may be that we have references also to the great Viking leader himself.

The story of Ragnar, as told by Saxo, is briefly as follows:—

Regnerus, son of Syuardus Ringo, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Skaane and Sjælland, having early distinguished himself by his prowess against Ring, King of Jutland, and received his education in Norway. He then took to wife the amazon Lathgertha of Norway, and had by her two daughters, whose names are not given,

and a son Fridleuus. The men of Jutland and Skaane rose against his rule and attacked the men of Sjælland, but were crushed in the battle of Hvítaby in Skaane and in several other fights. Regnerus now married Thora, daughter of Herothus, King of the Swedes, and, by his exploits in winning her, earned the nickname of Lodebrochus (O.N. *loðbrók*, shaggy breech). By her he had sons Rathbarthus, Dunwatus, Syuardus, Biornus, Agnerus, and Iuarus. Once more the men of Jutland and Skaane revolted in favour of one Haraldus, but were again defeated in the battle of the Campus Laneus. The seven-year-old Iuarus greatly distinguished himself, and after this fight Syuardus won his nickname "serpentine oculi" or snake-eye, owing to a remarkable wound cure wrought upon him by Odin, who appeared to him as a man of great size, calling himself Rostarus. Thora now died, and Regnerus assuaged his grief by active piracy. He visited Britain and slew Hama, the father of Hella; he placed Scotland and Pictland and the southern and western islands under his sons Syuardus and Rathbarthus, while Norway and the Orkneys were placed under Fridleuus. Once more civil war broke out in Denmark, but Regnerus, with a fleet of island Danes, drove Haraldus out, and even had a successful bout of fighting with Charlemagne in Saxony. Regnerus now heard of the death of Herothus of Sweden at the hands of Sorli, who had deprived his sons of their inheritance. He went with Biornus, Fridleuus, and Rathbarthus against Sorli. Here mention is made of a fresh group of sons—Regnaldus, Withsercus, and Ericus—born to him by Swanlogha, who were as yet too young to accompany him. Regnerus and his three sons defeated Sorli's champions, and Biornus won the nickname "ferrei lateris" (Ironsides), by reason of his valour. He was rewarded with the rulership of Sweden. Regnerus, soon after this, had another son Ubbo, by a daughter of one Hesbernus, and went on an expedition against the Hellespontines with all his sons, including Ubbo. He

was victorious, and placed Withsercus over the district. Regnerus was equally successful against the Biarmi, Curi or Kurlanders, Sembi, and Finns, but was recalled by an attempted revolt of Ubbo, acting at the instigation of his grandfather Hesbernus. The rising began in Sweden. Biornus there, and Iuarus in Jutland, remained neutral, and the rebels were defeated in the "sinus viridis," *i.e.*, Grönsund, between Falster and Möen. In the meantime Withsercus was overthrown by Daxo, and died a self-appointed death. Regnerus now left Denmark in charge of Iuarus, was reconciled to Ubbo, and went to avenge Withsercus. He made Ericus ruler of Sweden, while Fridleuus and Siuardus had been driven out by the Norwegians and Scots. Biornus was then appointed to Norway, and he, with Ericus and his father, ravaged the Orkneys and Scotland, where fell Dunwatus and Rathbarthus. Regnerus now lost his wife Swanlogha, but was roused from his grief by his son Iuarus, who had just been expelled from his kingdom by the Galli, who had bestowed royal power on Hella, son of Hama. They sailed to York (Iorvicus for Norvicus is a fairly certain emendation), landed, fought a three days' battle, and forced Hella to fly. Thence they went on to the Hellespont, after having paid a visit to Ireland, where they slew the king, Melbricus, and besieged Dublin. On his return thence Regnerus met Haraldus once more trying to raise sedition, and the latter took refuge with the Emperor Lodovicus. Regnerus overthrew the Christian religion which Haraldus had endeavoured to establish in Denmark.

He now attacked Hella, who had obtained help from the Irish, but was captured and put to death in a snake pit. The news came to Siuardus, Iuarus, and Biornus. Iuarus was looking on at the games, but neither clouded his countenance nor turned his eyes from public merriment to dwell upon his private sorrow. He sailed to England, and by an ingenious bargain gained enough land whereon to build a city. Siuardus and Biornus now

came with a fleet. Hella was slain, and Iuarus remained in England for two years, while Biornus and Siuardus returned to their kingdoms. In the meantime Siuardus and Ericus, both of the royal line, were made kings by revolting Danes, but were defeated by the sons of Regnerus in a battle at Slesvik, in which Siuardus fell. The royal stock was now almost extinct, except for the sons of Regnerus. Biornus and Ericus went home, Siuardus and Iuarus settled in Denmark, and Agnerus was appointed to govern England, where he behaved with great cruelty. Later he perished in Sweden, while avenging Ericus, who had been slain there by one Ostenus. Siuardus now succeeded to the whole of his father's dominions, and was in turn succeeded by his son Ericus, who was, however, attacked by Ericus, brother of Haraldus. The attempt on the crown was for the time being successful, but ultimately the elder Ericus was overthrown by Guthormus, son of Haraldus, in a battle in which both were slain, and Ericus junior, was restored. Ericus at first persecuted Christianity, but ultimately was converted by the mission of St. Anskar.

The Story in *Ragnar Loðbróks Saga* is as follows :—

Ragnarr, son of Sigurthr hringr, King of Denmark, wooed Thora, daughter of Herruthr, jarl in Gautland, and had by her two sons, Eirekr and Agnarr. One summer he went to Norway, where he had many relatives and friends, and wooed Kraka, a Norwegian, the daughter of Sigurthr and Brynhildr, and had by her a son Ívar beinlaus, and later Björn, Hvítserkr (Saxo's Withsercus for Whitsercus) and Rögnvaldr. These four sons made an attack on Hvítabær, in which Rögnvaldr fell. Kraka now bore a son, Sigurthr ormr-í-auga, and Ragnarr quarrelled with Eysteinn of Sweden, whose daughter he had failed to marry. Eirekr and Agnarr harried Sweden. Agnarr fell, and Eirekr chose to be put to death rather than surrender.

When Aslaug-Kraka heard of it she went with her three-year-old son Sigurthr to tell Ívarr, Björn, and

Hvítserkr, of the death of her son, Rögnvaldr, and her stepsons, Agnarr and Eirekr. They went to Sweden and slew King Eysteinn.

The sons of Ragnarr next went southwards, Sigurthr going with them. They captured Vifilsborg, and then made their way to Luna, in Tuscany, conquering many cities on their way. They were minded to capture Rome, but hearing that it was still very distant, they turned back home. While they were absent, Ragnarr being ignorant of their whereabouts, prepared an expedition for England, lest he should be their inferior in fame. His preparations were too slight and hasty, and the result was that Ragnarr was captured by King Ella and cast into a snake pit. He prophesied that, when the griskins heard of the sufferings of the old boar, they would grunt, and his wise saying was soon fulfilled. When his sons heard of their father's fate they took counsel together—Hvítserkr, Sigurthr, Björn and Ívarr. Ívarr wanted merely to ask for compensation, so the other brothers went to England by themselves, but were defeated. Ívarr then went and made terms with Ella by the same trick as in Saxo, and founded Lundunaborg in Northumberland. He now summoned his brothers, and together they overthrew Ella. Ívarr ruled in England. Hvítserkr, Björn, and Sigurthr returned home, where Hvítserkr was slain in a raid in the Baltic, and chose his own death. Ívarr ruled in England till his death.

Krákumál, in its earlier verses, gives some account of the life and exploits of Ragnar, of his slaying of the snakes in Gautland, his wooing of Thora, his raids in the Baltic, his battles with King Eysteinn, his fights in the land of the Flemings, his invasion of Northumberland, his sailing to Waterford, the fall of the Irish king, his victory in Anglesey, his disastrous change of fortune when he falls into the hands of Ella, and then comes the true death-song, the defiance of Ella, the joy at the thought of the coming banquet in the halls of Odin, the looking forward to the avenging wrath of his sons, the

dying beneath the snake-torments with a laugh on his lips.

It will be seen that *Krákumál*, at least in its bold narrative of events, differed little from the sagas, and indeed many verbal coincidences may be found between *Krákumál* and the poetic strophes which, in *Ragnar Loðbróks Saga*, are placed on the lips of Ragnar, his wife, and his sons.

The *Tháttur af Ragnarssonum* begins in the same way. Ragnarr, king of Sweden and Denmark, succeeded his father in those realms, and married Thora Borgarhjört, a daughter of Herrauðr, earl of Gautland. By her he had two sons Agnarr and Eiríkr. Later he married Aslaug, and had four sons—Ívarr, Björn, Hvítserkr, and Sigurthr. Eiríkr and Agnarr went together, and the other four brothers were also associated in piracy. The latter subjected Selund and Reithgotaland, Eygotaland and Eyland, and settled at Leire against Ragnarr's wish. The latter made Eysteinn king of Sweden, and bade him be on his guard against his sons. When Ragnarr was away in the Baltic, Eiríkr and Agnarr attacked Eysteinn, were defeated, killed, and avenged by their brothers. Ragnarr was angry that they had not waited his return, and boasted that he would do as much as they. He fitted out vessels at Liðar in Vestfold, and we are here told that his realm extended from the Dovrefield Mountains to the Naze in south-west Norway. He went to England. We have the same story of his defeat, death, and the ultimate vengeance of Ívarr leading to the building of York. Ívarr had two illegitimate children, Yngvar and Hústó, who tortured St. Edmund by command of their father. The sons of Ragnarr ravaged southwards as far as Luna, and then they divided the northern lands among themselves. Björn jarnsíða went to Sweden, Sigurthr ormr-i-auga took Selund, Skaane, Halland and all Víkinn, and Agthir as far as Lithandisnæs, and Hvítserkr took Reithgotaland. Sigurthr married Blaeja, daughter of Ella, and their son was Hörthaknútr,

King of Selund, Skaane, Halland, and Víkinn. The son of Hörthaknútr was Gorm, so named after his foster-father, the son of Knútr hinn fundni. He succeeded his father, and married Thyra Danmarkabót, daughter of Klakkharaldr of Jutland, to whose realm he succeeded. Sigurthr ormr-í-auga and Björn jarnsítha did much harrying in Frakkland, and then Björn went to his kingdom. After that the emperor Arnulfr overthrew the Danes and Northmen in a battle, in which fell Sigurthr ormr-í-auga and Guthröthr, another king of the race of the Döglings.

Before proceeding to discuss these stories we may note that in these three traditions, while Ragnar Lothbrók is represented as king in Denmark, he and his family are very closely connected with Norway. According to Saxo, Regnerus was brought up in Norway, while the Ragnarr of the *Saga* has many relatives and friends in Norway, and in the *Tháttr* his realm is made to extend as far as the Dovrefield and the Naze, while his son rules in all Víkinn as well as in Agthir, both of which are in South Norway.

We must now turn to the Continental annals, and endeavour, with their aid, and that of the above traditions, to reconstruct the story of Ragnar Lothbrók and his sons.¹

The earliest mention of a son of Ragnar Lothbrók is in the case of

(1) *Björn jarnsítha*. In the year 855² we have mention of one "Bernu Nortmannus" as joining an expedition on the Seine under Sydroc, while in 858³ Bernu "dux partis piratorum Sequanae insistentium," came to King Charles at Vermeria⁴ and swore fealty to him. That this Bernu is Björn jarnsítha is shown from the account of events about this time given in William of Jumiègue.⁵

¹ As Ragnar is a much more shadowy figure in history than are his sons, we will discuss the history of the sons first, in order that we may understand his career more clearly by the light of theirs.

² Chron. Fontanell. 855.

³ Ann. Prud. 858.

⁴ Verberie (dep. Oise), near Senlis.

⁵ Migne, Vol. 149, col. 784.

His story is briefly as follows:—Lothrocus, King of Dacia (*i.e.*, Dania) sent forth his son Bier Costae Ferreae from his realm with a “paedagogus” Hastings to gain for himself a kingdom abroad. Bier and Hastings gathered a large force and sailed to Vermandois in 851. They burned St. Quentin, made their way to the Seine, burned Jumièges, visited Rouen, and ravaged the whole of Neustria. Their fleet was secured at an island on the Loire below St. Florent. Thence they attacked Nantes, Anjou, Poitiers, and Tours, sailing up the Loire to Orleans, which they twice attacked. William then speaks in very rhetorical fashion of attacks on Paris, Beauvais, and Noyon, and finally makes the Danes sail from France to Italy, where they conquered Luna¹, thinking it to be Rome. Bier was in the end wrecked on the English coast on his way home, and later died in Frisia.

That this Bier is Björn jarnsítha is clear from his nickname and from the name of his father Lothrocus; that he is also Berno of the annals can be seen by comparing what they have to say of Berno and what William has to tell of Bier. The *Chronicon Fontanellense* tells how in 855 Berno sailed up the Seine and ravaged as far as La Perche, doing great damage, but was ultimately defeated by Charles. Berno now built a fort on a certain island, and was there besieged by King Charles in 859. This island was on the Seine, as is seen from the *Annals of Prudentius* (858), where the name of the island is given. In 859, according to the same authority, the Danes sailed round Spain, and took up their quarters in the Island of Camargue at the mouth of the Rhone. In the next year these Rhone Danes sacked Valence, and later went to Italy, where they captured Pisa and other cities.² We see thus that there is historical foundation for a good deal of the story of William of Jumièges, and doubtless if we knew more exactly which of the various expeditions

¹ In N.W. Tuscany, not far from Pisa.

² See Dr. Jon Stefánsson's paper “The Vikings in Spain; from Arabic (Moorish) and Spanish Sources,” in this SAGA-BOOK, pp. 31-46.

recorded in the years 853-9 it was that Berno actually took part in, we should find still further confirmation, though a certain amount of the monk's story is undoubtedly due to rhetorical assignment of many events belonging to these years to one hero, of whom he knew the name.¹

Both Saxo and the *Tháttr* make Björn ruler of Sweden. It is very doubtful how far this can be accepted as correct. In the life of St. Anskar² we find that when that evangelist first visited Sweden he was welcomed by the king Bern, the date of his visit being approximately 830. Later on in the same life³ we are told of a King Anoundus of Sweden who, after having been expelled from his realm, took refuge with the Danes, and was by them restored, about the year 851. It is just possible that this Bern of 830 may be Björn jarnsítha or Berno, and that he was responsible for the exile of Anoundus. If the latter were restored in 851, this would mean, presumably, that the ruling king would be exiled, and we should not be surprised to find him engaged in piracy c. 855-9. Beyond suggesting the possibility of such an identification we cannot go, as, unfortunately, we have no early list of kings of Sweden at this time.⁴

Some support is lent to the identification of Björn jarnsítha with Bern of Sweden by the story of the poem known as "*Ragnarsdrápa*." That poem was written by the poet Bragi, who flourished during the first part of the ninth century, as a "*höfuðlausn*" (head-ransom), when

¹ The *Tháttr* makes Björn marry Frankland with his brother Sigurthr ormr-f-auga. This points to the same series of incidents, and there is also reference to an attack on Luna (v. *supra* p. 42).

² C.10.

³ C.16. Adam of Bremen (c.63) mentions three kings of Sweden, Anund, Bern, and Olaph, but he says nothing about the order or length of their reigns.

⁴ It must be stated, however, that there is possibly a hint of another king between Bern and Anoundus in chapter 16 of the life of St. Anskar; if he did really exist, the theory as to Bern's expulsion would of course fall to the ground.

he had fallen into the hands of Björn, King of Sweden.¹ The poem is a description of the pictorial representation of various incidents in myth and saga found on a shield which had been presented to the poet by Ragnar Lothbrók.² If this Björn of Sweden, who was a contemporary of Bragi, was Björn jarnsítha, and there is nothing in the chronology of either Björn (Bern), Björn jarnsítha, or Bragi to prevent its possibility, then it would be very reasonable that Bragi, when in the power of Björn, should save his life by composing a poem on the shield which Björn's father Ragnar, had presented to him. From the *Skaldatal* it would seem that Bragi had originally been associated with Eysteinn Beli as his court poet. Eysteinn, it may be remembered, was one of Ragnar's chief opponents.

(2) *Sigurðr ormr-í-auga* appears to be the Sigefridus rex of the Continental annals from 873 onwards. In that year Sigefridus, King of the Danes, sent ambassadors to King Charles to make a settlement of the boundaries between the Danes and the Saxons, and in the August of the same year other ambassadors came from his brother Halbdani to deal with the same matter. That this Sigefridus was Sigurðr ormr-í-auga is fairly certain. Adam of Bremen agrees with the annals of Fulda in calling him a brother of Halbdani, but Halbdani, or Healfdene, is called a brother of Inuaer or Ívarr in Asser, and that Inuaer was a son of Loðbrók is seen from both the *Annals of St. Neot* (878) and from Adam of Bremen. The brotherhood of Healfdene and Ívarr is also made clear from the *Saxon Chronicle* (878), which makes them brothers of the same man. How Sigurðr, who appears as King of Denmark, had come into possession of that kingdom, it is difficult to say. Saxo makes him succeed his father. Swen Aggeson³ says that he invaded Denmark, fought with, and slew the King, took his kingdom,

¹ Egilssaga, ed. Jónsson, pp. 199-200.

² Sn. E. III., 307-11.

³ Hist. Regum Danorum, c. 2.

and married the King's daughter. The only two Kings to whom reference could be made at this time, so far as we know, are Horic, senior, and Horic, junior. The former fell in battle against his nephew, Guthorm, in 854, and the latter apparently did not die till 901-2.¹ It is just possible that Horic, junior, may have had a daughter old enough for Sigurðr to marry in 873, when he first appears in Denmark, and it may be that such a marriage took place, and was the means whereby Sigurðr came into possession of the realm, but it seems hardly likely.² The later history of Sigefridus is uncertain. There was a Sigefridus, King of the Danes, present at the siege of Paris in 886, but he seems to be identical with a Danish king Sigefridus, slain in Frisia in the autumn of 887. Now it is fairly certain that our Sigefridus was still alive in 891. In that year two Danish kings, Sigefridus and Godefridus, fell in the great battle on the Dyle in Belgium, and this Sigefridus is by the *Tháttr* identified with Sigurðr ormr-í-auga. We have no means of testing much of the additional matter to be found both in Saxo and the sagas as to the life of Sigurðr-Siuardus. The story as given in Saxo must, however, for the most part, be summarily rejected as out of accord with his career, so far as it can be made out from the annals. Dr. Steenstrup identifies Sigurðr with Viking leaders, bearing the names Sitricus and Sidroc, who appear in the Irish and Continental annals about this time. These names, however, probably represent the Old Norse name Sigtryggr, and not Sigurðr. It may be worth noting, however, that Sitricus is associated with his brother Ivarus

¹ Chron. Erics Regis, 902, Petri Olai Annales Dan. 901, Annales Esromienses, 902, Hamsfortii Chronologia Secunda, 882 (the dates are a cycle out), Anonymi Nestved. Chronic. 901. (Langebek, S.R.D., Vol. I.).

² For this method of succession compare the cases quoted above in connection with the family of Guthröthr, and the example of Gorm who, according to one tradition, married Thyra, daughter of Klakk-Haraldr of Jutland, and succeeded her father as ruler of that district (v. supra).

in Ireland, while Sidroc fought by the side of Berno on the Seine in 855-6.

(3) *Ívarr beinlausí* seems to be the Inuaer, Ingwar or Hingwar of the English and Continental annals.¹ He is mentioned by the annals of Lindisfarne as one of the leaders of the Danes in the Sheppey expedition of 855,² and by Simeon of Durham as taking part in the expedition against York.³ The latter statement is also found in Ethelweard.⁴ The chief incident in the life of Ívarr was his share in the martyrdom of St. Edmund in 870. MS. F of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles ascribes this act jointly to Ingwar and Ubba; elsewhere Ingwar alone is mentioned.⁵ It was probably owing to this act that Ingwar was ever distinguished by the epithet "crudelissimus." Of Ívarr we know nothing more from the Continental or English annals, unless we can accept the statement found in the Latin-Scandinavian annals that Bruno of Saxony, who, with several other companions, fell before the Danish arms in 880,⁶ owed his defeat to Ingwar.⁷ Other annals assign this victory to the reign of Horic, junior (Erik barn), or even to Erik barn himself⁸; this is not necessarily inconsistent with Ingwar's sharing in the fight, but on the whole the evidence is unconvincing.

¹ Adam of Bremen (I. 39) speaks of him as a son of Lodeparchus (*i.e.*, Lothbrok), and mention is made of him as brother of Healfdene (and therefore of Sigurthr ormr-i-auga) in the A.S. Chronicle (878).

² Pertz, xix., 506.

³ II. 6. No great reliance can be placed on this statement, as in the same passage Simeon groups together the names of nearly all the prominent Danish leaders of the 9th century.

⁴ IV. 2.

⁵ S.D., II. 6. Ívarr is also mentioned as leader of the Northumbrian expedition in Anon. Rosk. Chron. (Langebek S.R.D.I. 374).

⁶ Ann. Fuld. 880, Widukind, I. 16, Thietm. Chron. II. 15, A. of B., I. 40.

⁷ Anon. Rosk. Chron. (S.R.D.I. 374), Petri Olai Excerpta (ib. II. 10).

⁸ Petri. Olai. Chron. (ib. I. 114) Chron. Eri. Regis (I. 157) Brev. Hist. Regum. Dan. (1-16).

There remains the possibility that we may find traces of this Ívarr in the Irish annals.¹ In the year 852, according to the *Fragments of Irish Annals*,² Amhlaeibh Conung, son of the king of Lochlann, arrived in Ireland, but soon retired suddenly, leaving his younger brother Imhar to collect rents. In 856 Amhlaeibh returned to Ireland, and in 857 Imhar and Amhlaeibh won a victory over the Gall-Gaidhel in Munster.³ In 859 Amlaiph and Imhar and Cerbhall led a great host into Meath,⁴ and in 863 three kings of the foreigners, viz., Amhlaim, Imhar, and Auisle were plundering together.⁵ In 866 Amlaiph and Auisle went to Pictland.⁶ In 867 Auisle was slain by his brothers, Amhlaibh and Imhar, according to the *Fragments*,⁷ and the Black Foreigners won a battle in Caer-Ebroc, i.e., York, in which Alli, King of the Northern Saxons, was slain. In 870,⁸ Amlaiph and Imhar besieged Dumbarton, and after a fourth months' siege, destroyed it. In 871⁹ Amlaiph and Imhar returned from Alba to Dublin with two hundred ships, and a great multitude of men—English, Britons, and Picts—were brought by them to Ireland in captivity. In 873,¹⁰ Imhar, King of the Norsemen of all Ireland and Britain, ended his life.¹¹ The *Fragments of Irish Annals* speak of his death as due to an ugly sudden disease, which agrees with Ragnar's saga, which tells us that, after ruling all England, he died, smitten down by disease.

The coincidence in date between the career of Imhar and the known activity of Ívarr the Boneless, suggests the possibility of their identity. Imhar is not mentioned by the Irish Annals as going with Amlaiph and Auisle to Pictland in 866; his activities were probably directed

¹ See "The Gael and the Gall," by Eleanor Hull, SAGA-BOOK, Vol. V., Part II., pp. 372-4.

² *Fragm.*, p. 127.

³ *Ann. Ult.*, 855, 856.,

⁴ *ib.* 858.

⁵ *ib.* 862.

⁶ *ib.* 865.

⁷ *Fragm.* pp. 171-3.

⁸ *Ann. Ult.* 869.

⁹ *ib.* 870.

¹⁰ *ib.* 872.

¹¹ Ethelweard places the death of Iguar in the same year as the death of St. Edmund.

against Northumbria and its king. By 870 Imhar was free to join Amhlaibh in the siege of Dumbarton; this event probably took place after the martyrdom of St. Edmund in this year, at which Ívarr was certainly present, or Imhar may have joined Amhlaibh after the siege had begun, if the traditional date for the death of St. Edmund (viz., November 20) is correct. The return of Amhlaiph and Imhar to Dublin in 871, with English, British, and Pictish prisoners, certainly looks as if part of their activity had fallen within English territory, and this might well be the case if Imhar is the same person as Ívarr-Inuaer. The account of Iuarus in Saxo could hardly be based solely on the story of the martyrdom of St. Edmund and the immediately preceding events; the figure drawn by Saxo is much more like that of Imhar, King of the Norsemen of all Ireland and Britain.¹

There was certainly a tradition that Ívarr was buried in England. We read in *Ragnar Loðbrók's Saga* how, on his death-bed, he gave orders that his body should be buried in a place which was exposed to attack, and prophesied that, if this was done, foes coming to the land would meet with ill-success. The story went that Harald Hardrada landed near Ívar's how, and fell on his expedition. William the Bastard came and broke open Ívar's how and burned his body and then gained possession of the land. In the story of Heming, quoted in *Orkneyinga Saga*, Harald Hardrada lands in the Cleveland district, and asks Tosti what a certain hillock is. Tosti says that it is Ívar's how, and Harald declares that to be of evil omen. When William the Conqueror lands he orders Ívar's bones to be burnt.

(4) *Ubbo*, mentioned by Saxo as the son of Ragnar Lothbrók, by a daughter of (H)esbernus, seems to be the

¹ The *Fragments of Irish Annals* (v. supra) make Amhlaif and Imhar brothers; but this, as Todd (Intro. p. cxxii,) points out, is probably the writer's own development of the story in the Annals of Ulster (anno 866) that Auisle the third king of the Gentiles (the other two being Olaf and Ivar) was treacherously slain by his brothers.

Ubba of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, who is mentioned in the year 870 (MS. F) as being with his brother Inguar¹ at the martyrdom of St. Edmund. In 878 a brother of Inuaer and Healfdene was raiding in Devonshire, having come thither from Wales. Gaimar gives the name of this brother as Ubbe,² and the annals of St. Neot, in telling the story of this campaign, speak of a raven banner woven by the three sisters of Hynguarus and Hubba, daughters of Lodebrochus; it is therefore very probable that Gaimar's identification is correct. Gaimar too states that the war flag of Ubbe was the raven. Ubbe fell in the fighting which ensued, and, after his death in Pen Wood, according to Gaimar, was buried under a mighty barrow, known after him as "Ubbelawe." Of this name there now appears to be no trace.³

Besides this we have mention in the *Annals of Lindisfarne* (sub anno 855), that Ubba was one of the leaders of the combined Danish and Frisian forces, which in the year 855 landed under the leadership of Healfdene, Inguar, and Ubba in Sheppey.

In 867-8 Ubbe, "dux Fresonum" was, according to both the *Annals of Lindisfarne* and the *History of St. Cuthbert*, present at the siege of York. The *History of St. Cuthbert* gives the fuller account.⁴ He is there called "dux Fresicorum," and is brought to Northumbria in the time of King Aelle, for whose death he is made responsible. Later on the Danish forces in Northumbria are said to have been brought thither by "Ubba dux Fresonum" and "Healfdene rex Danorum." The close association of Ubbe with Healfdene and Inguar in both these events points again to the identification of Ubbe with Ubbo, the son of Ragnar Lothbrók, and gives us further record of his activity.

¹ Roger de Hovedene (Rolls Edition I. 69) places it "in Eboracensi Colonia." Mr. Major suggests to me that this may be due to confusion with Ívar's mound.

² As the brother of Healfdene and therefore of Sigefridus, he would be the son of Ragnar Lothbrók.

³ V. 3149.

⁴ §10.

There is no mention in the sagas of a son of Ragnar Lothbrók, who can be shown to correspond to Ubbe, but they apparently replace him by one Hústó who is mentioned with his brother Yngvar as an illegitimate son of Ívarr Beinlausi. The *Tháttur af Ragnarssonum* says that the torturing of St. Edmund was carried out by them at the command of their father. The name Hústó is probably a corrupted form of Ubba, and the names Hústó and Hyngvar are perhaps associated here through the use of some English or Continental source allied to that found in the Chronicle of 870 F.

How far there is any ground for associating Ubbo with Frisians, rather than Danes, it is difficult to say. In Saxo Ubbo is said to be the maternal grandson of one Esbernus, but unfortunately it is impossible to determine from Saxo with what part of Northern Europe Esbernus was particularly associated. A further difficulty arises with regard to the use of the term "Frisians." There can be no doubt that during the whole of the ninth century the inhabitants of West and East Frisia, in spite of occasional settlements of the Danes among them, were in a state of continued hostility towards the latter. As late as 884-5 (v. supra) the Frisians were in alliance with the Saxons against the Danes, and Alfred himself seems to have received help from them.¹ The Frisians also were Christianised at this time, and we should not be likely to find one of their leaders engaged in the martyrdom of St. Edmund. It seems very improbable then that the term "Frisians," as applied to the followers of Ubbe, can mean the Frisians of East or West Frisia. May we not suggest that it must belong to the settlers in the district of Frisia Minor or North Frisia, situated on the West Coast of Schleswig? If the annals of Lindisfarne are correct in bringing Frisians and Danes into alliance with one another in 855, this would give us a date before which the settlement of North Frisia must have taken place. The time at which the district was settled has

¹ A.S. Chronicle, 897.

never been ascertained, but there is nothing to prevent its belonging to a much earlier period than that often assigned to it.

We cannot leave the person and activity of Ubbe, leader of the Frisians, without discussing Ubbo, a champion of the Frisian nation, who is mentioned by Saxo.¹ Harald Hyldetan is there said to have attacked a champion of the Frisian nation named Ubbo, who had been ravaging the district of Jutland. He vanquished Ubbo, but gave him his sister in marriage. Ubbo, the Frisian, is named among those who supported Harald Hyldetan at the battle of Bravalla, where he distinguished himself greatly.² How far this Ubbo is a truly historical personage, and in what way, if any, he is connected with Ubbe, the Frisian, of the days of King Alfred, and his father, it is impossible to say, but the coincidence of name and nationality is at least worthy of notice, and we may remark further that the Ubbo of the days of Harald Hyldetan seems to be connected with Frisia Minor rather than with Frisia proper, since his district borders on Jutland.

(5) It seems impossible, with the evidence before us, to identify *Healfdene* with any one of the sons of Ragnar Lothbrók named by Saxo or the sagas, but there can be little doubt that he was a son. Asser³ makes him a brother of Inwarus, *i.e.*, of Ívarr the Boneless (v. supra), and the Continental annals make him to be the brother of Sigefridus, *i.e.*, of Sigurthr ormr-í-auga (v. supra). The earliest mention of him is to be found in the *Annals of Lindisfarne*, where he is named as one of the leaders of the fleet which sailed to Sheppey in 855. He was present at the battle of Ashdown in 871. In 873 (v. supra) he sent ambassadors to the Emperor to make arrangements as to the boundaries of Danish and Saxon

¹ Book 8.

² Saxo and Skjöldunga Saga.

³ The fact that he and his brother Sigefridus sent separate embassies in the year 873 to discuss the same matters, points in the same direction.

territory. He was presumably in England at this time, for in 875 we find him with the same Danish force as was mentioned in 871, going to Northumbria, which he had conquered by the year 876. After ruling in Northumbria for some time, Healfdene went mad, according to Simeon of Durham, and was expelled from the country very soon after. The madness of Healfdene probably existed only in the pious imagination of Simeon, who represents it as being a punishment for his sacrilegious acts. The expulsion is possible, and we may probably identify Healfdene with the Albann or Alband, king of the Black Gentiles, who was engaged in fighting against the Picts and Norsemen in 875, and who, in 877, was slain in fight against the Norsemen on Strangford Lough.¹

We have now discussed the life and activity of the sons of Ragnar Lothbrók so far as they stand out as definite historical figures; the other sons are much more shadowy, and it would be unprofitable to discuss what we are told of them, as we have no basis of historical fact upon which to work. There remains the figure of Ragnar Lothbrók himself. Of historical events with which he can be associated there are but slight traces. We have mention in 845² of a leader of the Northmen named Reginherus ("qui christianos et loca sancta prædaverat")

¹ Ann. Ult. 874 and 876. The *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* apparently speaks of this leader as Ragnall's son, which, if we can identify Ragnall with Ragnar, would exactly suit the supposed parentage of Healfdene. The story of the coming of Healfdene to England on a commission from the two Danish kings Sigefridus and Gotafridus, of his death, and the succession of Guthredus is mentioned also by Adam of Bremen (I.41), though as has been pointed out above, it is probably mis-dated.

Under the year 875 the Annals of Ulster say that Oistin, son of Amlaibh, king of the Norsemen, was deceitfully slain by Alband, king of the Black Gentiles. It is at least worthy of note that in Ragnar Loðbrók's saga, the Tháttir, and Saxo, Eysteinn or Ostenus, who is represented as King of Sweden, is slain by the sons of Ragnar Lothbrók. Reference is also made to the same incident in *Hervararsaga*.

² Ann. Xant.; Rud. Fuld. Ann.; Ann. Prud. 845.

as present at an attack on Paris, and we are told by the annalists that he fell a victim to the divine vengeance, while his whole army was afflicted with blindness and madness. This may have been Ragnar, but the story of his death is open to suspicion.

The *Fragments of Irish Annals*,¹ after mentioning the capture of York, say that not long before this time every kind of commotion prevailed in Lochlann (*i.e.*, Norway), from the fact that two younger sons of Albdan, King of Lochlann, expelled the eldest, Ragnall by name, because they feared that he would take the kingdom after their father. Ragnall and his three sons came to the Orkneys, and he stayed there with his youngest son, while his elder sons ravaged the British Isles, Spain, and Africa, thinking that their father had returned to Lochlann. While there they dreamed that their father had died with his two sons in a land not his own, and on their return the dream proved true.

It is very difficult to know how much, if any, of this story can be referred to the historical Ragnar Lothbrók. The identity of name is not certain. Ragnall represents Rögnvaldr and not Ragnarr, and his parentage is wrong.² Ragnarr is represented by Saxo as putting his son Fridleuus over the Orkneys, and later he comes thither with his sons Bernus and Ericus, and invades Scotland thence. There was certainly a Scandinavian invasion of Spain and North Africa in 858-60,³ a date which would suit the chronology of the *Fragments*, and the known activity of the sons of Ragnarr, but we have no knowledge of the leaders of this attack. There is also the slight coincidence that, whereas in the Irish *Fragments*

¹ pp. 159-63.

² We may note, however, that the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (v. supra) probably makes Healfdene to be the son of one Ragnall-Ragnarr. The parentage of Ragnall in the *Fragments* may be due to inverted genealogy, Ragnar's son taking the place of his father.

³ Steenstrup, *op. cit.* I., pp. 94-96. See also, in this SAGA-BOOK, p. 31, Dr. Stefánsson's "The Vikings in Spain."

Raghnall's movements are unknown to his sons until revealed in a vision, we are told in the saga that Ragnar's sons were ignorant of their father's whereabouts when they were campaigning in Italy. On the whole the evidence is too uncertain for us to base much on it, though we may note that, if Raghnall is Ragnarr, we have some evidence outside Saxo and the sagas for bringing Ragnarr into connection with the British Isles not long before the siege of York.

Saxo brings him twice to England; first, when, with the aid of his son Iuarus, he captured York; and, secondly, when he renewed his attack on King Ella, but was captured by the latter and cast into a snake pit, where he died. His death was avenged by his son Iuarus. It is very difficult to say how far this story may be true, for we have no record of Northumbrian history for the period subsequently to 802-6, until the capture of York. Considering the prominence given to the story in Scandinavian tradition, it is difficult to believe that it is not founded on fact. The coming of Iuarus to York has historical foundation (v. *supra*), and it may very well have been the case that he came in order to avenge his father.

We seem to come into further touch with the historical career of Ragnar Lothbrók, when we find, in Saxo that, on his first expedition against Ella, he went to Ireland, slew its king, Melbricus, and besieged Dublin. We cannot but bring this into connection with the notice in the Annals of Ulster (sub anno 830), that in that year Conaille (*i.e.*, a district in county Louth), was plundered by the foreigners, who took Maelbrighde, its king, and Canannan, his brother, prisoners, and carried them to their ships. The coincidence of the names of the king and of the districts with which they are connected must outweigh any slight difference of narrative, for the stories, even as they stand, are not incompatible one with the other, and, since Saxo is quite independent of the Irish annals, we may believe that we have here an early incident in the career of the historical Ragnar Lothbrók.

If the above identifications are correct, the known activity of Ragnar Lothbrók would lie between the years 830 and 867, and this would agree well with that of his sons, for Ívarr and Healfdene came to England in 855, while Björn appeared in France at the same time. The first appearance of these three sons of Ragnar at the same time, viz., 855, just after great disturbances in Denmark in 854-5, would suggest that there may be some definite connection between these events. Of what character that connection was it is impossible to say.

In conclusion, we must say, after a careful study of all our sources of information, that Ragnar Lothbrók has pretty certainly received his heroic proportions rather in the light of the valorous deeds of his sons, than by his own prowess.

NOTE ON THE MAESHOWE INSCRIPTION.

(See Dietrichsen, *Monumenta Orcadica*, p. 113.)

Professor Magnus Olsen, of Christiania, has kindly called my attention to the inscription at Maeshowe, in the Orkneys, in which mention is made of Lothbrók, or perhaps, rather of his sons. The inscription dates probably from the 12th century, but is none the less interesting as giving us a definite tradition associating Lothbrók or his sons with the Orkneys. The inscription runs as follows:—

Sia hœuhr uar fyr læpin hœlr løpbrokar synir hœnar þœir uðro huater
slet uðro mœn sœm þœir uðro fyri ser iorsalfarar brutu orkœuh utnorþr
er fe folhit mikit þat . . . œftir her uar fe folhkit mikit rœist ^{simon}
^{sihriþ}
. . . sœl er sa er fīna ma þan øuþ hin mikla . . . bar fe yr øuhi þesum.¹

The exact translation is unfortunately a matter of doubt, at least in the opening sentences, which are the most important for our purpose. They have been variously rendered—"This how was built before as a how for Lothbrók; his sons were bold, seldom were there such men as they were"; or "This how was built before Lothbrók's; his sons were, etc."

With this uncertainty as to interpretation and the lateness of the inscription, it is impossible to draw any very definite inferences, but the reference to Lothbrók or his sons is interesting and important. Further discussion and comment on this inscription will be found in the following books: James Farrer, "Notice of Runic Inscriptions discovered during recent excavations in the Orkney, 1862;" *Collectanea Archæologica*, Vol. II., part I., page 15; Vigfusson's "Icelandic Reader," pp. 449 and 456.²

¹ This transcript is also due to the kindness of Professor Olsen.

² These references are due to the kindness of Mrs. A. W. Johnston.

THE LAST OF THE ICELANDIC COMMONWEALTH.

PART II.

By EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A., Vice-President.

I N my former discourse, on the last of the Icelandic Commonwealth, I endeavoured to give you some idea of the manner in which the enforcement of a new ecclesiastical principle—the immunity of the clergy from secular courts—in the hands of a reckless prelate resulted in preparing the way for interference from Norway in Iceland's internal matters, first by the Archbishop and Chapter of Nidaros, and afterwards by the King and Court.

I shall now try to give you some notion as to how the new way, opened up by Bishop Gudmund Arason, was made use of by an able and determined ruler of Norway, for the purpose of realizing the dream of ages, namely, to add to the bond of blood between the two peoples that of political unity.

The accomplishment of this purpose is the great work of the reign of Hákon, whom the Icelandic historians generally call the "Old," and who was the fourth of the sovereigns of that name who ruled over the kingdom of Norway. He was king over that realm for forty-six years, the longest reign that any Norwegian king had enjoyed since Harald Fairhair. And it took Hakon the whole of this time to blend Iceland into the unity he aimed at, which, after all, was but a personal, not an incorporative one.

King Hakon was a grandson of the redoubtable Sverre, the successful Pretender from Faröe, who (on his mother's authority), claimed as his father, King Sigurd Mouth, the son of Harald Gilli.

Hakon Sverreson succeeded his father in 1202, and after a reign of one year and nine months, died on the 1st of January, 1204. He was succeeded by the boy king Guttorm, son of Sigurd Lord, *alias* Unas, a Farœ-born son of Sverre. But Guttorm died as early as the following summer, 1204, and a contest arose between the Sverrian party, the Birchlegs, and the Thrandheim lords, as to who was now nearest to the throne. The choice lay between two brothers, sons of Cecilia, a sister of Sverre, namely, the illegitimate Hakon, surnamed Galinn, son of Folkvith, a Swedish noble, and the legitimate son of Bard Guttormson, Ingi, whose younger brother, Skuli, seems to have waived all claims to the throne at this juncture. The contending parties came, at length, to the agreement that Ingi was elected King, while his brother, Skuli, was created an Earl.

While this was going on north in Nidaros, a male child was born at the manor of Folkinsberg, in the bailiwick of Burg (Borgarsýsla), in South-Eastern Norway. Thrand, the parish priest, baptized the baby to the name of Hakon; for the mother declared that King Hakon Sverreson was the father. The name of the mother was Inga, of unknown parentage; but, in the words of Hakon's historian, Sturla Thordson, "a good woman and true, of good birth and well connected among the people of Varteig in the Bailwick of Burgh." King Hakon's cousin, Hakon Galinn, together with sundry favourites of the late king, was familiar with the fact of the girl's intimate connection with the king. After many troubles the child was safely delivered into the custody of his kinsman, King Ingi, and was embraced with paternal affection by Earl Hakon Galinn, who, we are unmistakably given to understand by Sturla, was generally regarded as the real father of Hakon. Such was the case with Lady Christina, Hakon Galinn's wife, and prominently so with Earl Skuli, and many others of the laity, besides most of the clergy. It was only after a successful hot-iron ordeal by Hakon's mother that people first yielded a

reluctant credence to the assertion that he was a grandson of Sverre, instead of of Sverre's sister, Cecilia, through a bastard.

Whatever may be said about King Hakon's parentage, the meed cannot be denied him that he was a ruler born, like his grandfather, Sverre. Not exactly illustrious as a military leader, he was unquestionably successful as a politician and diplomatist. His tenacity of purpose was firm, unswerving, and cold-blooded. His methods to obtain it were those of the age, unscrupulous and ruthless when necessary. For Norway Hakon was, it seems to me, one of the best and ablest of her rulers. He overcame turbulent and dangerous enemies, and then established and maintained peace in the land, which he ruled with justice and humanity, and which, under his sceptre, attained to such a degree of prosperity at home, and to such consideration abroad, as it had scarcely ever experienced before. That we Icelanders have no cause to love the man, who, by unprovoked aggression, craftiness, and cruelty, deprived our little nation of its independence, is as natural as, on the other hand, it is undeniable that our own forefathers' fatal want of foresight, moderation, and the spirit of compromise in the management of their own affairs at home, was the primary cause of the disastrous foreign interference in the 13th century.

On the death of King Ingi, 1217, Hakon, a boy thirteen years of age, succeeded peacefully, though, on account of Earl Skuli's opposition, by no means without difficulty, to the vacant throne.

Only one year after Hakon's accession affairs in Iceland connected with Norway had taken a turn which threatened to provoke open hostilities on the part of the latter country.

It came about in this way :—

In the year 1215, in pursuance of old custom, the two chiefs, Sæmund of Oddi, son of the mighty Jón Loftson, and Thorvald Gizurson of Hrúni, went to the Port of

Eyrar in Southern Iceland, for the purpose of fixing the tariff prices at which Norwegian merchants, lately arrived, should sell their wares to the Icelanders, and the Icelanders theirs to the Norwegians. The merchants considered that they had not been dealt fairly with, and seem to have laid the blame, in particular, on Sæmund, who, when the fancy took him, was given to high-handed proceedings. The affair would seem to have roused a good deal of animosity in Bergen, whence the traders hailed. And when, in the following year (1216) Paul, the son of Sæmund, went to Norway, the Björgvin people gave vent to their feelings in a manner the most unpleasant to their guest, charging him with harbouring ideas of over-weening ambition, aspiring to an earlship, nay, even to the throne of Norway. In order to get out of the Björgvinian excitement, which threatened to develop into acts of violence, Paul secured a berth in a ship of burden, in which he sailed for Thronðheim, where he intended to pay his respects to King Ingi, with whom he could claim relationship as great grandson of Thora, a daughter of King Magnus Bareleg, of whose reputed son, Harald Gilli, King Ingi himself was a great-grandson. In this journey Paul was drowned; and when, in the following spring (1217) the news came to the father both of the Björgvin treatment and the sad fate of his son, Sæmund, as grieved at heart as he was incensed against the Björgvinians, chose to hold the latter responsible for the disaster that overtook his son. Knowing that this year there were again Norwegian traders at Eyrar, Sæmund set out with a strong body of armed men, and demanded of these traders to pay for his son such weregild as he should fix himself. Without heeding the remonstrances of moderate men, among whom his own brother Orm was especially conspicuous, he seized by force from the merchants goods that, at a moderate estimate, amounted to the exorbitant fine of £2,400.

It would seem that even this was not enough to satisfy Sæmund's lust for wealth and revenge; for when, in the

following year, a great merchantman from Hardanger came to port in the Westmen's Isles, he levied a fresh fine on these traders, with the fatal result that they slew his noble brother Orm, together with his son, Jón (August 6th, 1218), both perfectly innocent. Further fighting in the isles led to further loss of life among the Icelanders. Feeling of resentment ran high in Iceland, and no less so in Norway, where Earl Skuli, yielding, no doubt, partly to popular clamour, partly, perhaps, acting on his own ambitious impulses, made serious preparations for a naval expedition to Iceland in the course of the summer of 1220. Ships for the purpose were already selected and commanders nominated. But in spite of the prevailing excitement "most of the wiser men of Norway were opposed to Skuli's venture, and urged many reasons against the advisability of the undertaking."

At this time there had been staying with Earl Skuli and King Hakon since the summer of 1218, a godi from Iceland, whom both lords vied with each other in honouring, namely Snorri Sturluson, the great historian, mythographer, poet, scholar, and statesman. Putting in all his weighty influence against the prosecution of the invasion plan, he urged that a wiser course would be to conciliate the best men in Iceland, and maintained that he himself would soon, by means of his influence, be able to convince the Icelanders of the advisability "of turning to obedience to the rulers of Norway." He also asserted that, with the exception of Sæmund, there were no men in the island greater than were his brothers, and gave assurances that they would implicitly follow his advice when he came forward to exert his authority.

This, and similarly persuasive language, says the historian, had the effect of soothing the earl's ardour. And by his next step he seems to give evidence of his own conviction of the unwisdom of the project, in that he himself took the somewhat undignified course of requesting the Icelanders to pray King Hakon to intercede on their behalf with him (Earl Skuli) for the purpose of

averting the expedition. The king was as yet in his teens, and his bosom friend and counsellor, the justiciary Dagfinn, was a great Icelandman; and in some way or another, presumably not derogatory to Skuli's dignity or prestige, it was left to the king to decide that no expedition to Iceland should take place. This he did in a speech which he delivered in the following almost vituperative terms:—

“My Lord Earl, the plan which, during this summer, has been entertained concerning this matter, appears to the Council not a wise one, namely, to send an armed host out to Iceland; for the project of an expedition for the purpose of carrying war through that land is considered one difficult of execution. That land has been colonized from this country, and our own kinsfolk and forbears have christened it and granted to the dwellers of it many privileges. Moreover most people there are innocent, so far as we are concerned, though some there be who have ill-treated certain of our subjects. But if war is carried into that country it will result in harm to all parties. So now, I pray you, my lord, to drop this plan on this my pleading.”

To this the earl acceded with alacrity.

But on the dropping of this plan, another was adopted in its stead, that of obtaining, by diplomacy, what the rulers refrained from effecting by the sword. “The counsel was now adopted” says Sturla Thordson, “to send Snorri out to Iceland to secure peace for the Eastmen (Norwegians).” King Hakon conferred on him the title of a “Landed-man,” *i.e.* a baron; as Snorri's Edda defines the title. And between Snorri and the earl the chief topic of conversation was now the affair of Iceland. Now, for the first time, the earl ventured the suggestion, that Snorri should busy himself with procuring the subjection of Iceland to Norway. He agreed to the earl's proposal to send his son, John Smallfry (Jón Murtr); to the earl, which, on the part of the earl at least, was meant for a

sort of guarantee that Snorri should show himself active in promoting the earl's schemes and the king's interests, in respect of Iceland, or, as the historian laconically puts it: "Until that should be carried out which had been bespoken." What that really was we have no actual knowledge of, though guessing at it is easy enough.

Snorri left Norway late in the season, 1220, and arrived with his ship dismasted at the Westmen's Islands in the autumn. The ship was a gift from Earl Skuli, one of fifteen great presents bestowed by the bounteous earl upon the talented Godi of Reykholt. Snorri had composed two panegyrics on his lordship, besides one on Lady Christina, the wife of Skuli's half-brother, Hakon Galinn, who himself, while he lived, had embraced Snorri with no less admiring affection than Skuli, but who had passed away already in 1214.

On arrival Snorri was received with much ill-will by the folk of the Southern quarter, particularly by all the kindred and affinity of Orm Jonson, whose dastardly slaughter by the Norwegians it was impossible to palliate. The leader of the malcontents was Orm's son-in-law, Biörn, the son of Thorvald of Hrúni, and brother to Gizur, who was generally regarded as having in him the makings of a chieftain. The Southland folk made great mockery of the poems wherewith Snorri had honoured Earl Skuli, turning them into parodies and going to the length of declaring them the greatest doggerel that ever had seen the day. One of these parodies is still preserved through the impartiality of Sturla Thordson, but I will not attempt a translation of it, because without a commentary it would not be understood, and with one would fail to please. The parodist, however, was paid a full-grown wether for a production which, to judge from what is left of it, must have been very galling to Snorri.

With a suite of twelve attendants, proud of carriage, and bearing shields of elaborate workmanship, Snorri took his way first to the episcopal seat of Skalholt, where he was hospitably received by Bishop Magnùs

Einarsson. Here he was met by Biorn Thorvaldson, attended by a rowdy company, who straightway walked up to Snorri, demanding a declaration as to whether he meant to place himself in opposition to their obtaining from Norway honourable atonement for the slaying of Orm Jónsson and his son. This Snorri denied; but his answer, instead of satisfying Biorn, exasperated him still more, and his attitude became so threatening that the Bishop had to step in to patch up peace between them, which must have been hollow enough, for their parting was one "of no cordiality." Snorri proceeded on his journey to his home at Reykholt, resuming the rule and duties of his godord (chieftainship).

In the course of the ensuing winter, 1220-21, a fierce hostility sprang up between Lopt, the son of Bishop Paul (†1211) and Biorn Thorvaldsson, out of a cause which might have seemed an easy one of amicable settlement; the question was only whether a wood, which Lopt claimed as his, had been wrongfully cut by the house-carles of Biorn's uncle-in-law, Kolskegg the Wealthy, Biorn taking upon himself to contest the case at law against Lopt. From Sturlunga Saga it would seem that Snorri Sturluson was not a stranger to the inner working of this quarrel. For, in the words of his nephew, "Snorri sent in the spring (1221) his attendant, Valgard Styrmeson, south to Lopt, where he tarried for a while; and during his stay Lopt sent a messenger to Biorn to say he intended to pay him a visit in the second week of summer. He had therefore better be prepared, as Lopt had made up his mind that at that meeting their quarrels should come to an end." The meeting came off on June 17th, when, in a fierce fight, Biorn lost his life, and thus the champion of the cause of Orm, the innocently slain, was removed, and trouble with Norway from that side, to some extent, at least, was averted.

Though Sturla Thordson does not say that Snorri was the primary mover in this affair, he says enough to give us to understand that Snorri had a hand in it from the

beginning, his words being: "Some people say that Snorri dissuaded Lopt but little from rising against Biorn." Besides, he states explicitly that Lopt, after the affair, threw himself under Snorri's protection, which was promptly granted him. This was about the only act by which Snorri ever attempted to advance any Norwegian interest in Iceland, or to carry out the special policy of King Hakon and Earl Skuli. Nor did time fail to reveal the value set on Snorri's services in his capacity of a "landed-man" of the King of Norway.

The significance of Snorri's advancement to this dignity is in my opinion far more important than historians and critics of Snorri's statesmanship have hitherto been aware of. All along, down from Fairhair's imperious régime, the custom of creating landed-men had been in vogue at the Norwegian Court. These highest office-bearers in the land drew their title from the grant of land which the Crown conferred upon them for their sustenance. When the hersers, who formed the hereditary high aristocracy of ancient Norway, gave in to Harald's power, it was his custom to receive with their submission their ancestral freehold territory on feudal terms, which the king immediately conferred again on the supplicant, who then delivered his oath of allegiance and became the king's landed-lord. Consequently, we must suppose that Snorri must have become King Hakon's landed-man by an act which was regulated by a similar procedure. Presumably he gave his godord and lands into the king's power, perhaps on being persuaded that it was a mere matter of form, and received both again immediately as royal grants, and then delivered his baronial oath and, as a matter of course, was, in 1220, the sole godi of Iceland who was a *subject* of the King of Norway.

If, as no doubt was the case, the ceremony of creating a landed-man was the same at the commencement of King Hakon's reign as we have it codified by his son Magnus in the Court Ceremonial called *Hirðskrá*, then what happened to Snorri on the occasion of his appoint-

ment was this. The installation ceremony took place either at Yuletide or Easter, or at some other of the great church festivals, for so, says *Hirðskrá*, has the custom been in ancient days. The document goes on:—

This shall be done when table-verses (*i.e.*, grace) have been pronounced, and the meat has been blessed, and before the King takes his seat on the throne. Then the King shall declare it before all present in his hall or court apartment before he sits down to table, in these words: "If it seem good that this man (N.N.) be nominated, who to most men is known for good deeds, then the King desires in return for his service to lead him to a seat of honour and [to confer on him] the distinction which goes with the title which is the highest within the court, to wit, with the title of Landed-Man. All the right that appertains to the title of a landed-man the King confers on him to the fullest, by the grace of God and the trust in him, including the dignity of a landed-man, and such grants as are his due privileges, being the stipend of fifteen marks." Then the King shall call to him two landed-men, or Marshalls, or standard-bearers, or cup-bearers, or stewards, or any such two as are of the most honour within the court, if landed-men happen not to be present, and he shall order them to lead that man forth to himself in front of the high seat (throne) and then shall the King himself take him by the hand and lead him to the Seat-dais on his right and bid him be seated in the seat of other landed-men. But by right order it behoves landed-men to sit so that he be the first who is the senior of the title and after him all the rest in order of the seniority of his dignity.

The oath that a landed-man had to swear is thus described in *Hirðskrá*:—

This oath it behoves barons to swear: "Therefore I lay hand on holy book, appealing to God, that I shall be true and loyal to my lord N., King of Norway, both secretly and openly; I shall support him and his realm with all my counsels and all my strength; I shall also maintain all such rights as he has sworn to the people, according to the wisdom that God grants me, so help me God."

Snorri's acceptance of this distinction would naturally account for Hakon's attitude in charging him with treason for having, on his second visit to Norway, left that country in spite of the king's prohibition, and it would also explain what the historians have found such an outrage in Hakon's conduct, that he laid claim to Snorri's lands after his death. If Snorri was his feudal vassal by virtue of

his creation as landed-man, then, from Hakon's point of view, Snorri's lands were his in reversion. Moreover, the title of a landed-man was not hereditary, at his death his "grant" reverted to the Crown. Thus an attitude, otherwise wholly mysterious, becomes obvious. And if the procedure of Hakon's act of grace was such as, in virtue of traditional precedent, I maintain it must have been, then the dignity which Snorri was weak and vain—one is almost inclined to add ignorant—enough to covet and accept, was a costly decoration—it cost him his life.

Snorri knew not only the laws of his land and its constitution, but also those guardians of both, the high-stomached and, when necessary, high-handed Godar, who were his contemporaries, too well to venture upon any such mad undertaking as an agitation aiming in any form at bringing about the subjection of the country to Norway. To attempt any such thing by means of violence was not in his line at all; he was not a man of action, and his determination was always at fault when conflicting circumstances demanded a decisive stroke. Besides, when he came to reflect on the position he had brought himself into, in the atmosphere of Norwegian court flattery, no doubt his patriotic feeling asserted itself, and rueing his mistake, he became a useless instrument in the hands of Norwegian ambition.

From 1220 until 1234 the Icelandic affair seems to have been left in abeyance at the court of King Hakon, who was at the time plentifully occupied with the concerns of his own distracted realm and the ambitious schemings of his uncle, Earl Skuli. Only once during this interval did uncle and nephew turn their attention to Iceland, in that they summoned to their presence in 1230 certain chiefs who were most concerned in the unfortunate affairs of Bishop Gudmund. But no heed on the part of the chiefs was given to this summons at the time. In the autumn, however, of 1233, Sturla Sighvatson, Snorri's nephew, went abroad, not in obedience to the summons, but to do penance in Rome

for the manifold wrongs he had done to the Church in his treatment of the person of Bishop Gudmund. On his return from Rome to Norway he visited King Hakon, who at that time was staying in Tunsberg. He was graciously received by the king, who entertained him and had many things to discuss with him. He deplored greatly the state of unrest and turmoil in Iceland, of which Sturla gave him a description, and asked what trouble it would cost to introduce a monarchical constitution into the country, giving it as his opinion that peace would be better preserved if there was only one supreme authority in the island. The historian says:—

Sturla made light of this, giving as his opinion that the difficulty would be slight if he who undertook it was hardy of hand and resourceful of counsel. The King asked if he was ready to undertake the task. He answered he would venture the risk under the King's advice and direction, if he might entertain the hope of such honours in return as the King deemed suitable on his successfully accomplishing the undertaking. The King stipulated that he should not attempt to bring about the subjection of the land by man-slaughters, but rather by means of capturing men and sending them abroad or by securing their dominions (*goðorð*) in some other way, should occasion serve.

Sturla was a frequent interviewer of the king during the winter, and discussed this matter with him. The next summer Sturla returned to Iceland and spent the winter with his father at his seat Grund in Eyjafirth in the North of Iceland. His cousin, Orækja, the son of Snorri Sturluson had conducted himself in a most high-handed and riotous way toward Sturla's liegemen during the latter's stay abroad, and thus a not unwelcome pretext was seized by Sturla for beginning the royal business, by visiting on the father the misdeeds of the son; for there is no doubt whatever that Snorri Sturluson was at this time the one man in Iceland most hated by King Hakon, and must have been singled out as the target for Sturla's first shot in Hakon's service.

In the spring of 1236 father and son, Sighvat and Sturla, Snorri's brother and nephew respectively, marched

with overwhelming odds against Snorri, who, revolting against the idea of gathering men to meet his brother in a hostile encounter, chose rather the inglorious course of retreat. The peaceful Thord, the eldest of the Sturlung brothers, tried in vain to settle peace between the kinsmen and Snorri fled away from his dominion. Whereupon Sturla made himself at home at Reykholt and treated all Snorri's possessions as if he were the legitimate owner of them. Snorri's son Orækja he got into his power, kept him a prisoner till late in the season, and then forced him to go abroad this same year.

Thorleif of Gardar on Akranes, Snorri's cousin, who had taken up arms against Sturla, the latter defeated severely at Bœ in Burgfirth (April 28), and forced him to go abroad in the following year (1237).

In the spring of that year King Hakon, Earl Skuli, and Archbishop Sigurd the Silent, sent joint summons to Icelandic chieftains in general to repair to Norway; and in obedience thereto went abroad Snorri himself, his two nephews, Olaf Thordson "Whiteskald" and Thord Kakali, son of Sighvat, beside Thorarinn Jonsson, a chief of the Eastfirths.

This clearance effected, Sturla had the whole of the west country practically at his mercy. But he had still mighty men to reckon with. In the south of the country was the inscrutable Gizur Thorvaldson, whose attitude towards the king Sturla wanted to ascertain; and north, in Skagafirth, was Gizur's nephew, Kolbein Arnorsson, called "The Young," who was already by this time a declared enemy of Sturla. Without any apparent provocation on the part of Gizur, Sturla managed to make him his prisoner for a while with the intention of shipping him off to Norway at the first opportunity. Gizur, however, succeeded in escaping from Sturla's gaolers, and in putting himself in communication with Kolbein. Between them they brought into the field a force of 1,600 armed followers, with whom they utterly defeated Sighvat and Sturla in a disastrous encounter at Orlygstad in

Skagafirth on the 21st August, 1238, where Sighvat, with Sturla, and two other of his sons, lost his life. Thus the mission of Sturla came to an abortive end in an unexpectedly short time.

But Norway's plans on Iceland matured with unerring insight. This year the hierarchy of Nidaros joined hands with the court in that the Archbishop appointed Norwegian Bishops to both the sees of Iceland, which had fallen vacant in 1237—Hólar in March, Skalholt in August. This was an act on the part of the Archbishop which was a direct breach alike of the archiepiscopal canons and of the ecclesiastical constitution of Iceland. But it provided for the policy of the court two stable and effective agencies for the futherance of its plans in a house already divided against itself. And time proved how wisely, from the Norwegian point of view, the plan was conceived.

Snorri and his nephews spent the winter of 1237-38 in Nidaros with Peter, the son of Skuli, who, since the spring of 1237, gloried in the title of Duke, the first Norwegian who ever attained to that dignity. But Snorri's son Orækja was in personal attendance on the duke himself, east away at Oslo, where both spent the winter together, duke and king. The next winter Snorri, Orækja, and Thorleif of Gardar, were with Duke Skuli, while Thord Kakali, Sturla's son, was in attendance on the king. To Snorri it would seem there was given no opportunity of paying his respects to King Hakon; the meaning of which he could not mistake.

In the spring of 1239, King Hakon, whose spying on Duke Skuli was unremitting, learnt that the Icelanders who were staying with Skuli in Nidaros proposed to go back to Iceland in the approaching season. The king sent the Icelanders a warning not to leave Norway until he and the duke had settled with what errands they should go. Later news came to the king that Skuli had placed a ship, of which he was part-owner, at the disposal of Snorri, Orækja, and Thorleif of Gardar for a journey

to Iceland. The king sent a peremptory message forbidding the Icelanders to leave. As they were already on board when the prohibition came, and had the duke's permission, they were not disposed to listen to the king's arbitrary interference with their movements; and Snorri, having had enough of Norway by this time, gave the messenger the laconic answer: "I will out." And out he went and they all of them.

For Snorri, the king's landed-man, this disregard of direct orders was undoubtedly ill-advised. But the temptation to act so was very strong. His dominion and landed property was no longer in the hands of his rapacious nephew Sturla, so if he returned, he could once more be a free man on his own freehold; and whatever might betide him on coming home, he was at any rate delivered from a galling captivity at the court of Norway. He knew well enough that at unguarded moments in Skuli's house his language towards King Hakon had been indiscreet, and that the king himself, by means of his ubiquitous spies, was well aware of the fact. If Snorri stayed in Norway, and the duke should come to grief in his attempt to wrest from Hakon's grip the sceptre—and that was the very fate that lay in wait for him within nine months or so, for he was slain on the 24th May, 1240—Snorri knew enough of the king's vindictive disposition to be able to make a pretty accurate forecast of the penalty that awaited a king's landed-man who was a special favourite of a traitor.

On the authority of Arnfinn Thiofson, the duke's confidential counsellor, the rumour got abroad that Skuli had created Snorri on the eve of his departure an Earl (of Iceland, of course); and Sturla Thordson avers that Styrrme, the historian, in some annalistic record, made the entry: Obit. of Snorre *Hidden Earl*, Fólgsnarjarl. In this derisive title the element "fólgsn-," fem., is not an Icelandic, but a Norwegian form, the Icelandic being "fylgsn-." If Arnfinn told this story, as Sturla positively asserts he did, it would certainly come first to the

knowledge of King Hakon's Court, and there it is obvious that the title of the duke's unlawful and clandestine creation would be ridiculed in this very manner. However, Sturla asserts that on questioning the Icelanders who were with Snorri and the duke at the time, none of them acknowledged the truth of the story. But true or not true, the title must have come from Hakon's court by some means into Styrme's annal, and such a story could only have served to intensify Hakon's hatred of Snorri.

This same spring, on April 12th, the king had his young son, Hakon, proclaimed King; and his historian, Sturla Thordson, adds that oaths of allegiance to the young king were delivered by all landed-men present, as well as by franklins out of all the territories of Gulating, from the Orkneys and from Iceland.¹ How Iceland could come to take part in such a ceremony at this time is not easy to account for; moreover some of the best MSS., as the Flatey book, omit the words "ok Islandi." But it is quite possible that the king deemed it on many grounds a good advertisement of his policy towards Iceland, to make such Icelanders as were present at his court at the time, join in the festive ceremony. Such oath, however, was at this time a perfectly meaningless performance.

This same spring King Hakon sent to Iceland two emissaries, Eyvind Brent and Arni the Unready ("Oreiða," or "The Wastrel," if one reads "Öreyða") "with letters which at first were not held much up to publicity." But in the summer of the following year, 1241, the tenor of the documents came out, when Gizur Thorvaldson, Snorri Sturluson's son-in-law, at a council of war with Kolbein the Young, up in the mountainous wildernesses that divide the South of Iceland from the North, read the letters out, in which it was written, that Gizur should see to Snorri's going abroad to Norway, whether he liked it or not, or else he should slay him, since he had left Norway in spite of the king's prohibition; wherefore he must be dealt with as a traitor. On

¹ Hakon's Saga, p. 208.

this occasion Gizur proved himself the instrument that Hakon expected he would, and said, evidently in answer to remonstrances, that on no consideration could he think of breaking the king's order. So with a band of armed followers he marched on Reykholt, Snorri's abode, and attacked the place in the night between the 22nd and 23rd September, 1241, where, at his behest, four of his men slew the unarmed and defenceless scholar in the 63rd year of his age.

I need not dwell on this horrible deed of unscrupulous vindictiveness on the part of King Hakon and unutterable infamy on the part of Gizur. Suffice it to say, that this was the only reward the sympathetic historian of the Norwegian race received at Hakon's hand for the monumental work in which, as the mightiest safeguard of her nationality, Norway is destined to glory to the end of time.

After this Gizur and Kolbein the Young stood forth undisputed masters of the greater part of the North, the whole of the West, and the most important part of the South Country.

Snorri's son Orækja was allowed to succeed to the inheritance after his father and, as in duty bound, he called up his liegemen to wreak vengeance on the slayers. Klæng, son of Björn Thorvaldson, the nephew of Gizur, who had joined Gizur in the attack on Snorri, Orækja surprised at Reykholt on Christmas Day, 1241, and had him executed the next day. Thereupon he marched with a band of 600 strong against Gizur, and on January 1st, 1242, laid siege to Skalholt, where Gizur, with his men, had taken refuge under the wing of the Norwegian Bishop Sigvard. The fight, on the part of Orækja, was conducted without vigour and determination, which gave the Bishop courage to go, attended by his clergy, in full canonicals, between the combatants. Truce was brought about without difficulty. On the Bishop's persuasion the simple Orækja consented to leave his case wholly to the prelate's arbitration, whereupon he retreated peacefully

to his patrimony at Reykholt. So far from keeping his word the Bishop, on the contrary, lured Orækja next spring into the hands of Gizur, who, true to his character, broke all covenants with the luckless Sturlung, deprived him, in collusion with Kolbein, of practically all his property and power, and kept him in close confinement until he sent him off to Norway late in the shipping season of this year, 1242. When he came to Norway, he paid his respects to King Hakon, who made no difficulty in pardoning him for his presumption in leaving Norway with his father in 1239; but gave him to understand that for that trespass it would have been more suitable had he been made to suffer death rather than his father—"For, your father would not have been slain, if he had come to see me." These words of Hakon's seem to have little meaning in face of his own rescript, making Snorri's departure from Norway in 1239 in the king's despite a capital offence. The supply of hired assassins in Norway was quite as plentiful as in Iceland. But if the words are correctly reported, it is evident that Hakon himself felt that he had acted wrongfully. This was practically the last act of Orækja's turbulent life; he died in retirement in Norway on June 24th, 1245.

In the same year that Gizur drove Orækja out of Iceland, Gizur himself took berth for Norway, where he remained for two years. Somewhat strangely Sturla Thordson observes absolute silence on these two years of Gizur's life. No cause for his departure is alleged. Nothing is said as to his reception by King Hakon. No indication is on record as to his whereabouts, position, or doings during this time. But it goes without saying that Gizur's execution at Reykholt of the king's orders the year before, must have been the main cause of his departure and the chief topic of conversation with the king. Of his own free choice Gizur could hardly have spent two years abroad, when he was so much wanted in Iceland. Most likely the detention was a mild punishment on Gizur to save appearances.

Another strange event of this year is the return to Iceland, after four year' detention, of Thord Kakali, the implacable enemy of Gizur and Kolbein, doubtless with the king's permission. His patrimony he found in the safe grip of the ruthless Kolbein. In spite of the low water at which his finances were at this moment, he managed, by the interest of relatives and friends, to get together a following of fighting men, chiefly in the West, the native tract of the Sturlungs. For three years he was able to keep up a constant agitation by land and sea against Kolbein, until the latter, growing more and more infirm from a severe accident he had sustained after his victory over Thord's father Sighvat, felt at length disposed to open negotiations of peace, which, in the spring of 1245, resulted in a mutual agreement to submit all their differences to the arbitration of King Hakon. However, Kolbein's hurt took a fatal turn, and before the end he willed over to Thord all his father's patrimony in Eyjafirth, while to his kinsman Brand, son of Kolbein Coldlight, he handed over the dominions of Skagafirth and Hunavatn.

After defeating and slaying Brand in the battle of Howstead (Haugstaðir), 19th April, 1246, Thord Kakali got into his power all the dominion which before the battle of Orlygsstead had been in the possession of his father Sighvat and his brother Sturla. Gizur Thorvaldson now marched with a following against Thord Kakali, but instead of fighting, they came to an agreement to leave their differences to the arbitration of King Hakon. It has been argued, with every semblance of truth, that the secret reason of this peace on the part of Thord was that Gizur had a letter from King Hakon, in which he laid claim to all Snorri's lands and dominion in Burgfirth. The existence of this letter is proven by a missive from Brand Kolbeinson, dated in February, 1246, to Gizur, wherein he says:—

“I should also like you, in conformity with the command of the king, to make yourself master of all the

properties of Burgfirth, whereto I am quite ready to lend you my support."

Now that Burgfirth was one of the territories in the west country belonging to Thord Kakali, he must have realized that the assertion of his right thereto was too dangerous a game to venture. We see then that some four years after the death of Snorri Sturluson, but not until his only surviving male heir, Orækja, was out of the way, the king first laid formal claim to his lands and dominion (Goðorð), or rather took them as a property already belonging to him. Icelandic historians regard this as an act of robbery on the part of the king, but if, as I have already pointed out, Snorri held his lands and dominion on a landed-man's or baronial tenure, then the king, from his point of view, had some title to them on the demise of the holder, at least when no next-of-kin was any longer to reckon with.

In the autumn of 1246 both Thord and Gizur went abroad to have their differences adjusted by the king. They had to await his pleasure, until the occasion he himself was waiting for presented itself.

On the 17th June, 1247, there arrived a welcome and distinguished guest at the Court of King Hakon, in the person of William (Guglielmo), Cardinal Archbishop of Sabina, for the purpose of performing the act of crowning the king. When all the great festivities had come to an end, the king gave himself time to turn his attention in all earnest to the affairs of Iceland.

On or about the 8th July, King Hakon summoned before him the two supplicants to plead their cases in the presence of Cardinal William, who, when he heard the troubles and wrongs Thord had suffered at the hands of Gizur and Kolbein, would not listen to anything but that Thord should be appointed ruler over the whole island. Thord's case was also strongly supported by the new Norwegian Bishop of Holar, Henry Karlson, and the end of these negotiations was that Thord was sent out to Iceland as Hakon's representative, with dominion over

the whole country, while Gizur was forbidden to leave Norway, and was appointed to a bailiffry north in Thrandheim, much to his disappointment and disgust; for he had been, after a fashion, a faithful servant of the king, and done him at least the signal service of ridding him of Snorri Sturluson, though otherwise he had done nothing to bring about the subjection of Iceland.

Thord Kakali and Bishop Henry went out to Iceland fortified by some utterance of the Cardinal to the effect that the people who dwelt in that land should serve under King Hakon, as it amounted to an impropriety that that land should not be subject to a king as all other countries were in the world. The Italian Republics were conveniently forgotten. Thord and the bishop should demand of the people of the land that they all should accept the dominion of King Hakon and pledge themselves to pay such taxes as they should mutually agree upon.

It is not stated that Thord took any trouble to promulgate the Cardinal's dictum. He went to Burgfirth in the autumn and made himself undisputed master of Snorri Sturluson's property and dominion, and further possessed himself of the dominion of Thorleif of Gardar, in the name of the king, as punishment for Thorleif's presumption in 1239 to leave Norway in spite of Hakon's prohibition.

In the course of the winter Thord went to his dominions in the North Country and found the bishop already plotting with his enemies, no doubt because the bishop resented Thord's silence about the king's ordinance, the promulgation of which he had been entrusted with. In a short time the relations between Thord and the bishop became so strained that they could agree on nothing. The bishop was this time only two years in Iceland and, going abroad in 1249 to see King Hakon, he reported most unfavourably on Thord's proceedings and was ever after his determined enemy. But he now turned in all friendship towards Gizur, and pleaded before the king

that his plans would prosper much better in Iceland if himself and Gizur were entrusted with the execution of them. The bishop regarded himself as a political agent above all things.

The effect of Bishop Henry's slanders soon made themselves manifest, in that, by a censuring missive, the King summoned Thord abroad (1250). That year there was a great exodus of Icelandic godar to Norway, most, if not all, of them forced by Thord Kakali to do the journey. Both the bishops of the country were there, and of secular chiefs, these: Thord Kakali, representing a large portion of the North and West of Iceland, and Gizur Thorvaldson, lord of a considerable part of the South Country, west of the dominion of the men of Oddi. These latter were the sons of Sæmund (who died 1222), two of whom, Philip and Harald, had also put in an appearance. Then, from the district of Thingey, north of Eyjafirth, there was Finnbjorn, son of Helgi, the Godi of the Reekdale-men; further, there was Jon Sturluson, nephew of Thord Kakali, who had conferred on him dominion in the West Country; lastly, Thorgils Skarde, grandson of Thord, the brother of Snorre, completed the number of political pilgrims from Iceland to Hakon's Court.

Finnbjorn of Reekdale, and the sons of Sæmund, handed over their godords to the king. With the king's permission the latter returned to Iceland in 1251, but were both drowned off the south-east coast of Iceland on September 25. Their act of capitulation was afterwards disavowed by their kinsmen and successors.

What sort of reception Thord Kakali had at the court of King Hakon this time the historian omits to mention explicitly. But from what followed we gather that it was by no means cordial. Thanks to Bishop Henry's agitation Gizur's star was once more in the ascendant, while the sun of Thord had set. Ever since he fell under royal displeasure in 1247 Gizur had been chafing under enforced detention in his bailiffry in Thrandheim, the tedium of which, however, he had found means for

dispelling, in 1248, by a pilgrimage to Rome, where he received absolution for his sins.

He was now sent out to Iceland once more, and with him Thorgils Skarde (Harelip) and Bishop Henry, with the injunction to take over the governorship of such dominions (godorð) in Iceland as the king claimed to have obtained lawful possession of, being specially charged with pleading the cause of the king before all the people of the land. Gizur and his companions were driven back by stress of weather and wintered in Thrandheim. But in the spring of 1252 they, in company with Finnbjorn, returned to Iceland, firmly confederated for the purpose of furthering to the best of their powers the behests of the king. Gizur's governorship, by the king's command, extended over the main portion of the North Country. To the north of him Finnbjorn had his feoff, now holding it of the king, while Thorgils Skarde received Burgfirth, or the dominion that once had been Snorri Sturluson's.

But Thord Kakali "sat behind in Norway and liked it ill"; he was forced to content himself with a bailiwick in Gauldale, north in Thrandheim, and was never allowed to return to Iceland again. He died in Norway, 1256. Before his departure from Iceland he had left his extensive dominion in charge of three trusted friends. Eyolf the Violent, son of Thorstein of Hvamm, his brother-in-law, had in charge the godord of Skagafirth, and dwelt in Geldingholt; Rane Kodranson was to look after Eyjafirth, and occupy the manor of Grund; while Thord's cousin, Thorleif of Gardar, was to take rule over Burgfirth. In alliance with these were other friends of Thord, such as the powerful chief of the Westfirths, Raven Oddson, his brother-in-law, Sturla Thordson, his cousin, and others. These men were all bound to Thord by one covenant, not to give up any of his possessions to any claimant whatsoever, except on a written injunction from himself.

On landing in Iceland Gizur visited first his own

godord in the south, which Thord had handled somewhat roughly in his absence. But, as soon as he was at liberty, he repaired to the North Country, and made his appearance in Skagafirth, where he took oaths of allegiance from the commonalty and upset Thord's authority completely. He took up his abode at Flymere (Flugumýrr), whence he drove Thord's lieutenant, Eyolf, who went to reside at Maddervales (Möðruvellir) in Eyjafirth. The activity of Thord's men was roused. Eyolf, with a band of forty men, attacked Gizur in his new home in the night between the 21st and 22nd October, 1252, and set fire to the house, in which 25 people, including Gizur's own wife and two sons, were burnt to death, while a third son was slain by the sword. Gizur himself escaped with his life by hiding in a tun of whey, dug into the floor of the pantry and partly covered by a large cask of curds standing on the top of it. Gizur's bearing on this occasion was not that of a hero. Personal courage he was not endowed with. Eyolf's deed was unspeakably brutal; but it was the desperate outcome of the policy pursued by King Hakon towards helpless men in a hapless land.

Gizur, thirsting for revenge, soon visited the burners with sword and plundering, and on his approaching Maddervales, Eyolf's abode, the latter, with several of his most prominent confederates, took to flight, and sought a safe retreat at the island of Hrisey, inside the mouth of Eyjafirth. By the intercession of men of goodwill a truce was arranged, which was to last through the winter of 1254, on the understanding that the whole matter should be left for King Hakon's arbitration. This proposal came from Eyolf himself, the leader of the burners, who might have been supposed to stand in great awe of the king's anger for so savagely insulting his trusted man. But the whole matter becomes clear by the fact that after Eyjolf's deed at Flymere was done, he went with all his band to Holar, and was most friendly received by Bishop Henry, whose attitude in the short

space of a year had completely changed towards Gizur ; for he, the bishop declared, was the falsest and most faithless of men towards the king. Historically it would seem to be a quite safe inference that Eyjolf's attack on Gizur was secretly connived at by the bishop.

Gizur found an opportunity for charging the burners with lax observance of the terms of the truce, and spent a good deal of the winter of 1254 in hunting them down and slaying every man of them he caught.

While things were in this state of turmoil in the North, affairs in Burgfirth in the West, the dominion in which the king had conferred on Thorgils Skardi, showed anything but a favourable disposition on the part of Thord's friends towards the cause of the king. Meeting his uncle, Sturla Thordson, shortly after arrival in Burgfirth, he was told by the latter point blank that he, in common with all the covenanters of Thord, had a decided dislike of all King Hakon's proceedings. As soon as circumstances allowed, Thorgils made arrangements for a meeting with Thord's substitutes (1252), late in the summer, and brought before them the King's rescripts appointing Thorgils, on his behalf, steward of Snorri Sturluson's former lands and godord. The message was ill-received. Thorleif of Gardar (charged, truly, as it seems, by Thorgils with having "murdered," *i.e.*, suppressed a letter from King Hakon) said, amongst other things not respectful:—

"Many people will have it, that (King Hakon) has no just title to (the landed property and godord of Snorri). Many gave their support to Thorleif, deeming that the king was entitled to no disposal of the inheritance left by Snorri Sturluson."

Thorgils's endeavours to assert his authority in Burgfirth at this time came to grief before the joint opposition of Thorleif, Sturla Thordson, and Raven Oddson, all of whom were bound by oaths to uphold Thord's rights and authority.

How unpopular Thorgils' mission to Burgfirth was

came clearly to light when Sturla Thordson and Raven Oddson surprised him at Stafholt in the night between 18-19 December this same year, took him and all his followers prisoners, and restored him to liberty only when he had sworn an oath to join Sturla and his confederates, and to go at once and attack Gizur Thorvaldson, between whom and Thorgils a decided coldness had sprung up already. But as this was a life-ransom oath, but his oath of fealty to Hakon a willing one, Thorgils, as soon as he saw his opportunity, deserted Sturla and his friends and made good his escape north to Holar, where he was cordially received by Bishop Henry.

Early in the winter of 1253 the prelate bestirred him and went south to Burgfirth to bring about peace between Thorgils and Kakali's Commissioners. But beyond accusing Thorgils' opponents of breaking the peace on a king's henchman, he had nothing to contribute towards the peace-making. His opponents told him point blank that they would have nothing to do with the king's interference in the disposal of dominions in the land, and therewith the prelate returned to his see, where people thought his peace-making feats had come to little enough. Thorgils never succeeded in securely establishing his rule in Burgfirth.

I mentioned before that very soon after Gizur's arrival in Iceland, 1252, Bishop Henry discovered in him the falsest and most faithless instrument for King Hakon's purpose. The king's prelatial spy at Holar was not slow to furnish his master with the necessary intelligence on the subject, and speedily there followed a royal summons to Gizur to repair to Norway, 1254.

At the same time Bishop Sigvard of Skalholt was sent to Iceland to plead the cause of the king at the Althing, while a spy, Sigurd Silkeneye, was also sent to Iceland to watch and report, how zealously the prelate should perform his task. This was a new departure in King Hakon's policy, to which he adhered for some years afterwards.

On his departure from Iceland Gizur handed his dominion in the North (Skagafirth) over to Odd, son of Thorarinn of the race of the Swinefellings in Eastern Iceland, an enemy of Bishop Henry. Odd's misconduct soon brought him into conflict with the prelate, who fulminated an excommunication at him for robberies committed. In return Odd made the bishop his prisoner for a while, but in the end the former had to quit Gizur's dominion of Skagafirth, and retire to his estate in the East Country. However he soon returned ; but the bishop and the enemies of Gizur, Eyolf the Burner, and Raven Oddson, with a large following, were ready for him, and attacked and slew him at Geldingholt in Skagafirth, January 14th, 1255. And now Gizur's dominion was in the undisputed power of his enemies.

Arriving in Norway Gizur found that he had lost favour with the king, so much so that even Gizur's old rival, Thord Kakali, seemed to have regained the royal confidence once more to the exclusion of Gizur. When, however, the sailing season opened in spring, neither of the rivals was entrusted with any mission to Iceland. On the contrary, the royal business was committed to a Norwegian, Ivar Engleson, who, indeed, succeeded in bringing about, by the pleading of Bishop Henry and Thorgils Skardi, what no one had succeeded in before. He in fact persuaded the good men of Skagafirth and Eyjafirth, together with the greater number of the franklins of the Northern Quarter, to agree to paying King Hakon such tribute as they should come to terms on with Ivar. In the South, where the influence of the men of Oddi prevailed, and in the West, where Thord Kakali's lieutenants, Sturla Thordson, with his above-mentioned confederates controlled public opinion, nothing in the way of accession to Ivar's demands could be effected. In the summer following Ivar returned to Norway, where he met King Hakon and explained that the moderate success of his mission was owing to the fact that, where Gizur and Thord's influence prevailed in Ice-

land, there a rooted antagonism against the king was the order of the day.

In 1256, on the 11th of October, Thord Kakali passed away, just after having received King Hakon's permission to return to Iceland. The king at once appropriated all his lands and dominions, appointing Thorgils Skardi governor of Eyjafirth. But Steinvor, Kakali's sister, the rightful heir to this property, scorning the arbitrary act of Hakon, gave Eyjafirth into the trusteeship of her son-in-law, Thorvard Thorarinsson, from Hof, in Weaponfirth, in the East Country. But he being a man of difficult temper to get on with, the Eyjafirth people preferred the sway of the genial Thorgils. Hence sprang the enmity between Thorvard and Thorgils Skardi, which terminated on June 22, 1258, when Thorvard, with a band of armed followers surprised Thorgils in bed at Ravengill in Eyjafirth. He had spent the night in listening to a recital of the Saga of St. Thomas of Canterbury, interposing the remark where the Saga stated that the tonsured part of the crown of the great prelate was hewn away : "such would be a beautiful death," whereupon he fell asleep. By a similar wound, in addition to many others, he was despatched. In Thorgils the King lost the only Icelandic chief who hitherto had shown himself disinterestedly faithful to his plans and policy. All the rest had aimed only at the aggrandisement of their own personal power and influence, under the cloak of royal authority.

By this time the great family tree of the Sturlungs had been lopped of all its most important branches. There were still left the two brothers, illegitimate sons of Thord, Sturla the historian, not exactly a man of action, and Olaf Whitescald, a man of peace and literary pursuits. The most important and influential chief now left in the island was the distrusted Gizur, who, for four years, since 1254, had been a sort of outlaw in Norway, excommunicated by Bishop Henry for treacherous conduct towards the perpetrators of the burning of Gizur's

own house, wife, and two sons. Gizur had managed to get himself into the king's good graces once more, and to persuade him that it was necessary that the man he should commission to bring Iceland under his sway, should be invested with such dignity that the Icelanders should esteem it an honour to serve under him. King Hakon therefore created Gizur his Earl over Iceland, conferring upon him as landed grants the South Quarter, North Quarter, and Burgfirth—the parts of Iceland which he now regarded as his possessions.

In this capacity Gizur returned to Iceland, 1258, having solemnly bound himself to restore peace to the distracted land, and to secure the agreement of the people to the payment of such tribute as they should be willing to yield and Hakon to accept. But care was taken by the king to dispatch spies to keep watch over the faith of his earl. That business was left chiefly to his trusted courtier Thorhall the White, who made the journey in company with Gizur; but there were sundry others who left in several ships. Faithful to the instincts of vanity of his people, Gizur, on arrival in Iceland, made the most of the great and novel dignity that now had been conferred on him, without his having to pay any personal money consideration in return, or any tribute being stipulated for from the land. Any titles, he assured people, conferred by himself, would be recognised at the Norwegian Court. Confidence in the earl's assurances soon surrounded him with thirty courtiers and guests, who swore oaths of fealty to their earl and King Hakon on All Hallows' Mass, 1258. But in common with so many other assurances of Gizur's these soon proved to be mere falsehoods.

In spite of this the Icelanders stuck faithfully to their earl, generally speaking, and when in the spring of 1259 he set up his abode at Stad in Rowanness, within the district of Skagafirth, the good men throughout that tract came forward with liberal gifts to enable Gizur to set up an establishment suitable to his position.

At the Althing this same year Sturla Thordson and Sighvat Bodvarson, the brother of Thorgils Skardi, took oaths of allegiance to the earl ; in return he lent them his support towards having Thorvard, son of Thorarin, condemned a guilty outlaw for the slaying of Thorgils Skardi. From the silence of the records it would appear that Gizur took no trouble at this Althing to plead King Hakon's cause to the representatives of the people.

Raven, the son of Odd, the principal godi in the Cod-firth thing, did not put in an appearance at the Althing. And Thord Andrewson, a grandson of Sæmund Jonson of Oddi, who was was the foremost among the family of Oddi, though attending the Althing, made no show of submission to the earl. Consequently he and his kinsmen could have attached no value whatever to the submission in 1251 to the king of Philip and Harald, the sons of Sæmund. Thord, who hated Gizur intensely, committed acts of hostility of a grave nature against him, for which he paid the penalty of his life on the 27th September, 1264.

It soon came to Hakon's ears in how slovenly a way Gizur carried out the king's behests. He therefore sent in 1260 two Norwegians, Ivar Arnljotson and Paul Linenseam with letters to the Icelanders demanding their consent to the payment of a tribute from the land. Amidst very discordant responses to these letters the earl pleaded in favour of the king, yet not in the spirit of the letters. The errand of the Commissioners came to nought, chiefly in consequence of the stubborn opposition of the people of the South Country, where Gizur's influence was strongest, a fact the Commissioners did not omit to draw the king's attention to in the report of their discomfiture.

But this same year (1260) Gizur, to show that he was mindful of the duties in which he was bounden to the king, went after the Thing with a large attendance to the country of the chiefs of the Oddi family, and obtained oaths of fealty from the folk assembled at the local Thing of Thingskalar, both to King Hakon and himself.

In the following year, 1261, King Hakon sent a fresh Commissionair, Hallward Goldenshoe, of the king's bodyguard, so named from his town residence in Bergen. On landing Hallward went straight north to Skagafirth to see Earl Gizur, to whom his language was bold and uncompromising. Thereupon he went south again and took up his abode at Reykholt, where Egil Sölmundson, the nephew of Snorri Sturluson, was probably regarded as the king's tenant.

It soon became clear to Gizur that he was no longer in favour with King Hakon. The earl's promises to his favourites, such as Sturla Thordson, whom he had promised the dominion of Burgfirth, were annulled by Hallward, who took care to appoint the earl's very foes to the advancements the latter had already conferred on his friends. Hence the Burgfirth dominion was conferred on the chief godi of Codfirth-thing, Gizur's implacable foe, Raven Oddson, son-in-law to Sturla Sighvatson.

In the autumn of 1261 Hallward and Gizur secured oaths of allegiance to the king from sundry franklins who hitherto had stoutly refused such. By his friendly advances towards Raven Oddson, Hallward succeeded in obtaining his promise, as well as that of the Westfirthers, to whom Raven's influence extended, that they would all come to the Althing of 1262 to swear King Hakon "land and thanes," as the phrase went, and on the other hand Earl Gizur got a number of Northlanders assembled at Heronness Thing to swear land unto Hakon. At the Spring-Thing of Codfirth a resolution was passed in 1262, to leave the matter of the king's demands in abeyance till the session of the Althing. Of all the agitation that now went on throughout the land, the ultimate result was, that this year the representatives of the North and South Country, at the Althing, swore to the king the oaths demanded by Hallward and Earl Gizur. The West-country men took the same oath at Thwartwater-Thing in Burgfirth. A similar process was observed by the chiefs of the Oddi clan in 1263, and by those of the East

Country in 1264; by that date all the godords in Iceland had gone out of the hands of the native aristocracy into the king's power, and the turbulent oligarchy of the godar was at an end after some 390 years' duration, leaving King Hakon the Godi-in-chief of the island.

When "land and thanes" had been sworn at the Althing in 1262 into subjection to the King of Norway, the Icelanders there assembled set up a treaty (generally called the Old Covenant) with the king, which he accepted, and the tenour of which was as follows:—

This was agreed on by franklins of the North and South country.

1. That they promised a perpetual tax to lord N the King, land and subjects with sworn oath, xxells each man who is liable to pay "Thing-fare-wage."¹ These goods the communal foremen shall collect and bring on board ship and deliver to the king's steward, and after that be free of all responsibility for the same.

2. In return the King shall guarantee to us peace and Icelandic law.

3. Six ships shall go from Norway to Iceland the next two summers following, but after that as many as the King in agreement with the best franklins in the land consider most suitable for the country.

4. Inheritances shall be delivered to Icelanders in Norway, no matter how long they may have been in abeyance, when the right heirs come forward, or their attorneys.

5. Land dues shall be abolished.²

6. In Norway the Icelanders shall enjoy such privileges as shall be equal to the highest they have ever had conferred on them there, as you have offered in your letter yourself; also you shall maintain peace among us at the utmost of the power God may grant you.

7. The Earl we are willing to have to rule us while he keeps faith with you and peace with us.

8. We and our heirs shall remain faithful to you as long as you and your heirs keep to this covenant with us. But we shall be free of all obligation if, according to the view of the best men, it be broken.

¹ This was an impost levied on every householder on a certain basis of property: namely, the possession, besides household furniture and implements, of a cow's worth for each person he was bound to maintain, including hired servants, and an ox or a horse as well. The impost was called in by the godi; it went to pay the travelling expenses of those that attended the Althing yearly, and was paid by those who sat at home. At what rate *pro persona* it was levied or how much it amounted to in the aggregate is unknown.

² Every free-born man coming to Norway from Iceland had from the days of Olaf the Holy to pay on landing the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ mark in silver or wares.

This instrument, as well as those which the Oddi clan and the Eastland men drew up 1263 and 1264 respectively, left in the hands of the Icelanders the legislative, judicial and administrative power. The island was an autonomous state in personal union with Norway. But the path of the weak is thorny, and the thorns in Iceland's path stung deep.

A SHIP BURIAL IN BRITTANY.¹

By P. DU CHATELLIER AND L. LE PONTOIS.

THREE hundred metres to the south of Locmaria, facing the open sea, and almost at the extremity of the point which closes the small bay of Port Maria on the east, is a mound known by the name of "Cruguel"—a Breton term, signifying "small mound," which is common to a number of tumuli in the district. It has shared the fate of its support, a cliff of disintegrated schist in poor condition, which is little by little being eroded by the action of the gales and high seas of this unsheltered coast. At the present time the mound, overhanging an insignificant cavity of some three or four metres in depth, presents a vertical section, in the face of which one is surprised to find none of the flint flakes, or fragments of pottery, which are met with in the majority of the tumuli of the neighbourhood. The summit of the mound has been interfered with and levelled, the soil thrown out on its sides spreading beyond the original limits of the base, which was apparently circular.

The excavations undertaken in 1906 by M.M. du Chatellier and Le Pontois lasted for eight working days. We had expected to find ordinary Neolithic cists, and great was our surprise when the blackened area of a Scandinavian ship-burial by cremation came to light.

¹ This paper is an abridged translation of the original account of "La Sépulture Scandinave à Barque de l'Ile de Groix," which appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère* (Vol. XXXV). The blocks from which the illustrations are taken have been kindly lent to the Viking Club by the above-mentioned Society. We have also to thank Miss C. M. E. Pochin for her excellent translation of the original, and the Rev. C. W. Whistler for assistance in rendering some technical terms and phrases.—A. F. MAJOR.

Astonishment was too soon to be followed by disappointment, when it was found that in its erosion of the south-east section of the mound, the sea had also carried away part of the space on which the funeral pile had once rested.

Unprepared as we were for this unlooked for discovery, the difficulty of carrying out the deliberate exploration, which alone will give fully satisfactory results, was increased by the vicinity of a populous village, and the presence in its harbour of numerous smacks, with their full crews. At the end of the second day a group of 58 persons was photographed on the mound, and during our task it must have been surrounded by no less than 80 men, women, and children—spectators who, if entirely well-meaning, were in the way, restless, inquisitive, and of a somewhat disconcerting curiosity.

It was important that the fragile objects found should not pass through too many hands, and we could therefore only uncover the area of the burial piecemeal, gathering up the finds hastily. It was hardly possible to cast a rapid glance at these, as they had to be placed in boxes, which were immediately closed, taking advantage of quiet moments to catalogue the finds or make some measurements. The refilling of part of the excavation, too, was no useless precaution on the first evening. Under these circumstances we considered it better to suspend operations after three days, to resume and conclude them a month later, with the kind assistance of M. de Lager. By that time the fishermen were at sea, and public curiosity was replaced by indifference.

That we did not bring away all the masses of ochre and of small agglomerations of iron, all the splinters of bone, and charcoal, together with a dozen centimetres depth of the earth which covered them and the bed of soil which held them together—a total bulk in all of two or three cubic metres—is a mistake as much regretted as regrettable. The inspection of this mass would have been neither difficult nor lengthy, and doubtless would

have resulted in the finding of many of those very small objects equally ill-represented in our collection and in those from many of the cremation graves explored in Scandinavia.

Our excuse must be found in our inexperience as regards excavations, the deplorable state of remains whose importance we did not suspect, and the disappearance of part of the grave. To make the most of such a mound as this of Groix it would be really necessary to fence and cover the whole of it, and patiently, week by week, to examine it in sections, undisturbed and at leisure.

If, however, there were circumstances most unfavourable to our researches, there were also some which very largely contributed to the elucidation of points, which might otherwise have seemed inexplicable. Messrs. Oscar Montelius and Knut Stjerna, who were present at the French Archæological Congress at Vannes during 1906, stayed for two days with M. de Chatellier, and examined the articles which had been deposited in his museum at Kernuz. Mutual friends also put us in communication with Dr. Haakon Schetelig, curator of the Bergen Museum, who has been so kind as to inspect the drawings of most of the objects recovered from Groix. Surer guides than these masters of Northern Archæology could not be desired, and we have also to thank them for literature on the subject which has put us in touch with the latest results of some hundreds of Scandinavian explorations.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE TUMULUS. (References to plan. Fig. 1).—A layer of clayey earth mixed with sand and shells, and consequently pervious, though compact and very hard, covered a remarkably disordered mass of slabs of schist, large and small, waterworn pebbles, coarse and fine, and clods of earth of varying bulk. The slabs, thin and of little strength, were often cracked, cleft, or even broken by the pressure of the materials of the mound. Many of them were fairly large, as much as 0m80 in length, and 0m40 in breadth. Where it was of

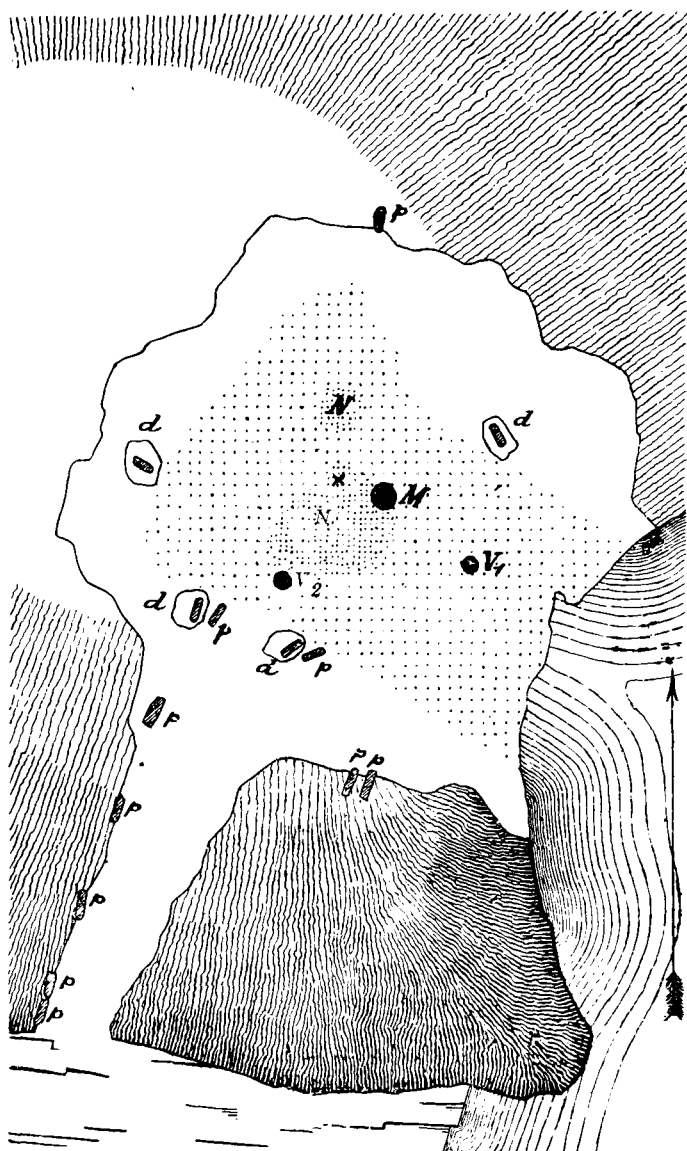


FIG. 1.

small size, the shingle occurred in masses which might have been brought in baskets.

Immediately above the remains of the cremation, without any interposition of wood or bark, was a flat layer, formed of slabs, which had apparently been picked from among the more solid, and carefully joined from edge to edge. The largest of these, almost all placed toward the centre of the grave, measured not less than 0m90 by 0m50. On four of these (vide Plan Fig. 1, *d*, *d*, *d*, *d*) rested in a vertical position, stones varying in height from (0m60 to 1m25). Other upright stones were bedded in the mass of slabs, and it is noticeable that seven of these (marked *p*, *p*, *p* in the plan) are arranged in a direction almost perpendicular to the long axis of the burial place, about which nothing else at all similar has been found. Two days in August were vainly spent in endeavouring to elucidate the meaning of this alignment.¹

Measured vertically from the point *a* on the plan, where the edge of the cliff, and the 30 centimetres or so of earth which cover it at that spot, are 4m50 above the highest tide mark, the height of the funeral pile, the first layer of slabs, and the stone nucleus of the mound was 1m70, and that of the clay capping was 0m40. The base of the stone nucleus of the mound was apparently circular, with a diameter of about 17m. Erosion by the sea had removed nearly a third of it on the south-east and south-west.

THE AREA OF THE GRAVE.—On the roughly trapezoidal space marked out in the plan by dots and the edge of the cliff, extended, with a length of 5m50, and breadth on the south-east of 3m30, and on the north-west of 4m50, a layer of more or less burnt earth, sand, charred bones, and charcoal. This layer contained a considerable number of boat-rivets, and the remains of grave-

¹ It is not likely that these stones could have formed part of a "Stensättning"—that is, the outline in stone of a ship of the Norse type such as is well known at Blomsholm or Bohuslan, in Sweden.

goods, remarkable for quantity and variety of objects, but in a lamentable state of oxidation, fracture and agglutination.

At *M* had been placed, upright on its base, a sheet-iron cauldron, above and around which had been assembled arms, utensils, playing-pieces, articles of ornament, and instruments of unknown use. This mass, crushed into a thick cake of agglomerated iron rust, extended little beyond the north-east of the point *M*. It was somewhat prolonged towards the south-west, where it grew thinner and less difficult to examine. The only stone seen on the grave-area, below the lowest layer of slabs, was found almost touching the cauldron, and to its upper surface adhered two fragments of weapons—sword and spear. *M* must have been surrounded or partially filled with sand.

At *V1* was found a bronze vessel, also upright on its base, and propped up with pieces of charcoal, the largest of those met with in the area. At *V2* the flattened and well-nigh decomposed fragments of a second bronze vessel lay on sand.

The sand, difficult to distinguish in the midst of earth of the same rusty colour, only appears here and there; one cannot say certainly that the whole area has been covered with it. The distribution of the numerous shield-bosses and other objects is given later.

The thickness of this layer, though insignificant on the edges of the quadrilateral, and toward the centre of the space marked *N*, reaches ten or twelve centimetres round the collection of arms, also above the space *N* and the groups of bosses.

Under the four slabs *d*, each of which supported an upright stone, there was no trace of charcoal blackening. It would seem that they served to mark out the space on which the remains of the funeral pile were to be deposited, and that the soil had been carefully swept outside the dotted area. May not the increased depth of the layer round *N* and near *M* be due to this sweeping?

It is not impossible that the vessel and its contents were burnt upon the same spot where their remains were found, but it is certain that so soon as the fire was extinguished the various grave-goods had been set in order according to the ritual customs generally observed during the Viking Age in the Scandinavian peninsula, whether the cremation was with or without a vessel. Practically it would have been most extraordinary if during the cremation the cauldron and the vessel *Vr* had poised themselves exactly on their bases, and that the one should give the impression that it was wedged up with pieces of charcoal selected from the largest fragments, and the other that it had been surrounded by sand, or if the collection of arms had remained compact. Had the pile been erected upon the position which occupied the base of the tumulus, the area would have been covered, if not entirely, at least to a great extent with burnt earth, which being only found occasionally and in very small quantity, seems to have been brought to the place at the same time as the remains of the cremation. There is therefore reason to believe that the rites carried out at Groix were those which, with a very few rare exceptions, were customary among the Norsemen in their own land; namely, that the pyre was at some selected spot, whence its remains were transported to another site, over which the mound was raised.

On the general extension of the excavation in August, we found at the northern angle, on the projection of the corner of the quadrilateral in that direction, small pieces of charcoal scattered not only upon the area itself, but rising from layer to layer of the slabs of the stone nucleus of the mound. May not these have been so scattered during the transport of the burnt remains? If so, we can only believe that the tumulus had been made ready before the celebration of the funeral obsequies.¹

¹ It may be noted that this corresponds to the meaning of the phrase "to close the mound," "*lykja hauginn*," met with in the Sagas.

Comparison of Cruguel with many other burial places of altogether similar construction, leads to the opinion that the portion of the area carried away by the action of the sea, has not been considerable; one can hardly estimate its length as extending to 1m50.

It is for two reasons doubtful whether any object of interest was placed on this contracted space; firstly, because to the south-east of a line drawn from *M* to *V*₂ there has only been collected beyond the pile of arms, two bone playing-pieces, and a bronze scabbard mounting; beyond *V*₂ were some bosses, of which two picked up on the edge of the cliff were each only represented by a single fragment. In the second place, the find at Cruguel includes grave-goods in all respects comparable with those which male cremation graves explored in Scandinavia have yielded. It is only inferior in riches to the richest of them in that it does not include a reaping-hook, saw, bone comb, glass beads, either enamelled or not, and a bridle-bit. It is possible, however, that we may possess the unrecognised remains of this last.

THE GRAVE-GOODS.—Those which have been recovered represent:—Human bones. Bones of a dog and some birds. Remains of a boat, with specially characteristic rivets.

Two bronze vessels, a sheet-iron cauldron, two small sheet-iron vessels (?), the iron mounting of the edge of a wooden vessel (?).

Twenty-one shield-bosses, two double-edged swords, the tip of a sword-scabbard, two axes, three spears, eight arrows, a knife, a whetstone.

An anvil, a hammer, a pair of pincers, a spoon-ended bit, an auger (?), a plate for wire drawing, two bodkins, a socketed celt (?), a small chisel (?), and two implements of unknown use.

A gold ring, shreds of a wrapping of threads of gold-interwoven stuff, two clasps, a button, a plait, some silver beads, a button (?) of iron plated with bronze.

A bronze head-piece, a spur (?), the iron, silver and

bronze fittings of a horse collar or of a saddle (?), an iron chain.

Six buckles, various bronze fittings, a padlock, a key (?), two large iron rings, two hoops and a hook, also of iron.

There were besides these many iron objects of undetermined use, several of which were bronze-plated.¹

Before describing these objects, it may be useful to sketch the condition in which they were found. Although we found neither ingots or particles proving the fusion of metals other than lead and perhaps tin, there is no doubt that the fire had greatly damaged the objects of iron, silver and bronze. But the extremely fragmentary state of the finds must be mainly attributed to extensive oxidation and gradual loss of resistance to fracture. This oxidation has caused the disappearance of many fragments; indeed it is surprising that its effects have not been more disastrous, the situation of the tumulus being most unfavourable for the preservation of metal. In stormy weather the spray reaches its summit, and after passing through the pervious bed of clay, easily penetrates to the area of the burial. By that time it is mixed with water charged with the various salts and organic matters derived from the seaweed which accumulates at certain seasons on the mound and in its vicinity.

IRON.—So to speak, iron hardly existed any longer in the metallic condition, a file only producing a red powder. It had of course suffered in varying degrees according to the surroundings in which it lay. One fragment may be fairly sound, while another from the same object, no doubt broken from it for many years, occurs as a lump of yellow ochre, which has coloured

¹ Dr. Schetelig points out that various objects of unknown use are almost always found in Scandinavian burials of the period. Sometimes it is possible to explain them by comparison with primitive instruments still in use among the peasant folk, but as a rule the only thing to do is to classify them and wait for a possible explanation.

everything near it. In this way have been lost a great part of the iron cauldron, almost all the fragments of the sword and lance blades, some pieces of the bosses, and, speaking generally, the thin plates and rods of small diameter, as well as half the axe No. 1, which had been of a good thickness. Objects resting in dry positions were furrowed by long and deep fissures, and now show signs of cleavage into fine lamellae in the line of their forging. Besides this the water has deposited alike on charcoal, bone, and metal shining black concretions, which take such varied and delicate forms, disposed with such apparent design and symmetry, that for a time we considered some of them as vestiges of defaced ornamentation. The shape of many of the objects is masked by these deposits, notably in the case of the edge of the spoon-ended bit or borer, which was so encrusted as to be almost unrecognizable. They have also diminished the space between the head and "washer" (tech. "*roove*") of the rivets, and have almost doubled the diameter of some of the shanks.

BRONZE.—Possibly even more ill-treated than the iron. The remains of small bronze objects could only be recognised by means of the green spots which shewed in contrast amid the dark colour of the charcoal bed. Traces of plating can only be discovered by means of the colouration of a blowpipe flame, or by effervescence on the application of acids. Even on the objects which have suffered least the ornamentation has almost disappeared, and it would be hopeless to search for the gilding with which it is probable that many of them were decorated.

SILVER.—The silver is roughened and lumpy on the surface. It has become very brittle, and has taken a more or less black or dark grey colour. Small beads of silver are entirely converted into horn-silver.

LEAD, TIN, AND ENAMEL.—Small globules of lead, tin and melted enamel occurred among the general debris. The appearance of the great masses of metallic fragments, bones, earth, and charcoal, solidly cemented

together by oxide of iron, can now be pictured. A bristling heap of old iron was composed of axe No. 1, the pommel of sword No. 2, and the little pieces which could not be detached from it, the auger, the spoon-ended bit, the pincers, the draw-plate, two large iron rings, a buckle, a hook, a pawn resting on its support, another pawn still furnished with its peg, some rivets, fragments of the links of a chain, with a number of small pieces of flat plates and cylindrical or other rods. The poor remains of the grave-goods of Cruguel now belong to the museum of Kernuz. They deteriorate almost visibly, and in a few years but little of them will remain.

CHARCOAL.—Among a sufficient number of samples submitted to him, M. Fliche, Professor of Botany to the National School of Forestry at Nancy, has been able to recognise the following woods:—

Pine—probably "*sylvestris*." Oak—almost certainly *Q. Pedunculata*, with traces of two other varieties. Chestnut. Elm—probably *U. Campestris*. Ash; and a tree of the apple family, probably pear.

The pine, alone among these, is no longer found in Brittany. Judging from its absence from the remains of ancient forests, M. Fliche considers that it had already disappeared at the date of the burial.

Oak predominated greatly. Next came in order of abundance elm, then pine and ash; lastly, chestnut and pear. Seeing that in most of the vessels exhumed from Scandinavian graves the keel, ribs, and planks were of oak, while the masts, yards, oars, and the wooden discs of the shields were of "*Pinus Sylvestris*," it is extremely probable that the Cruguel boat was oak built, and that the pine charcoal is that of its mast, yard and bucklers; the ash would be that of the lance and arrow shafts, handles of implements, and of the tiller. Some of the smaller articles in turned wood might have been made of pear, such as goblets, platters, etc.; and casks and buckets of chestnut. The elm, which is the timber most diffused at Groix, must have constituted the main bulk

of a pyre of which the furze and grass found in some quantity would also have made part.

Several of the fragments of charcoal appeared to belong to worked wood; some seemed to be the remains of planking; the thickness of the stoutest flat fragments was not more than 26 m/m. (1 inch).

BONES.—Except near the long sides of the layer of charcoal, and near the edge of the cliff, where none have been observed, particles of charred bone were disseminated over the whole extent of the area; but about *N*, and specially *N'*, they were in greater quantity and less minute fragments than elsewhere. At *N'* they were found gathered into a depression of small depth and size, which may, or may not, have been artificial.

The vessel *V1* only contained earth. No more fragments of bone were to be noticed in the iron cauldron than immediately around it. Some splinters of bone adhered to the fragments of vessel *V2*, but not enough to give reason to suppose that it had been used as a funeral urn.

The bones have been examined by Dr. Beaumanoir and Professor Rose, expert in Natural Science. M. Rose has recognised the bones of a dog of medium size, and of several undetermined small birds.

Judging from fragments of the cranium, vertebræ, and long bones, of which the articular ends remain, Professor Rose concludes that the individual buried was of full age. Dr. Beaumanoir, on the other hand, identifies one fragment of a long bone as that of an individual not yet adult. There must, therefore, have been two bodies in the Cruguel grave.¹

THE RIVETS. (Fig. 2).—The rivets, exactly similar to those found in Scandinavian ship-burials, have in some cases circular and slightly domed heads, and in others heads which are squared and flat. The rooves are

¹ It may be noted that the presence of two bodies and also of the remains of domestic animals is by no means unusual in Scandinavian burials of the period.

rectangular, and there is visible on those which are least defaced the mark of a graving tool parallel to each of the shorter sides, which no doubt indicated the line to be followed in cutting them from a strip of sheet-iron.

They were found in all directions upon the layer of charcoal, even to its extreme edges, and were often collected together in small groups. We obtained 304 entire and measurable. In the case of fragments we have only counted those which still retained their roove, the

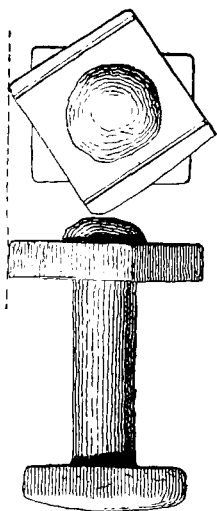


FIG. 2.

number of these being 363. We can therefore actually count 667 rivets, but making fair allowance for those totally disintegrated, for those involved in masses of rust which can only be averaged (the remains of more than a dozen could be found in one mass of the size of the fist), and for the considerable number which we did not recover, and threw aside with the rubbish, we shall be certainly within the mark if we reckon the number of rivets actually scattered over the area at 800. The total would greatly exceed a thousand if we allow that they were spread in

the same proportion over the portion washed away by the sea, as almost everywhere else.

Measurements of the differences in distance between the head and the roove taken from the 304 complete rivets, are given below, but as the allowance made for the effect of extraneous deposit is generally insufficient, the figures should be prefaced by "At least."

In 9 per cent. the interval was from 10 to 18 m/m. ($\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{5}{8}$ inch).

In 85.5 per cent. the interval was from 19 to 38 m/m ($\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch).

In 4.6 per cent. the interval was from 40 to 64 m/m. ($1\frac{3}{8}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inch).

It will be observed that it is difficult to suppose that the rivets of 10 to 18 m/m. interval can have been used for the purpose of joining the planking of the vessel, and more difficult still to guess what they did hold together. M. Gustafson, however, has informed us that the fitting together of the thin woodwork of certain coffers, and also of the arched cover of the rich car, recently found at Oseberg, was effected by means of such small rivets. According to all analogy, therefore, these small rivets from Groix would belong to coffers, which are often enough found in Scandinavian ship-burials. Most of these small rivets were grouped at the north angle of the layer.

The uneven distribution, both in number and dimensions, of the 14 rivets whose interval exceeded 38 m/m., leads us to believe that but a very small proportion of these large rivets originally deposited remained upon the area at the time of our digging. Their length exposed them, in a greater degree than the shorter, to the causes which led to their rapid oxidation and subsequent fracture.

Not one of our rivets are provided with the U shaped roove recovered from the ships of Myklebostad No. 1 and No. 4, Gunnarshaug, etc., where they served to fasten the planking to the knees in the larger, and to the timbers in

the smaller vessels. The entire absence of these special rooves seems to indicate that the method employed in framing the vessel at Groix was the same as that practised in the cases of the Tune, Gokstad, and Oseberg ships.

THE NAILS.—These were all of the usual shape, and probably used in the construction of the hull. They numbered about a hundred, of which only a score were more than 50 m/m (2in.) long. The largest only measured 110 m/m ($4\frac{1}{4}$ in.). Some had been clenched. There were about a score of very small nails, and some fifty nails with large, round, slightly domed heads, and short and thick shanks. Fragments of nails were plentiful, but there were no bolts.

BRONZE VESSEL (No. 1, Fig 3).—Broken at the edges and out of shape. Its thickness was exaggerated by deposits of verdigris, but not to such an extent as to lead to the supposition that the wall of the vessel had been very thin. Base slightly convex. Bowl a little curved, and narrowing near the rim, which projects considerably outward. Near the base is a piece secured by a bronze rivet. Original diameter approximately 27 c/m. at the rim, and 8 to 9 c/m. high ($10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.).

BRONZE VESSEL (No. 2).—Broken into fragments. Measured as it lay, it appeared to be about the same size as No. 1, and to have possessed at least one ear, which, however, we were not able to recover from the debris remaining after transport. Bronze vessels are not very common among the grave-goods of the Viking Age.

SHEET-IRON CAULDRON (Fig. 4).—This was completely broken up, a full half of the fragments of the bottom and sides remaining only as lumps of ochre. Fortunately it was possible to reconstruct the outline of the cauldron, and thus obtain a fair approximation to its shape and dimensions. The bowl was constructed of two sheets, which overlapped at their edges to a depth of 3 c/m. across the diameter of the vessel, and were joined together with three nails with large flat heads, driven from within outwards, and clenched against the metal. The

rim projects about 3 c/m., and is curved, with the concavity upward. The bottom is fitted in, its edge resting on a bracket forged to the two sheets forming the bowl, and turned up to meet them for a depth of 8 m/m. At the upper part of the bowl, outside, and placed at the junc-

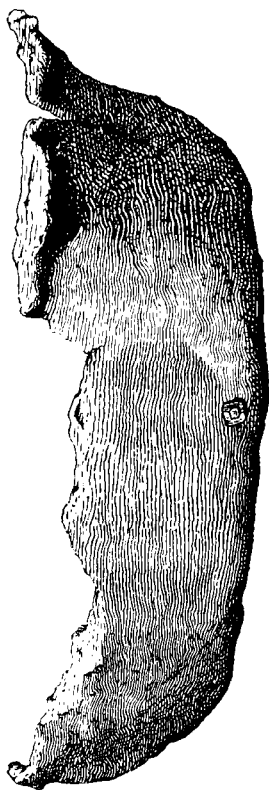


FIG. 3.

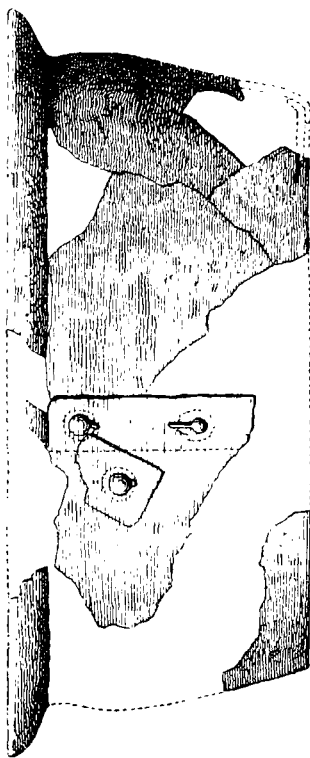
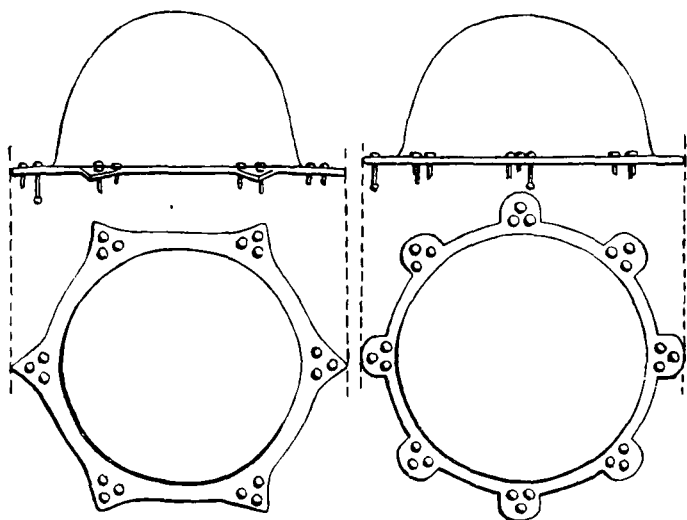


FIG. 4.

tion of the two sheets of iron, are the remains of two rectangular ears, each held in place by a large-headed nail, clenched against the outside. These ears no doubt received the ends of a semi-circular iron handle, which has been reduced to fragments. Internal diameter at bottom, 30 c/m. ($11\frac{3}{4}$ in.). External diameter of the bowl,

34 c/m. ($13\frac{1}{4}$ in.) at the turn of the rim, and 40 c/m. ($15\frac{1}{2}$ in.) at the rim. Inclusive height, 16 c/m. ($6\frac{1}{4}$ in.). The original thickness of the sheet-iron was much less than the 4 to 6 m/m. that the fragments measured. Altogether a rough specimen of workmanship. Similar rivetted sheet-iron cauldrons have been found in a great number of graves of this date. They are often replaced by stoneware pots, which are sometimes found covered with a layer of soot on the outside.

REMAINS OF TWO SMALL SHEET-IRON VESSELS.—These are doubtful, both being in extremely small fragments. One was possibly the bowl of a ladle.



CLASS I. FIG. 5.

CLASS II. FIG. 6.

THE SHIELD-BOSSES. (Figs. 5 and 6).—These were twenty-one in number, made of embossed iron, and all for flat shields. All but one were more or less broken, and three were only represented by a few fragments, two by one piece only. They may be arranged in four classes by the shape of the edges.

Class I. Four bosses, with hexagonal flanges, pierced for six groups of three rivets. These rivet holes are

slightly countersunk, owing to their having been punched when the iron was cold.

Class 2. Two bosses, with circular flanges, from which extend eight projections, each pierced with three rivets.

Class 3. Two bosses, with circular flanges notched into saw teeth, pierced at equal distances with a number of small holes for the rivets.

Class 4. Bosses, with circular flanges pierced with a variable number of rivet holes, not exceeding six, at equal distances.

This class might also be sub-divided into two sections by the shape of the boss itself, the larger section including those bosses which have a groove between the flange and the bowl, and the smaller those which are without that feature.

The width of the flanged edges of these bosses varies considerably, the total diameter of the widest being 190 m/m. The height of the bosses varies also, the highest being 92 m/m. (Diameter in inches, $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ high.) The smallest measure 135 m/m. in diameter and 53 m/m. in height. (Smallest diameter in inches, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{8}$ high.) The average width of the flange is 25 to 12 m/m. (*about* 1 in. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.). The rivet heads are flush with the flanges, and round-headed on the under surface of the shield. Some of the best preserved would fit boards 13 m/m. ($\frac{1}{2}$ in.) thick. These bosses, covered with a slight bed of earth, were placed more or less on their sides, some with the bowl, and some with the flange upward. They were arranged in two directions, which converged towards the north-west end of the long axis of the burial, but the lines were uneven, and the space between the bosses very irregular. The northern group lay near the point *M*, the most southerly boss being some 50 c/m. to the south-east of the heap of arms, etc. The southern group lay slightly within the point *V2*, and fragments of two of this group were found at the edge of the cliff. This group was larger than the northern one, and two of the bosses included in it were fitted one within the other in a

way which is not unusual in Scandinavian examples. No remains of shield handles were to be seen. These bosses, therefore, like most, if not all, those found in ship-burials of the Viking Age, must have belonged to gunwale shields on which the handle was replaced by a simple cross-bar of wood.

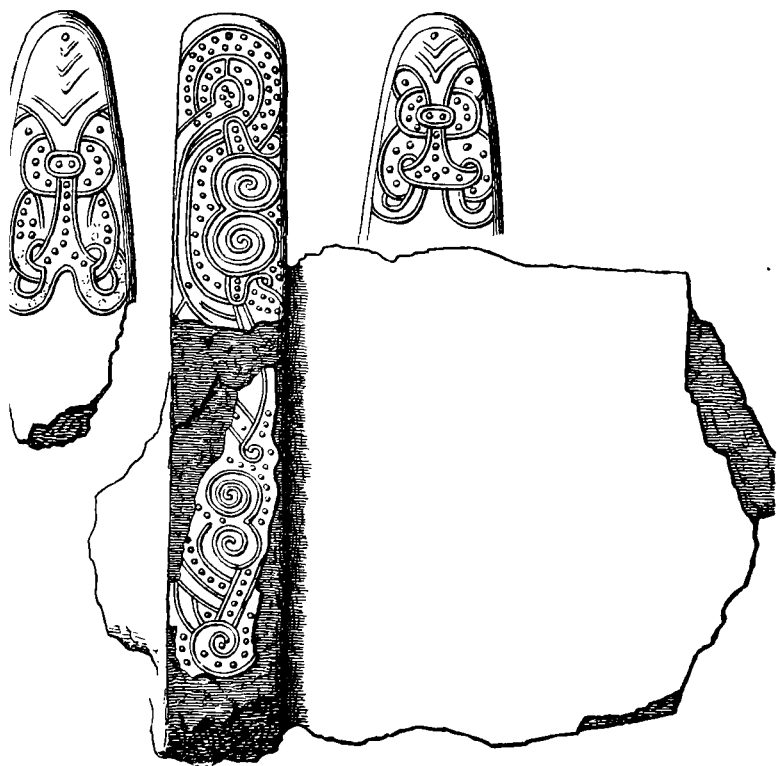


FIG 7.

The bosses of the fourth series are those which are most frequently met with in Scandinavian graves. The shapes of the flanges of the three other series seem to be rare, as we have been unable to find a reference to anything like them.

SWORD No. 1. (Figs. 7 and 8).—Upper and lower crossbars of the hilt, straight, and made of iron inlaid with silver. The decoration consists of a combination of interlacements, scrolls, and dots. The interlacements are confused, as if the craftsman had not followed out his original design. The upper crossbar, when found, was covered with a thick coating of rust, which we succeeded in detaching, layer by layer, with some difficulty. The

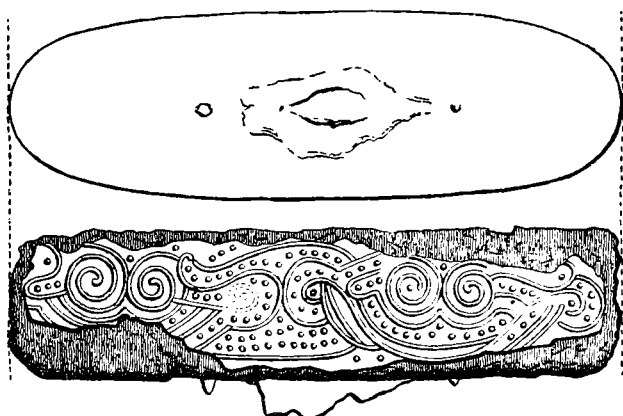


FIG. 8.

fragment of blade attached to the lower bar was 66 m/m. 2 ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in.) wide, but it is probable that when the weapon was in its perfect state this measurement would reach the unusual figure of 70 m/m. ($2\frac{3}{4}$ in.). The crossbars are 128 m/m. (5 in.) and 81 m/m. ($3\frac{1}{8}$ in.) respectively in length. Measurements taken from complete swords of this type give an average length of crossbar from 108 to 117 m/m. for the lower, and 84 to 87 m/m. for the upper, with a separation between their inner faces of 93 to 102 m/m., and a maximum width of blade of 58 m/m. ($2\frac{1}{4}$ in.). The length of a two-edged blade is as a rule 80 c/m. ($31\frac{1}{2}$ inches).

Sword No. 1 is therefore exceptional in length of crossbar and width of blade. Allowing it a blade of the usual

length, it would have been a decidedly formidable weapon.

SWORD No. 2.—Lower crossbar of the hilt, made of iron, incrustated and plated with bronze. Oval in horizontal section, like that of No. 1. Width at the centre, 25 m/m. tapering to 20 near the rounded ends. Thickness, 15 m/m. The length would be 98 m/m. ($3\frac{7}{8}$ in.). The lateral surfaces are decorated with extremely fine and closely set vertical lines of bronze. Their presence and that of other decoration was only evident after manipulation.

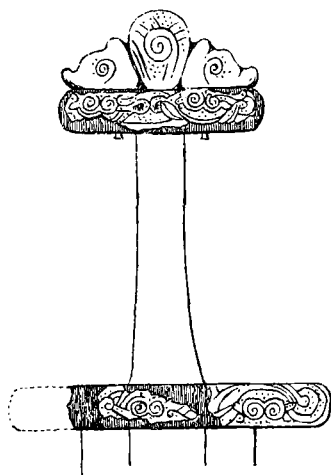


FIG. 9.

Hypothetical construction of the original hilt of Sword No. 1.

Except in a few cases the grip of the hilt was made of wood. Some traces apparently of such fittings are still visible on the cross-bar, inseparable from the metal, and fossilized by the oxide of iron. A small mass of metal fragments, which have been plated with bronze, but which cannot now be dissected, doubtless represents the remains of the pommel of sword No. 2.

Only two good-sized fragments of the blades of these swords, besides the pieces adherent to the lower crossbar

of No. 1 and a quantity of minute pieces, have been found. One, which is so closely oxidised to the remains of a spear point that the junction cannot be defined, was, perhaps, like the fragment attached to the crossbar of No. 1, damascened.

CHAPE OF SWORD-SCABBARD. (Fig. 10).—In bronze and cast-iron, ornamented with the conventional figure of an eagle with outspread wings, and with traces of other ornamentation towards the point. These metal scabbard

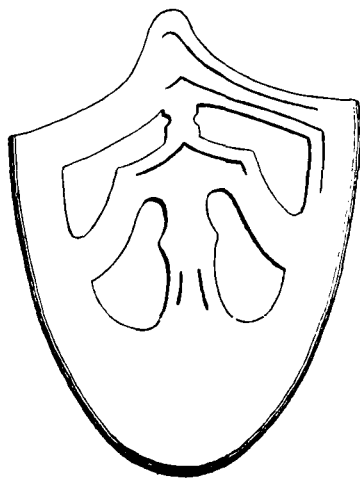


FIG. 10.

fittings are rarely found. The scabbard was usually made of wood, covered with leather.

AXE NO. 1.—This was among the heap of arms. Much damaged by oxidation, and hardly measurable. More than half of it was converted into yellow ochre.

AXE NO. 2.—A little more than half of the cutting end remaining. The width of the edge is about 140 m/m. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ in.), with a maximum thickness, close to the fracture, of 31 m/m. ($1\frac{3}{16}$ in.). Possibly one of these axes was not a weapon.

SPEAR NO. 1.—Found among the heap of arms, etc., adherent to the fragment of sword blade already men-

tioned. Only the base of the socket is well preserved, the upper part of the blade is missing, and only a very small part of the flanges remain. The only accurate measurement possible is that of the socket, which is 31 m/m. ($1\frac{1}{8}$ in.) in diameter on the outside. It has been ornamented with a slight raised line at about half its height. Any reconstruction of this spearhead can only be a matter of very bold conjecture.

SPEAR HEAD NO. 2.—This was also among the heap of arms, nothing but the socket remaining, besides a part of its extension along the blade and some broken remains of the flanges. The socket is 18 m/m. ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.) in outside diameter, and is pierced with five holes for the pins, which affixed it to the shaft. The total length of the socket is 105 m/m. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in.).

SPEAR HEAD NO. 3 is represented by a fragment of the socket. There were also found four pieces of spear blade of lozenge-shaped section.

IRON ARROW HEADS.—Under this head are comprised eight pointed fragments, two of which, however, may have belonged to the spears. Seven were found in the iron cauldron, and the other at least 50 c/m. from the remains. They appear to be of the sort usual in the Viking Age, but too incomplete to allow distinction between those which were tanged, and those which were socketed. One socket, however, was found which could only belong to an arrow; it had been plated with bronze.

KNIFE.—Among the mass of arms was an extremely fragile fragment of a knife blade, 115 m/m. in length and 19 m/m. wide, broken just above the tang ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ in.).

A WHETSTONE, made of fine slate not found in the district, shewed signs of use, and was perforated for suspension. Length, 111 m/m. by 15 to 18 m/m. wide, and 7 m/m. thick. Found in several easily mended pieces ($4\frac{1}{3}$ in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ in.).

SMALL ANVIL, HAMMER AND PINCERS.—These were of much corroded and damaged iron. The anvil is a somewhat rare find among grave-goods. The pincers had

been purposely bent before they were deposited in the grave. Length, 337 m/m. ($13\frac{5}{8}$ in.).

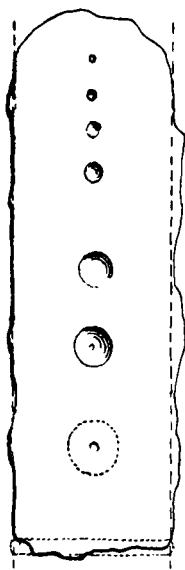


FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.

SPOON-ENDED BIT AND AUGER. (Fig. 12).—A fragment, 250 m/m. ($9\frac{3}{4}$ in.) in length, traversed by long and deep fissures. It was rusted to another tool, which had

perhaps been an auger (?), to Axe No. 1, and to the pommel of sword No. 2, etc. A rod, 130 m/m. long, apparently belongs either to this or to the auger (?), the length of which was 185 m/m. ($7\frac{3}{8}$ in.). A similar, but much shorter, spoon bit, was found at Myklebostad.

WIRE-DRAWERS PLATE. (Fig. 11).—Found among the debris of the iron cauldron. 142 m/m. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ in.) long by 42 m/m. ($1\frac{5}{8}$ in.) wide, and 25 m/m. (1 in.) thick. Its seven holes were arranged along its axis in order of size, and were graduated from 2 to 10 m/m. in diameter. The rust with which they are filled is extremely hard. Fragments of two borers and a chisel were recognisable.

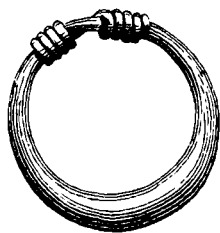


FIG. 13.

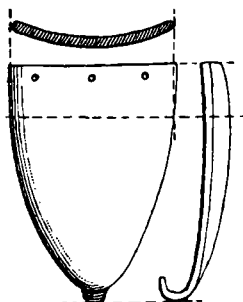


FIG. 14.

IRON-SOCKETED CELT (?).—Fragments of a socket which appears, from its shape and diameter, to belong to a celt (adze ?), a carpenter's tool commonly found in the graves of the Viking Age.

It is noticeable that this association of the tools of both an iron and a wood worker is somewhat rare. Other objects of doubtful use may possibly have also been tools.

GOLD RING. (Fig 13).—This is of very low standard metal, the alloy being almost white in colour, weighing 12 grm. 45, made of a simple bar, tapering from the middle to the ends, which are twisted round each other. This was almost certainly within the iron cauldron, or in

the earth which filled the vessel V, or else had adhered to the lower surface of one of the large slabs which covered the remains, but was overlooked during the researches of the first day's work.

Rings are remarkably rare in finds of this date, but they are met with in gold, silver, and bronze. Perhaps this is the first of this metal which has been found in a ship-grave of the Viking Age. The only gold ornament which we know to have been found in a grave of this kind is the Gunnarshaug bracelet. This, however, may be accounted for by the fact that the richest hoards of the sort have been rifled soon after the burial, as at Gokstad and Oseberg.

Other gold remains consisted of two very small, ragged spangles, and fragments, numbering thirty in all, of thin flat bands, still of their normal colour, but none measuring more than 5 m/m. in length. As these strips were spirally twisted, it would seem probable that they either encircled threads of some material, or belonged to the ornament of a sword hilt. Examples of both these methods of employment of such gold twists have been found, in one case at Gokstad, and in the other, that of a sword hilt, at Gjulem.

TWO SILVER CLASPS. (Fig. 14).—These were in the cauldron. They are exactly alike, shield-shape, and ending in a hook. Close to the upper edge are three holes for fastening. Their length, including the hook, is 32 m/m. ($1\frac{1}{4}$ in.); width, on the straight edge 22.5 m/m. ($\frac{7}{8}$ in.), and thickness 1.5 m/m. Both are extremely discoloured by oxidation. The front of the least damaged shews traces of incised ornament. This is most difficult to make out and to describe, but nevertheless it seems almost certain that it is not an interlaced pattern of Scandinavian or Irish type. It is possible that a slight difference of colouration noticeable between the back and front of the shields may have been due either to gilding or to a coating of enamel which has disappeared. At the point of the shield, against the face of one of the clasps, adhered

a shred of the silver braid. These clasps are not of Scandinavian type.

SILVER FILAGREE BRAID.—This, 28 m/m long, by 2·5 wide, was flattened, but had been cylindrical, and was made of a number of extremely fine threads. It was found amidst a mass of rivets, and in another mass was a knot of the same filagree, which no doubt formed one of the ends of the plait. A collar from the grave of a woman in the Scandinavian burial ground at Ballinaby, Islay (Hebrides), made of coarser thread, and terminating in two knots, is the nearest approach to this plait which has been found.

SILVER BEADS, ETC.—Seven of these, besides fragments, were found, some, apparently, of filagree work. There were also remains of undetermined objects in silver-

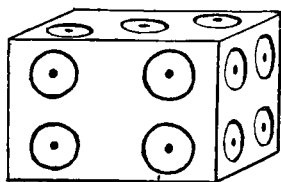


FIG. 15.

plated iron, including a button or stud, and a fragment of iron incrustated with silver, which may have belonged to the pommel of sword No. 1. Another fragment of an iron object, plated with bronze and silver, was found among the heap of arms, but its use cannot be determined. It is too large for the pommel of a sword and, being of iron, can hardly have belonged to a fibula.

TWO BONE DICE. (Fig. 15).—These were found in the iron cauldron, so much damaged by the fire that they were of about the consistency of chalk. The value of the different faces is represented by countersunk circles with a central point. The numbering of one is regular, 1 and 2 occupying the smaller faces, with 3, 4, 5 and 6 following the sequence of the larger faces as turned over.

On the other, however, 4 appears twice, one 4 taking the place of the 2 on one of the smaller faces. These bone cubes are not rare in graves.

BONE PAWNS. (Fig. 16).—Nineteen of these, as much damaged by fire as the dice, were found, seven of them being incomplete. They were turned on a lathe, but varied somewhat in shape, as will be best seen in the

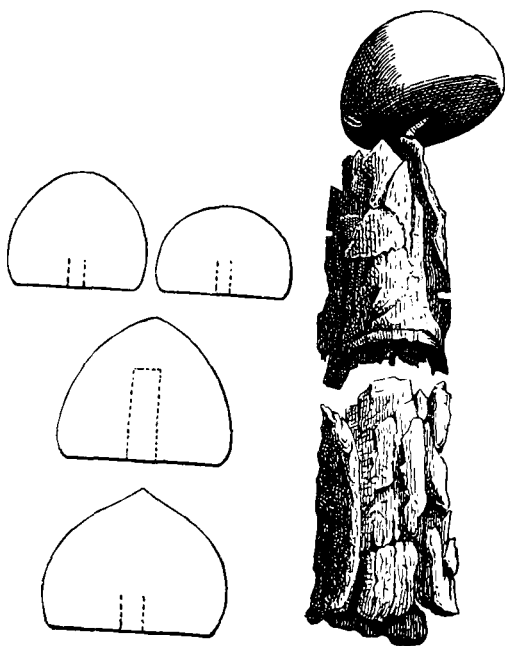


FIG. 16.

drawing. The diameter of their bases varied from 24.5 m/m. to 17.5 m/m., and the height from 19.5 to 15 m/m. Each has a central perforation, either round or squared, meant to receive an iron peg, one of which still remains in position in an incomplete pawn, attached to the fragment of an iron rod. Another still fixes a second pawn to its broken support, which was in contact with the auger. The pawns were scattered

almost everywhere on the central portion of the layer of charcoal, but were grouped most numerous among the debris of the cauldron.

Similar bone pawns often form part of the grave-goods. Those made of amber, glass or horn, are rarer. It has long been believed that the holes at the base served to fix them to the pegs of a draught board. It is this, perhaps, which has given rise to the theory that this game, of which the rules are not known from elsewhere, was only played on board ship.

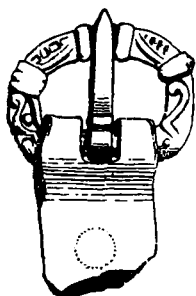


FIG. 17.

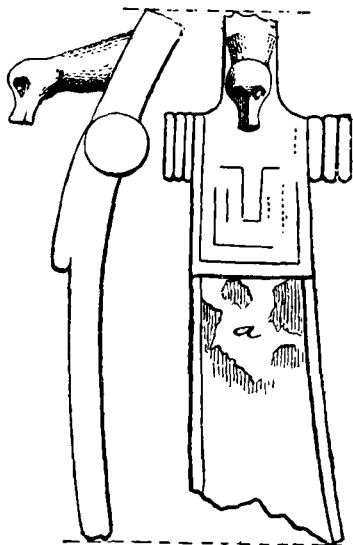


FIG. 18.

IRON HOOK.—Found among the mass of arms, and probably served to suspend the sword from the belt.

BUCKLES.—Five iron buckles of different sizes were found, two of which were only represented by fragments. A small, delicately ornamented buckle of bronze, was found, not on the area, but among the slabs of the nucleus of the mound. (Fig. 17).

BRONZE HEAD-PIECE. (Fig. 18).—Found between vessel V and the heap of arms. No trace of its miss-

ing lower part was found on the area, and it was consequently intentionally broken. The cylindrical prolongation upward fell into dust, but was somewhat recurved

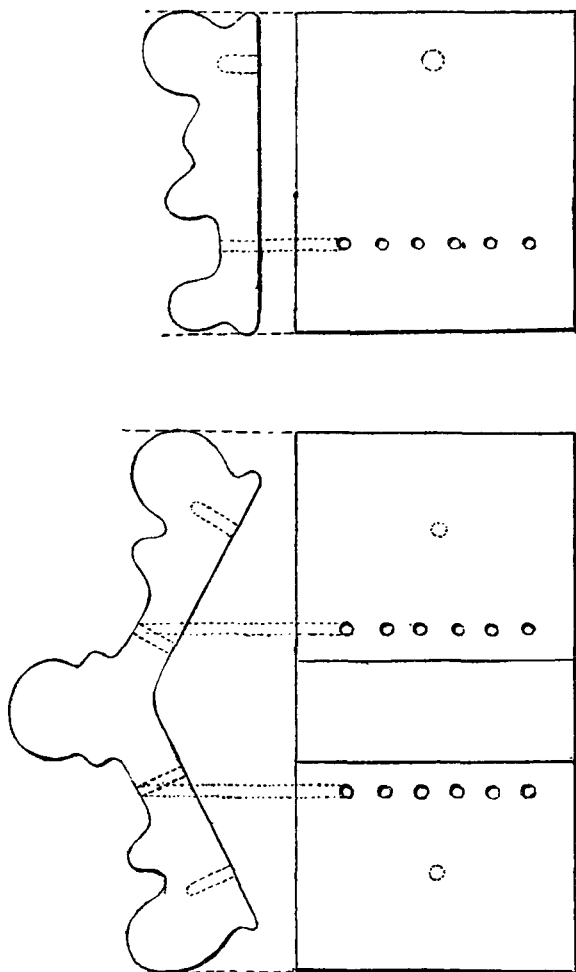


FIG. 19.

backwards. The animal head (dragon?) is of a type frequently occurring in Scandinavian ornaments. The

scales on the neck are quite distinct. Possibly the incised ornamentation, of which only traces remain, may have represented Thor's hammer. At *a* was the position of something which may have been either a metal plate, or enamel. Professor Stjerna thinks that this object is the head-piece of harness.

HARNESS FITTINGS (?), &c. (Fig. 19).—Three pieces, which may have belonged to either the collar, saddle, or pack-saddle of a horse. They were made of iron, which had been silver-plated, and covered with a plating of bronze again. No trace of decoration remains. M. Montelius does not consider them to be at all of Scandinavian type. One was found not far from the vessel V2. The others just south-west of the heap of arms.

Fragments, possibly belonging to a spur, were also found.

The use of about ten fragments of a bronze-plated iron rod, studded with knobs along their length, is not evident. The thickness of the rods is 10 to 11 m/m., and the diameter of the flat knobs about 18 m/m. ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.).

BRONZE ORNAMENT. (Fig. 20).—Apparently meant to fasten to some article. It is made of three very thin layers of bronze or copper, one of the plates being folded back on itself to form an open cylinder at the upper part of the lozenge. In the centre is a knob surrounded by a ring, embossed in relief. Two of the fastening rivets are still in place, and the hole for a third is visible on the lower angle. There would no doubt have been a fourth on the angle which is missing. The rivet heads have apparently been ornamented with an embossed arrangement of dots. The line evident in the midmost sheet of metal may have had to do with the fitting of the layers. The size of this plate is compatible with its having been the ornament of a sword-scabbard. It was found on the space *N*, about midway between vessel V2 and the heap of arms adherent to the under surface of one of the covering slabs. A little nearer V2 were found the remains of one, or perhaps two, more ornaments of the same sort.

Three small groups of thin bronze or copper bands, spirally twisted like the gold bands already mentioned, were found on space *N*.

The first article which we found was a thin copper or bronze sheath with open ends, and a rivet at each end. Inside this, among the earth and ashes, was the first silver bead found.

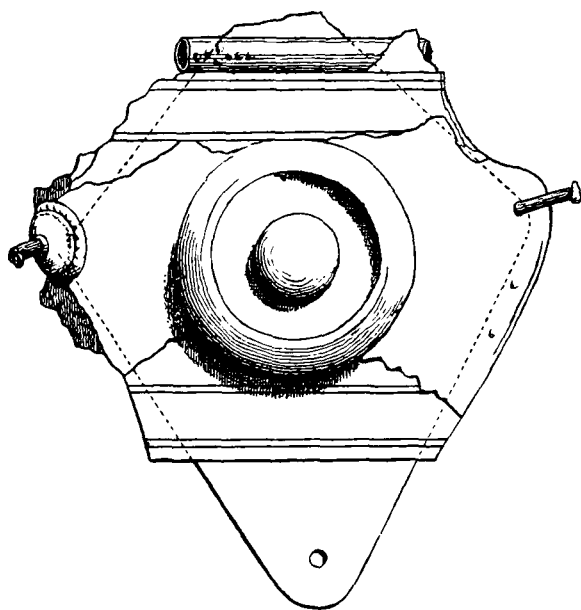


FIG. 20.

REMAINS OF AN IRON CHAIN. (Fig 21).—The remains of this chain occurred in fragments adherent to many of the articles and to the rivets. *C* is a reconstruction of the chain, each link of which was constructed of a large ring first drawn out in the direction of its diameter, and then bent back from the centre. A similar chain was found at Myklebostad in 1874 by M. Lorange. Opinion among Scandinavian archæologists is divided as to whether this is a dog-chain, or a bridle, or reins.

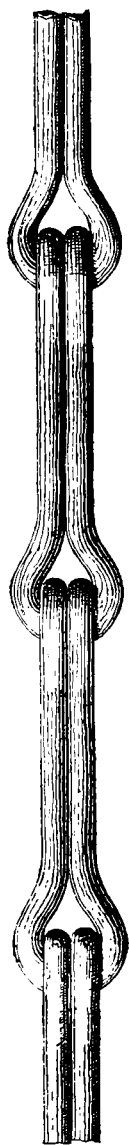


FIG. 21.

Among other iron objects of uncertain use, were the remains of what could only be a small padlock, of a sort often found; and of ten small staples, with flattened ends perforated for rivets. Those remaining were like the rivets of the shield-bosses, and had been fitted to some object 5 to 7 m/m thick. Two other staples of a different pattern were also found.

The remains of an iron circular object, which had apparently been plated on its outer surface, may have been the fitting of the edge of some cylindrical utensil such as a wooden vessel or quiver.

FRAGMENTS OF TWO IRON OBJECTS OF UNCERTAIN USE. (Fig. 22).—These consist of two thin plates of iron, between which are held what seem to be ornaments in the shape of barbed arrow heads. It is not certain, but quite probable, that these projections were held in place by pins, and it is clear that those of them which are bent aside were originally disposed radially, and had been intentionally damaged before they were placed on the pyre, or else during the cremation. The radius of curvature is 170 m/m. ($6\frac{3}{4}$ in.) on the inner edge, and 275 m/m. ($10\frac{7}{8}$ in.) on the outer, with the points replaced in position. Other fragments found prove that the circle in either case was not closed.

Several larger iron objects, of a more complicated construction, have not been explained. Besides two iron rings, of the respective diameters of 150 and 100 m/m., there were also fragments of two iron circlets of about 8 c/m. in diameter, a strong hook, three short iron bands each traversed

by a nail, and an iron fragment, which might have been the handle of a coffer, or a fire-steel. To the east of vessel 2, and nearly touching it, were lying the remains of small bronze articles, of which mention need only be made of a ring, which seems to have been the handle of a key; and a rod and fragment of a ring which may perhaps have been a pin with a moveable ring, reduced to verdigris.

We have recovered no fragment which one can certainly

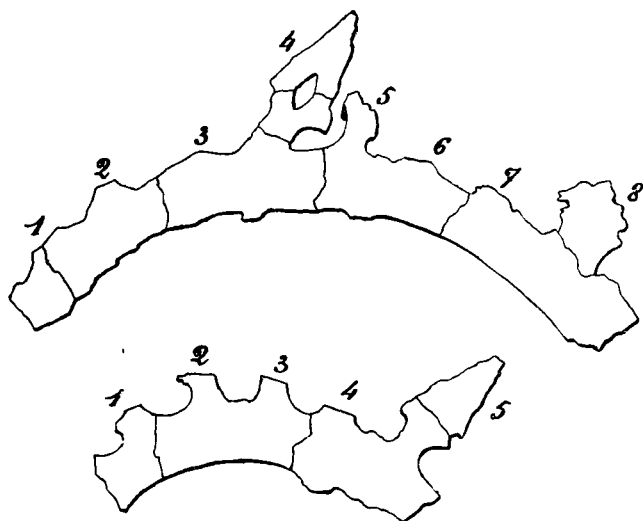


FIG. 22.

attribute to a bridle bit, but this is no proof that such an object was not placed in the grave.

The arrangement of the grave-goods on the area, identical with that described in "Ship-burials" and "Gravene ved Myklebostad"; the undoubtedly Scandinavian character of most of the articles recovered; the rivets, which denote clench-building; the use of woods now foreign to Brittany for the woodwork and fittings; all prove the Norse origin of the burial at Groix. Since M. Gustafson, Curator of the Museum of the University

of Christiania, has examined the remains now at Kernuz, he has expressed the opinion that the grave is not that of a wandering viking, but of a viking who had settled at Groix with the intention of forming a colony there.

THE VESSEL.—She must have been of the type found in Swedish and Norse tumuli, clinker built, sharp at both ends, with a low freeboard for the most of her length, but rising sharply at stem and stern. She would be fitted aft on the starboard quarter with a side rudder ; provided with oars, and probably with one mast and a square sail. The only data from which to reconstruct the dimensions of the vessel at our disposal are the number of rivets and the space between their heads and rooves. As already stated, the number of rivets must have been more than 1,000, or 900 if the smallest rivets, which do not seem fitted for the purpose of joining the planking, are eliminated. If these are spaced at 17 c/m. ($6\frac{5}{8}$ in.), as in the ship's boats found at Gokstad, we calculate that 850 rivets would be amply sufficient to frame a boat 11 metres (38 ft. approx.) long, with a beam of 2.40 metres (7 ft. 6 in.), planked with nine strakes, the upper of which would be fastened with nails, as also would the lowest (garboard) strake to the keel. This strong vessel would be furnished with seven pairs of oars, and at the time of the funeral eleven shields would have been placed on each gunwale, each covering half of the next, as at Gokstad. The stoutest strakes would be at least 21 m/m. ($1\frac{1}{3}$ in.) in thickness, and the thinnest 10 m/m. ($\frac{3}{8}$ in.), a scantling equalling that in actual present use in service boats of the same length.

THE DATE OF BURIAL.—Professor Stjerna considers that the decoration of the crossbars of sword No. 1 dates that weapon from the latter half of the ninth, or beginning of the tenth century. Between 917 and 937 the Norsemen were complete masters of Brittany, and we may suppose that during those twenty years many of them established themselves among us, especially in the islands where they had no fear of attack, with the hope of founding permanent colonies.

We have been unable to find either in the older family names, or in the place-names of Groix, any trace of foreign occupation. There was certainly some temptation to attribute the name of the island to some such northern source as the well-known Scandinavian name "Groa." The form "Groë," under which it appears in 1037, might well be Norse, but it must not be overlooked that "Groë" occurs as a compound in Breton names before the Norse incursions.

The striking analogies which the arrangements at Cruguel present to those in cremation graves explored between Romsdal and Smaalene on the Norwegian coast, lead one to suppose that the person or persons buried at Groix came originally from Vestfold or Vestland.

Ship-burials are extremely rare in the Norse colonies, only some six or seven being known. So far as we are aware this is the first recorded in France, and it holds a high position among the graves of its type. No doubt others may yet be discovered on the shores and isles of Brittany.

In conclusion, we have to thank those archæologists whose help has so materially assisted us in the work of identifying and recording.¹

¹The original paper is followed by four useful appendices, of which the first is reproduced here, both for its value to students and because the original contains several printer's errors, which, by the kindness of Captain Le Pontois, we are able to correct. The other three contain general information on the subject of Scandinavian ship-burials, the objects found with them, and the ships and boats themselves. From these we extract the table which we give as Appendix II. Dr. Haakon Schetelig's paper on "Ship Burials," *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. IV., page 326, is constantly referred to both in the body of the work and in these Appendices as one of the main sources of information on the subject; and his "Ship Burial at Kiloran Bay," *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. V., page 172, is also referred to.—A. F. MAJOR.

APPENDIX I.

Comparative numerical table of the principal objects found in five "shield-boss" burials.

	Myklebostad, 1.	Cruguel de Groix.	Myklebostad, 2.	Langlo.	Hauge.
Rivets collected	at least 700	667	430	many	over 300
Shield-bosses	... 44	21	8	10	4
Two-edged swords	... 2	2	1	1	1
Chape of a sword-scabbard	—	1	—	—	—
Axes	... 1	2	1	1	1
Lance-heads	... 2	3	1	—	1
Arrow-heads...	... 9	8	20	several	2
Anvil	... —	1	—	—	—
Hammer	... —	1	1	—	1
Pincers	... 2	1	—	—	—
File	... —	—	—	—	1
Spoon-ended bit	... 2	1	—	—	—
Auger	... —	1 ?	—	—	—
Punch	... —	2	—	—	—
Drawing-plate (for wire)	—	1	—	—	—
Adze	... —	—	1	—	—
Wood rasp	... —	—	1	—	1
Saw blade	... —	—	1	—	—
Large knife	... 1	—	—	—	—
Ordinary knives	... 1	1	1	—	1
Sickles	... 1	—	1	—	—
Whetstone	... —	1	—	—	—
Gold ring	... —	1	—	—	—
Remains of gold orna- mented thread	... —	Yes	—	—	—
Silver clasps	... —	2	—	—	—
Silver buttons	... —	1	—	—	—
Silver braid	... —	1	—	—	—
Small silver beads	... —	several	—	—	—
Enamelled glass beads	1	—	1	—	—
Bronze ring-fibula	... —	1 ?	—	—	1
Bronze pin	... —	—	1	—	—
Bone comb	... 2	—	—	—	—
Bone dice	... 3	2	—	—	—
Bone playing pawns	... several	19	several	—	—

	Myklebostad, 1.	Cruguel de Groix.	Myklebostad, 2.	Langlo.	Hauge.
Enamelled bronze vessel	I	—	—	—	—
Bronze vessel	...	2	—	—	—
Sheet-iron caldron	...	I	I	—	—
Stoneware caldron	...	—	—	—	I
Frying-pan	...	—	—	—	I
Bridle-bit	...	—	—	—	I
Bronze head-piece of harness	...	I	—	—	—
Iron chain	...	I	—	—	—
Bones of dog	...	Yes	Yes	—	—
Bones of birds	...	Yes	—	—	—

Myklebostad No. 1. A cremation grave explored in 1874 by Mr. A. Lorange. The measurements of the rivets and nails showed that the scantling of the ship had been as great as, if not greater than, that of the Gokstad ship. "Samlingen af Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum" p. 153.

Myklebostad No. 2. A cremation grave explored in 1903 by Dr. H. Schetelig, who considers this the only grave of which we can say with certainty that the cremation took place on the actual spot where the howe was raised. "Gravene ved Myklebostad i Nordfjordeid" in "Bergens Museums Aarbog," 1905, No. 7.

Graves in which more than two Shield-bosses have been found.

	Shield- bosses.		Shield- bosses.
Gokstad	64	Roligheden	5
Myklebostad No. 1	44	Hauge	4
Groix	21	Gjulem	3
Langlo	10	Allum	3
Myklebostad No. 2	8	Helleve	3
Yliskylä	6		

Langlo. Cremation-grave described by N. Nicolaysen in "Udgravningerne i Ske sogn i 1872" in "Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkes bevaring" for 1872.

Hauge. Unburnt burial examined in 1890 by Professor G. Gustafson. "En baadgrav fra Vikingetiden" in "Bergens Museums Aarbog," 1890, No. 8.

Yliskylä. In Finland. See "Ship Burials," by H. Schetelig, SAGA-Book, Vol. IV. p. 360.

Roligheden, Gjulem, and Allum. See "Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers bevaring" for 1838, 1866-7, and 1887 respectively.

Helleve. See "Samlingen af Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum," 1874, p. 163.

APPENDIX II.

Length in meters of 26 Ships or Boats.¹

Gokstad	23·80	Vendel IV.	8·00
Gunnarshaug, k. ...	(20·00)	Snotra I.	7·50
Oseberg	21·50	Snotra II.	(7·50)
Tune	(22·00)?	Vendel III.... ...	(7·40)
Borre	(16·00)?	Vendel II.	(7·10)
Grønhaugen	15·00	Myklebostad II. ...	7·00
Vendel I.	(10·40)	Snotra III.	6·90
Vendel IX.	9·50	Valsnesset	6·50
Vendel X.	(9·35)	Vendel VI.	(6·50)
Vendel XI.	(9·20)	Gokstad, boat II., k.	(5·50)
Vendel VII.	(8·90)	Kvelde	(6·00)
Gokstad, boat I., k.	(7·70)	Nalum	(5·70)
Hauge	8·50	Gokstad, boat III., k.	(4·10)

¹ This list, extracted from Appendix IV. of the original, follows with slight additions a list drawn up by Prof. G. Gustafson and given in his "En Baadgrav fra Vikingetiden." Figures in brackets are only approximate and k indicates that the length given is that of the keel, (1 meter = 39·37 inches). References to most of these finds will be found in Dr. Schetelig's paper on "Ship Burials," quoted above.

— A. F. MAJOR.

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

SEVENTEENTH SESSION, 1909.

MEETING, JANUARY 22nd, 1909.

Professor W. P. KER, LL.D. (President), in the Chair.

Dr. G. A. Auden, M.A., M.D., F.S.A., gave a lecture on "Scandinavian Antiquities found in York," with lantern illustrations, printed on pp. 169-179. A discussion followed, in which the President and Mr. A. F. Major took part.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 12th, 1909.

W. F. KIRBY, Esq. (Vice-President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "Traces of the Custom of *Suttee* in Norway during the Viking Age," by Dr. Haakon Schetelig, Hon. District Secretary, Norway, printed on pp. 180-208. In the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Miss Keith Dowding, Mr. A. W. Johnston and Mr. M. C. Seton took part.

MEETING, MARCH 12th, 1909.

Professor W. P. KER, LL.D. (President), in the Chair.

The following papers were read:—

"Söl and Samphire," by W. H. Beeby, Esq., F.L.S., printed on pp. 209-211; and "Siward Digri of Northumberland," by Dr. Axel Olrik, printed on pp. 212-237. In the discussion which followed, the President, Mr. A. F. Major, Mr. W. F. Kirby, Mr. F. P. Marchant and Mr. A. W. Johnston took part.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 30th,
1909.

Professor W. P. KER, LL.D. (President), in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 30th, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council was presented to the Meeting and unanimously adopted, and is printed in the Year-Book, pp. 29-33. The Officers of the Club for the ensuing year were elected.

Professor W. P. Ker, LL.D., gave his Presidential Address on the "Early Historians of Norway," printed on pp. 238-256.

A vote of thanks to the retiring President, Professor W. P. Ker, was proposed by The Hon. Sir Robert Stout (Chief Justice of New Zealand), seconded by Mr. A. F. Major and carried by acclamation.

Mr. A. Shaw Mellor, M.A. (Hon. Treasurer), proposed a vote of thanks to the retiring Councillors, which was seconded by Mr. Wm. Traill and carried.

ANNUAL DINNER, JULY 1ST, 1909.

The Annual Dinner of members of the Club and of Subscribers to the Old-lore Series was held at the Trocadero Restaurant, Piccadilly, on Thursday, July 1st, at 7-45 p.m. Professor I. Gollancz, Litt.D. (President), in the chair. The Vice-Presidents were Mr. H. L. Brækstad, Mr. W. F. Kirby, Miss Eleanor Hull and Mr. A. W. Johnston. Professor W. P. Ker, LL.D., was entertained as the guest of the evening. About fifty-nine members and guests were present, including Mrs. Lucas Mond and Miss Paues, and all the principal officers of the Club. After the usual loyal toasts, the President, in proposing the guest of the evening, said: In Professor Ker, the members recognised their uncrowned chief, a strong man, who was worthy to have been head of the

Vikings. Every one of the members was a debtor to him for his work, not only in his books, which had made a deep impression throughout Europe, but for his labours on behalf of the Viking Club at all times. Professor Ker in responding to the toast in his honour, referred to the interesting work of research in which the Club is engaged, and adverted to the wealth of literature which is to be found in the Northern prose books and Sagas. Professor Allen Mawer, in proposing the health of the visitors and honorary members, spoke of the valuable assistance rendered to the Club by distinguished students of history, archæology, and philology in Norway, Sweden and Denmark; which all help to illustrate the subjects in which the Viking Club is interested. Of Mrs. Mond he spoke as a lover of all that was best and highest in literature and art. Of Miss Paues as one of the band of peaceful Viking invaders, who have conquered the realms of English scholarship. Of Dr. Alexander Bugge as one who combines the gift of historical research with grace of style and exposition, a characteristic more common among Scandinavian scholars than among our own. Of Dr. Furnivall as a friend to all human learning and as one who by his love of aquatic sport showed that he had something of the old Viking spirit. Dr. Furnivall, in responding for the visitors, said he was glad that the Viking spirit still prevailed. There was too much that was softening in modern English life, and it was a blessing to have a club that stood up for the old strong spirit which was at the bottom of all the conquests England had made. Miss Paues also responded to the toast to the visitors. Professor Alexander Bugge in responding said: Professor Mawer has honoured me by mentioning my name in the toast, I feel it a great pleasure to be present among so many fellow-Vikings, who have distinguished themselves in peaceful raids upon the glorious past of British History. During the several years of my membership I

have seen the work of the Club constantly growing and becoming more and more interesting and important. The SAGA-BOOK contains important papers on nearly all parts of the British Islands where Norsemen have settled. What a happy enterprise is the Old-Lore series; what a precious store of old-lore and old memories. Your Orkney Diplomatarium is a most useful work, only second in interest to the contemplated edition of Orkney and Shetland Place-names, which, I hope, will soon come out and be followed by a complete collection of all Scandinavian Place-names in the British Islands. The scholar who in the future writes the History of the Scandinavian Element in English History will have to consult the publications of the Viking Club for his chief sources. This work (which has a most valuable beginning in Professor Collingwood's "Scandinavian Britain") will, I hope, some day be written; it would show how greatly the Norsemen have influenced nearly every branch of English life, an influence only second to that of the Normans and French. But times have changed. The Vikings of the present day are not the Norsemen, but the Anglo-Saxons, who have laid the greater part of the world under their sway, and whose influence is felt from the South Pole up to Norway. Since the time when the Orkneys, Shetlands, and Hebrides formed a part of greater Norway, the Norwegians have always been looking westward. At first they came as rather savage and beef-bone-throwing Vikings and buccaneers; afterwards they learned civilized manners and came as comparatively peaceful merchants, mostly to Boston, King's Lynn, and Berwick-on-Tweed. When in the sixteenth century shipping was revived, Norwegian ships again mostly sailed to the British Islands. From this country we have also got our most precious literary impulses, from the time of the Eddic Poems, down to Ludvig Holberg and Henrik Wergeland. Therefore, when we Norwegians come to England, we

are happy in this great city to meet friends, ladies and gentlemen who share our interests and pursuits. The Viking Club is one of these links, and not the least important one, between my country and England.

During the evening music was rendered by Fröken Maja Kjöhler, mezzo-soprano; Mr. W. A. Peterkin, bass; Mr. Alexander Popham, pianist; Mr. W. R. Simmons (composer) and Miss Muriel Davenport, accompanists.

The following letters, regretting their inability to be present at the dinner, were received from:—Sir Arthur Bignold, Miss Olive Bray, The Marquess of Bute, Professor W. G. Collingwood, Dr. F. M. Egan, United States Minister to Denmark, Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, The Earl and Countess of Ronaldshay, Archdeacon Sinclair, Sir Robert Stout (Chief Justice of New Zealand), Sir G. Scott Robertson, The Lord Salvesen, The Duchess of Sutherland, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Professor Toller and others.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 12th, 1909.

Professor I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "Havelok and Olaf Tryggvason," by Professor Alexander Bugge, Hon. Life Member, printed on pp. 257-295. A discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Mr. A. F. Major, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, Mr. F. P. Marchant and Mr. James Gray took part.

MEETING, DECEMBER 10th, 1909.

W. F. KIRBY, Esq. (Vice-President), in the Chair.

The following papers were read:—

"An Orkney Township before the division of the Commonty," by John Firth, which will be printed in a future number of the Old-lore Miscellany.

“Grotta Söngur and the Orkney and Shetland Quern,” and “Alleged prevalence of Gavelkind in Orkney and Shetland,” by Alfred W. Johnston (Vice-President), printed on pp. 296-307.

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Mr. Moar, Mr. A. F. Major, Mr. James Gray, Miss Keith Dowding, took part; to which Mr. Johnston replied.

CORRECTION.

The Council regret that, in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. vi., part I., p. 9, it is stated that the Rolls translation of the Orkney Saga was published in 1873, whereas the translation of the Orkney Saga by Mr. Gilbert Goudie and Mr. Jón Hjaltalin, edited by Dr. Joseph Anderson, was published in 1873, and it was not until 1894 that the Rolls translation was published.

ABSTRACT OF A PAPER ON ANTIQUITIES DATING FROM THE DANISH OCCUPATION OF YORK.

G. A. AUDEN, M.A., M.D., F.S.A.

HER position upon the Ouse at the limit of tidal water rendered York easy of access to the Viking bands. As the seat of a kingdom and the centre of ecclesiastical jurisdiction it was naturally the centre of attack on account of the booty likely to be obtained there. At the threshold of history we find York the scene of the death of Ragnar Lodbrok; as W. G. Collingwood shews, this legend may have been originated in order to give a reason for the conquest of Northumbria. The first period was necessarily a period of raids and conquest, and it was not until about 900 A.D. that the second period, that of colonisation, began, and not until this time can we expect to find evidence of Scandinavian thought and art reflected in the antiquities which come to light. These are extraordinarily few in consideration of the lengthy time during which a large part of England was under Dane law. The evidence of place-names and streets is still strong, as also that of the Scandinavian type of much of the present population and the dialect of the East Riding.

Periodically, during digging operations, antiquities come to light, notably in 1884 and 1906, in the region of Coppergate and the modern Tower Street, and the only antiquity which can be dated with any accuracy is the leaden cross, with a styca impressed upon it of Osberht (849 to 867), the King of Northumbria, who was driven out by the Danes. (Fig. 1). Two stycas, belonging to Eanred (808 to 841) and Aethelred II. (841

to 850), were found in the same excavation. The three coins can be identified from the British Museum Catalogue.¹

Next in importance is a gilded bronze chape, with open zoöomorphic design, assigned by Dr. Sophus Müller, the Director of the National Museum, Copen-

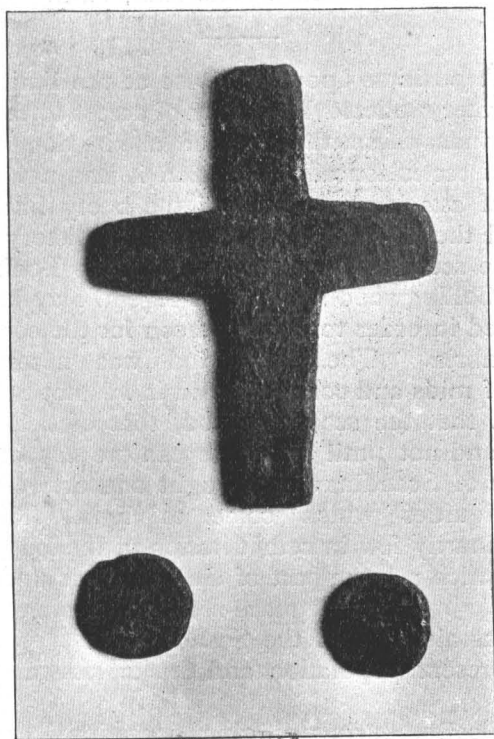


FIG. 1.—LEADEN CROSS WITH IMPRESSION OF STYCA OF OSBERHT.

hagen, to period 900 to 950. (Fig. 2). This is very similar to one figured by Rygh, found at Rorvik in Norway,² or by Sophus Müller, found in Jutland.³

¹ See Brit. Numismatic Journal, Vol. iv., p. 235.

² See Norske Oldsager, Vol. ii., fig. 516.

³ Müller. Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager, fig. 581.

Associated with this a unique and interesting box of oak, overlaid with perforated strips of bone, between the two a layer of lustrous material to shine through the holes in the bone. (Plate 1).

A peculiar type of small object deserves special

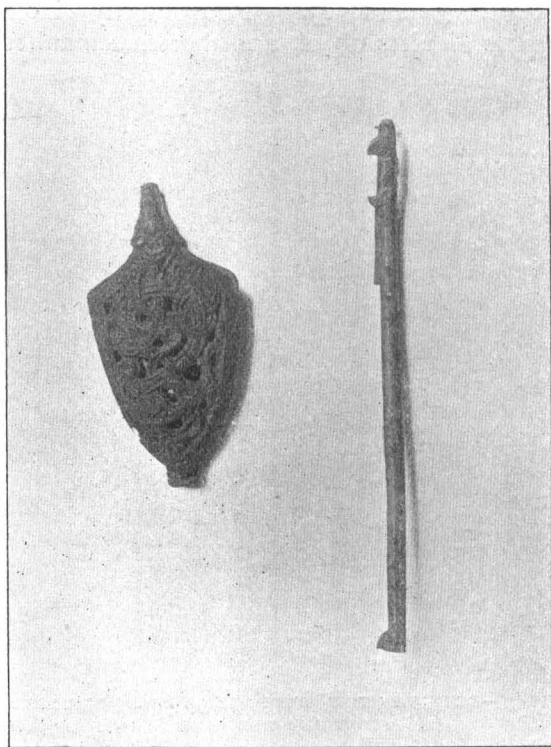


FIG. 2.—CHAPE OF SWORD SHEATH.

attention. These apparently belong to the class of amulets, and may have been used to promote success in hunting as by the modern Esquimaux. They are all pierced for suspension. Thus, a carved tine of stag's horn, ornamented with characteristic interlacing design, is terminated by a very spirited head like

that of the sea-lion, described in *The Reliquary*, 1904. Another now in Sheffield Museum has two prominent tusks as though representing a wild animal such as the walrus. Other articles which may have been used in wearing are the tips of deer horn tines, with animal heads (possibly deer) in relief. (See Figs. 3 and 4). Two highly interesting zoöomorphic amulets of jet, and therefore manifestly of

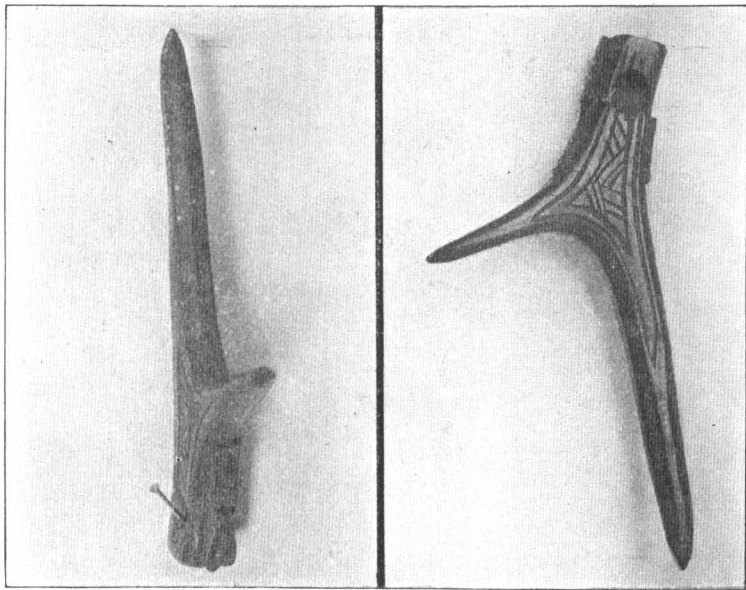


FIG. 3 —DEER-HORN TINE, WITH ANIMAL HEADS IN RELIEF.
FRONT AND SIDE VIEW.

Cleveland origin, have been found in Viking graves in Norway, one a grotesque somewhat resembling a seal, and the other apparently representing two bears inter-locked.

Another carved bone of great interest is the finely carved bone-pin (Fig. 5), three inches in length. The thicker part is a spirited representation of a dragon, with open jaws, grasping an uncarved block,

which forms the head of the pin. The ears are pointed and deflected backwards, while the wings lie along the body, extending for nearly half the length of the pin. Two legs spring from under the shoulders, and passing forwards end in two feet under the chin. Dr. Müller, does not think, however, that this is of Norse workmanship. If this is so, the pin is a "wanderer,"

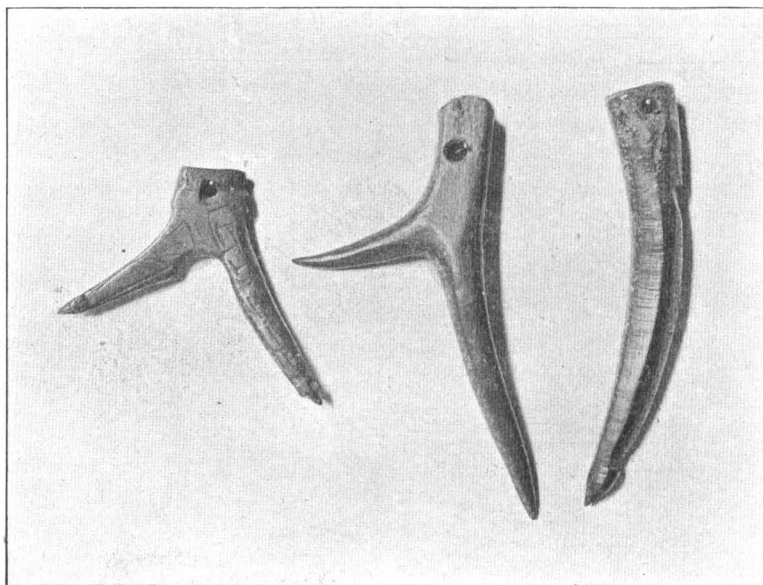


FIG 4.—DEER-HORN TINES PERFORATED FOR SUSPENSION—
ONE CARVED WITH ANIMAL HEADS IN RELIEF,
AND AS TERMINALS.

for it was found associated with many typical Scandinavian objects.

The bone comb which accompanies it in the plate is not Scandinavian in type, and the exact locality in York in which it was found is not known. It derives special interest from the fact that it is evidently of the same pattern as one described by Alcuin as having been presented to him by Riculf, Archbishop of Mayence, made

of ivory. "In his letter of thanks Alcuin encloses a poetical conundrum: a beast had entered his doors having two heads and sixty teeth, and yet he was not

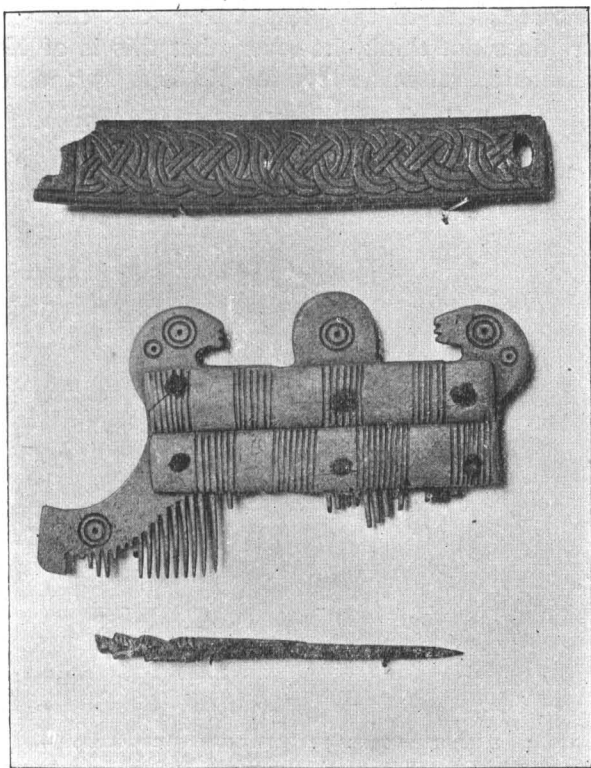


FIG. 5.—I. PART OF A BONE OF UNCERTAIN USE CARVED WITH INTERLACING CORD.

II. BONE COMB WITH CONVENTIONALISED ZOÏMORPHIC ORNAMENTATION.

III. BONE PIN WITH DRAGON CARVING.

alarmed, but pleased at its appearance, for it was not of elephantine size, but of Eburnean beauty."—Metcalfe, *The Englishman and Scandinavian* (p. 78 note).

The double disc brooch, or more probably buckle, illustrated by Fig. 6, which was also found in the Castlegate excavations, is certainly not Northern in origin, and is unique so far as can be ascertained. The two discs have upon them a full-face lion's head in high relief. The snout and muzzle have been somewhat flattened or worn by use, but the mane can be more readily recognised. Whatever the precise *venu* of this object, the whole treatment of the subject betrays a

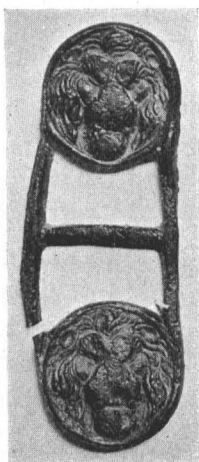


FIG. 6—BRONZE BROOCH FOUND AMONGST "DANISH" REMAINS
IN CLIFFORD STREET, YORK.

Mediterranean influence, and may be compared with that of the same subject upon several coins of classical times. The material is bronze, which has been gilded.

It is not until we reach the stone monuments that the characteristic Scandinavian art reveals itself. The art of the Northumbrian monuments may be divided into two periods: 1, Anglian (700 to 900), strongly influenced by the Scotie school of Lindisfarne, and with a vine scroll as the principal decorative motive, such as can be seen in the consummate beauty of the

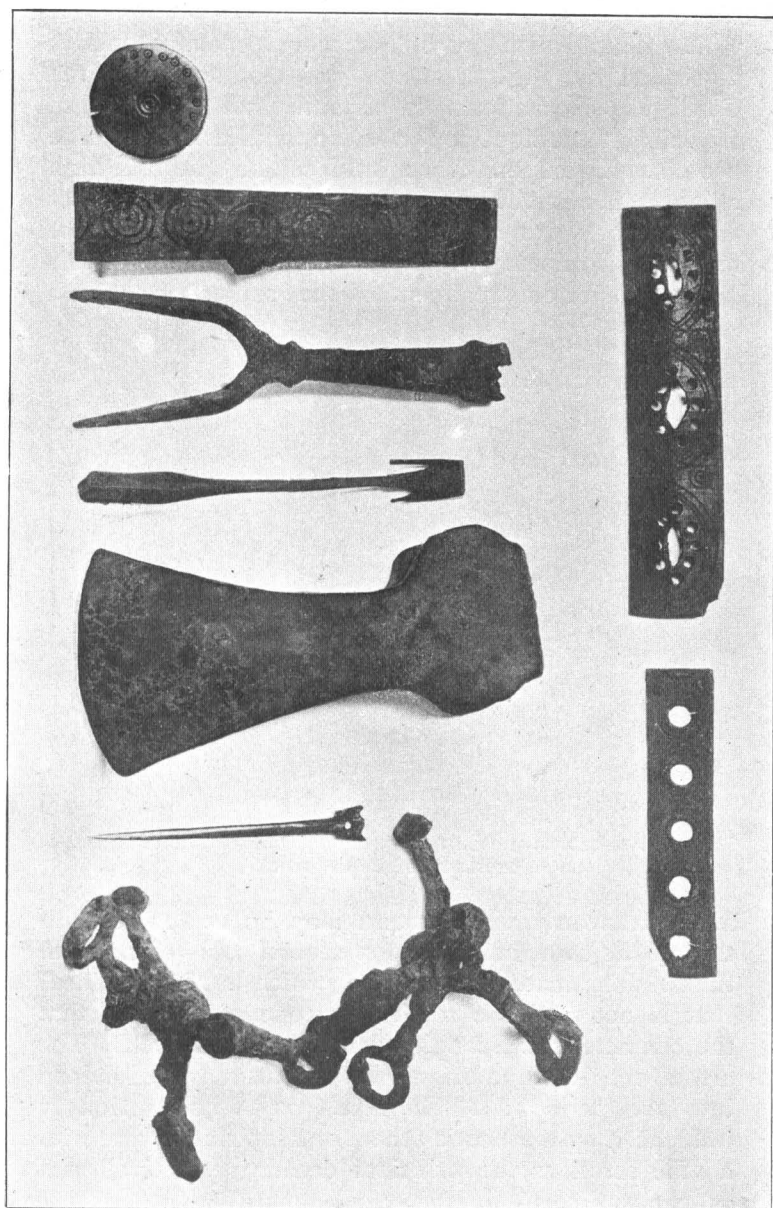


Photo by

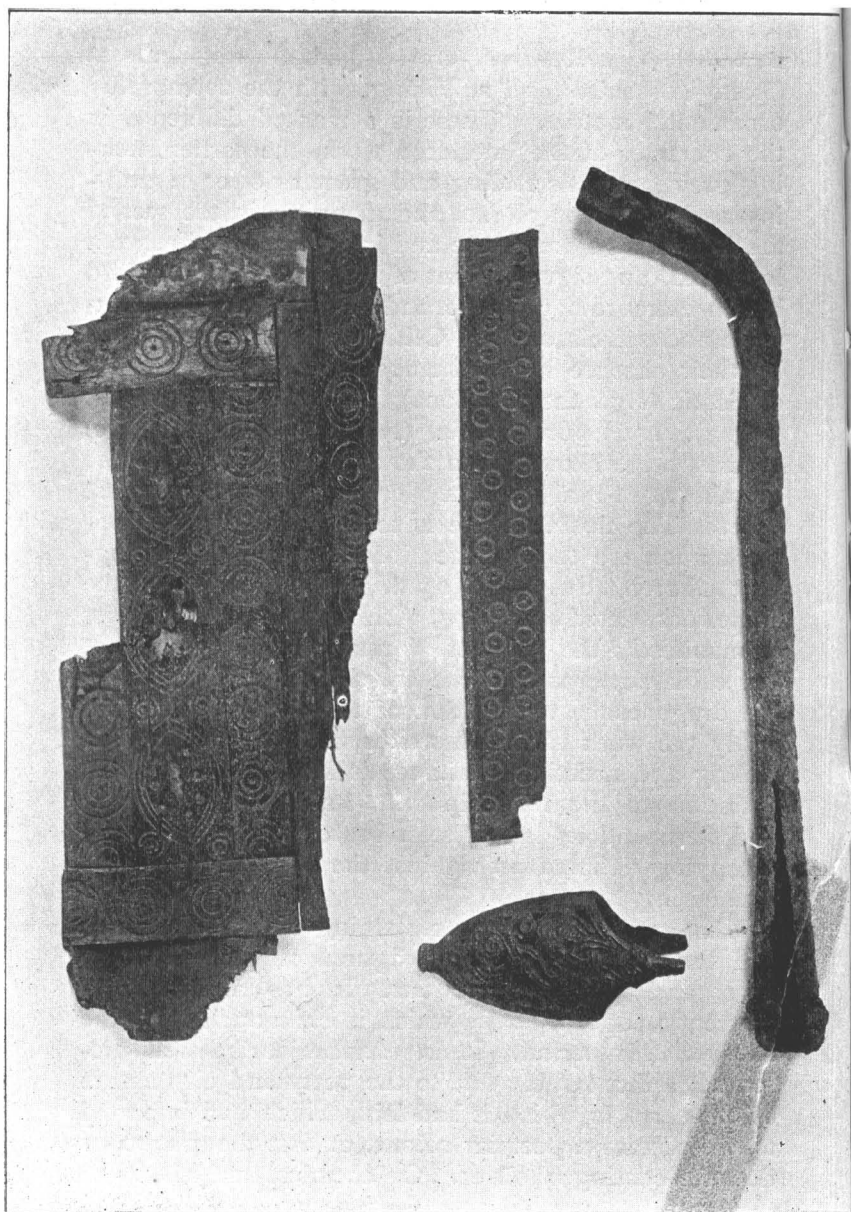
PLATE 1.

W. WATSON

Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses and the fragments at Croft, Yorkshire; and 2, Viking, with the zoöomorphic ornamental motive. There is a marked difference in the character of the interlaced work, the earlier shewing greater artistic feeling and greater power of drawing and command of tool and material; in the second the interlacings are coarse and irregular, with frequent loose ends and signs of want of finish, but characterised by an extraordinary *verve* and vigour. The key patterns and spirals of pure Celtic work are conspicuous by their absence in Northumbrian design. Examples of Scotie (*e.g.*, those at Iona), Viking (S. Alkmund's, Derby), and pure Celtic (Nevern, Pembrokeshire) crosses, were shewn upon the screen. Some of these are almost co-eval with the Norman conquest in actual date. The closing scene is to be found in the iron-work upon the door of the Norman porch of Stillingfleet Church,¹ five miles south of York. Here the stonework, dated *circa* 1135, with its arch of five orders, is manifestly the work of Norman stone-masons, but the cable patterns and the interlacing iron-work and the dragonesque termination of the C hinges are probably the work of native smiths, whose Scandinavian feeling and artistic inheritance is shewn in the representation of the longship with its zoöomorphic prow and stern and its lateral steer-board—a last protest of the dying national art against the innovations of the conquering Norman.

A short account of the remaining objects illustrated will suffice. The axe head, figured on plate 1, is of iron, and weighs 2lbs. 6oz. It has a broadened crescentic edge, a shape which is characteristic of the axes of this period. It is extraordinarily well preserved, a fact largely due to the peaty and oily nature of the earth in which it had lain, which had imparted to the surface a peculiar colour, at first thought to be due to a coating of silver. On chemical analysis, how-

¹ See *Reliquary*, April, 1907, and *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. v., pt. 2, p. 247.



ever, this was proved not to be the case. The iron horse's bit, on the same plate, has suffered much from oxidation, but still shows traces of a linear ornamentation. The small bronze, two-pronged fork, may have been used as a gaff for fishing purposes. The circular disc, with central circular ornamentation, is doubtless a piece for playing the game of Nine Men's Morris or a species of draughts (compare the play-board found in the Gokstad ship. Nicolaysen: *Langskibet fra Gokstad*, Kristiania, 1882). The use of the small wooden spatula, figured on the same plate, is unknown, and the other objects represented on this plate are portions of the bone strips from the box mentioned above. The metal object on plate 2, which is socketed for a handle, has its end recurved to form a short hook, and may have been used for lifting a cooking pot from the fire.

It is to be hoped that any further excavations in the neighbourhood of these discoveries will be watched with care as being likely to reveal further evidence of the Danish occupation of York.

TRACES OF THE CUSTOM OF "SUTTEE" IN NORWAY DURING THE VIKING AGE.

By DR. HAAKON SCHETELIG.

THE question raised by the title of this paper is not new in the antiquarian literature of Scandinavia.

It has been touched upon by literary and historical investigators who have tried its solution by the help of written sources, and sometimes it has been mentioned also in works of a strictly archæological character. But the question—as far I know—has not yet been treated specially. The existence of the custom of "Suttee" in the northern countries has not yet been established by evident proofs, neither has the location or the chronological restriction of this custom been made the subject of special studies in Scandinavia.

A question of this kind, bearing chiefly upon the social and religious conditions of Norway in the Viking Age, might perhaps seem to pass the possibilities of archæological research. But to everyone continuously working with extensive archæological material it is well known that the study of the graves naturally leads to conclusions of this kind, and that the different conditions of society as well as religious ideas influenced the funeral rites and the arrangement of the grave during prehistoric periods.

Much has been done already to ascertain the social conditions through the finds, and in many respects the results of these researches have completely changed our

views on the character of the Pagan times. As an example may be mentioned the conclusion that the woman, already during the Bronze Age, had a relatively independent position, and was regarded as equal with her husband. The richness displayed in the grave-goods may inform us about the more or less aristocratic character of society at different periods, as has been traced so excellently by Dr. Sophus Müller and Mr. E. Vedel. Sometimes two graves have been found, one beside the other, including, the one the remains of a man, and the other those of a woman, a fact which has, specially by Professor O. Montelius, been pointed out as an evident proof of the existence of regular marriages as early as the Bronze Age of Scandinavia. My intention in this paper is somewhat in the same direction, to give a contribution to the history of marriage and the social condition of woman in earlier times in Norway.

The necessary condition of research of this kind is that the graves of the period in question should be of a quite distinctive character; when at a certain time the graves as a rule contain the remains of one person only, we are forced to search for a special explanation of the cases where two or more individuals have been buried in one grave. If the graves were generally intended for several and successive interments—as was the case during the later Stone Age of Denmark and Sweden—we are not able to draw special conclusions regarding the relations which the different persons in the grave bear to each other. Many of the Megalithic graves of Southern Scandinavia contain a surprisingly large number of persons. But already during the Stone Age the single graves appear, especially numerous in Jutland, and from the beginning of the Bronze Age and downwards the single graves are the ruling custom. During the Bronze Age this principle is kept even more strictly than in later times. Examples are not wanting of two Bronze Age graves covered by a common mound

and arranged beside each other in a way indicating a close relation between the two persons buried,¹ but among the graves of this period I have not met with one case of two persons buried in one grave.

During the latter part of the Bronze Age and the early part of the Iron Age the custom of cremation was the rule throughout Scandinavia nearly without exception, and regarding these periods the human remains found in the graves give thus no evidence as to the number and sex of the persons buried. At the same time these graves are very poor in antiquities which might decide the question. Among the instances where it is possible to come to a conclusion, I have found no evident example of one grave containing the remains of a man and a woman. In one instance Dr. Undset tried a conclusion of this kind. In examining a number of graves in the district of Trondhjem, he found one of them containing such a quantity of cremated bones that he could only explain it as the remains of more than one individual.² But then it had not yet been discovered that in such graves the bones of animals sacrificed on the pyre are sometimes mingled with the human remains. The grave in question contained no antiquities.

It is not before the time which we are used to call the Roman period of Norway, that we find in this country the earliest instances of a man and a woman buried in the same grave. In this time of strong and constant influences from a superior civilisation the funeral rites of Scandinavia were greatly changed. The custom of inhumation began to appear, and the graves, after

¹K. Rygh: "En gravplads fra Broncealderen, Det Kgl. Norske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter," 1906, No. 1. Trondhjem, 1906, p. 26.

V. Boye: "Fund av Egekister fra Bronzealderen i Danmark," Kjøbenhavn, 1896.

²Ingvald Undset: "Indberetning om antikvariske undirsøgelser i 1872, Aarsberetning fra Foreningen til norske Fortidsmindismærkers Bevaring." 1872, p. 19. Compare: A. Hackman: Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finland, I. p. 117 ss. (Helsingfors, 1905).

cremation, were also more richly furnished with grave-goods.

The earliest known example of a double interment ought to be specially recorded, as being in several respects of a prominent interest. The grave was found in a large mound in Ringerike¹; the grave itself was solidly built of timber and contained an unusual lot of antiquities, some of which—as sword, spears, and shield—certainly indicate the presence of a man in the grave, while a number of ornaments, among others nearly 1,000 beads, have evidently belonged to a woman. The two persons had been placed in the grave, the heads towards the south, and the woman at the left-hand side of the man. The grave dates from the latter part of the Roman Period, and might be assigned to the fourth century, according to the chronological system established by Professor O. Montelius.

By the character of the antiquities this grave belongs to a group of peculiar interments, all nearly contemporary and marked by very rich grave-goods, which are found in different parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula, and in greater number in Zealand and others of the Danish Islands. The eminent Swedish archæologist, Dr. Salin, has been able to refer the origin of these graves to an influence from the South-East, from the Teutonic tribes which then inhabited the countries between the Baltic and the Black Sea.² There are strong reasons to believe that this influence was brought about through a scattered immigration of tribes and families of Teutonic race. In all cases, these graves mark the highest degree of Roman influence upon Scandinavia, and it is of considerable interest to meet with the double grave in Ringerike in this connec-

¹ Detailed description by Professor R. Keyser in "*Annaler för nordisk Oldkyndighet og Historie*," 1836-1837, p. 151, tab. IV.

² B. Salin: "*Fynd från Finjasjöns strand i Skåne. Kgl. Vitterhets och Historie-Akademiens Månadsblad*," 1894, nr. 265-276.

tion.¹ It is not quite a unique appearance at this time, as the custom of "Suttee" was not unknown among the Southern Teutonic tribes; it is recorded about the Eruli that they used to burn the widow on the man's pyre,² and these people had many connections with the Northern countries.³ From the same time are known a number of instances where two men have been buried together in one grave.⁴

The following time, the earlier part of the Migration Period, comprising the 5th and 6th centuries, according to Professor O. Montelius, has left a great number of richly furnished interments in Norway. Some of these stately stone coffins were found to include the remains of two persons, a man and a woman, and in some cases it seems probable that the two were buried

¹Of an earlier date than this find is a grave in Ringsaker (in the Kristiania Museum, nr. 17502-17511, Aarsberetning fra Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindismerker Bevaring 1893, p. 109) which is said to have contained objects characterising a man and a woman; but the report of this find is not reliable. Of the same date as the grave in Ringerike is a find from Sogn (The Kristiania Museum nr. 6101-6106, Aarsberetning etc. 1872, p. 84, O. Rygh: Norske Oldsager, fig. 302 and text); it was covered by a mound and laid between two raised slabs. Nothing is known about human remains in the grave, but the antiquities, being a gold finger ring, two silver bracelets, a sword, a spear-head, an axe and a knife, bear evident proofs of a double interment. The antiquities show traces of having been exposed to fire and thus indicate that this was a burial after cremation. Reliable details regarding the arrangement are wanting.

²Dr. Sophus Müller: "Vor Oldtid, Kjøbenhavn," 1897, p. 375.

³Alexander Bugge: *Vikingerne*, Vol. II., Kristiania, 1906, p. 27.

⁴Some Swedish examples of this remarkable custom are recorded by Dr. Knut Stjerna in *Antikvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, vol. 18, fasc. 4. In Norway a similar grave is known from Toten (The Kristiania Museum, nr. 17765-17795, Aarsberetning, etc., 1894, p. 124), and perhaps one from Valdres (The Kristiania Museum, nr. 7714, Aarsberetning, etc., 1876, p. 68). They indicate the remote origin of the institution of foster-brothers, so well known from the Sagas. Similar graves of the Viking Age are perhaps not unknown; see a report by Mr. Lorange, Aarsberetning, etc., 1868, p. 51, *Ibid.* 1878, p. 269; there is given a good report of two men's graves of the Viking Age, laid beside each other and completely analogous as to the equipment; the locality is in Lardal, county of Larvik.

at the same time. Two such graves of Western Norway have been explored by experts, and showed a striking likeness and regularity of the arrangement, which might be taken as a hint that such double interments were at that time not so rare as we might suppose.¹ In both, the two bodies had been placed alongside of each other, the heads towards the North, and the woman at the man's left hand side. In other cases more irregular and complicated features of the grave have been noticed, probably to be explained by the supposition of two or more successive burials in the same grave.² In other cases we may conclude that both a man and a woman were buried in the grave, from the character of the antiquities only, as we possess here no reliable report about the arrangements of the burial or the situation of the objects found.³

But compared with the total number of graves of this period known in Norway, such cases are very rare, and the instances where the two persons probably have been buried at the same time are so few that they might

¹ The one in Lyngdal, district Lister, was excavated by Mr. Lorange, the other in the island of Fjelberg, by Mr. J. Ross; see *Aarsberetning*, etc., 1886, p. 67, and *ibid*, 1881, p. 87 and 42.

² In a grave in Bjelland, district Mandal, discovered in 1821, the female skeleton was found situated at the man's feet. Dr. J. Undset: "*Norske Oldsager i fremmede Museer*," p. 12.—Last summer I opened a grave in Voss, where the remains of three persons were found superposed in one stone coffin, two women and a man; here the case was evidently one of three successive interments. Two cases of double interments, dating from the Migration Period, are known in Bornholm, (Melsted 2 & 3) E. Vedel: *Bornholms Oldtidsminder og Oldsager*, Kjøbenhavn 1886, pp. 171, 172. A curious case is described by Mr. Tor Helliesen; a very long coffin, in Høle, Ryfylke, was, by a slab placed across the middle, divided into two separate parts; in the Western part a woman was buried, while a man rested in the Eastern half. *Stavanger Museums Aarshefte*, 1902, p. 91.

³ As examples of this kind I may refer to; The Kristiania Museum nr. 7399-7412, from Sandeherred, *Aarsberetning*, etc. 1875, pp. 77-78. Kristiania Museum nr. 17638-17642, from Valdres, *Aarsberetning*, etc. 1894, p. 107. Stavanger Museum nr. 2067-2082, from Jaderen, *Aarsberetning*, etc. 1898, p. 129.

be explained by supposing an accidental coincidence of the death of wife and husband.

It ought to be mentioned here that a runic inscription of the first half of the sixth century gives the names of a woman and a man, *Fino* and *Saligastir*, and nothing more. It is, as a commemoration monument, a good analogue to the graves just recorded.¹

The number of graves of the Viking Age discovered in Norway is far greater than that of any earlier period,² certainly not because the population had increased in a corresponding degree during these two centuries and a half, but chiefly in consequence of a change in the ruling customs respecting the arrangement of the grave. Even among the common people a completeness of the grave-goods was now required surpassing what had before been the custom of the upper classes of society. In this respect the use of inhumation or cremation made no difference, and both kinds of graves are equally rich in antiquities.³

The character of the antiquities found in every grave affords excellent means of identifying the sex of the persons buried, as in our country the skeletons have nearly always completely disappeared. The graves containing arms, tools, etc., are men's graves, as certainly as brooches, whorls, flax-combs, and weavers' reeds indicate the graves of women. A small group of objects is common to both sexes, specially the scissors, the knife, the sickle, and the horse's bit. The majority

¹ George Stephens, F.S.A.: "The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England," Vol. I., p. 176. For the reference to this inscription I am indebted to Professor Magnus Olsen, Kristiania.

² Complete and excellent statistics of all the finds of prehistoric antiquities known in Norway up to 1908 are found in a recent work by Professor Amund Helland: "Oldfundene og Norges folkemængde i forhistoriske tider," Kristiania, 1908.

³ On another occasion I have reviewed the contemporary spreading of these two customs in Norway in the Viking Age. *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. IV., part II., pp. 336-338, where reference is also given to the special research by Dr. O. Almgren.

of Norwegian graves of the Viking Age are in this respect surprisingly distinct. Evidently it has been the ruling custom to bury each individual in a separate grave. The exceptions are, relatively, not very numerous, though enough so as to require a special treatment.

In this case, however, the finds preserved in the museums and the reports concerning them must be examined with extreme care. The greater part of the graves have been discovered by accidental diggings, and were not the subject of scientific examination on the spot. It is of no use if we are told that all the antiquities have come from one mound, as within the mound several separate graves may be met with, often graves of very different ages, and consequently bearing no relation to each other whatever. Instances have been noticed of an earlier grave disturbed by the arrangement of a later one. It is, on the other hand, rather likely that in some cases a number of contemporary graves in one mound may be regarded as a sort of family burying-place.¹

But different difficulties appear even in the cases where two individuals have certainly been buried in one grave. To trace the custom of "Suttee," evidence must be given that the two persons in the grave are really husband and wife, that is that they are of the same social rank. If the grave-goods of both are not in the same proportion the case is probably that a servant has been killed to follow his master to the grave.² Consequently, we have to search for the graves where the equipment of man and woman is equally

¹Typical in this way was a mound in Nordfjord, which I have described in "*Bergens Museums Aarbog*," 1905, nr. 7. Compare Dr. O. Almgren: "*Vikingatidens grafskick*," in "*Nordiska Studier tillägnade*." Adolf Noreen. Stockholm, 1904, p. 323, foot-note 2.

²Two very interesting examples are described by Mr. Vedel: "*Bornholms Oldtidsminder og Oldsager*," p. 57. A man and a woman were provided with horse and servant respectively. The servant was easily recognised by the total absence of grave-goods.

complete. A number of such graves have been discovered in scientific researches, and others are known by reports which ought to be regarded as reliable.

In his famous researches in the cemetery of the old Swedish town Birca, Dr. Hjalmar Stolpe discovered in some cases the remains of a man and a woman in one coffin;¹ and Mr. E. Vedel, the eminent explorer of ancient Bornholm, has given particulars of a grave containing two human skeletons, one of which was found with the arm outstretched under the neck of the other;² in this case, however, neither the skeletons nor the antiquities admitted a conclusion as to the sex of the two persons. But at least, we may conclude safely that they were buried at the same time; in most of the graves, after inhumation, we are not able to decide whether it has been so, and sometimes we find evident traces of an interval between the two interments.

So it was in a grave which I examined some years ago;³ the somewhat irregular grave, covered by a mound, was cut down in the underlying compact gravel-bank. No bones were left, as is the rule in the case of bodies inhumed in Norwegian graves, the climate and the soil being here especially unfavourable for the preservation of bodies interred without being cremated; but I discovered considerable remains of a wooden chamber, constructed in the shape of a small house with a ridged roof, and inside the chamber a number of antiquities indicating a man's burial, a sword, a shield-boss, arrow-heads, etc. Outside the chamber, and close to the Northern side of the grave, were found a weaver's reed, a pair of flax-combs, a bronze brooch, a glass bead, etc., which all prove that a woman was interred here. As she must have been buried here within a very narrow space and in a some-

¹ Almgren: *loc. cit.* p. 323, foot-note 2.

² E. Vedel: "Efterskrift til Bornholms Oldtidsminder og Oldsager," Kjøbenhavn 1897, p. 142. The grave "Kobbe Aa" nr. 31.

³ See Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1905, nr. 7. p. 22.

what irregular manner, and as usually no difference is found as to the care bestowed upon the burials of men and of women in the Viking Age, the arrangement of this grave requires a special explanation. It must be supposed that the man's grave has, after some time, been opened to give room for his wife.

It is consequently safer to begin the research by taking into consideration the graves after cremation. Commonly the cremation graves of the Viking Age are arranged as a layer spread out over the bottom of the mound, and consisting of the burnt material which remained from the fire, mainly of charcoal, often mixed with burnt stones from the ground under the pyre. It contains, in addition, the grave-goods, as well as a portion of the cremated bones. As a rule, however, the grave is not without a central point, as in most cases the cremated bones are collected in a hollow in the middle of the burnt layer, sometimes gathered in a stone vessel or covered with an inverted caldron, but very often without any urn. 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.¹ Not rarely the grave is covered with a heap of stones. If in such cases a number of antiquities characteristic of a man and of a woman are found together covering one heap of cremated bones, we may be sure that the two persons have been burnt on one pyre, and also that their ashes are mingled in one heap.

Dr. Almgren has mentioned the discovery of such a grave in the district of Dalarne,² and not a few are known in Norway. The most characteristic example is perhaps one which I discovered in 1903 at Arne, a little north of Bergen.³ In this grave the cremated bones, mingled with charcoal from the pyre, were

¹ See the fuller description in *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. IV., Part II., pp. 338-340.

² Almgren, *loc. cit.*, p. 323.

³ "Bergens Museums Aarbog," 1903, nr. 14, pp. 11-16

assembled within a space of one metre and covered by a layer of birch bark; a few antiquities were found among the bones, viz., a few beads, a knife, a horse's bit, a buckle, and a small bronze brooch. Collected in a compact heap upon the birch bark were found: two swords, intentionally damaged, and the one with the blade broken, two axes, three sickles, two knives, a hammer-head, a chisel, a pair of scissors, tweezers, a needle-case, the mountings and lock of a chest, two keys, three bronze brooches, a bronze pin, some beads, etc. All the antiquities were mixed together with no traces of distinction between the man's and the woman's grave-goods, and the equipment of both is equally ample.

Professor O. Rygh has described a similar arrangement of a grave in Hedemarken in Eastern Norway.¹ In a mound opened by an accidental digging, a number of antiquities were found assembled under a heap of big stones; they were: a sword, an arrow-head, an axe, a chisel, etc., and a weaver's reed and three bronze brooches. To his description of the find Professor Rygh adds the remark that the character of the antiquities gives evidence that two persons of different sex have been buried in this grave. Exactly of the same type is another find from Hedemarken,² and others might be cited. (See Appendix I.).

Two graves, which have been examined by experts, must also be counted here, though the arrangement is somewhat different. In a mound in Hedemarken,³ opened by Mr. N. Nicolaysen in 1879, the burnt layer contained two stone vessels possibly used as urns, though the cremated bones were also found mingled with the charcoal forming the layer, and besides a very complete set of arms and of a smith's tools, game-counters, a horse's bit, stirrups and spurs, and as the

¹ Kristiania Museum nr. 18586, Aarsberetning, etc., 1896, p. 87.

² Kristiania Museum nr. 20314, Aarsberetning, etc., 1903, p. 273.

³ Kristiania Museum nr. 9528, Aarsberetning, etc. 1879, p. 107.

woman's ornaments two bronze pendants, some glass beads, etc. It makes, however, the case dubious that all implements for women's work are missing. In 1873 Mr. B. E. Bendixen discovered in Romsdalen¹ a grave containing a great number of antiquities, partly indicating a man's grave, as spear-head, axe, scythe, some tools, etc., and partly that of a woman, as a pair of flax-combs and a bronze brooch; part of the grave-goods cannot be decided, so the sickles, a buckle, a key, etc. All the antiquities, as well as the cremated bones, were found spread out over the burnt layer which covered the bottom of the mound. As the upper parts of the mound had been somewhat disturbed by a landslip, Mr. Bendixen did not dare to declare all the antiquities as belonging to one grave, but his report seems to leave little doubt that his discovery was in fact a case of a man and a woman cremated together. Mr. Bendixen has kindly informed me that he is personally of that opinion.

In Appendix I. I have given a list of the Norwegian graves of cremation of the Viking Age, where the description of the antiquities seems to indicate a double burial of the kind in question.

In the transition to the other group, the graves of inhumation, we ought to consider two remarkable graves in Hardanger, which have been described by Professor Gustafson.² In a rather large mound, built of earth and stones, two graves were discovered at a distance of four metres from each other; of these graves, one was of cremation, and contained two one-edged swords, an axe, two arrow-heads, three knives, a tool, a sickle, a weaver's reed, a pair of scissors, some implements of unknown use, etc. No doubt a man and a woman have here been buried on the same occasion. The other grave was one of inhumation, built as a stone coffin, and contained two one-edged swords, two

¹ Kristiania Museum nr. 6570, Aarsberetning, etc., 1873, p. 75.

² Bergens Museum nr. 4719. Aarsberetning, etc., 1890, p. 126.

bosses of shields, two arrow-heads, two weaver's reeds, a sickle, a pan, a caldron, etc.; also a bronze brooch and a whorl, belonging in all probability to this grave, as they show no traces of having been exposed to the fire. Both graves must be assigned to the beginning of the Viking Age, and they are, from our point of view, absolutely contemporary. In all probability both graves include persons belonging to the same family. As the grave of cremation gives clear evidence of the contemporary burial of the man and the woman, it seems not too daring to conclude that the same custom has prevailed also regarding the other, though plain proofs are here missing.

These considerations allow a more general conclusion. As a number of graves of cremation fairly prove that husband and wife have been buried in one grave and at the same time, it is in the highest degree improbable that this should never have been the case regarding the graves of inhumation found to contain the remains of a man and a woman. Such graves are in fact not very rare, as is seen in the list of Appendix II., though few of them have been examined by scientific excavation. As an example may be mentioned a find from Voss, also described by Professor Gustafson.¹ The grave contained, as a man's grave-goods, a sword, a spear-head, an axe, a shield's boss, a drinking horn, and as belonging to a woman, two bronze brooches, 95 glass beads, a pair of flax-combs, a whorl, and the weights belonging to a loom; some of the antiquities cannot be decided. In a grave in Gudbrandsdalen² the skeletons of two grown-up persons were found provided with six bronze brooches, a bronze key, seven beads, partly of glass, partly of amber, a sword, a spear-head, a shield's boss, a sickle, a knife, and a bronze buckle. As clearly as possible the antiquities indicate the different sex of the

¹ Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1892, nr. 7., p. 10.

² Kristiania Museum 4584, Aarsberetning, etc., 1868, p. 125

two persons, and here, as in the case described next above, the equipment of both is equally complete. Of a different character was a grave found in the island of Tromsø,¹ containing two skeletons, the one provided with a weaver's reed and two brooches, the other with an axe only. In this case the equipment of both is of equal poverty.

Lastly may be mentioned a find of prominent interest, a grave of inhumation arranged in a large boat, which was recently discovered in Namdalen, about 25 kilometres east of the town Namsos. It was examined by Mr. Th. Petersen, from whose excellent description of it I extract the following facts.² The grave contained a number of objects exclusively belonging to the equipment of a man and others to that of a woman. Two persons had thus evidently been buried in the boat, a man and a woman; from the rich grave-goods of the latter it may be concluded that she was the man's wife and not a woman of inferior rank, a servant or a slave. Mr. Petersen has in this case found no proof so as to decide the question whether the two were buried contemporarily, though he thinks it not improbable. From my knowledge of the whole material I think it rather likely that in such cases the two persons were buried at the same time. A great number of these graves must be taken into consideration in the treatment of the question before us; a complete list of them is given in Appendix II.

We have seen that the graves of the Viking Age in Norway where a man and a woman have been buried together at the same time, though they form a relatively small fraction of all the graves known from this period, are too many to be set aside as accidental cases. In all parts of the country they must be regarded as a

¹ Tromsø Museum nr. 462-465, Aarsberetning, etc., 1880, p. 283.

² Th. Petersen: A Celtic Reliquary found in a Norwegian Burial-mound. "Det Kgl. Norske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter," 1907, nr. 8. Trondhjem, 1907.

constant feature of the Norwegian grave-customs during the Viking Age, and commonly the completeness of the grave-goods leaves no doubt that the two were of the same social rank, consequently that they were husband and wife. But before we try to draw a final conclusion from the archæological facts, we ought to give a glance at the written sources.

The offering of the widow at the man's funeral is not unknown to the old Norse writers. In *Sigurðarkviða*, in the Elder Edda, it is told that Brynhild had to follow her husband to the pyre with five female slaves and eight servants. In the Saga of St. Olaf we find the report that the Earl Valgaut of Götaland, a fervent Pagan, when departing to see King Olaf at his command, gave his wife the necessary orders in case of his death; the chief ceremony prescribed for this eventuality was that she should construct a pyre and cremate all his property and at last herself. In the older version of the Saga of Ólaf Tryggvason the reason of the divorce between Sigrid Storraade and Eirik Seiersæl¹ is said to have been a ruling custom in the country, implying that the widow had to be buried with her husband, in the case of a disproportion in the time of their death, viz., if the man died when his wife might still be expected to live for a long time.²

Earlier investigators have been inclined to regard such historical examples as the last remnants of a former custom requiring the offering of the widow at

¹ See *Fornmanna Sögur* X. "Some say (that they were separated) because she would not remain with him, as there was a law in the land, if the man died before his wife, that she should be laid by him in his howe."

² A stone of Gunderup in Jutland bears the following inscription: "Toke raised this stone and built this mound after his father Abe, a good man, and his mother Tove. They rest both in this mound. Abe bequeathed his goods to Toke." The inscription is of great interest as giving evident proof of husband and wife resting in one mound, but tells nothing about the coincidence of the burials. At the exploration the grave was found to have been completely disturbed long ago. Ludv. A. Wimmer: *De danske Runemindesmerker*, II., p. 8 ss.

I owe this reference to Professor Magnus Olsen, Kristiania.

the man's burial. But from the facts drawn from the graves we know that this custom was not very old in Norway, and that it had never been a general rule. We have seen that such double interments are not known before the 4th century, and that they are very rare during the centuries preceding the Viking Age. It is only from this period, the last part of the Pagan time, that we know a larger number of graves of this kind.

This fact is in full accordance with the general development of the grave customs in our country. From the end of the 8th century and onwards the requirements of the equipment of the grave were greatly increased. I have already mentioned the complete set of tools, implements, etc., characteristic of Scandinavian graves of this time. A prominent feature is also the appearance of ships and boats in the graves, as well as the offering of domestic animals at the funeral. Occasionally also a servant or a slave was slain to follow his master to the grave. We have seen that this profuse equipment of the grave was a custom which had sprung up during the last period of Paganism. The worldly conditions and relations of man were at that time believed to be of the greatest importance as regards his coming existence, and this belief was strong enough to impose on the surviving an exorbitant expenditure in the equipment of the grave. It may be repeated that two foster-brothers have sometimes been buried in one grave.

Ideas of this kind afforded most favourable circumstances for developing the custom of "Suttee." Moreover the wife was in point of law still regarded as the property of her husband, and the man had to win his bride by a regular purchase. Though such rules were at this time of more formal than practical importance, they may have led the general desire to complete the grave-goods into the last and horrible consequence of offering the wife at the man's burial.

That this custom was not unknown in Norway is

proved by the number of graves containing a man and a woman buried at the same time; but the custom has been rather rarely practised, as the single graves are in great majority. Perhaps it was counteracted by other influences, probably by the interests of the wife and her family. For in spite of all legal forms, there was of course an immense difference between the free-born wife and all the rest of the household and property of the man. Perhaps also Christian influence had begun to soften the Pagan conceptions of the Norwegians.

It must be supposed that the offering of the widow was by fervent Pagans regarded as the ideal requirement, and such a supposition is supported by the fact that the two historical examples of the custom are reported from Sweden, where Paganism was longest and most strictly preserved. Regarding the many cases where the "Suttee" has in fact been practised, it is impossible now to decide whether the wife has willingly followed her husband in death. It is not improbable that it was so, if this behaviour was regarded as a proof of a rare attachment and loyalty to the husband.

LISTS OF NORWEGIAN GRAVES CONCERNED IN THIS RESEARCH.

I.—GRAVES OF CREMATION.¹

- 1 *Ovren, Eidsvold*, pgd. (= parish) *Akershus amt*. Krist. mus. nr. 7605-11. Ab. 1876, p. 62. Found in ploughing, together with cremated bones, a two-edged sword, a spear-head, 16 arrow-heads, a knife, a shield's

¹Abbreviations: Ab. = Aarsberetning fra Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindester Bevaring, Kristiania.

B.M. Aarb. = Bergens Museums Aarbog.

Stav. Mus. Aarsb. = Stavanger Museums Aarsberetning.

boss, a vessel of soap-stone (fragment), an oval bronze brooch, which last mentioned is the only indication of a woman in this grave.

- 2 *Markestad, Vang*, pgd. *Hedemarkens amt.* Krist. mus. 18586-18601. Ab. 1896, p. 87. Found in a mound; all the antiquities were assembled in one heap, surrounded by big stones. The iron objects show traces of having been exposed to the influence of fire, and the arms are intentionally damaged. A sword, an arrow-head, an axe, a shield's boss, a chisel, the handle of a casket, an iron hook, a weaver's reed, two oval bronze brooches, and another oblong. In his description of the find Professor O. Rygh remarks: the character of the antiquities makes it almost certain that two persons of different sex have rested in this grave.
- 3 *Vestre Berg, Løiten*, pgd. *Hedunarkens amt.* Krist. mus. 13848-13867. Ab. 1887, p. 84. Found between some stones. The iron objects show traces of having been in the fire. Two swords, two arrow-heads, two bosses of shields, a sickle, a pair of scissors, two implements of unknown use (of the types Rygh, *Norske Oldsager*, figg. 462 and 465), two iron hooks, an iron bar, the lock of a casket, some iron mountings, an iron buckle, an oval bronze brooch, a vessel of soap stone. The presence of a woman in this grave is only indicated by the bronze brooch.
- 4 *Liten, Løiten*, pgd. *Hedemarkens amt.* Krist. mus. 9528-79. Ab. 1879, pp. 107 ss. Excavated by Mr. N. Nicolaysen. The grave was arranged as a layer of charcoal and cremated bones, situated four feet above the ground level of the mound. Part of the cremated bones were collected in a soap-stone vessel and covered by a similar vessel inverted over the other. The principal objects among the grave-goods were: a two-edged sword, a spear-head, an axe, two bosses of shields, 13 arrow-heads, a horse's bit, a pair of stirrups, a pair of spurs, four iron buckles, two hammer-heads,

two pairs of tongs, an anvil, a file, and other smith's tools, different knives, etc., whetstone, fire-iron, and flint, some unknown implements, a large key, the remains of a pair of scales in bronze, some draughtsmen of bone, a stone mould for casting silver bars. The woman's part of the grave-goods is represented by two bronze pendants, and nine glass beads, while a bone comb and a penannular brooch of iron cannot be determined.

- 5 *Arstad, Stange*, pgd. *Hedemarkens amt.* Krist. mus. 20314. Ab. 1903, p. 273. All the antiquities were found at the bottom of a mound, gathered in a compact heap, which covered a layer of charcoal and cremated bones. Two swords, two spear-heads, an axe, two horse's bits, three knives, three implements of unknown use (type Rygh: *Norske Oldsager*, fig. 462), an iron hook, a chisel, an iron bar, two weaver's reeds, three whorls, three pairs of scissors, a sickle, a key, an iron caldron, a pan, the handle and mountings of a casket, some rivets and fragments of iron, four combs of bone. Here the presence of a woman is fairly indicated by the weaver's reeds and the whorls.
- 6 *Øvre Gjettestad, Faaberg*, pgd. *Kristians amt.* Krist. mus. 7125-7140. Ab. 1874, p. 78. Found in a mound, in a hollow space surrounded with stones. A one-edged sword, an axe, a shield's boss, two knives, a pair of scissors, a scythe, two horse's bits, implements of unknown use, the hinge of a casket, a soapstone vessel, and a number of weights¹ belonging to a loom which are the only part of the antiquities certainly belonging to a woman.
- 7 *Aske, Brunlanes* pgd. *Jarlsberg og Larviks amt.* Krist. mus. 12659-68. Ab. 1885, p. 125. The antiquities were found assembled in a layer of charcoal in a mound

¹ These weights are the rounded, perforated stones used for keeping the warp straight, and are often the only part of the loom which has not perished in the earth. The old-fashioned upright loom here in question is still used in some of the remoter country districts in Norway.

built of gravel and stones. An axe, a hammer-head, an anvil, a sword, a spear-head, a file, a sickle, a number of iron rivets, the gilt bronze mounting of a saddle, a whetstone, two leaden weights for fishing-lines, and a pair of flax-combs. The last-mentioned are the only part of the antiquities which certainly belong to a woman.

- 8 *Rimstad, Hedrum*, pgd. *Jarlsberg og Larviks amt*. Krist. mus. 12009-19. Ab. 1884, p. 67. Found in a tumulus with cremated bones. The antiquities are damaged by fire. A sword, an arrow-head, a shield's boss, a sickle, a knife, a pair of tongs, a hammer-head, an iron hook, a horse's bit, an implement of unknown use (type Rygh, *Norske Oldsager*, fig. 462), two oval bronze brooches. The brooches only can be certainly assigned to a woman.
- 9 *Allum, Hedrum*, pgd. *Jarlsberg og Larviks amt*. Krist. mus. 14079-90. Ab. 1888, p. 124. Found with cremated bones in a mound, 5 m. in diameter; the iron shows traces of having been exposed to the influence of the fire. A sword, an axe, a spear-head, five bosses of shields, an iron caldron, two iron hooks, an implement of unknown use (type Rygh, *Norske Oldsager*, fig. 463), a hammer-head, iron rivets probably from a boat, two whetstones, a flint flake, stone weights of a loom. The articles last mentioned are the only antiquities which certainly indicate a woman; they are also damaged by the fire.
- 10 *Klauverud, Mo*. pgd. *Bratsberg amt*. Krist. mus. 3175-81. N. Nicolaysen: *Norske Fornlevninger*, Kristiania, 1866, p. 776. Found with charcoal in a small cairn. Two swords, two axes, two horse's bits, two bronze brooches, an iron pan.
- 11 *Harestad, Hetland*, pgd. *Stavanger amt*. Stav. mus. 2192. Stav. mus. aarsb. 1899, p. 62. Found in a layer of charcoal and cremated bones at the bottom of a mound; excavated by Mr. Tor Helliesen of the

Stavanger Museum. A two-edged and a one-edged sword, a spear-head, an axe, an iron-celt, a horse's bit, a pair of pincers, two keys, a penannular bronze brooch, a gilt bronze mounting of Irish origin, an oblong bronze brooch, two bronze bracelets, a bronze mounting, a whorl, a bone implement, a piece of flint, a number of small rivets, an iron hook, a whetstone, pieces of burnt wood. Here a woman is well represented by the ornaments, the whorl and the bone implement.

- 12 *Naterstad, Kvinherred* pgd. *Søndre Bergenhus amt.* Berg. mus. 5927 and 5928. B. M. Aarb. 1905, nr. 14, p. 13. Grave arranged under the plain surface of the soil. The cremated bones were assembled in a soap-stone vessel. A sword, a number of arrow-heads, two iron celts, a horse's bit, a sickle, four knives, iron mountings from a casket, a pair of scissors, a hammer-head, fragments of a pair of flax-combs (?), some iron fragments, a leaden weight, some bronze mountings, three whetstones, a whorl, the weights of a loom. The grave-goods of a man and a woman are nearly equally represented.
- 13 *Hauge, Os* pgd. *Søndre Bergenhus amt.* Berg. mus. 2783-88. A. Lorange: *Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum*, Bergen, 1875, p. 167. Antiquities found in a layer of sand, charcoal, and ashes, covered with a large slab, in a small round barrow. Two bronze bracelets, three beads of glass, and one of amber, an axe, a sword, a spear-head. The grave-goods are equally divided between a man and a woman.
- 14 *Ytre Arne, Haus* pgd. *Søndre Bergenhus amt.* Berg. mus. 5800. B. M. Aarb. 1903, nr. 14, pp. 11-16. Excavated by the author. The grave was arranged in the top of a tumulus, a little under the surface, and consisted of a layer of charcoal mingled with cremated bones and some antiquities, a pair of beads, a horse's bit, a knife, a buckle, a small circular bronze brooch.

The layer was covered with birch bark, and resting upon this were found two swords, two axes, three sickles, three knives, two chisels, a hammer-head, a pair of scissors, some iron implements of unknown use, a pair of pincers, two iron keys, the lock and mountings of a casket, three bronze brooches, a bronze pin, some beads, a whetstone, a piece of flint, and some scanty fragments of leather. The man's and the woman's grave-goods are equally richly represented.

- 15 *Vaksdal, Bruvik*, pgd. *Søndre Bergenhus amt.* Berg. mus. 4432. Ab. 1886, pp. 72-73. Found in a cairn, together with charcoal and cremated bones. Two one-edged swords, two axes, two horse's bits, two knives, an arrow-head, a pair of scissors, a whetstone, a soap-stone vessel, a whorl, two bronze brooches, two glass beads. The grave-goods of the man and the woman are equally well represented.
- 16 *Hovland, Ullensvang* pgd. *Hardanger, Søndre Bergenhus amt.* Berg. mus. 4719. Ab. 1890, p. 126. Found close together in the eastern part of a mound. The antiquities show traces of fire. Two one-edged swords, an axe, an iron celt, three knives, a sickle, two arrow-heads, a pair of scissors, a pin, a weaver's reed, an implement of unknown use. The weaver's reed is the only object which certainly indicates the presence of a woman in the grave.
- 17 *Varberg, Eidfjord*, pgd. *Hardanger, Søndre Bergenhus amt.* Berg. mus. 4924. Ab. 1892, p. 129. Excavations by Mr. B. E. Bendixen. Found in a layer of charcoal on the bottom of a mound, 6 m. in diameter. The antiquities were scattered all over the layer, while the cremated bones were collected in the centre: eight arrow-heads, a spear-head, the boss of a shield, a knife, an iron key, some mountings, etc., of iron, a bronze ring, a bone comb and another object of bone, a whorl, a whetstone, a piece of flint, 35 iron rivets. The whorl is the only object certainly indicating the presence of a woman in the grave.

- 18 *Bryn, Voss*, pgd. *Søndre Bergenhus amt.* Berg. mus. 3987. Ab. 1882, p. 94. Found in a stone coffin in a mound. The iron shows traces of the influences of fire. A bronze bowl, a one-edged sword, an axe, 20 arrow-heads, two bosses of shields, two horse's bits, a file, a hammer-head, a pair of tongs, an anvil, a rasp, two knives, two sickles, a fire-iron, the hinge of a casket, a pair of big iron pincers, an iron pan, a weaver's reed, a glass bead, a shell of *pecten maximus*. The presence of a woman is certainly indicated by the weaver's reed.
- 19 *Østgulen, Gulen*, pgd. *Sogn, Norde Bergenhus amt.* Berg. mus. 4758, B. Ab. 1891, p. 130. Found in a mound, in a layer of coal and ashes. An axe, a spear-head, two bronze brooches, a whetstone. The grave-goods are poor, but mark clearly a man and a woman.
- 20 *Vik, Stryn*, pgd. *Nordre Bergenhus amt.* Berg. mus. 4756. Ab. 1891, p. 128. Found within a setting of stones, which were partly visible above the surface. (The arrangement in some degree recalls the grave at Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, Scotland, described in SAGA BOOK, vol. V., part. I., p. 172; see illustrations given by Prof. Joseph Anderson, LL.D., in Proc. of Soc. Ant. Scot. 1907, p. 444). The objects show traces of having been exposed to the fire. A sword, a spear-head, two arrow-heads, two axes, an iron celt, two hammer-heads, a pair of tongs, the iron of a plane, a gimlet, a file, the blade of a saw, an iron instrument of unknown use, a knife, two pairs of scissors, two sickles, three horse's bits, a key, the mountings of a casket, the handle of a cooking pan, 30 iron rivets, two bronze brooches, a bronze buckle, a glass bead, four whetstones. The only objects certainly belonging to a woman are the bronze brooches, but also the number of scissors, sickles and horse's bits indicate the presence of two persons in the grave.
- 21 *Flo, Stryn*, pgd. *Nordre Bergenhus amt.* Berg. mus. 5865. B. M. Aarb. 1905, m. 12, p. 8. Found in a

mound; all the antiquities were collected in one heap. The iron shows traces of the influence of fire. A one-edged sword, an axe, a scythe, a sickle, the iron of a plane, a chisel, a knife, a horse's bit, an iron key, an implement of unknown use, some iron mountings, a number of iron rivets, a pair of flax-combs, some bronze fragments, certainly the remains of ornaments. The woman is represented by the flax-combs and the bronze ornaments.

- 22 *Hauge, Gloppen*, pgd. *Nordre Bergenhus amt.* Berg. mus. 5129. Ab. 1894, p. 177. The grave was arranged between the two big stones on the bottom of a mound. The objects show traces of having been exposed to fire. A sword, a spear-head, two arrow-heads, an axe, two bosses of shields, a horse's bit, a sickle, an iron caldron, two bronze brooches, a bronze mounting, 22 glass beads. The brooches and the beads certainly indicate the presence of a woman in the grave.
- 23 *Romfoghjellen, Sundalen*, pgd. *Romsdals amt.* Krist. mus. 6560-6578. Ab. 1873, p. 75. Excavated by Mr. B. E. Bendixen. Found in a mound, the bottom of which was covered with a layer of charcoal and cremated bones. The grave-goods were scattered all over the layer. A spear-head, an axe, an iron celt, two knives, a horse's bit, a scythe, two sickles, a gimlet, an iron buckle, the mountings and key of a casket, some iron rings, a whetstone, a bronze brooch, a pair of flax-combs, a bead. The three objects last mentioned certainly belong to a woman.
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II.—GRAVES OF INHUMATION.

- 24 *Rabstad, Vang*, pgd. *Hedemarkens amt.* Krist. mus. 1531-1541. N. Nicolaysen: *Norske Fornlevninger*, Kristiania, 1866, p. 68. Found in a mound, in a stone coffin, the roof of which consisted of two mill-stones.

A two-edged sword, an axe, a spear-head, a shield's boss, a knife, two pairs of scissors, three horse's bits, a pair of flax-combs. The flax-combs are the only objects certainly indicating the presence of a woman in the grave, but also the number of scissors and horse's bits indicates that two persons have rested in the coffin.

- 25 *Øien, Nordre Fron*, pgd. *Kristians amt.* Krist. mus. 4584-94. Ab. 1868, p. 125. With the skeletons of two grown-up persons were found: 6 bronze brooches, a bronze key, 7 beads of glass and amber, a sword, a spear-head, a shield's boss, a sickle, a knife, a bronze buckle.
- 26 *Hoverstad, Tang*, pgd. *Kristians amt.* Krist. mus. 6761-65. Ab. 1874, p. 62. Found in a cairn, together with remains of unburnt bones. Two spear-heads, a weaver's reed, a big iron ring, a whetstone.
- 27 *Noreim, Hedrum*, pgd. *Jarlsberg og Larvik amt.* Krist. mus. 20316. Ab. 1903, p. 275. Found together with remains of human bones, unburnt, two skulls of dogs, teeth of horses, and other bone fragments. Two oval bronze brooches, a penannular bronze brooch, 15 glass beads, a spear-head, an axe, a horse's bit, a weaver's reed, a sickle, two knives, a leaden whorl, remains of wood, wool, cloth, pieces of flint. The presence of a man in the grave is indicated by the spear-head and the axe only.
- 28 *Dalene, Siljord* pgd. *Bratsbergs, amt.* Krist. mus. 5894-96. Ab. 1872, p. 79. A richly-furnished grave discovered by accidental diggings; only small part of the grave-goods have been preserved. According to the report the grave contained among other objects a sword, bronze brooches, a lot of glass beads, the remains of flax-combs. The objects now in the Kristiania Museum are fragments of the flax-combs, a bronze key, the chape of the sword's scabbard. It seems certain that the grave contained a man and a woman.

- 29 *Harestad, Hetland*, pgd. *Stavanger* amt. Stav. mus. 2190. Stav. mus. Aarsb. 1899, p. 60. Found in a mound in the remains of a boat. A sword, three knives, a pair of scissors, a fire-iron and a piece of flint, a whorl, two whetstones, a piece of a game, a shield's boss, remains of a pair of flax-combs, rivets, and wood-pieces of the boat. The whorl and the flax-combs indicate the presence of a woman in the grave.
- 30 *Havestad, Hetland*, pgd. *Stavanger* amt. Stav. mus. 2193. Stav. mus. aarsb. 1899, p. 65. Found in a mound, in the remains of a boat. A sword, two spear-heads, a shield's boss, the handle of a knife, a fragment of a horn, fragments of a pair of flax-combs, many fragments of coarse woollen stuff, rivets and bits of wood from the boat. The flax-combs are the only part of the grave-goods certainly belonging to a woman.
- 31 *Gunnarshaug, Torvestad*, pgd. *Stavanger* amt. Berg. mus. 6056. B. M. Aarb. 1906, nr. 14, pp. 26-28. Excavated by the author. Found in a small cairn. A number of arms too badly damaged and decayed to be separately enumerated, a rasp, a pair of scissors, a number of iron rivets, a leaden weight, fragments of an unknown leaden object, a whorl, pieces of burnt clay, three whetstones, a fragment of soap-stone. The whorl is the only object certainly belonging to a woman.
- 32 *Skare, Ullenvang*, pgd. *Søndre Bergenhus* amt. Berg. mus. 5028. B. M. Aarb. 1893, nr. 7, p. 25. Found in a small mound, the edge of which was marked by a stone circle, in a stone coffin arranged in the direction north-south. An axe, 10 arrow-heads, an iron ring, a weaver's reed, the soap-stone weights of a loom, an iron caldron, some teeth of a horse. The grave-goods are rather poor, and may be nearly equally divided between a man and a woman.
- 33 *Hyrt, Vossestranden*, pgd. *Søndre Bergenhus* amt. Berg. mus. 4864. B. M. Aarb. 1892, nr. 7, p. 10. Found in a small mound. A two-edged sword, a spear-

head, an axe, a shield's boss, bronze mountings of a drinking horn, a whetstone, remains of fine cloth and others of a somewhat coarser stuff, two bronze brooches, 95 glass beads, a pair of flax-combs, a whorl, 20 stone weights belonging to a loom, fragments of an iron key, two knives, an iron ring, the handle and rivets of a casket, and some iron fragments. The antiquities from this rich grave may be nearly equally divided between a man and a woman.

- 34 *Bolsæter, Jølster*, pgd. *Nordre Bergenhus* amt. Berg. mus. 5795. B. M. Aarb. 1903, nr. 14, p. 9. Found in a mound, in a stone coffin 2 metres long. A sword, a spear-head, an axe, a shield's boss, a bronze brooch, an iron caldron, a whetstone. The presence of a woman is indicated by the bronze brooch only. but as the grave was discovered by accidental diggings, it is not at all certain that the grave-goods are completely preserved.
- 35 *Sande, Gloppen*, pgd. *Norde Bergenhus* amt. Berg. mus. 6026, B. M. Aarb. 1906, nr. 14, p. 10. Found under a large slab. A spear-head, an axe, three bronze brooches, a bronze ornament of Irish workmanship, two bronze pins. The spear-head and the axe are the only objects indicating the presence of a man in the grave.
- 36 *Hauge, Gloppen*, pgd. *Nordre Bergenhus* amt. Berg. mus. 5150. B. M. Aarb. 1896, nr. 7, p. 11. Found in a mound, in a boat 5 m. long. Fragment of a sword, three spear-heads, an axe, a mattock, an iron celt, a gimlet, four knives, the mountings of a casket, great number of rivets from the boat, some bronze fragments, three beads, a game-piece of amber, a whetstone, a whorl. The beads and the whorl are the only things belonging to a woman.
- 37 *Rikkedal, Hjørundfjord*, pgd. *Romsdals* amt. Berg. mus. 4219. Ab. 1883, p. 66. Found by accidental diggings, in a stone coffin. A sword, an axe, a pair of

tongs, a hammer-head, a scythe, an iron celt, a gimlet, some iron fragments, three whetstones, 6 glass beads, the weights of a loom. The beads and the weights belonging to the loom certainly indicate the presence of a woman in the grave.

- 38 *Mæle, Bud*, pgd. *Romsdals amt.* Trondhj. mus. 4098-4101. Ab. 1890, p. 101. Found in a mound, in the remains of a boat. Two spear-heads, two knives, 12 glass beads, an amber ornament. The antiquities may be nearly equally divided between a man and a woman.
- 39 *Grindberg, Stod*, pgd. *Nordre Trondhjems amt.* Trondhj. mus. 2370-76. Ab. 1880, p. 226. Found in a big cairn, together with human bones. A pair of tongs, an iron celt, a file, two bronze brooches, a bone comb, two beads. The grave-goods are poor, but nearly equally of things belonging to a man and a woman. Probably the contents of this grave are not completely preserved, and the report of the find is not satisfactory.
- 40 *Melhus, Overhallen*, pgd. *Nordre Trondhjems amt.* Trondhj. mus. 6574 and 8131, Det. Kgl. Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter 1902, nr. 6, p. 3; *ibid.* 1907, nr. 9, p. 7, and specially described by Mr. Th. Petersen, *ibid.* 1907, nr. 8. Found in a mound in the remains of a boat. Two swords, a spear-head, an axe, a shield-boss, a pair of scissors, three bronze brooches, two bronze ornaments, 137 beads, a weaver's reed of whale-bone, a fragment of whale-bone plate (type Rygh: *Norske Oldsager*, fig. 449), a whorl, a whetstone, a Celtic reliquary, a number of iron rivets from the boat, iron fragments, etc. The antiquities leave no doubt that a man and a woman were buried here, both richly furnished in the grave. See the observations of Mr. Petersen, *l. c.*, p. 12.
- 41 *Lyngsnes, Nærø*, pgd. *Nordre Trondhjems amt.* Trondhj. mus. 5831. Ab. 1899, p. 149. Found in

ditching, together with a number of rivets, indicating that the grave was arranged in a boat. Two human skeletons placed beside each other; between them a spear-head was found, the rivets on both sides of them. I have mentioned this find here as a proved instance of a double interment, though nothing in the grave itself indicates that the two were of different sex. The extreme poverty of the grave might account for the missing of women's usual grave-goods.

- 42 *Somhau, Brønno*, pgd. *Nordlands amt.* Krist. mus. 13815. Ab. 1887, p. 81. Found in a mound; the report of the find mentions a circular stone cist in the centre of the mound, which, however, seems dubious. A sword, an arrow-head, a shield's boss, a horse's bit, a whorl of green glass, a number of rivets, and other iron fragments, the remains of human bones. Already Professor O. Rygh has suggested that both a man and a woman must have rested in this grave.
- 43 *Eidem, Vega*, pgd. *Nordlands amt.* Trondhj. mus. 8282. Det. Kgl. Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter, 1907, nr. 9, p. 28-30. Found in a mound containing two different graves; in one of them the following antiquities were discovered: a one-edged sword, a spear-head, a horse's bit, a sickle, a whetstone, three bronze brooches, a bronze ring, a whorl, a number of beads, a knife, a piece of flint, a soap-stone vessel, a number of rivets, too small to have been used for a boat. The antiquities distinctly indicate that both a man and a woman have been buried here. The other grave in the mound was that of a woman only.
- 44 *Tromsøen, Tromsøundet*, pgd. *Tromsø amt.* Tromsø mus. 462. Ab. 1880, p. 283. Found with the well-preserved remains of two human skeletons, the one a little smaller than the other. An axe, a weaver's reed, two bronze brooches. The weaver's reed and the brooches were found on the smaller skeleton.

SOL AND SAMPHIRE.

By W. H. BEEBY, F.L.S.

IN the Rev. W. C. Green's translation of Egla, and in that of Cormac the Skald by Prof. Collingwood and Dr. Stefánsson, the word *söl* is rendered as *samphire*. This is, I understand, the meaning given in Cleasby's Dictionary, and doubtless that authority has been followed. With regard to the word *samphire*, it may be remarked that this name has been applied to various sea-shore plants, so that there is necessarily some uncertainty as to the exact plant which Cleasby had in view; at the same time the name is so very generally used for the plant known to botanists as *Crithmum maritimum* that it is in a high degree probable that this species was intended. In Cormac's Saga, however, the matter is carried a step further, for *samphire* is there definitely identified as *Crithmum maritimum*. On page 44, in a foot-note to the line, "For the lass that is sweeter than *samphire*," we read concerning the last word of the line—"Used in those days as food. (*Crithmum maritimum*)."

The object of this note is to cite, partly from the botanist's point of view, partly from the present meaning of the word *söl*, the reasons why *Crithmum* could not well have been the plant intended.

In the first place *Crithmum maritimum* does not grow in Iceland at all, nor in any of the north Atlantic islands; neither does it occur in any part of the Scandinavian peninsula or in Denmark. It is mainly a southern and western species extending to North Africa, the Canaries, etc., and having its northernmost limits in two or three isolated localities on the west coast of Scotland and the Hebrides, the extreme point being reached in a single station in the latter group of islands

in latitude 58°. It becomes commoner southwards, and is perhaps most abundant, with us, on and about the low cliffs of the Cornish coast. Then I cannot find that *Crithmum* was ever used as a food, properly speaking, although it has been commonly made into a pickle with vinegar, and it is still frequently put to this use, according to Mrs. Lankester's popular notes in the last edition of "English Botany." It will be evident from what has been stated that *Crithmum* could only have been present in Iceland as an importation, and I question whether there is anything sufficiently attractive about samphire pickle to make it at all likely that it was an article of common import into Iceland a thousand years ago, as it surely must have been if mentioned in two different Sagas.

Turning to the other group of reasons, I am informed by an Icelandic correspondent that *söl* is described in Egilsson's "Lexicon Poeticum" as an "alga saccharifera," the particular seaweed which Egilsson intended, being doubtless the *Fucus saccharinus* of Linne (now called *Laminaria saccharina*); the species, or one of the species known to us as *dulse*, and still sometimes eaten. Indeed, my friend, Mr. A. W. Johnston, informs me that he has frequently eaten it in Orkney. The word *söl* still exists unchanged in modern Icelandic, and present day Icelanders understand it in the sense just named. The word is given in Zoëga's Dictionary, where it is rendered *dulse*, and we further find "*sölva-fjara*, beach where dulse is gathered."¹

Looking at the evidence now adduced, from two different points of view, I think that it cannot be doubted that the meaning of *söl* in the saga-days was just the same as it is at the present time—a sweet-tasting, edible sea-weed, known to us as dulse.

¹ Since the above was printed I have learnt that the word *söl* is in current use in the Færoes where it is applied to the seaweed known as *Rhodymenia palmata*. ("Bot. of the Færoes," p. 866.)

In conclusion, I may mention an interesting point which came before me in looking through the list of *Fucus* in Linne's "Flora Lapponica." Under another species, *Fucus ovinus*, I find the following note:—"Sou-söll, Norlandis, quia ovibus gratissimus." Here, then, we have the word *söl* definitely connected with this same group of seaweeds, by a Norwegian writer of the eighteenth century; for Linne's note is a quotation from Bishop Gunner, who afterwards wrote the "Flora Norvegica."¹

¹The following note has been kindly given by Mr. W. A. Craigie, Taylorian Lecturer in the Scandinavian languages in the University of Oxford, who quotes from [Sir] W. J. Hooker in Sir J. E. Smith's *English Flora* v. I. (1833) 292. "Rhodomenia Palmata [now Rhodymenia]. This is the *Dulse* of the Scotch, who are very fond of it in a fresh and crude state. . . . This is the *Saccharine Fucus*, or *Söl*, of the Icelanders, the efflorescence of which has a sweetish and not disagreeable taste. It is dried by the natives, packed down in casks and used as occasion requires, frequently cooked with butter." Mr. Craigie believes that Vigfusson probably thought Samphire to be a sort of seaweed, hence the erroneous rendering of *Söl* in the dictionary. In the old but useful Lexicon of Björn Haldórsson (1814) *söl* is correctly rendered by *alga saccharifera*, *fucus saccharinus*.

SIWARD DIGRI OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

A VIKING-SAGA OF THE DANES IN ENGLAND.¹

By DR. AXEL OLRIK.

BUT few monuments exist of the intellectual and literary life of the Danes during the period of their conversion to Christianity. The runic inscriptions of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries are numerous, but short; we have no scaldic poetry from contemporaneous authors, nor the wealth of Icelandic saga traditions. From the history and the heroic traditions of Saxo we must determine the genius of the foregoing period in Denmark. But from the Danish colonies abroad even fewer of the literary traditions survive. Only exceptional circumstances have brought about the writing down of a group of Viking tales which I shall here present to you.

In the 12th century, a monk of Crowland Abbey (William Ramsay, it is said; he was later abbot of the same cloister, and died 1180) wrote an account of the noble family of Huntingdon, whose most celebrated member, Earl Waltheow, was buried in the Abbey Chapel and worshipped as a saint. The first part of this description treats of the family's Danish ancestor, Siward Digri, and contains a tradition, which, to a surprising degree, reminds one of the Scandinavian Saga-world. The narrative is not found in the author's

¹ The English translation is due to my friend, Dr. Henry G. Leach, of Harvard University. The original Danish text, now somewhat altered, was printed in *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, xix., 199.

own redaction, but in two shortened versions. These I shall indicate by A and B.¹

The beginning is fuller and better in B: (B) There was in the kingdom of the Danes an earl of royal blood who had an only daughter. One day she went with her maids out into the woods, and met there a bear (in A: Whitebear); all the girls fled, and the bear seized the earl's daughter, and carried her away; he begot by her a son, who received the name *Beorn*,² and had, as a reminder of his singular origin, the ears of a bear. Later, he took the earldom after his grandfather, and became a mighty warrior. He was known by the surname *Beresun*, i.e., "bear's son."

Beorn performed many adventures, and begot a son, who was like him in courage and prowess. He was called Siward, surnamed Digri, i.e., the stout.³ He was so ambitious that he was not satisfied to stay at home and inherit an earldom, but had a large and strong ship fitted out with a full supply of food and weapons,

¹ A (anonymous) is printed in John Leland, *Itinerary* (1744), IV., 141-148; Langebek, *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* (1774), III., 288-293; Michel, *Croniques Anglo-Normandes*, II., 104-111; and Giles, *Vita Quorundam Anglo-Saxonum* (1854); 5-10. B (by John Brompton) is printed in Roger Twysden, *Scriptores* (1652), X. cols. 945-6; and Langebek, III., 300-2. I have used Langebek's texts. For the authorship of William Ramsay he cites Leland, *Script. Britan.*, 215.

² This form of the name and what follows is taken from A, where the whole section reads: "Old people relate that a nobleman,—whom the Lord, contrary to the usual manner of birth, had caused to be engendered by a white bear for father and a gentlewoman for mother,—Ursus, by name, begot a son Sprakling, Sprakling again Ulsius, and he again Beorn surnamed Beresun (var. Boresun) i.e., bear's son. This Beorn was Danish, a distinguished earl and a celebrated warrior. But, as a token of the strangeness of his birth, he had his *father's ears*, namely *the bear's*." This confusion about the one who is bear's son ("Ursus" or Beorn) arises from the fact that the author of the abstract has combined William's account with a "*Vita Gualdevi*" from the same abbey (Langebek, III. 299; Michel, II. 111), which gives Siward Digri a wholly different (historically incorrect) pedigree.

³ Siwardus cogn. Dicre, i.e., grossus, A; cf. *Vita 'quem Dicre Danico vocabulo, id est fortem cognominabant.*

and put to sea with 50 brave and chosen warriors.¹ He sailed before the wind, and came to a safe harbour in Orkney. But on the island dwelt a dragon, who killed not only cattle, but men also, in large numbers. When Siward heard of this, he went to fight the dragon single-handed, not like professional warriors, who let themselves be paid for the work, but simply to show his strength and courage. He defeated the dragon and drove him away from the island.² This done, he went down to the ship, and they rowed away. He came to Northumberland, and heard that there was another dragon there. So he went up into the land, to kill it or drive it away. He saw an old man sitting on the top of a steep hill, and asked the man what he could tell him about the dragon. The old man addressed him by name and said: "I know well why you have come here, it is to try your strength against the dragon; but you cannot find it; go back to your men, and tell them your fate: when you come on board, you shall get a fair wind at once, and, when you have hoisted sail, you will soon find a harbour in a river called Thames; when you sail up this river you will land at a city called London. There you will find the king of the realm; he will take you into his service, and, before long, give you land." Siward replied that he placed no confidence in this advice, and, if he went to the ship, his men would think it a lie. Then the old man took a banner from his breast, and gave it to him; and the old man called the banner "Ravenlandeye," which means: "Raven, terror of the land." Then Siward returned to his men, embarked, and, as the old man had predicted, after knocking about on the sea, landed at last at London, where he found King Edward. His arrival was reported at once to the king, who sent for Siward

¹ Socii; this expression is constantly used, in what follows, for Siward's crew, while, for ex., Earl Tosti's following are always called: homines Tostii.

² Non operas locans arenariorum more, sed robor corporis et animi virtutem in hoc declarans, illum devicit et ab insula effugavit. A.

to come to him at Westminster. Siward graciously complied, and after a short conversation the king took him into his service, and promised him the first position of dignity which became vacant in his realm. After that Siward said farewell, and he and his men took the way back to London. On the bridge not far from the monastery (Westminster) he met the Earl of Huntingdon, Tosti, a Dane by birth; the king hated him because he had married Earl Godwin's daughter, sister to the queen. This earl crossed the foot-bridge so near Siward that he soiled his mantle with his dirty feet; for at that time it was fashionable to wear a mantle without any cord by which to hold it up. Then the blood rushed to his heart; yet he checked himself from taking revenge on the spot, because the shame was inflicted upon him by one who was on his way to the king's hall. But he remained standing with his men by the same bridge until Tosti came from the king; then he drew his sword and hacked off Tosti's head, and went with it under his mantle back to the king's hall. Here he asked the king, according to his promise, to give him the earldom of Huntingdon. But, as the earl had just left him, the king thought he was only joking. Then Siward related his deed, and, as a sure proof, cast the head down before the king's feet. The king then kept his promise, and proclaimed him at once Earl of Huntingdon, and afterwards invested him with his new dignity. Earl Siward returned now from the king's hall to his men, who still stood and fought with the followers of the fallen earl. At his coming the fighting became more severe; Tosti's men were cut down, and were buried in a field near London. As a memorial of the deed, a church was built on the site, which is called until this day "the Dane's church."

A few days later, the Northmen began to attack the realm.¹ The king then was in a state of uncertainty.

¹Accidit quod Norrenses guerram moverent regi (A); rege tandem a Danis infestato (B).

and deliberated with the great men of his realm as to what means should be adopted; and they made over with one voice Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland to Earl Siward, and the king invested him with the earldom over them. He pacified all the land, and avenged manifoldly all the insults and injuries done to the king; so that it came about, as the ancient history of the English predicted, that, from the mixture of the natural and preternatural, namely, from bear and woman, a man should be born, who should vindicate the king of England with honour against his enemies. All this was fulfilled by Earl Siward, who avenged invasion and violence against St. Edward the king.¹

Later, after Siward had shown his strength and courage on so many occasions, it happened that Dunwal, king of the Scots, was driven from his kingdom, and asked Siward to help him against his enemies. Therefore he collected an army, and advanced to support the king as far as Dundee. There he received tidings that his own people in Northumberland had risen against him and his family, and had slain his son, Osbern Bole-ax (Osbernus Bulax). So the earl had to turn back, but in his wrath he struck the battle-axe, which he had in his hand, so hard on a stone-block, that the mark is still visible. He then restored to the king the land which his enemies had seized; then he returned home and exterminated his enemies and maligners by the sword and every means.

Many years later, in his old age, he was stricken at York with a flux, and then he presented his standard, the aforesaid Ravenlandeye, to the citizens of York, and it was preserved there in the old St. Mary's Church. But when his illness overcame him, he said it was a

¹ Nothing about this prophecy in B, which, upon the whole, is short. *Historia Anglorum* is the name of Henry of Huntingdon's Chronicle, which also, a little later, has been before the author's eyes. But it is hardly that which is referred to as "*Antiqua Anglorum historia*."

disgrace for a brave warrior to die lying down like a cow, and he ordered those who stood about to raise him, and put on his mail-coat and all his arms. And clad thus, in an upright position, he died. He was buried—B adds—in St. Mary's Abbey at York.¹

Henry of Huntingdon, who lived a little earlier, relates in his *Historia Anglorum*, written in 1129²: “At this time, Siward—the brave earl of Northumbria, almost a giant in size, hard of hand and mind—sent his son to conquer Scotland. When the father was told that he had fallen in battle, he asked: ‘Did he get his death wound before or behind?’ And they answered: ‘Before.’ Then he said, ‘I am glad, for no other death would be worthy of me or my son.’ Siward advanced on Scotland at once, conquered its king in battle, laid waste, and then subjugated to himself the whole realm. The following year the violent earl was seized with a flux, and felt death drawing near; he said then: ‘What a pity it is that I could not have died in so many battles to die at last like a cow. Put on my impenetrable byrnie, gird me with my sword, my helm on my head, my shield in my left hand, put my gold inlaid axe in my right, so that I, the bravest of warriors, may still die like a champion.’ And when he had said that he died.”

II.

The remarkable feature of the narrative is its peculiar stamp of Northern life. Although a hundred years have passed since Siward's death and the Norman Conquest, which followed soon after, there is hardly a trace of the new world of thought. Although the recorder is a monk, there is not a religious feature in the whole

¹ In the description of his last hours, both the original text and again the abstract B have made use of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (*cf.* next note). I have used the phrases in A and B which lie farthest from Henry's.

² Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* (Rolls Series) p. 194-96.

narrative. It does not once mention—what we know from other sources—that the old St. Mary's Abbey, outside of York, where the raven-banner was kept, was a religious foundation raised by Earl Siward himself. What has been recorded is a pure and sheer war tradition. The only feature which can be called un-Northern is the prophecy about the man of unusual birth, who shall overcome England's enemies; but the author seems to have that from an "*antiqua Anglorum historia*," and its place in the oral tradition is doubtful, to say the least.

What gives interest to Siward's history is not only its fresh impress of Northern life, but also its wonderful accord with Northern saga-narrative. Siward's fictitious youth is like a romantic "*fornaldarsaga*," the last part like an historical "*Islendingasaga*," with its scenes of fight and revenge. Taken as a whole, this series of stories is a saga, half fictitious, half historical, about a Viking's adventures. This is of value, for it shows how such saga stuff was fashioned outside the individual Icelandic world. Therefore it will repay us to rehearse it scene by scene.

First of all comes the story about Beorn Beresun as son of the white bear, and the earl's daughter. He was a Danish earl, and the motive leads us to Denmark. Saxo has (Müller, p. 512) a similar narrative about King Sven Estridsson's ancestors: A bonder in Sweden had a very beautiful daughter. One day she went out to play with her maids; and a great bear came, and frightened them away, seized the bonder's daughter in his paws, and bore her carefully to his cave in the thicket. Here he made love to her, and she lived in the cave, nourished by his cattle raids, until the bear was tracked by hunters and dogs, and pierced with many spears. A little later, the bonder's daughter bore a son, whom she named after his father. When he grew up, and came to know his birth, he took revenge on his father's slayers. His son was Thrugill

Sprageleg, who resembled his father in courage; and he became, in his turn, father to Earl Wulf (died 1026), who betrayed, in his manners, his descent from a wild beast.

The story which appears here linked to historical, or rather semi-historical, persons, is found far and wide in European folk-tales, as an introduction to the narrative about the strong hero, who fetched the stolen princess back from the trolls. Everywhere, the hero, just as here in the story, is named after the bear which has carried off his mother: Jean de l'ours, Peter Bær, the Icelandic Bjarndreingur, etc., etc. He always suggests the bear in his more than mortal strength, sometimes, also, by being more or less shaggy on his body, or the like.

A quite remarkable feature is the fact that Beorn Beresun has bear's ears, in memory of his birth. This likewise leads us to Danish traditions. In a Jutland version of the folk-tale just mentioned, about the three princesses, the hero is called Bjørnøre, although the story gives no reasonable explanation for this extraordinary name.¹ The old story explains it for us. To his bear parentage he owes both this defect and his unusual strength. If we could entertain a doubt, it would be dispelled by a folk-tale from the Avars in the Caucasus, where the hero likewise has the name "Bear's Ears," because he is a son of a bear and a king's daughter, and by his ears testifies to his birth.² Likewise in Russian, in Mongolian, also, and in Koriakan, the hero has bear's ears, due to his origin.³

¹ K. Berntsen, *Folkeæventyr* I. (1873) nr. 12; in a printed and an unprinted Danish version this name is distorted to Bjørnø (E. T. Kristensen, *Jyske folkeminder*, XIII., nr. 32; S. Grundtvig's unpublished *Æventyr*, 5p. in the national folklore collection at Copenhagen).

² The hero is the offspring of a king's daughter by a bear, and is called Bear's Ears from a peculiarity which he owes to his parentage. (Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*—1906—II. 24).

³ Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I. 543 f.; W. Jochelson, *Über asiatische und amerikanische Elemente in den Mythen der Koriaken*, p. 2, in *Verhandlungen der Amerikanist-Congress zu Stuttgart*, 1904.

It must then be accepted that this feature is not historically connected with the Danish Viking chief, but that it belongs to the old folk-motive, bear parentage. Accordingly we have, on Danish ground, plenty of connections with the bear story.

But we have connections also in the Icelandic saga-world. Beorn Beresun's parentage occurs again in the case of Bothvar Bjarki, the celebrated champion of King Hrolf in Denmark. Bothvar's parents are Bjorn, the king's son, transformed to a bear, and Bera, the peasant's daughter. In addition to the names, the connection is betrayed by the fact that the bear, as in Saxo's story, is hunted and slain, and the son later takes revenge. But, at the same time, the theme is more richly developed, since the transformation caused by the step-mother has entered in, and the heritage of the wild beast is divided among three sons, the first and second having bear-like appearance, the third bear strength and the faculty of transformation. The Danish and the Icelandic versions are of different character; the Danish gives us the legendary elements from which the saga arises, while the Icelandic *Hrolfssaga* and *Bjarkarímur* (poem of Bjarki) show us its further development into a romantic saga. The Northern English Siward's saga stands midway, as a curious link in the chain.¹

And now Siward's history. Its first scene, the only one which actually portrays his Viking-life, is the dragon fight in the Orkneys. The saga connection is easy to see. Ragnar Lothbrok, too, the especial hero of Viking life, has the dragon-fight for his first exploit. Still nearer, in certain ways, lie two Norwegian

¹ In the Viking colonies in England, A. Bugge adds, (*Vikingerne*, II. 306, note) the bear saga must have been widespread. For example the half historical hero Hereward slays in York a bear which had human reason. "His father is said to have ravished a maiden in the forest, and begotten by her Biernus, K. of Norway" (Michel, *Croniques Anglo-Normandes*, II., 7-8).

legendary sagas preserved by Saxo; so Frothi (in the second book) begins his legendary life by felling a dragon on a remote island off the coast of Norway; and, in the sixth book, something similar is told of Frith-leif's expedition to Norway. It is certainly a little extraordinary to see such a dragon fight ascribed to Siward Digri—a man whose actual history we know from many contemporary records—but, otherwise, it is not more remarkable than what is told about the contemporaneous Icелander, Björn Hitdœlakappi, that he came to England on his Viking expedition, and there killed a dragon, which attacked the ship¹; not to speak of King Harald Harthrathe's subterranean dragon-fight in Constantinople. Only one of the most highly developed *Islendingasögur* describes dragon fights with obvious irony towards the persons to whom they are ascribed (*Njala*, chap. 119). “The saga of Siward Digri” stands here on common Scandinavian ground.

In one respect, however, Siward's fight has something peculiar to itself. The ordinary Scandinavian dragon fight, down from Sigurth's slaying of Fafnir, has, for its object, the winning of the dragon's gold. For Siward Digri this motive does not exist; he wishes to deliver the afflicted people. Of all the Icelandic dragon fights, only that of Björn Hitdœlakappi has anything corresponding, and here it is hardly by chance that it also is localized in English waters. It is the English dragon-motive; it is *Beowulf*, whose ghost rules the story-world; we come across his tracks also in later Northumbrian traditions of the fight between the knight and the dragon.

In another respect the Siward story stands in even sharper contrast to the Scandinavian material. The other accounts describe, without exception, the *killing* of the serpent or the dragon; Siward is contented with *driving* it from the land. As an heroic scene this is

¹ *Sagan af Birni hitdœlakappa* (1847) p. 12.

wholly unsatisfactory; the end is too insignificant; the purely local character of the deed contributes too little to the hero conception. It is quite another matter with the popular belief; here, localization is everything. Again and again it turns, not on killing, but on *driving out* the trolls. Let me, as a typical example, mention the Sealandish legend about Pope Lucius, who drives away the sea-troll from Storebelt.¹ To such local popular belief Siward stands much nearer than any of the other saga heroes. Accordingly we have an outlook in two directions. On one side the story has points in common with the literary mode of the Icelandic romantic sagas; on the other side it has root in English soil: battle against the destructive dragon, and the monster's expulsion from the land. The situation is just as it was with the bear parentage: the Siward tradition adopts and adapts new elements, which soon go over into the style characteristic of the "fornaldarsaga."

The dragon fight is only an introduction to Siward's exploits. The motive which stretches over his whole life is the *meeting with the old man on the mountain*. Here the course of his life is predicted—his term of service to the king, and his earldom, so quickly won; besides, he gets the banner, which was made famous by his numerous victories. Who is then this old man, who gives prophecy and counsel? The saga itself answers only that it is a man in Northumberland, who seeks him on his way to the dragon. Some light is thrown by the fact that one of the Norwegian romantic sagas which stands nearest to Siward's dragon fight knows a similar figure. Frothi (in Saxo's second book) begins his Viking life by "meeting a native," who gives him directions how he shall kill the serpent and win its gold. It is uncertain if Frothi's Saga clearly realized who this guide really was. But if we go to the bottom of the question, there can be no doubt about the

¹ Aarb. f. nord. oldk. 1874, p. 406.

answer. This scene is a fainter repetition of the scene in heroic poetry where Odin gives advice to Sigurth about killing Fafnir.¹ If we test this possibility in the Siward saga, all features appear to fit. Everywhere in hero sagas Odin is the unknown old man who is encountered. He talks from the top of a steep knoll or hill, just as Odin shouts "from the mountain" to Sigurth Fafnir's bane.² That Siward, going by, is addressed by his own name, although a stranger in the land, is a trait common to all supernatural beings (and is of no consequence to the course of the action). The particular manner in which the old man instructs him in all he shall undertake has its counterpart in *Hadding's* meeting with the *one-eyed* old man.³ Finally, the raven-banner (which may be supposed to bring victory) is a counterpart to Odin's gift of a weapon: Sigmund gets the sword Gram; "he gave Hermod helm and breast-plate"; and he offers Rolf Kraki good weapons at their parting.⁴ All this shows that the old man who addresses Siward from the hill is Odin himself. Let us see what objections can be made to this view. It will perhaps be said that such a heathen idea was not taken up by a cloister monk? But there is not the least ground to suppose that the author has discovered that it was the heathen war-god who was meant. When Saxo himself has by no means always recognized the heathen god in his disguise, one can expect it still less of a contemporary English clerk.⁵ Or one may object that the Danish-Norwegian population of Northern England in the 11th century was so firmly rooted in Christianity, that it could not create such a narrative in earnest. But when new Odin-incidents could still be manufactured in Scandinavia in the beginning of the 13th century (at the battle of Lena,

¹ Volsungasaga ch. 18.

² Elder Edda: Reginssmal str. 16.

³ Saxo's 1. book, p. 40 (Müller).

⁴ A. Olrik, Danm. helteedigtning I. (1903) p. 206.

⁵ A. Olrik, Kilderne til Saksens oldhistorie, I. (1892) p. 30.

1208), it was much easier in the middle of the 11th. The story then may decide for itself. The single objection which it seems possible to raise is this, that Odin elsewhere never sits on the edge of the cliff, but always stands.¹ This feature, however (which is of no consequence to the action) may have been added by a later narrator.

From the Northern English standpoint, such an appearance does not seem to be exceptional. The Viking saga of Ragnar Lothbrok and his three sons, which in its origin is closely knitted to England, contains, in its oldest form, an unquestionable Odin figure in the midst of historical personages from the Viking time: namely, that Rostar who heals Sigurth Snake-eye's wound, and demands, as a reward, the champions who fall in battle (Norwegian saga in Saxo, p. 449). But we have a still more pronounced survival of belief in Odin's power, in an old battle-song from the city of Hawick: Teeryebus ye Teer ye Odin, "Tir, help us! Help, Tir, help Odin!"²

There can, then, scarcely be raised a well-grounded objection against the tradition having interpreted its old man as Odin himself. On the other hand, it must be admitted that there is no wholly convincing evidence. All the single features of the tradition are in good accord with Odin's appearance in the hero sagas, and certainly rise from them; but the situation can be like that in the Norwegian Frothi saga, where the original Odin traits are applied to a supernatural helper in general. We are not, then, in the region of myth, but of folk-lore, where the "old man" (who has wiped away the too evident religious features) appears as the hero's helper and counsellor. Such romantic figures, which dimly remind one of Odin, are indeed met also in other places in the Icelandic-Norwegian "fornaldarsagas"; but we must remember that not

¹ Reginsmal; Saxo, i. book, p. 52.

² Aarb. f. nord. oldk. 1875, 114.

only is our saga's hero a Dane, but that probably the majority of those among whom the saga came into existence (the Northumbrians) were of Danish birth. We come then a little farther away from the mythic-religious Odinic conception, for, as far as we know, the Danish heroic traditions, they do not let Odin reveal himself in disguise, but in his strength.¹ From the Danish point of view, then, this old man, who presents Siward with the banner, must, in still higher degree, have over him the glamour of folk-lore. Therefore I hold this view as the most correct, that he is an Odin, but that the religious-mythic features are as slight as possible.

From a literary point of view it is significant that it is the Norwegian-Icelandic heroic poetry which can furnish parallels to all the single traits, while the Danish songs and stories stand farther removed. This indicates that here in Northumberland a Norwegian influence asserted itself in shaping the saga.

In the *slaying of the earl* we meet the historic saga style. In the meeting on the foot-bridge, the narrative seizes the brief encounter, which causes enmity between the two leaders, while it does not allow itself to unravel political contrasts or other unromantic motives. Those very half-accidental, bodily injuries, are the favourite theme of the historical sagas; and they let the hero become indignant, but restrain himself, until the favourable moment arrives to set a weapon in his opponent's head. All the scenery at the king's court, with the narrow foot-bridge (*ponticulus*) and the press upon it, is wholly in saga style; likewise the remarks about the dress of the time, which gave opportunity to tread on the mantle. Thus the saga narrative links its chain of cause and effect where blame and blamelessness are involved in each other.

Likewise, the tradition which Henry of Huntingdon

¹ See my *Saksnes oldhistorie*, I. 31, and *Danmarks helteedigtning*, I. (1903) p. 11.

has preserved for us about *the son's* (*Osbern Bole-ax's*) *death*, reminds one of the sagas. A similar scene occurs in Egil's Saga, where the old Kveldulf receives tidings of the fall of his son Thorulf, and carefully inquires whether he fell on his breast or his back, but certainly with the still more suggestive reply: "It is said that he who falls forward will be revenged." (In Siward's mouth also this expression would have suited the circumstances far better; but it would be too bold to guess that originally it went so, and later was made more popular and knightly).

The revenge for the death of Osbern Bole-ax, as the saga records it, sounds more Scandinavian; and the strong expression of violent emotion—his blow on the stone when he learns of the murder—reminds one of the celebrated scene in Ragnar's saga, where the effect of the death-tidings on the sons is depicted in the case of each.

The last scene, also, is full of Northern character, where *the dying earl has himself clad in his armour* in order *not* to die "lying down like a cow." I know, however, no scene from literature which corresponds exactly; and Earl Siward's death is probably the last use of an old custom. From Icelandic tradition we know a slightly differing custom, when one who is about to die of sickness cuts himself with a spear-point in order to belong to Odin (*Ynglinga Saga*, c. 10); but the manner of death described in the tradition is rather, in its lack of religious consecration, a Danish practice.

Taken as a whole, Siward's saga is a remarkable blending of romantic and historical saga style. Its nearest kin is Ragnar's saga, which also begins in a heroic manner with the serpent fight, and ends in more truthfully coloured scenes; likewise is Odin involved in the course of events. Only Siward's saga goes so much further in strong and historically coloured scenes and in small local traditions.

Siward's saga—like the Ragnar saga—gives us a

literary problem of peculiar nature. It treats of a Danish hero, and it is related in territory where Danish colonists were, probably, as numerous as the Norwegian; but it deviates from the essential character of all Danish tradition as we know it from Saxo and his time. The disposition to spin uniting threads between the incidents is greater, and there is an especial fondness for supernatural elements, to which we have no parallels in Danish. Just in these features, especially in the dragon fights and in the figures of Odin, there is a close relation to Norwegian-Icelandic tradition. The Norwegians who settled in northern England must have had an enriching and developing influence. This holds true not only for Siward's saga, but also for Ragnar Lothbrok's history, in so far as it first came into existence in England. On the other hand, we must not consider Northern England as a detached branch of Norwegian culture; it is also a pioneer in its richer development. We have seen it in the case of the dragon fight, which it takes essentially from English conceptions, and this certainly enters, in that way, the Norwegian-Icelandic romantic sagas and historical traditions; and in the same way with the bear parentage, which has its root in Danish legendary stuff, but becomes more richly developed as a Norwegian-Icelandic romantic saga. On the whole, the Scandinavian colonists in England appear to be a remarkable link between Danish and Norwegian intellectual life, and play an important rôle in the development of saga-narrative.

III.

Siward, Earl of Northumberland, is an historical figure. We know the year of his death, 1055, and many other facts about his life. Already in the beginning of Cnut's reign, or rather, in company with Cnut himself, he had come to England. In 1019,

"Siward minister" comes last in the list of the king's northern thanes, in 1032, as the most distinguished; (a letter of 1026, which speaks of him as earl, is surely not genuine.) Under Harthacnut he plays a more prominent rôle. He was Earl of Northumberland in 1041, when Harthacnut sent out his earls at the head of the royal house-carles to punish the turbulent Worcester. The same year, Siward, at the king's incentive, slew Eadwulf, Earl of Northumberland (Bernicia), and received his earldom as reward. Likewise, about the same time, he got the earldom of Huntingdon.¹ From the time Edward the Confessor came to the throne, he was one of the king's most important supporters; he helped him get possession of Queen Emma's treasure (as early as 1043), and he stood by him in the strife with Earl Godwin, in 1051. He led the attack on Scotland, 1054, in revenge for the death of his kinsman, King Malcolm, and he slew King Macbeth in the bloody battle of July 27th. In the following spring, he died himself, and was buried in the church which he had erected, Olaf's church at York.²

One notes that what the saga compresses into the events of a few days—his coming to England, the slaying of the earl, his service to King Edward—in reality distributes itself over three reigns. The tradition has apparently lost every memory of Siward's youth, down to the slaying of the earl, and has filled the gap with features from folk-tales. The youthful adventures on the Orkneys have nothing to do with the Danish Earl Siward. Most likely they are borrowed from another earl of the same name, Sigurth Digri of

¹As earl of Huntingdonshire, he is mentioned in a royal letter of Edward (Kemble, *Codex dipl. Sax. IV.*, m. 792); it is said to be from the beginning of Edward's reign,—according to Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, 3rd ed, I., 792, which has not been accessible to me.

²For Siward's life see *Dictionary of National Biography*, LII.; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I, 586-88, II., 363-65, 613-19.

the Orkneys, who fell in the great Battle of Clontarf, 1014. B. Kahle (*Arkiv. för nordisk filologi*, xx., 298) suggests that the idea of the magical raven-banner was also borrowed from the same Sigurth, who waved it at the battle of Clontarf, 1014, and that its name of Land-eye is borrowed from the famous Landeytha ("land devastator"), the banner of King Harald Harthrathe, on his ill-fated expedition to England, 1066.

On the other hand the story has increased the distance between events which do not hang together in epic sequence. It conceives of the expedition to Scotland as taking place in Edward's prime, and his death "many years later"; in reality less than a year lay between.

Most remarkable, however, are the alterations in the story's chief scene, the slaying of the earl. There is just enough resemblance in the action for us to see that it is the same event which is referred to. Eadwulf, Earl of Northumberland, comes to Harthacnut to be reconciled to him, and he is then slain by Siward, who afterwards gets the earldom from the king; "then Harthacnut deceived the earl in 'grith' (sworn peace), and became a traitor," as the chronicle says. The details of the assault are, on the contrary, not known by the older records. Here, a marked change in persons and circumstances has taken place. The slaying of the earl did not occur during Edward's reign, but in the year 1041, under Harthacnut; the name of the slain earl was not Tosti, but Eadwulf, and his earldom was not Huntingdon, but Northumberland. This story in transmission has such a slight hold on concrete details; Tosti, who was Siward's successor as earl of Northumberland, is changed about, to be his predecessor, and the earldom is removed to the place which later became an inheritance among Siward's descendants. The information also that "the Dane's Church" was raised where Tosti's men were buried, as a memorial of the deed, is incorrect. The church of St.

Clement Danes, outside of London, was the churchyard for Danish citizens, and here, as early as 1040, Harald Harefoot's mishandled corpse was consigned to the earth. (Freeman, I., 572).

The chroniclers give a further connection which the tradition totally ignores. Siward had married the daughter of Ealdred, earl of Northumbria; after Ealdred was murdered, his brother, Eadwulf, became his successor as earl over the northern part of the land; but Siward, who calculated that his own claim to inheritance and his son's was set aside, slew Eadwulf, when he came to the king under safe conduct, in order to be reconciled to Harthacnut; and Harthacnut made the champion an earl in place of the deceased, and thus showed his satisfaction over the deed; the ground of the king's hatred towards the earl cannot be that reported in the story; but Eadwulf had probably been one of Harald Harefoot's adherents, as Harthacnut was angry. This does not exclude the statement in the story, that an accidental meeting on the bridge and an injury in passing were Siward's reason for seeking revenge; but it gives the true background of family politics and ambitious schemes which the saga lacks. It is possible that the meeting on the bridge, with its realistic colouring and its firm localization, preserves historical traits, which we otherwise do not know, from Eadwulf's death, or perhaps from other scenes in Siward's life.

Concerning the expedition into Scotland, it is said in one manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle¹; "1054. In this year Earl Siward advanced on Scotland with a great army, both fleet and land force, and fought with the Scots, and put to flight the king Macbeth, and slew all that was best in the land, and carried away great plunder, such as no man had obtained before. But his son, Osbern, and his sister's son, Siward, and some of his housecarls, and likewise of the king's, were slain

¹Cott. Tiber. B. IV.

there, on the day of the Seven Sleepers (July 27th).'' From this we see that the story about the son's death is a transformation of the facts. He actually fell in battle, but the story lets it be his death at home in Northumberland which hinders Siward from pursuing his victory. The other traditional account, that of Henry of Huntingdon, is more reliable, in so far as it lets the son fall in war against the Scots. But both accounts lack the story of the expedition of revenge for Osbern's death; this was a motive which the tradition could do without. It shall merely be remarked that also the name "Duneval" of the king of Scots is a combination of the murdered Duncan and Malcolm, his avenger.

Only the information about his death in York is wholly reliable. The chronicle reads: "1055. In this year died Earl Siward, in York, and he lies buried in Galmanho, in the church which he himself had raised and consecrated to God and Olaf; Tosti took the earldom, which he had."

The account was written down in Crowland Abbey, on the fertile plains of central Anglia, where people felt no personal interest in Siward Digri, but much for his son, Earl Waltheow, who, executed by William the Conqueror, found his grave in the cloister, and was revered as a popular saint. In Nottingham and Huntingdon sat the Norman race of counts, who descended from the daughter of Siward's son. But to none of these does the saga stand in any closer relation. Its interest collects about two points—the slaying by which he won his *earldom* (which is to say historically: the "Northumbrian"), and his *raven-banner*, which was presented, at his death, to the citizens of York; the saga names also the place where it was preserved. Besides, the border fights present themselves with a certain fulness, and a stone with the marks of his blow is mentioned as the most Northern point he reached. All this indicates that the saga's horizon is the Northumbrian; on the coast of

Northumberland the fictitious portion of the saga takes place—the meeting with the supernatural helper. York, especially, plays a distinct rôle, and its citizens were associated with him in the gift of the banner. Here in northernmost England, especially in York, the saga must have taken form. And here there must have been a Scandinavian population pure enough to bring forth a work of such Northern colouring.

It is very interesting to compare the Saga with the Huntingdon tradition, as it is presented by the little older Henry of Huntingdon (see p. 6). It has the usual traits of the war-hero: his death in arms and his question about his son's fall. But it lacks names, details, places, combination of scenes, and supernatural features—all of which gives the saga its life and its Northern colour.

IV.

One of the most remarkable things about the narrative is the fact that the traditional account shows a *stronger Scandinavian colouring* than the true history. All its personages, with the exception of King Edward, are "of Danish birth." It knows nothing of the Englishmen who played a rôle in Siward's life, his father-in-law, Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland, and Ealdred's daughter, Ethelflæd, no more than the name of his second wife; of his sons it mentions only Osbern Bole-ax (Bulax), but not Waltheow, with his Anglo-Saxon name, who, in his youth, was trained for the church; the name of the slain Northumbrian earl, Eadwulf, is exchanged for the Scandinavian Tosti. The Anglo-Saxon names which play such an important rôle in his life, are omitted from his saga.

All the surnames are Scandinavian: Beresun, digri, bulax.¹ Of the places in London there is only mention

¹ Although obsolete in English (Murray, N.E.D. 972) the word still exists in Danish popular speech, in the form *bulghse* (timber-axe, forest-axe, cf. Eng. *bul*, *bole*, O.N. *bolr*, *bulr*, tree-trunk). (Kalkar, Ordbog over det ældre danske sprog, I., 300; Feilberg, Jysk Ordbog, I., 141, etc.)

of "the Danes Church." Since the first appearance of this study, Alexander Bugge¹ has pointed out that the Latin *Beorn* transliterates the Old Norse *Biörn*, and that the Latin text of the saga uses the Scandinavian name for the Orkneys (*Orkaneia* = Old Norse, *Orkneyjar*) instead of the Latin (Orcades). The name of Siward's banner, *Ravenlandeye*, is also Scandinavian; probably identical with *Landeytha*, the name of the banner carried before Harald Harthrathe, on his ill-fated expedition to England, 1066. Siward died 11 years before, so that the Harthrathe tradition could easily be grafted upon his own.² So the explanation of *Ravenlandeye* as *corvus terræ terror* is a misunderstanding, *Landeytha* meaning "that which lays waste the land."

V.

We still have the question about Siward Digri's *forefathers*. Our saga gives the name of his father, Beorn Beresun. When it relates that he was the son of an earl's daughter and a bear, it cannot be correct; the zoologists deny the possibility of such a pregnancy. That he had ears resembling a bear's is, for rationalistic historians, an actual circumstance and cause for the story. According to the testimony of the study of tradition, it is only a widespread romance feature. It would indeed also be remarkable, if a reliable historical detail were remembered about a man, whose exploits have been entirely forgotten. The only thing about him, then, which can be historical, is the name, Beorn Beresun. His surname, however, cannot, as the tradition interprets it, mean "bear's son." It must be an Old Norse *Biörn Beruson*, or *Berason*; he has therefore had a mother named Bera or a father named Beri. But a man's name, Beri, can scarcely be pointed out in

¹ A. Bugge, *Vikingerne*, II. 306-8.

² B. Kahle, in *Arkiv f. nord, filol*, XX, 292-301.

Scandinavia¹; and it is so much more probable that his mother's name is Bera, because, in the Bothvar story also, the farmer's daughter carried off by the bear is named Bera. It is not so seldom in the old North that the son is named after his mother, especially if the father is dead. In this name Beorn Beresun we have the story's origin. It is a well-known feature of story-making, that, when a celebrated hero or race can only be carried back to a mother parent, a story is formed about preternatural parentage. Here the names Biörn and Bera (she-bear) must have led the mind in a fixed direction; and the old folk motive fastened itself upon the family because Earl Siward's enormous strength and courage was accounted for in this way. A story of ancestry is formed as a rule to explain the peculiarities manifested by the descendants.

Again, I must speak of Siward Digri's supposed kinship with the Sprakalegg family. The only thing upon which it is grounded is the genealogical table in *Vita Gualdevi* (p. 299; and in A): Gauldevus, filius Siwardi ducis Northanumbriæ, filii Beorn, filii Ulsii, filii Spratlingii, filii Ursii. For Earl Beorn, Sven Estridsson's brother, Florence of Worcester gives the following genealogy: Beorn comes, filius Danici comitis Ulfi, filii Spraclingi, filii Ursi.² For the last named, the table is, in the main, historically correct, since it is supported by the Danish tradition in Saxo: Sven, son of Earl Wolf, son of Thrugils Spragelegg, son of Beorn, son of the farmer's daughter and the bear, and also by the Icelandic sources: Sveinn and Bjorn, sons of Earl Ulfr, son of Thorkell Sprakaleggr. For Siward Digri the table is wholly impossible; the "Ulsius," who is made his grand-

¹ A man's name, Beri, is known from Western Sleswig, and is presumably Frisian. The corresponding Danish form is Bjari (O. Nielsen. *Oldd. personnavne*, 12). Bero in Saxo, etc., is, whenever one can test it, a Latinized form of Biörn. For the woman's name, Bera, cf. O. Rygh, "*Gamle personnavne i norske stedsnavne*," p. 33.

² Florentius Wigornensis, *Chronicon*, year 1049 (ed. Thorpe, I., 202).

father, is his own contemporary, Earl Wolf, and Sprakling consequently cannot be his great-grandfather; about this the historians are unanimous. On the other hand, they seem not to have found the solution of the problem, although it lies so near. Word for word, the same family tree is given for Earl Beorn Wolfsson and Earl Beorn Beresun; for Beorn Wolfsson it is correct, for the other it is wrong. It is the Beorn Wolfsson's family-tree which has been transferred to Beorn Beresun, because one confused the two earls of the same name. The transfer did not take place in oral, but in written tradition; for in both pedigrees we find Ursus as a translation of the Scandinavian Beorn; and slight discrepancies in the names are due only to written distortions.¹ It is only the carelessness of the author, which sets Siward in relationship with the Sprakling family; no source for it is to be found.² Of Siward's ancestors we only know that the tradition gave his father's name as Beorn Beresun. The fact that the name Bera is misunderstood in the tradition makes it probable that it is not wilfully fabricated.

The question carries us back to the bear parentage. It is not the bear-motive's occurrence, which in itself causes any difficulty; we have seen how both name and bear's ears go back to popular tradition. But it is the circumstance that two different persons lay claim to bear-parentage—Thrugils Sprakelegg's father Beorn, and Siward Digri's father, Beorn. It would best answer the purpose if they could both be the same person, but there is precisely a generation between them. The story must have been carried over from one to the other. But, if so, there can be no doubt that Beorn Beresun is the true claimant. In his case the

¹ Filii Ulsii filii Spratlingii (f is read as a long s; c as t; ii can have come from filii; Ulsi(us) is a late conversion of the Ags. Wulfsige; see Searle, *Onomasticon*).

² The genealogy constructed by J. Steenstrup (*Normannerne*, III., 439, *Dansk Biogr. Lexicon* XV. p. 616), *hereby falls to the ground*.

surname is connected with the bear-parentage; in his case there are the bear's ears, the distinguishing mark found in the folk-tale; and, before all, there is the celebrated son, Siward Digri, whose unusual size, strength and recklessness are explained by his preternatural birth. On the contrary, nothing was said about anything unusual in the appearance of Earl Wolf or his sons. The tradition must have been transferred to that family in Denmark, and during the time when not more was remembered about the valiant Earl Siward.

At last we may answer the question: What can after all be known about Siward Digri's ancestors in Denmark?

We have the mere name of his father, Beorn Beresun, and from that we may make out that his grandmother was named Bera, and that she survived (or surpassed) her husband. All that was told about Beorn and Bera was only fancy, arising from a misunderstanding of their names. Also their descent from an earl's family in Denmark is not very credible; such an honour could easily have been transferred to her from her distinguished descendant.

Siward Digri was a warrior who won his way up in Cnut the Great's campaigns. Bodily strength (he was given the surname most used in his time: *digri*, i.e., big and strong) and violent activity were his prominent characteristics. Through a long warlike career, he works his way, before he gets the name of earl; there is nothing to show that he has advanced so far on the strength of his parentage.¹

¹It is *possible* that Beorn Beresun's family stood in some connection with Earl Wolf's family; not because a mistaken chronicle tell us so, or because the bear parentage is connected with each of them,—but because the same names, Beorn and Osbeorn, occur in the case of each, and, with the strong rules for the inheritance of names, which prevailed among the Scandinavians of the Viking age (*cf.* Gustav Storm in *Arkiv*, IX, 219), a common descent must ordinarily express itself in common names. But names like Beorn and Osbeorn were too often used to give us any certainty regarding ancestry; and Earl Siward looks most like a self-made man. (But how was it with Spracling, the father of Wolf? Was he also a champion who made his own fortune? And was his noble ancestry only an ornament in the bear tale?)

As he, near the middle of the 11th century, reached the position of a prominent chief of his time, the question of his ancestors and early deeds had to arise. Because there were no historical facts to remember, there was subject enough for fancy. The poverty of ancestors was supplied by the supernatural birth, the poverty of youthful deeds by mingling him together with the Orcadian Sigurth (the dragon fight), and by the repetition of mythical features (the standard-giving divinity).

The historical Siward was a symbol of that Viking realm which suddenly arose to astonishing greatness and suddenly sank into dust, with only a small effect upon later times.

But from this historical Siward sprang up a tradition—a saga like that of Ragnar Lothbrok or other Viking chiefs, a fantastic story with details of realistic character and with historical value. Streams from that fountain ran into the great Icelandic ocean of sagatelling: its bear motive came into the Hrolf's Saga, enlarged into a tale of the champion Bothvar and his stepmother; but the same bear tale went also to Denmark, as an ancestry tale of the royal Danish race. Most remarkable of all is the evolution of such combined sagas among the Scandinavians in England, bearing witness on their part to the especial Scandinavian culture, and to the intellectual faculties that existed among them.

THE EARLY HISTORIANS OF NORWAY.

By Professor W. P. KER, LL.D., President.

THE earliest intelligence of Norway comes to the rest of the world from skippers' stories of what they have seen in their voyages; the first record is perhaps to be found in the *Odyssey*. The country of the Laestrygonians, where the paths of day and night are near one another, and a sleepless man might earn a double wage, is not mere romance, but knowledge brought to the Mediterranean from the North by the old ways of trade. The people of Laestrygonia are monstrous ogres. It is true that the king's daughter is courteous enough, 'ma la madre è il diavolo'; the queen was like the rock-top of a mountain, and the companions of Ulysses loathed the sight of her. Travellers on the West Coast of Norway will have no difficulty in finding for themselves the cliff-locked harbour, where all but one ship of Ulysses was wrecked, and the men spitted by the Northern Trolls.

There is some interval before the next witness, and he too is an explorer; Ohthere, Óttarr, King Alfred's ship-captain, the first man to sail round the North Cape into the White Sea. Ohthere's narrative is the first to use in writing the name of the country, "Norðweg," and with Ohthere the historical record of Norway definitely begins. It has been often read and paraphrased and quoted, but it cannot be spoilt; there is nothing corruptible in its clearness and plain sense. The sailors in a Norwegian steamer going North will talk very like Ohthere if you ask them about "Finns" (*i.e.*, Lapps) and "Quains."

Ohthere's narrative has nothing in it of what is commonly reckoned political history, but it is a document

for one of the most important general facts in the progress of his country, namely, its colonising power. This was one of York Powell's favourite topics; how the navigating and colonising skill of the Northmen was learned first of all in coasting voyages. They had to discover and settle their own country, before they tried experiments in England and Iceland, France and Apulia. The borders of Norway in Ohthere's day were far to the south of the present limit, which is the North Cape itself. The modern civil society of Tromsö and Hammerfest had not begun to occupy the wilderness; Ohthere's home,¹ "northernmost of all Northmen," is somewhere about Malangen c. 69°50'; it is six days' sail for him before he rounds the Cape.

In King Alfred's notice of Ohthere there is nothing of internal Norwegian politics, nothing of the debate between the new monarchy and the old country families which led, among other things, to the settlement of Iceland, in King Alfred's own life-time. The king may not have known about these things; certainly his North Atlantic geography is defective. But he knew well enough the piratical and warlike habits of the Northmen; yet of these there is hardly a trace in this context; the Norway that he describes is a country of peaceful business, apart from unimportant bickerings with the Finnish neighbours. It is the country which one knows from its own historians; the complement of Ohthere is the story of his contemporary, Thorolf Kveldulfsson, Skallagrim's brother, and his management of the Finnish trade.² King Alfred had pierced the barrier of fear and prejudice which hid the truth of Norway from the people whom the Northmen plundered. He knew that the Norwegians were not savages, and that their life at home was much like that of other people, taken up with the ordinary means of

¹ Storm, *Om opdagelsen af Nordkap, og veien til det hvide Hav*, 1894, Det norske geografiske Selskab, Aarb. V.

² *Egil's Saga*, cx., cxiv., *passim*.

livelihood: pasture, tillage, hunting, fishing, and trade. King Alfred, we may say, had discovered the average reasonable healthy country life of Norway, which is not very different now from what it was in the beginning. He ignores the political genius of Norway; and he gives no place, in this part of his work, to the fury of the Norwegian rover. Ohthere is an adventurer, but with no high-flown ambitions, no rhetoric or display. Hakluyt includes him along with Sir Hugh Willoughby, Chancellor and Burrows, in the discovery of Muscovy, and there is no difficulty or incongruity in turning from the earlier explorer to the later. But this aspect of Ohthere is not the only one; he is not merely the forerunner of the Elizabethan Englishman. He is a witness for his own country, as has been said; and though he gives no single name of any Norwegian except his own, and says nothing about the problems of government or the pillars of society, his evidence cannot be left out of the history of Norway.

Adam of Bremen, a century and a half later, has much more to tell, and is not a little interested in the characters and fates of the Northern kings. But he does not (though he had good opportunities) get into the heart of Norway as King Alfred did through the clear eyes and wits of his Norwegian retainer. The aspect of Norway, given by Adam, is determined by Adam's own ground. The provinces of Hamburg and Bremen are bases for the Church Militant against Scandinavian and Slavonic heathendom¹; Norway is marked out for the work of travelling preachers, and it takes a long time to bring it under.

Adam of Bremen knows Norway more fully, more widely, than King Alfred, more in relation with the politics of the world. But the knowledge, in comparison, is school-knowledge, or produces that impres-

¹In legatione gentium, quod primum est Hammaburgensis ecclesiae officium.

sion—as of a subject reducible to words and formulas, not present to the mind as experience. But after all, the same might be said of much more ambitious and elaborate histories.

There is one great exception; Adam, like King Alfred, has his authority in a living voice, and Adam's story-teller, to whom he listened, was a much more important adventurer than Ohthere, the sea-captain. King Svein Estrithson was the son of Canute's sister, and of that Earl Ulf whose name is repeated every lawful day in York Minster when they show to visitors the horn that is said to be his. Svein Estrithson, the cousin of Harold Godwinsson, the antagonist of Magnus the Good and Harold Hardrada, and after many adventures King of Denmark at last, was found by Master Adam in his hours of ease, ready to talk, and in this way the Northern part of Adam's history was fed and supported. Adam does not make use of these conversations as some readier historians might; one feels at every turn the want of the trained or intuitively skilled reporter. But what is preserved is not contemptible. It is all the more interesting, in a way, because it shows, before the great Icelandic school had properly begun, how the kings' lives were first recorded: namely, by the kings themselves. The kings were fond of spinning yarns and sometimes of listening to them; we know that from the Icelandic histories. We know how the story of Harald Hardrada's adventures in Micklegarth¹ was carried from his own report to Iceland by Halldor, son of Snorri, the priest, and brought back from Iceland and repeated to King Harald himself. But the written authority for this, though good enough in its way, is only of the 13th century; here is Adam of Bremen, a contemporary witness, with whom King Svein had spoken familiarly. There are many stories of King

¹ *Útferðarsaga*; cf. *Morkinshinna*, p. 72, and the Oxford Icelandic Prose Reader.

Svein written later in Icelandic, and there is a good chance that some of them may have come down from the king himself. Adam must surely have heard the original version of Svein's escape from the naval battle of Nissaa (*Nizar orrosta*, 1062), a story that comes in different forms in the earlier historians, and is preserved by Snorri in the best form of all, if you take it merely as adventure; it may very well be also the version nearest the truth. It is a pity Adam did not write it down; it is not that he has any objection to stories. For him, as for the Icelanders, history is mainly conversation and entertainment, and before the Icelanders had begun, Adam begins the writing of Northern sagas.

Through his Latin, and in spite of his foreign German point of view, one comes fairly close to the same sort of world as is given by the Icelandic historians. Adam is patronising and tolerant; his friends in the North are still barbarians, and he regards them much as a fair-minded English observer looks on the Irish, with condescending good-will. But Adam's record may be transposed into the terms of the Sagas; King Svein is the same sort of adventurer as is shown in the Northern kings' lives. To turn Adam's stories into the Northern form, there is no need to amplify; you have only to combine your information. Thus you know pretty well how the following incident might appear in a Saga:—

'At that time, Svein, in a voyage to England, was driven by a storm to put in at Hadelo. There in the ordinary Viking way (*more pyratice*) he plundered the neighbourhood; and there he was taken by some of the archbishop's men and brought into his presence. But the archbishop received his captive with honour, and took him to Bremen and made agreement with him; and then, after a few days, gave him leave to depart, with royal gifts. This the king himself told us, highly praising the archbishop as for goodliness of person and

liberality of mind admired of all men. He told his bearers also of the pontiff's kingly household and the immense treasure of the Church which he had seen at Bremen, and many things besides.'

Svein spoke also to Adam of his twelve years' service with King James of Sweden, up and down through the country, carrying on the ordinary business of government, the correction of anarchy and enforcement of the king's peace. But the particulars are not given. Much of his story must have been very like Ohthere's; thus, like Ohthere, he tells of the troublesome people, of small stature, but strong and quick, who come down at intervals and waste the land and are beaten off and go back to the fells. He tells also of Wineland, with its grapes and its self-sown wheat—the first written notice of America—just like the story of Eric the Red. He gave good advice, too, and helped the church of Hamburg in its missions. He dissuaded Archbishop Adalbert from going himself on a mission journey to Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Orkneys, and Iceland; and showed that it would be much more satisfactory to employ missionaries who knew the language and manners of the people; obviously good sense. It is most remarkable that Svein is quoted for facts of Danish and Swedish history long before his own time: "he had them all in his mind like a written book," says Adam. The barbarian adventurer at home is a Christian gentleman with a taste for pedigrees. His gift of remembering had greatly impressed Adam of Bremen. The king is shown, in one place, listening attentively to the teaching of Archbishop Adalbert; "he noted clearly and stored in memory the passages from Scripture," especially with regard to the deadly sins which were not his own.

Are Thorgilsson was born "the winter after the fall of King Harald Sigurdsson," the winter after Stamford Bridge and Hastings. He is the first historian of

Norway in the Northern tongue; so that with respect to him and his successors Adam of Bremen has a great advantage of time, and his personal acquaintance with Svein Ulfsson makes him invaluable and irreplaceable as a witness.

Now we come to the Icelanders and their historical work.

There is sometimes perhaps a danger, not so much of exaggerating the merits of Icelandic history, as of unjustly depreciating other nations. Sagas are found everywhere, in all languages. Barbour's *Bruce* is one; the Chronicles of Froissart are made in the same way as the Icelandic histories, out of conversations and recollections. In spite of all the difference of circumstances, the French memoirs of the 17th century can be partly rendered in Icelandic terms. There is the young man making his fortune in the household of a great lord (the Abbé de Cosnac, Gourville), there are the different kinds of great men watching the king for purposes of their own, some rebellious and some compliant; there is the king and the king's will. The Norwegian Lives give the same sort of impression as the French memoirs, of the dangerous tigerish element in kings; the relentless pursuit, the talent for revenge. But apart from the matter, the interests of the narrators are essentially the same; an interest in persons and events, with the great political motives more often implied than explained or discussed.

What distinguishes the Icelandic stories from those of other nations is the quicker sense for drama and the personal elements; also the unencumbered language, and the fact that they were written so early in a style which no later author has equalled on similar ground.

The Sagas of Iceland and Norway are partly memoirs and personal talk; something different from regular history, though not beyond the jurisdiction of history; family tradition and pedigrees and so forth. What is wanted to make them into history is political sense.

That is often not conspicuous, in the stories for example of the humours of various Icelandic poets in Norway; while the secret of Iceland might be said to be its escape from the great politics of the world, its concentration on domestic and private life as the most important, preferring Ithaca to all the temptations of the larger world and its vanities. But this is not all, and the historical prose of Iceland is not free from ideas, though it gets on happily enough for the most part with the ordinary practical world of seeing and hearing, "immersed in matter." The life of Iceland began in a political revolution; the new monarchy of Harald Fairhair spoilt the old customary life of Norway, and provoked the resistance of the great houses who could not stand his interfering government. The settlement of Iceland, to escape from the tyranny of Harald, was an attempt to carry on the old life of Norway in a new colony, and it was partly successful. The difference was that the new settlers found themselves in their own despite possessed of a new sort of intellect. They wanted to keep up the old habitual instinctive way of living; they found that in the attempt to do so they had become reflective, self-conscious, and awake; they knew what a king was, and what was implied in a policy of national unification. In order to re-establish old Norwegian custom in their new found land they had to think, to deliberate, to invent a constitution and borrow a code of laws.

The historical work of the Icelanders has some of the qualities of this intellectual change. The settlers of Iceland were forced by their new move to think for themselves; they could not live merely after the use and wont which had carried their ancestors from stone to bronze and bronze to iron. Use and wont was what they desired, but they could only get it by a conscious effort. They were in for rationalism before they knew what they were about.

Hence the paradox, that the first Icelandic historian, Are the Wise, is a critic with a dry light, one of the

moderns, crystal-clear in historical perception, an author not remembered by those popular writers who lament and pity "the night of the middle ages." It is strange enough that the Icelandic beginnings should have been of this sort; that (as York Powell was fond of putting it) Thucydides should come before Herodotus; and the Icelandic truth is even stranger than this figure of speech, for Are, the mature historical critic, was the first author in the language. But the paradox is explained (not made less wonderful) by the conditions of Icelandic life. They were a proud people; they had come through a strain which wakened and stirred their minds; they had to foster their memory if they were to preserve their reason. Without their pedigrees and family histories, without their continued interest in the kings of Norway, they would have sunk into boors. An effort of conscious will was needed at the outset to save their souls, to keep alive their honour. Are, many generations after the first settlement, but still in a sense at the beginning of Icelandic literature, makes a record of this early movement, and writes down what had been retained in memory from the first days of the commonwealth under the influence of those motives of pride.

After Are had made the framework of Icelandic and Norwegian history, it was possible for other writers to use another style, the style of the Sagas as we know them; the style of Snorre Sturluson, in the rich, dramatic written narrative that has taken up the oral reports of so many story-tellers. The lives of the kings, much more interesting, as stories, than Are's exact and scientific work, in reality belong to an order which is earlier than Are, though they are re-fashioned by a later author (by more than one) and set in place with the help of Are's chronological foundations. Story-telling for amusement is the source of the Kings' lives, and that sort of thing is found, of course, long before there is anything like Are the Wise. But it was

Are the Wise, by his drier method, who made it possible for self-respecting authors to write down the traditional stories. If Are had not attended to the dates, and the important historical facts, the Icelandic school of history would never have been formed, the heroic narrative of Iceland would never have risen above oral tradition; would have disappeared like the Sagas of Sweden, or of Norway and Iceland itself, for the most part, after the 13th century.

The book of Snorre Sturluson, commonly called *Heimskringla*, is like Froissart's re-writing of Jehan le Bel; Snorre and Froissart both get credit for much that is not their own. The case of Snorre is more complicated than that of Froissart, for there are several previous authors of the same matter; the Book of Kings is a traditional book, a prose epic, or series of epics, as some scholars have imagined them, shaped out of old materials. Fortunately, much of the earlier work has been preserved; fortunately, not merely for scientific and professional purposes, for the use of academies and learned societies, but because they are good to read for their own sake—not all in the same degree.

There are two short Latin histories, *Theodrici Monachi Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagensium* and the *Historia Norwegiæ*.¹ These two books might be picked out of the Middle Ages on purpose to make a contrast of their style with the Icelandic Saga. Theodric (whose real name may have been Thorer) indulges in all the favourite mediæval irrelevances, drags in the Roman Emperors and the Platonic year, digresses from Charybdis to the Huns, and embroiders his text with quotations from the Latin poets. The anonymous author of the other book has the same sort of taste, with more of florid rhetoric, *nostrī ingenioli igniculus*, and *exinde ad eum ipse prædonum princeps properavit* (this is Olaf Trygg-

¹ Both, most conveniently, in G. Storm, *Monumenta historica Norvegiæ Latine conscripta*, Christiania, 1880.

vason) and (of the death of Earl Hacon) *quem servus suus nomine Carcus nequiter noctu necavit*. It is impossible here to give any summary of these books, much less to discuss the problems which they offer. But it is worth mentioning that the anonymous history gives, like Adam of Bremen, what is left out in *Heimskringla*, the sorrowful death of Olaf Trygvason's queen, *ast conjux intemperanter viri mortem ferens dolore deperit*. Was it strict historical judgment, or mere dulness, that left this out, along with the death of King Olaf's hound, in the revised version of the Book of Kings?

Theodric's book is dedicated to Archbishop Eystein (1161-1188); he may have been a monk of Holm, the little island off Trondhjem, in the abbey which Matthew Paris afterwards visited and reformed. He is a Norwegian author,¹ and that is of some importance; as is also the fact that he relies on the Icelanders for his matter, in great part, and notes that their history is based on old poems.²

The author of the second Latin history is unknown; even his nation is uncertain. He dedicates his book to "Agnellus," who is supposed by Storm to be Thomas Agnellus, *archidiaconus U'ellensis*, the author, about 1183, of a tract on the death of the young King Henry.³ Dr. Finnur Jónsson thinks it probable that the *Historia Norwegiae* was written by a foreigner

¹ Against this conjecture it is urged that Theodric, in a book dedicated to the Archbishop of Nidaros, would not have spoken of Monks Holm as if it needed description: *parvissima quaedam insula quae adjacet metropoli Nidrosiensi*. But Theodric is writing for people who do not know as much as he does, and it is not uncommon for historians to dissemble their personal feelings when they come upon familiar or domestic associations in the course of their story.

² Prout sagaciter perquirere potuimus ab eis penes quos horum memoria praecipue vigere creditur quos nos Islendinga vocamus, qui haec in suis antiquis carminibus percelebrata recolunt.

³ *Libellus de morte et sepultura Henrici regis Angliae junioris*, printed in Stevenson's edition of Ralph of Coggeshall, R.S. 1875.

settled in Norway, and gives good arguments to support this. In its natural history it has some likeness to Olaus Magnus much later, and one note of its own well worth recording; how the white mountains of Iceland appear to sailors far out at sea and give them their landfall.¹ *Inter quos mons casulae ad instar Aetnae.* It is like Eggert Olafsson's sight of Hecla from the sea (C. P. B. ii., p. 409, 411). One most remarkable thing in the *Historia Norwegiae* is its coincidence with Are in the chapter on the early mythical kings. The book ends with St. Olaf's return from England. There are many puzzling things in it. What, for example, is the book *Philostratus* quoted at the beginning (a maimed beginning) of the Prologue?²

Closely, though rather obscurely related to these two Latin works, is the short vernacular history, commonly called *ágrip*, i.e., *compendium*.³ The author quotes some verses in evidence of his facts, more particularly from Sigvat, in the same manner as the Icelanders. But the book is Norwegian in its point of view, much more exclusively than the two Latin histories. At first sight it is unattractive in its bad spelling and its obvious want of proportion. But it is full of interest, nevertheless, and it tallies with a good deal of *Heimskringla*, whether as itself the direct source or as borrowing from the same original. Here again one meets with another proof that the style of the Icelandic historians, so apparently sincere and pure, is not due to any ignorant or innocent seclusion

¹ Habet namque eadem insula innumerabiles montes verum continua glacie cinctos, unde illis resplendentibus nautae longe a terra in salo positi portum sibi opportunum per hos denotare solent. H. Norw. p. 93.

² . . . tus in Philostrato suo laudans amicitiam, cum de ceteris vitae bonis ageret, inter veros amicos nihil fere difficile fore meminit. Hujus igitur tanti philosophi satis probabili sententiae nequaquam contraire ausus, etc.

³ Stutt *ágrip* af Noregs Konunga sögum. Fornmanna Sögur X. p. 377 sqq.; also in a diplomatic edition by Dahlerup (Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur) 1880.

from the temptations of rhetoric. This work, which belongs to the 12th century, is more rhetorical than Snorre in the 13th; not excessively, yet with distinct touches of Euphuistic alliteration and balance, sometimes with good effect.¹

Further, there is the old legendary life of St. Olaf, in fragments,² and the latter version of the same, better preserved.³ There are the acts of Olaf King and Saint in Latin,⁴ and in the Old Norwegian homilies.⁵ There is the life of Olaf Tryggvason by Odd Snorrason, monk of Thingeyre, written in Latin, though extant only in the vernacular translations.⁶ The life of Olaf by Gunnlaug Leifsson, a monk of the same house, is known only through references in the long saga of Olaf Tryggvason.

Besides, there are other works which come rather more nearly into competition with Snorre, if it would not be truer to say that Snorre has "lurched them of the garland," by taking from them what he wanted and leaving them without their due praise.

Eirik Oddson (c. 1150) is thought by some to be the first author in the characteristic Icelandic style. His books "about Harald Gille and two of his sons, about Magnus the Blind, and Sigurd Slembe to their death," is lost as a separate whole, but a large part of it is preserved in the MS. *Morkinskinna*, namely, the life of Sigurd Slembe. Sigurd, one of many pretenders in Norwegian history, has some resemblance to Perkin Warbeck, at any rate for the gallant way he played his

¹ e.g. in the passing of Olaf Tryggvason; *en hvacki er lifi hans heifer luct, þa er þat lichilict at guþ hafi solina.*

² G. Storm: *Otte brudstykker af den ældste saga om Olav den hellige*, Christiania 1893. Cf. Storm, *Snorre Sturlassons Historieskrivning*, Kjöbenhavn 1873, p. 37 sq., 233 sq.

³ Commonly cited as O.H.L. ed. Keyser and Unger, Christiania, 1849.

⁴ Ed. Storm, *Monumenta*.

⁵ *Norsk Homiliebog* ed. Unger Chr. 1864.

⁶ *Fornmanna Sögur* XI.; also by Munch, Chria. 1853.

part, and like Perkin Warbeck he has been fortunate in the authors who have treated his story. Long before Björnson's play, an older poet, Ivar Ingimund's son, wrote the elegy of Sigurd Slembe, remarkable among its fellows as being composed for a defeated adventurer after his fall. And Eirik Oddson wrote his life in prose. It is the sort of work one wants; the intelligent use of the reminiscences that were going about in the author's day—memoirs written with sense and spirit. Eirik refuses to write down everything; he has heard many speeches reported as having been spoken by Sigurd at his death; but the best witness, Hall Thorgeirsson, said that he made little answer to his enemies, though many taunted him; therefore Eirik will not set down more. He is one of those who attend to the sentiments of actors and onlookers, not for the sake of pathos or any unfair effect, but because of the life of the story. In the account of the battle at sea off the Gray Holm, Sunday, 12th November, 1139 [í Hvöllum við holminn grá] there are instances of different sorts. When Hreidar Griotgardsson died, it is said "all men held that he had well and valiantly followed his liege lord, and good it is for him that gains such a report." This is the heroic commonplace, the right morality of the loyal servitor, such as is found in the English poem of Maldon and in many a ballad and chronicle besides. This is repeated in *Heimskringla*. But Snorri does not give the pathetic last saying of Magnus the Blind when he got his death wound: "This should have come seven years ago." He gives, however, the report of Ivar Skratthanki, one of the followers of Magnus, afterwards Bishop of Trondhjem, who saw one of his companions a prisoner after the battle, going to be beheaded. "That said Ivar, that it came over him more than he had ever felt in his life, when his namesake was taken ashore to the heading-place, and turned to them and said: Good luck at our next meeting! Dame Gyrith Birgis daughter, sister

of Archbishop John,¹ said that she heard this from Bishop Ivar."

Eirik Oddsson's work is embedded in the collection called *Morkinskinna*,² dated by Storm between 1217 and 1222. This, unhappily, has large gaps in it; but these are partly made good by other texts, especially by *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna*³ and by the *Flatey-Book*. *Fagrskinna* (before 1231, Storm) is another version of the Book of Kings; the two are complements of one another in a very interesting way. The author of *Morkinskinna* has no scruples about the unities of narrative, and puts in all the interesting anecdotes and adventures he can find; *Morkinskinna* is the source of a large number of the episodes, especially the stories about Icelanders, that give variety to the Norwegian history. The author of *Fagrskinna*, on the other hand, has a classical mind and a regard for the dignity of history; in fact he has the same sort of design as Snorre; he wishes to keep attention fixed on the chief personages and the main issues. This does not mean that he depletes his book and takes the life out of it; he is liberal enough when the right persons (as he thinks) are concerned. But he will not allow the irrelevant stories a place in his work. He makes up for the want of these by his liking for poetry and his large quotations.

The two books, side by side, belong to two separate schools; both are excellent, and the place of neither is taken by *Heimskringla*.

There is a life of Earl Hakon Ivarsson, the only independent Saga of a Norwegian lord, which is used by Snorre in his life of Harald Hadrada, and is partly extant as a separate thing.⁴ The matter of it has some importance. Snorre differs from *Morkinskinna* as to

¹The first Archbishop of Trondbjem, consecrated 1152, at the instance of Cardinal Nicolas Brakespere.

²ed. Unger, 1867.

³Storm, p. 70, Fms. VI.

⁴ed. Storm in *Snorres Historieskrivning*, p. 236-259.

the death of Einar Thambarskelver, the old hero. *Morkinskinna* makes it part of King Harald's grievance against him that he, Einar, fell asleep when the king was telling his reminiscences. This is one of the three sorrows of story-telling, whatever the other two may be; no doubt such things happened in the early making of history. But Snorre has a different account, and this is taken from Hacon's Saga. So also is his account of Hacon and Svein Ulfsson, after the battle of Niz, which has been already referred to. It is true that this is not among the extant fragments of Hacon Ivarsson, but in the fragments the significant word is found, the name "Vandráðr" "Redeless," which Svein used in his escape, and which is not found elsewhere except in Snorre. It is one of the great examples of Icelandic art, that device which never grows old, of letting things make their own impression before the explanation comes. Here, however, the explanation may be given first; it is the story of a meeting between King Svein (Adam of Bremen's friend) and Earl Hacon Ivarsson after Hacon had offended him and left his service and gone back to the tyrant, Harald Hadrada. Svein and Harald were at warfare all their days, as Adam tells, and the battle of Niss water was one of their chief actions—a sea battle off the Halland coast—in which the Danes were utterly beaten, and the old exile, Finn Arnason, St. Olaf's man, was taken prisoner by St. Olaf's brother. That is another story. The story of Svein's escape is shortly this: Hacon's ship could not follow when the ships of King Harald were pursuing the Danes; the crowd of ships was too great. Hacon was tending his own wounded men, when a boat came up alongside with a big man, in a broad-brimmed hat, rowing, who called for the Earl. The Earl looked at him and asked him his name. "Redeless is my name," he said; "speak to me a moment, Earl!" The Earl looked over the gunwale at him. Then the man in the boat

said : " I will take my life from you to-day, if you will give it." The Earl rose and called to two of his men whom he could trust, and said : " Get into the boat and row Redeless ashore ; and guide him to my friend Karl, the yeoman, and say to Karl (so that he may understand) to let Redeless have the horse I gave him the day before yesterday, and his own saddle and his son to show him the way." Then the Earl's men went into the boat and took the oars, and Redeless steered. This was just about the dawn, and there was a great traffic in the water, some were rowing ashore and some to sea, both in large boats and small. Redeless steered where he saw the freest space between ships. When any Norwegians rowed near them, the Earl's men said who they were, and no one stopped them. Redeless steered along the shore, and did not put to land till they had got clear of the crowd of ships. Then they went up to Karl's homestead, and by that time it was daybreak ; they went in, and there was Karl just dressed. The Earl's men gave him their message ; Karl said they should breakfast first, had the table set, and brought them water to wash their hands. Then came in the good wife and said : " It is strange we can't get sleeping at night for shrieking and noise." Karl says : " Do you not know there has been a battle of the kings this night ? " She asked " Who has won ? " " The men of Norway," he answered. She said : " Then our king has fled again ? " Karl says : " People do not know whether he is fled or fallen." She answered : " We have ill-luck in our king ; he is both lame and a coward." Then said Redeless : " Coward he is not, but he has no fortune in war."

Redeless was the last to wash his hands, and when he took the towel he dried his hands in the middle of it. The good wife pulled it away from him, and said, " Little wit ! see the clownish ways of him, to wet the whole towel at once ! " Redeless said, " I will come yet to the house where I may have leave to take the whole of the

towel." Then they sat down, and Redeless sat in the middle. After breakfast they went out, and there the horse stood ready, and Karl's son was to have another horse, and act as guide. They rode into the wood; but the Earl's men went back to the boat, and so on board again.

The story of Karl and his wife is given in other versions, but they do not give the appeal of Redeless to Earl Hacon. It was well known that Hacon had helped King Svein to escape, but it is this one version, taken from Hacon's Saga by Snorre, which gives the truth, as we may suppose—certainly something like the truth—in characteristic Icelandic form.

This informal discourse may give some notion of the way in which the traditional book of the Kings of Norway was put together. Where so much is mysterious it is proved that the Kings were fond of talking about themselves, that very early there were people engaged in taking notes, and others in testing them and proving the dates; that before the end of the thirteenth century there was a rich Icelandic prose literature, in which different forms of the Norwegian historical matter were presented, some tending outwards and making large circuits, and sweeping in all sorts of reminiscences and tales (like *Morkinskinna*); others (like *Fagrskinna*) making an attempt to restrict and select and give form to the material of tradition. One result of all this is a certain discontent with *Heimskringla*. That elegant work does not make the older versions superannuated or useless; it leaves out some of the best things, *e.g.*, the proverbs of Sveinke (ancestor of Sam Weller):—

"No need of rollers, as the fox said, when he drew the harp over the ice;"

and "it's sniffing of snow, said the Finns, when they had snowshoes to sell." Which are illustrations of a political argument, as well as of character and manners.

Another great omission is the story of Sigurd Hrana-

son's lawsuit, in which he was helped with legal skill by King Eystein against Sigurd the Crusader.¹

Worst of all is that which has been mentioned already, which is taken by Gudbrand Vigfusson as the chief ground of his depreciation of *Heimskringla*, the refusal to admit, as part of the history of Olaf Tryggvason, the mortal sorrow of his queen and his hound Vigi, and the fulfilment of the blind yeoman's prophecy as to the loss of the four jewels of Norway. What are the canons of historical criticism that rejected this? Did the author of *Heimskringla* not believe the story? But he tells about the wizard who took the form of a whale, and was sent by King Harald of Denmark to survey the Iceland coasts. This is a good story, but the author who repeats it cannot afford to be scrupulous. He cannot give himself out, or be accepted as a true, sound rationalist historian. Why did he swallow the whale?

¹ Cf. G. Storm. Sigurd Raneson's Process.

HAVELOK AND OLAF TRYGGVASON.
A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE FURTHER
UNDERSTANDING OF THE KINGS' SAGAS.¹

By DR. ALEXANDER BUGGE.

I.

THE Havelok legend exists in four different forms, the two first of which closely resemble each other, having undoubtedly a common derivation. One is contained in Gaimar's *Lestorie des Engles*, l. 37-818, written in England after 1135 and before 1155, while the other is an old French poem (*lai*), also dating from the middle of the twelfth century, and possibly written in England.

A text and translation of both are published by Hardy and Martin, in *Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi scriptores* (Rolls Series 91, *Lestorie des Engles solum la Translation Maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, two volumes, London, 1888-1889).

The third form is a Middle English fiddler's lay, apparently written soon after the year 1300, and differing in many respects from Gaimar and the French "*lai*," though Holthausen may be right in stating that it has a similar derivation. It has been published in several editions, notably that of Holthausen in *Old and Middle English Texts* (London and Heidelberg, 1901), and of Skeat (Oxford, 1902), though I have only had access to the former.

The fourth form is the so-called "Lambeth Version," a short abstract in Robert Mannyng of Brunne's translation of Peter of Langtoft, midway between Gaimar and the Middle English poem, though nearer

¹ Translated by Miss C. M. E. Pochin from the original Norwegian text in *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1908.

to the former (comp. *The Lambeth Version of the Havelok Legend*, by E. H. Putnam in Publ. of the Modern Language Association of America, 1900, vol. xv., new ser., vol. viii., p. 1-16). I have made special use of two works, Ward's great *Catalogue of Romances* in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, Vol. I. (London, 1883), and Max Deutschbein's *Wikingersagen, Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands I.* (Cöthen, 1906).

The contents of the Havelok poem, in its older forms, are as follows:—King Arthur, having conquered Denmark, appointed Odulf as his under-king. He was the brother of King Aschis, killed at Arthur's side during the battle of Camlan, and through his treachery the Danish king Gunter was murdered. But Gunter's wife, Alvive, King Gaifer's daughter, and their young son Havelok, surnamed Cuaran, escaped, being taken by Grim, the king's faithful man, on board his ship, and sailed from Denmark in company with him, his wife Sebrug, and his family. They encountered a band of outlawed pirates (utlaghes), who attacked them. Havelok's mother was murdered among others, though he escaped with Grim and his family, landing at Lindesey at the mouth of the Humber. Building a house from his ship, Grim earned his living by the sale of fish and salt, a town rising later on the spot where he landed, called Grimsby after him. Here Havelok grew up, till at length his foster-father bade him go out into the world and seek employment at the king's court.

Two kings then lived in England, Adelbrikt, a Dane reigning in Norfolk, and Alsi (or Edelsi) of British birth, in Lincolnshire. The former had married Alsi's sister, Orwain, and when upon his death-bed, Alsi (his brother-in-law) swore a solemn oath that he would bring up his (Adelbrikt's) only child Argentele and marry her to the strongest man in the kingdom.

Meanwhile Havelok came to King Alsi's court, where he was employed to fetch water and fire-wood.

No one there was so strong and handsome as he; he could lift heavier burdens than twelve men put together, and had no equal in wrestling, but he was looked upon as a fool and the king's herdsman jested at him. Alsi compelled his niece Argentele to marry Havelok in order to disgrace her, and appropriated her inheritance. She acquiesced, and was in sadness until one night when she saw a flame issue from her sleeping husband's mouth, and guessed this to be a proof of noble birth; then he told her that he was the son of the fisher Grim, and came from Grimsby, to which place they proceeded upon her advice.

The French *lai* states that she had a dream, which was interpreted by a hermit of Lindesey, of whom she hears through an old servant and visits for the first time, to mean that she shall become queen and her husband king. They reach Grimsby to find Grim dead; but his daughter, Celloc, married to a rich merchant, Alger, relates the story of Havelok's descent, whereupon he, his wife, and Grim's son, set out for Denmark, landing at a town belonging to Sigar "Estalre," the king's "seneskalk," who hated Odulf, the usurper, in his heart.

Havelok soon exhibited his wonderful strength, for upon his lovely wife being carried off by six knights, he slew five, and taking refuge in a church tower, threw stones down upon the advancing crowd.

The whole town was aroused, Sigar came forward, and being immediately impressed by the likeness between him and his old master King Gunter, took Havelok and his wife to his castle in order to test him further. The flame which issued from the hero's mouth convinced him of this relationship no less than his ability to blow a wonderful horn, a gift possessed by none save the rightful heir to the throne of Denmark. Sigar called upon King Odulf to give up the kingdom, and leave the country, but he assembled a host, and upon being challenged by Havelok to single

combat, was slain, and the latter proclaimed king. The king and queen returned to England, again upon her advice, to claim her inheritance at the hand of King Alsi; this was refused, and a fierce battle ensued, which upon the first day seemed as if about to result in Alsi's favour.

At night, however, Argentele advised her husband to bind the fallen corpses to stakes, setting them up between the combatants; Alsi concluded peace in alarm, and Norfolk was surrendered to Havelok and his wife; soon after Alsi died childless, when they also inherited Lincolnshire and lived there long and happily.

Some important differences as regards the historical development of the legend exist in the English lay. Its contents may be summarised thus:—A good and wise king, named Athelwold,¹ once lived in England, whose daughter was called Goldboru. Upon his death-bed he commissioned one of his men, Godrich, Earl of Cornwall, to rule the kingdom until his daughter was grown up, but Godrich was a traitor at heart. A mighty king then ruled Denmark, named Birkabeyn, who, when dying, sent for Godard, one of his men, and bade him watch over his children until they were grown-up. But after his death, Godard called his thrall, the fisher Grim, directing him to drown the young Prince Havelok, and promising him freedom as a reward. Grim pretended obedience but secretly sailed from Denmark with his family, settling at a town in England, called Grimsby after him.

Here Havelok lived until nearly full-grown, then journeying to Lincoln, where he worked in the Earl's kitchen. Here he exhibited his strength, and married the king's daughter Goldboru (Argentele in the French *lai*). One night she saw flame issue from his mouth and a golden cross on one shoulder, while an angel's voice said that he should reign in England and Den-

¹ An ealdorman or "half-king" in East Anglia after 962 was named Æthelwold (Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I, 289).

mark. He returned to Grimsby, and in the company of Grim's sons, his foster-brothers, William Wenduth, Huwe Raven, and Robert the Red (*þe rede*), proceeded to Denmark, where they arrived at a town whose chief is called Ubbe in the English poem, and who possessed a faithful follower named Bernard Brun. The leader of those who attacked Havelok and Goldboru is called Griffin Galle, and by Ubbe's help Havelok became King of Denmark, the traitor Godard being hanged.

He returned to England and fought against Godrich, who was imprisoned and burnt, he and Goldboru being hailed king and queen of England. Grim's daughters, Gunnild and Levive, *Alfgifa* (the same name as Havelok's mother *Alvive*), are married to powerful earls and all ended happily.

II.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF THE HAVELOK LEGEND.

This legend is closely connected with the town of Grimsby, and up to the present day a seal is used there inscribed with figures of Grim and Havelok on one side, and Goldboru or Guldborg on the other, its workmanship and inscription alike shewing that its date cannot be later than about 1300. In the year 1825 stones were exhibited in the town said to have been thrown by Havelok from the church-tower, one lying in the churchyard and the other in Wellow Gate.¹

Yet the legend did not take its rise there, though some local legend may have arisen during the thirteenth century in connection with its founder, a man of Danish or Norse birth, but we know nothing further. Grim was apparently more common as a man's name in Norway than Denmark, and is still found in the diocese of Trondhjem.²

¹ This information is taken from a paper by the Rev. C. W. Whistler, *The Saga of Havelok the Dane*, printed in the SAGA-BOOK of the Viking Club, Vol. iii., Part iii., 404, f.

² MS. Notes by Prof. Sophus Bugge.

During the Middle Ages Grimsby was known in Iceland and Norway as a Norse name, for, as stated in *Fagrskinna*, ch. 6, "Northumbria was called after the Norsemen because the Norsemen long ruled over that country; many local names there are Norse, as Grimsbær and Haugsfliot."¹

The Havelok legend was connected with various ballads, and a Cymric form apparently existed previously to the Anglo-Norman form in Gaimar and the French *lai*. In the latter the poet says: "I will speak of him (Havelok) and bring his adventures to mind, of which the Britons made a lay calling it after his name both Havelok and Cuarant."²

In Icelandic and old Norse sagas Bretar and Bretland are constantly used respecting Britons in Britain, or more especially in Wales.³ In Anglo-Saxon Bretland signifies "Britain," and Brettas "Briton," the same meaning as Bretan in Middle Irish,⁴ and Brytland is both Wales and Brittany in the A.S. Chron. See A.D. 890.

In many parts of the French *lai* of Havelok, Breton is used respecting the inhabitants of Britain, viz., l. 40. Puis sen ala od ses Bretons (thereupon he, King Arthur, went away with his Britons). We conclude, therefore, from these words that the poem of Havelok was not written in Brittany, but owed its existence to the Britons of Wales or Cumberland.⁵ The first and foremost proof that it was related by a Celtic-speaking people is afforded by the hero's name Havelok (Haveloc, Aveloc), this name corresponding, as many

¹ Comp. Heimskr. Hacon the Good's Saga, ch. 3.

² Ll. 19-23. Purceo vus voil de lui conter.

Et saventure remember ;

Que vn lai en firent li Breton

Si lappellerent de son non

Et Haveloc et Cuarant.

³ See Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gl. Norske sprog*, i. 185.

⁴ *War of the Gaidhil with the Gaill.* ed. Todd. 136, f.

⁵ Further developed by Deutschbein, p. 139, ff.

investigators have asserted, to the Cymric Abloec Abloyc, synonymous with the Norse Olaf¹; the name Abloyc has even made its way into the old Cymric genealogies, and is found in the list of Cunedda's sons.

H. Zimmer, the first to point this out, draws this conclusion: "Hier ist deutlich einer der Vikinger-führer des 9. oder 10. Jahrh. in die britannische Heldensage bei den Welschen versetzt."²

Havelok had the surname Cuaran (Cuheran, Cuherant, Cuarant, Corant), that is the Irish *cuarán*, Cymric *curan* = sandal.³ Gustav Storm was the first to discover that Havelok Cuaran answers phonetically to the name of the renowned Viking king Olaf Kvaran, first king in Northumberland, and after in Dublin.

Other names in the legend are Cymric, Argentele, and her mother Argantel Orwain, the Cymric Orwen,⁴ though Grim's daughter is called Kelloc (an Irish name).⁵ In the English version Argentele is Goldeboru, and, as Ward has pointed out, the names are probably synonymous; Argentele, though Cymric, may be derived from the Fr. *argent*. Gaimar relates of Argentele's father Adelbriht (l. 73, 74): E en Bretaigne aveit conquis Cair Col od tūt le pais (and in Britain he had conquered Cair Col with the whole country), Cair Col being the Cymric form of the name Colchester.⁶

¹Comp. G. Storm *Havelok the Dane, and the Norse king Olaf Kvaaran* (Christiania, Videnskabsselskabs forhandling 1879, No. 10), p. 3. "And as Abloc is the Welsh form of Anlaf or Olave, thus Aveloc—in later English Havelok—must be the Anglo-Norman pronunciation of Abloc; we mentioned above that the French poem calls itself a translation from British, viz. Welsh."

²*Gött, gel. Anz.*, 1890, No. 20, p. 823, review of *Hist. litt de la France*, vol. xxx.

³See Deutschbein, 101.

⁴Ward 432. Deutschbein, 101.

⁵Comp. *The Martyrology of Gorman*, ed. Whitley Stokes, see index under Kelloc.

⁶Comp. Caerleon, Caerwent, Caer Ebrog (York) etc. Old Cymr *Cair* new Cymr *Caer*, meaning "by" (town), borrowed from the Latin "castra."

Cathir, a synonymous Irish word, is borrowed from Cymric.

Both Gaimar and the French *lai* connect the figures of the legend with the British legendary King Arthur, and speak as though he won Denmark; as Zimmer has pointed out, we may find traces of William the Conqueror and his time in the stories of Arthur as a great Conqueror,¹ thus the connection of the legend with him is not primary, nor found in the English poem. Many of the names in the legend are Norse naturally, such as Grim, Sigar, Alger (Kelloc's husband) = Old N. Alfgeirr, Sigar having the surname Estalre, that is Old N. stallari. In the English poem Grim's daughter is called Gunhild, Havelok's wife, Goldboru (Guldborg), and his father Birkabein; Lodbrok's son Ubbe takes the place of Sigar, all these being Norse names.² Many other words of similar origin occur, the reason being that the poem took its rise in Lincolnshire; still it is only fair to state that the Norse element is not specially prominent in names or vocabulary.

III.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ OF THE LEGEND.

The discovery of the parts played elsewhere by the characters of the Havelok legend forms an important element in any discussion upon its origin. As already stated, the hero's name answers phonetically to that of Olaf Kvaran, King of Northumberland, who took part in the battle of Brunanburh (937), afterwards reigning in Dublin. After an Irish defeat he undertook a pilgrimage to Iona (Columba's sacred isle), where he died in 981. Sagas relating to this Viking hero's changed life may have existed, and have been related, but not having been written down they

¹*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1890, No. 20, p. 824, f.

²In the Danish ballad of *Ribold and Guldborg*, the name Guldborg is the same as Goldeboru, as Prof. Moe has pointed out. This ballad probably arose in N. England in the 11th century.

are forgotten. We can only conclude that Olaf Kvaran seems to have been regarded as the son of Gudrum, King of East Anglia, who made peace with King Alfred in 878, and received baptism; this King Gudrum is called Gunter in Peter de Langtoft's Chronicle, and considered to be Havelok's father¹; he, however, is not aware that Havelok and Olaf Kvaran are identical, and calls the latter (I., p. 330) "Anlaf, a heathen king."

Gradually, as Ward has shewn (p. 436), the name of Havelok was transferred in England during the Middle Ages from Olaf Kvaran to another still more renowned Viking, the Norse king, Olaf Tryggvason.

Rauf de Boun, who wrote his *Petit Bruit* in 1310 for the Earl of Lincoln, fixes Havelok's date at the close of the tenth century, and Leland, in his abstract of Sir Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*, written between 1355 and 1369, says: "And sum say that Sweyn of Denmark" (that is Svein Tjageskæg) "first attempted Lindesay by the firste cumming thither and marriage of Haveloc."² Here it is evident that Olaf Tryggvason, who led the Viking host in company with Svein, is none other than Havelok; is his marriage to Gyda also identical with that of Havelok to Argentele?

Even in comparatively reliable chronicles Olaf Tryggvason appears under the name of Havelok. Ward, in his account of Guy of Warwick (p. 472), mentions Olaf's battles in England and subsequent baptism, and says "It is curious how the little metrical chronicle in the Royal MS. 12, cxii., which is usually rather accurate for a work of its class, treats these and the consequent events. It says that Ethelred's favourite, the arch-traitor Edric, had sent secret messengers into "Denmarke." and that

¹ *The Chronicle of Peter de Langtoft*, ed. Wright i. 318; Gountere, le pere Havelok, de Danays ray clamez, etc.

² Ward, 443.

“ Haveloc com to þis lond,
 With gret host and eke strong,
 And sloh þe kyng Achelred,
 At Westminstre he was ded,
 An he heuede reigned her
 Seuene antuenti fulle yer.”¹

Ward states further that Rauf de Boun considers Knut the Great to be the son of Havelok and Goldburg (Harley MS. 902, f. 7). It is probable that Gaimar did not apprehend the identity of Olaf Kvaran and Havelok, though he certainly mentions him in *Lestorie* by the name of Anlaf Quiran (l. 3549).²

Gunter, Havelok's father, is the other figure in the legend, who may possibly have belonged to Olaf Cuaran's time or earlier; according to Peter de Langtoft (l. 318), he is identical with King Gudrum of East Anglia, and his name may well have been a transformation of the less familiar Danish name. Havelok's mother bore the Anglo-Saxon name of Alvive, common to many women known in history; the wife of Knut the Great and Eadgar's mother,³ for example, the latter being a traditionary figure to some extent in the later rhyming chronicles.

An account is given by Robert of Gloucester of King Eadgar's wonderful dream that a tree bearing two apples grew up beside him⁴; this was interpreted by his mother (his gode moder Alife, he tolde at hou it was), who explained its reference to his two sons, St. Eadward and Æthelred; Gaimar describes Havelok's mother as possessed of similar goodness.⁵

¹ Æthelred became king in 979, so this chronology is unreliable, but it has a remarkable parallel in the great Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, ch. 285. (Fornm. iii. 63). King Aðalrað, Jatveig's son, had reigned in England seven and twenty years when King Olaf Tryggvason came from Vindland.

² Sophus Bugge, *Norsk. Sagafortælling og Sagaskrivning i Irland*, p. 4, f. and 11.

³ Eadgar was king 959-975.

⁴ Comp. Ragnhild's dream in *Halfdan svartes Saga* (Heimskr. ch. 6).

⁵ C. 405-407. Alvive ount nun; ele me nuri; Maint ben me fit tant cum vesqui.

His wife, as pointed out by Ward (p. 432), has a Cymric name, Argentele (= Argantell), her father being called Albrict or Adelbrict; this name is written variously—Adelbricht, Albrict, Achebrit, Achebri(c)ht, Akebriht, and Ekenbright.

Deutschbein thinks (p. 102) that a relationship with the Anglo-Saxon Æþelbriht may exist here, but the dissyllabic form Albrict employed by Gaimar does not agree with this theory, and he therefore prefers to conclude that the name is really the Cymric Albrit.

Though his name lacks a Northern ring, Gaimar says of him: "He was a Dane (si ert Daneis), and had four rich earldoms in the realm of Denmark, while in Britain he had conquered Colchester and the whole country" (l. 71-74).¹ If the historic Albrict were really a Viking chief, his name must have been distorted, and we will now attempt to find it elsewhere.

Geoffrey of Monmouth speaks of one of Arthur's under-kings as Olbrictus rex Norwegiæ,² and in his translation of this writer's work, Peter de Langtoft calls him Edbrytte ray de Norway,³ consequently some legend (probably Norse) may have existed of a Viking chief, bearing a name which was distorted into Albrict, Olbrict, or Edbrict. Among those who took part in the great battle of Clontarf, we find the name of Anrath, son of Elric (or Ebric), son of the King of Lochlann (or Norway), also called Ellric, son of the King of Lochlann⁴; this name also appears in a record of Clontarf's heroes contained in *Leabhar Oiris*, where, in Chap. 38, we find among the names of the slain—"Connhaol, Carolus and Anradh mac Elbric, three sons of the King of Norway." In Chap. 27, among

¹ Gaimar speaks of all Northern countries as Denmark; "Dane," means "dweller in the North."

² *Historia regum Britannie* xi., ch. 2.

³ Other manuscripts have the form Egbrith, Odbrikt, Egtrick. *The Chronicle of Peter de Langtoft*, iv. ed. Th. Wright, I. 224.

⁴ *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, ed. Todd. 164, 194, 260.

those who came to fight, are—"Carolus ocus Aibroc, dha fhionnrich Lochlannach (Carolus and Aibroc, the two Norse kings from Lochlann) and Anradh mac Eibhric."¹

Elbric's sons are transferred from the record of Clontarf to the poem of the battle of Brávalla.² Saxo calls them "filii Elricii," and in "*Sögubrot*" they are styled "Alreks synir." The catalogue of champions at Clontarf is not a reliable historical list, but a legendary poem; many chiefs who lived at an earlier date having found admission to it; the entry of Anrad, son of Ebric or Elbric, gives me a strong feeling of suspicion, Anrad not being a man's name, but the Irish anraid = a warrior. Elbric is apparently Anglo-Saxon, though difficult to explain, and also written Ebric, or even Aibroc; should this latter spelling be the original form, we might consider it as a personification of Caer-Ebroc, or York, resembling Heiðr, Vebjörg, etc., at the battle of Bravalla; this explanation is not very probable, however, and I venture to bring forward another which may be correct.

The Norse king, Erik Bloodaxe, is mentioned in many English Chronicles, where his name is more or less wrongly spelt; for instance, Peter de Langtoft (I. p. 33) calls him Ayryke de Danemark, Eylrike de Danemark, and Eyrik de Denemarch, while Robert of Brunne writes Eybrik of Damark; here are both forms of names, Eylrik and Eybrik, as found in the annals of the battles of Clontarf and Bravalla.

Two of Erik Bloodaxe's sons, Ragnfred and Godfred, travelled westward after Harald Grafeld's expul-

¹ Comp. *Wav of the Gaedhil*, p. 152, where "Carolus and Ebric two sons of the king of France" are mentioned among the heroes of Clontarf.

For finnrich, comp. Finngall (Norseman) and Dubhgall (Dane) = "a white foreigner," and "a black foreigner." See SAGA-BOOK, Vol. V., part II., p. 371.

² S Bugge, *Norsk Saga fortælling i Irland*, p. 101. ff.

sion, apparently remaining there for some time; Godfred returned, 993, from the British Islands to Norway, but was killed; this may account for their becoming included in the rôle of Clontarf's heroes; their father was king of Norway and under-king of Northumbria, as was Olbrikt, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

At a later date this Viking chief became confused with Æthelred the Unready, his name taking a more Anglo-Saxon form; this confusion occurs in the legendary saga of Olaf Tryggvason, where an English king, who can be none other than Ethelred II., appears under the name of Adalbrikt.¹

In other words the Adelbrikt of the Havelok legend belongs to the time of the battle of Clontarf and Ethelred the Unready, rather than that of Olaf Kvaran; he is designated King of Northumberland² in the romance "*Sögubrot af fornkonungum*"—possibly some coloured reminiscence of the original connection.

Gaimar, as we know, speaks thus of Odulf, pretender to the throne of Denmark, "he was brother of King Aschis, who met his death for King Arthur at the time when Modred did him such wrong" (l. 523) also advancing the supposition that Aschis is identical with Askil, king of Denmark, described by Geoffrey of Monmouth as one

¹ Fornmannasögur, i. 117 f.

"After that (the death of Ivar Beinlaus) Aðalmund Játgeirsson, nephew of St. Edmund, became king in England, after him Aðalbrikt was king, he was a good king and lived to be a good age, in his day towards the end, a Danish host visited England whose leaders were two brothers, Knut and Harald, sons of Gorm the old."

Deutschbein, quoting this in another connection, tries to shew that Aðalbrikt is identical with king Ethelred the Unready, and that Knut and Harald, sons of Gorm the old, are confused with Svein Tjugeskæg's sons of the same names.

"Es scheinen demnach Langtoft, Horn Childe, und die Olafssaga aus der gleichen Tradition geschöpft zu haben, in der die Verhältnisse der historischen Wirklichkeit zum Teil schon verschoben waren."

² Fornaldarsögur, i. 388.

of Arthur's under-kings.¹ In the Cymric translation, *Brut Tysilio*, he is called Achel and Achli, possibly identical with "Asgal, son of Gotfred, king of the snow land,"² a champion of Clontarf. Many names are found solely in the English poem, some of these being remarkable, while a few can be identified.

Griffin Galle was the leader of those who attacked Havelok in Denmark (l. 20, 29) and in a list of Viking chiefs who infested Ireland in the tenth century, corresponding with the record of champions at Clontarf and partially blended with it, is Griffin, who invaded Ciarrighe, the present county Kerry, his name (Griffid, Griffinus) being Cymric.³

If we conclude that Griffin Galle was a Viking chief whose name was Cymric, his remarkable surname may be explained thus. It is certainly the Irish Gall="a foreigner" replacing Gaul="men of France" used frequently in Irish annals from the eighth to the twelfth centuries in reference to the Viking chiefs who then infested Ireland, and later to designate the English.

Griffin Galle accordingly stands for the "Viking Griffin," who cannot have been one of the ordinary Cymri, as then the surname "Gall" would not be used. Another name may also have its counterpart in the annals of heroes at Clontarf, that of Bernard Brun, Ubbe's faithful servant, for among those who fell there we find the names of Bernard Mac Suainin, ocus Eoan Barun, ocus Ricard, dha mhac na hInge Ruaidhe (Bernard son of Svein, and Johan Baron, and Rikard, the two sons

¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, l. IX^c. 12, l. X^c. 6, 9, l. XI^c. 2; Aschil (or Aschillius) rex Dacorum.

² *Leabhar Oiris*, chap. 27; Asgal mac Gofraid, rí Thire-an-tSneachta. Asgall = old N., Asketill, Askell.

³ In *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, ed. Todd, chap. xxxvi. loinges Griffin (Griffin's fleet) is mentioned among the Viking fleets infesting Munster. MacFirbis specifies in his list, Griffin i Ciarraighe (Griffin in Kerry) *On the Fomorians and the Norsemen*, by Duaid MacFirbis, ed. Alex. Bugge (Christiania, 1905,) p. 2.

of the red maiden). Can Bernard Brun be an amalgamation of Bernard Mac Suainin and Eoan Barun? ¹

Naturally but few names in the Havelok legend can be traced to Irish sources, and it is impossible to say how many of these found entrance to it.

The traitor who reigned in Denmark after Gunter's death was named Odulf, sometimes written Hodulf, or more rarely Edulf; this need not have been Anglo-Saxon as surmised by Deutschbein, but just as possibly the Norse *Auðulfr*. Odulf was installed as under-king by King Arthur, Audulf holding a similar position under Ragnar Lothbrok or his sons.

In *Jómsvíkingaþáttur* in *Flateyjarbók* (I.196 ff) we read of Audulf and his family, his father's father being named Olaf Kynriks-son.

"He was called Olaf the Englishman. His son was Grim 'Gaue,' who ruled the kingdom after his father. Grim 'Gaue' was the father of Audulf the wealthy, who was tributary king to the sons of Ragnar Loðbrok in Jutland." In the great Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, ch. 61 (*Fornmannasögur* I. 111) we read that King Ring had conquered Northumberland, and installed Olaf Kinriks-son as king there, but he fled and came to Ring, who made him tributary king in Jutland, his son *Grimr gráe* occupying a similar position under Ragnar Lothbrok. "Grim was the father of Audulf the wealthy, who was tributary king in Jutland to Ragnar Loðbrok," but these stories of tributary kings have no historical value, for Ragnar Lothbrok never reigned over Jutland, therefore these names must have had a different origin, and been connected later with the legend relating to him.

It is remarkable to find the names of the Havelok legend, Olaf, Grim, and Audulf, in a totally different connection. Olaf Kinriks-son is also connected with England, and called Olaf enski = the Englishman.

¹ Cf. *On the Fomorians and the Norsemen*, p. 24, also in annals of Clonmacnois, where Tornim mac Celi and Eogan Barun are amalgamated into Tormyn mac Keilebaron.

IV.

HAVELOK AND OLAF TRYGGVASON.

In the preceding pages I have attempted to locate the various personages figuring in the Havelok legend. Those who are really historical do not seem to have belonged to the time of Olaf Kvaran, but rather to the close of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries.

As English authorities speak of both Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Kvaran as Havelok, we may possibly find a poetical transformation of Olaf Tryggvason's saga in the Havelok legend.

Both Ward (p. 436 f.) and Deutschbein (p. 156-158) have recognised the resemblance, the latter also thinking that stray incidents have found their way from the saga into the legend.

Investigators of the present day do not seem to doubt that the poems relating to Havelok re-tell the history of Olaf Kvaran, although Deutschbein (167) and Heyman (*Studies on the Havelok Tale*) agree that it is impossible to derive the Havelok legend from Olaf Kvaran's life.

Deutschbein compares the various information which we possess relating to Viking kings in Northumberland before the time of Olaf Kvaran, and thinks that Havelok represents the Viking King Ragnvald, uncle of the former; this resemblance is faint, however, being merely based on the fact that Ragnvald regained his father's kingdom.

We will now proceed to trace the principal features of Olaf Tryggvason's Saga in Havelok's life as presented under the form of popular poetry, and shaped by the romantic creative power of imagination; when poetically remodelled in the Havelok legend Olaf Tryggvason is not an historical figure but a hero of romance, a golden-haired lad, who goes out into the world early in life, encountering many trials and hardships, until at length

by a wonderful stroke of good fortune, he wins the king's daughter and the kingdom.

All who read the Kings' Sagas consecutively must notice that Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, as well as those of the kings following it, are constructed in a different manner from the preceding Sagas; the foundation upon which the Sagas of Harald Fairhair, Hakon the good, Harald Grafeld, and Hakon the Earl were built being scaldic poems upon which the Saga-writers have based their accounts of the kings' lives.

Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, on the other hand, is founded upon tradition, the only contemporary scaldic poem referring to his life being that written by Hallfred the Troublesome Poet, and even this contains no reference to his childhood, his sojourn in Gardaríke, his marriage in Vendland and other important events of his life; it has been transmitted orally, and in a prose form, though the list of heroes at the battle of Svolder is a versified rhapsody.

This saga-narrative does not discriminate between history and fiction, or human and supernatural, but borders closely upon the romance which it shortly became; such indeed it is in the main, Odd Monk, Olaf Tryggvason's earliest biographer, being somewhat of this opinion when he says, "it is better to listen for entertainment to such things than to the nursery tales which the shepherd boys tell, for no one knows whether they be true."

He grew up in bondage in a distant country, enduring many hardships, but his position suddenly changed to one of greatness; his wonderful exploits in far-off lands, his heroic death, his luminous figure, radiating beauty and strength, in addition to his remarkable personality, compelling men and women alike to offer him their affection and even their lives, combined with his short brilliant career to elevate him above other Norse rulers into a hero of legend and romance.

His life resembles some fairy-tale; the events of his childhood and youth are not known with any certainty, and therefore the element of romance has crept into the legend, enfolding it in a golden haze of poetry.

The romantic elements specially noticeable in this saga are those most dearly treasured by the Norwegian people from time immemorial until the present day; namely, the stories of the bad stepmother, the boy with golden hair ("the widow's son"), the twin brothers and the lucky-bird; perhaps these have also become interwoven with the Havelok legend.

The narratives of Olaf Tryggvason's childhood and of Gunhild the king's mother, who persecuted Astrid and her new-born son, are, as pointed out by Moltke Moe, an echo of the story of the bad stepmother,¹ Gunhild representing the wicked step-mother who persecutes her feeble step-daughter, and attempts her life, so that like Olaf's mother Astrid she is forced to fly through the deep woods.

Three times does this step-mother seek by guile to tempt her step-daughter to leave the dwarfs who protect her, and Gunhild sends messages three times to tempt Astrid and her son to leave their place of safety.

Like the boy of the fairy tales, Olaf leaves home early in life, first serves a stranger in Estland and then the king of Holmgard, the twin brothers, (Asbjørnsen and Moe's *Lillekort*) soon go out into the world, similarly Olaf Tryggvason sallies forth with his foster-brother, Torgils, shares his fortunes, and is ransomed from slavery by his mother's brother, Sigurd.²

Olaf's royal parentage is shown at Holmgard by a miracle which Odd Monk relates thus :—³

"At that time there were many seers in Gardarike,

¹ Moltke Moe, *Eventyrlige sagn i den ældre historie*, reprint from *Norges Land og Folk*, Finmarken's Amt. I. (567-665) by A. Helland.

² Cf. *Shortshanks* in Dasent's *Tales from the Norse*.

³ Fornm., x. p. 228, f.

who could foretell what was about to happen, and said by virtue of their gift of prophecy that the guardian spirit (*Hamingja*) of a young and gallant man would come to the country, and that none fairer than he had ever been seen before.

"This they repeated many times, though they did not know who he was, but his *Hamingja* ¹ was so great they said, that the light which shone from him spread over the whole of Gardaríke and the Eastern half of the world."

When Queen Allogia heard this she spoke to the king that he should summon a court from the surrounding districts. This lasted for two days, and the queen herself went amongst the men, but found none who seemed to her likely to control a matter of such importance; on the third day she formed a circle, counting the men and choosing the best.

"Now this excellent woman and renowned queen considered each man's appearance and bearing. In the course of time she comes to where there stood before her a young man in poor garments; he wore a cowl, and the hood lay back on his shoulders. She looked in his eyes and saw at once that he was of sublime destiny, and made known to all that the man had been found whom she had long sought. The youth was now taken under the royal protection, when he made known his high birth and race to the king and queen, and that he was no thrall; it was seen on the contrary that he was of a proud royal stock."

After this the king and queen took charge of him, and he became a powerful man in the kingdom of Holmgard.

A legendary influence may be traced in this story, the light radiating from Olaf's "*Hamingja*" is related to "the halo of glory," but it borders more closely upon the region of fairy-tale.

The boy in rags, with a cowl on his head hiding his face, is nearly akin to the boy with golden hair, hidden

¹ Old N. *Hamingja*, signifies both wraith and luck.

under a cap, a hood, or bladder, as though unfit for view; by an accident the king's daughter discovers his golden hair and falls in love with him.¹ The boy has not always golden hair however!

In the fairy-tale, "Enkesønnen" (The Widow's Son), we read "when he had bathed he was fair and plump, red and white as milk and blood, and much stronger than before. One morning, when he had taken off his wig and stood washing himself, the king's daughter saw him and fell in love with him. She caused him to come up to her chamber, and her maidens stole away his wig, and he stood fair and red and white as she had seen him in the morning sunlight."²

Traces of this fairy-tale have certainly found their way into Olaf's Saga. The boy who stands at the court in Holmgard in ragged clothes, with a cowl over his head, pressed down so that his eyes and indeed his whole face is barely visible, is none other than the boy with golden hair.

Again, an influence may be traced to another fairy-tale—that of "The Lucky-bird."

Professor Moltke Moe drew my attention to this story, believing that it has in some way influenced the Havelok legend, and I think that it has also become interwoven with Olaf Tryggvason's Saga.³

It has spread from the Slavs to the Finlanders, and he believes that it originated in an old Slavonic translation of a Byzantine epic poem, "The legend of the Babylonian kingdom." There was no Emperor in Babylon, so the princes and dwellers in the city assembled together and agreed to hang a horn filled with myrrh over the gate; then the princes and all who dwelt in Babylon were ordered to go from the city and return, and he

¹ Comp. Moltke Moe's *Eventyrlige Sagn*, p. 600.

² Asbjørnsen and Moe *Norske Folkeeventyr*, (2nd ed. p. 69-73.)

³ See Moltke Moe's edition of *Lapp Fairy-tales in Finmarken's Amt*, by A. Helland, ii. 397-403.

over whose head the myrrh in the horn should seethe should be Emperor of Babylon. This happened when Navkodonosor, the hero-child, rode in and out of the city, while those who saw the miracle bowed before him, hailing him Emperor of Babylon. In most of the European forms of the story, he who first reaches the gate of the city lacking a king on an appointed day is elected to the vacant office; but the sign most frequently used by the Slavs is that of an unlighted taper igniting itself in the chosen hand.

A similar tale is told in Brittany. Rome is without a Pope, and for three days a procession marches round the country carrying unlighted tapers, when an innocent boy joins it bearing the name of Innocent, and carrying a barked stick from whose top a miraculous flame shoots forth, and he is elected Pope,¹ though in another form of the story the light shines on the boy's head.

The procession in the fairy-tale answers to the court in Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, both lasting for three days. He is not chosen as king, but his royal birth is perceived and acknowledged. The reason for holding the court, namely, to find a young man with a marvellous "Hamingja," has displaced the more logical motive of the fairy-tale—to find a king for a kingless city.

A connection may also exist between the taper which lighted itself and the light radiating from Olaf's "Hamingja," which, on the other hand, also is related to the halo of glory. Olaf Tryggvason once, like Olaf Haraldsson, was regarded as a holy man.

According to fairy-tale precedent, Olaf wins the king's daughter and becomes king, but as he steps more prominently into the light of day the fairy-tale element vanishes like goblins before sunlight, and legend becomes history, romance and supernatural occurrences still play a part, but in a detached form rather than as connecting links. The story of Harald Blatand's daughter Thyra

¹ *Melusine*, i. 386; Reinhold Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, i. 148.

may be quoted in support of this theory; being married against her will to the old heathen king Burislav, she will neither eat nor drink, but at the end of seven days flies to the woods with her foster-father, returning after many vicissitudes to Olaf Tryggvason. This is evidently an echo of the story of the king's daughter, who, being forced to marry a goblin, is rescued by a lad,¹ and again we find a connection with the Havelok legend.

The English poem relates how Earl Godard sent messengers after king Birkabein's death to his thrall Grim, promising him freedom if he would drown the youthful Havelok. Grim binds the boy and carries him away, telling the traitor that he is drowned, but conveys him secretly out of the country.² This is related to the tale of Schneewitchen and similar fairy-tales.

Havelok came to Grimsby with his foster-father, remaining there until old enough to go forth and earn his living, as the interpolation in the Lambeth manuscript (c. 25-26) runs—

“ Till he was mykel and mighti, and man of mykel cost,
That for his grete sustinaunce, nedly serve he most.”

His foster-father counsels him to seek service at the king's court in this manner: “ Here we live quietly and in peace among men who earn their living by fishing. Thou art not fitted for such work; here canst thou neither learn that which is needful, nor earn money. Go to England, my son, seek learning and daily work, take thy brethren with thee, and find service with a mighty king among his serving men; thou art strong, well grown and

¹ This story has developed gradually. Ágrip (chap. 17) only states that Thyra had been promised to a Venetian count, but would not accept him. Odd Monk (chap. 42) states that Burislav voluntarily sent her home, the flight from Vendland is related only by Snorre, and in the great Olaf Tryggvason's Saga.

² Deutschbein (p. 134, f), connects this motive with the Cymric Meriaduc-legend, where Griffith seeks to get rid of his brother Uther Pendragon's children in a similar manner.

I think that both legends bear traces of this fairy-tale.

tall, thou canst bear heavy burdens.”¹ Havelok took Grim’s sons, and they came to King Alsi’s court, where he became scullion, helping to bear water and wood, “wonderful burdens could he bear, cut wood, and carry water;” he was good natured and trustworthy, willing to undertake all kinds of work, but the men at the king’s court thought him a fool, and made sport of him.² Here we are in the midst of a fairy-tale such as has been handed down in Norway for generations, the story of *Enkesønnen* for example.

“There was once a poor, poor widow who had only one son, she toiled for him night and day until he had been to the Pastor’s confirmation class, then said that she could not keep him any longer, he must go forth and earn his living.”³

Almost invariably the boy finds employment at the king’s court, fetching wood and water for the kitchen-servant.⁴

Havelok comes there accompanied by his foster-brothers, Grim’s sons; the boy of the fairy-tale generally has two brothers, whether his name be Askeladden or King Lavring (a variation in the story of *Lillekort*)⁵ in other words these traits are borrowed from the story of the twin-brothers.

The English poem contains a few reminiscences of the story of the widow’s son, or the golden-haired boy who was chained among goblins.

“When he had bathed he became fair and plump, as red and white as blood and milk, and much stronger than before”⁶ so runs the fairy-tale. Similarly we read of Havelok, “When he was dressed and put on his

¹ The French *lai*, l. 166-184.

² *Lai*, 255 ff. Entre eus le tenoient un sot; de lui fesoient lur dédnit.

³ *Norske folkeeventyr*, collected and related by Asbjørnsen and Moe, 2nd edition, p. 66 ff.

⁴ Vide story of *Lillekort*, *ibid*, p. 122.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 424.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 69, f.

breeches and shoes, no one upon God's earth was so fair" (l. 967). All forms of the Havelok-legend testify to his strength, agility and invariable success in wrestling matches, the same is said of Olaf Tryggvason. "He was of all men the handsomest, biggest, and strongest, and was more skilled than any other Norsemen of whom the sagas tell."

Havelok wins the king's daughter like the golden-haired boy in the fairy tale, and on their bridal-night Argentele dreams that wild beasts come from the wood to hail him as their lord—again a trace of the fairy-tale.

According to the French *lai* she sees flames shoot forth from his mouth, while a scent issues from it sweeter than anything ever known before. The English poem states that she hears an angel's voice telling her that she shall be queen and her husband king, a cross of red gold appearing on his shoulder. The cross, the angel, and in my opinion the scent from the flame, show a connection with the halo of glory and the odour of sanctity. Again, I agree with Moltke Moe in thinking that the flame which proves Havelok's royal birth is identical with that of which we read in the story of the "lucky-bird," or of Innocent who became Pope according to the Breton version. The parallel with the story of Servius Tullius is well known; we may note also the flame on the heads of Castor and Pollux, which testified to their divine origin.

A bird in a willow-tree had foretold Innocent's future greatness before he joined the procession during which the miracle making him Pope took place. This reminds us of Argentele's dream, when the beasts paid homage to Havelok, and the fairy tale plays its part again later as we hear that he and his queen had children, and lived happily for twenty years, but only his early life and that of Olaf Tryggvason are thus closely enveloped by the veil of romance, for their later fortunes as kings belong to the realm of actual history.

In these historical constituents the Havelok legend agrees in many details with Tryggvason's Saga, and on the whole in its development. Havelok's foster-father Grim answers to Olaf Tryggvason's foster-father, Torolf; Grim's sons, Havelok's comrades, correspond to Olaf's foster-brother, Torolf's son, Torgils.

Grim flies from Denmark with Havelok and his mother. Sailing for England, they are attacked by pirates who plunder the ship, killing Havelok's mother among others. Odd Monk relates that when Olaf Tryggvason and his mother had been in Svithiod with Hakon the old for two years, he sent them to Gardarike in a merchant-vessel; "And afterwards they put out to sea, and during that journey sea-robbers set on them and stole all their goods, and slew some of their company and took others away in different directions, and afterwards sold them into bondage and thralldom."

Here Olaf and his mother are separated and she was sold from land to land, but he, his foster-father and foster-brother escaped with their lives. Deutschbein (p. 156) has detected a likeness between this episode and the Havelok legend, but adds, "Das ganze ist im Havelok nur eine Episode ohne jeden weiteren Belang für die ganze Erzählung, Havelok denkt auch nie daran seine Mutter zu rächen, man sieht also deutlich, dass diese Szene erst sekundär in die Havelok-Sage gekommen ist." The Saga does not state whether Olaf Tryggvason attempted to free his mother from slavery; they are separated, Astrid, being ransomed by a man from Viken named Lodin, returned to Norway, but no further reference is made to her in the saga.

Olaf was a slave in Estland after his capture by the pirates, and here his old foster-father was murdered, he and his foster-brother being at length ransomed by his mother's brother Sigurd. Both the boys accompany him to Holmgard (or Novgorod), where he meets Klerkon, his foster-father's murderer, in the market, and forthwith

cleaves his head with his axe. Great uproar ensues, the people take up arms, Olaf defeats the queen's body-guard, and the fight becomes general, such occurrences being common at Novgorod.

Deutschbein connects this narrative with a scene in the Havelok legend (p. 157). Havelok comes to Denmark, six knights attempt to carry off his wife, he seizes his axe, killing and maiming the miscreants. The whole town is roused, and he takes refuge in the church tower; Sigar, seeing his strength and agility, recognises him as Gunter's son, just as Queen Allogia is convinced of Olaf Tryggvason's royal birth when he is brought to her.

The succeeding histories of Havelok and Olaf Tryggvason overlap in various ways, both return to claim their paternal kingdom after having fled the country. The ruler of Denmark after King Gunter's death is called Arthur's under-king, just as Harold Gormsson was Earl Hakon's liege lord. Earl Godard rules the kingdom according to the English poem, though Hakon was certainly also Earl.

Havelok acquires Denmark and his wife's inheritance in England by conquest, and at her instigation, similarly Olaf Tryggvason, after conquering Norway, proceeds to Vendland, in order to win the possessions claimed by his wife, and acquires them from King Burislav before he is slain at Svolder.

According to the saga and Adam of Bremen's contemporary evidence, his journey to Vendland was undertaken in consequence of his wife, Queen Thyre's entreaties.¹

This expedition was in reality directed against the Danish king, Svein Tjugeskæg, her brother, who had neglected to hand over her patrimony, also refusing to allow Torgil Sprakaleggs, son of her first marriage, his hereditary rights. King Olaf advances against him as Havelok advanced against Argentele's perfidious uncle, who had stolen her patrimony.

¹ Heimskr., Olafs Saga Tryggvasonar, ch. 92.

The Russian queen, as well as Olaf Tryggvason's wives, the English Gyda and the Danish Thyre, are apparently blended in Havelok's wife, Argentele or Guldborg.

On the bridal night—according to the French *lai*, Argentele sees flame issue from Havelok's mouth, while she dreams of wild beasts who come from the forest and do him homage; on relating this to an old retainer, he advises her to consult a saintly hermit at Lindsey, who tells her that she will become queen and her husband king, and have many subjects.

The Saga relates¹ that "when King Olaf was in the Scilly Isles he heard that a seer dwelt on the island who foretold much that should happen, and many of these things came to pass."

Olaf visited the hermit in order to test him, and the holy man's answer was given in a spirit of sacred prophecy. "Thou shalt become a famous king and do great deeds; thou shalt bring many to the true faith and holy baptism."

Once more we trace a resemblance, Havelok, upon reaching Denmark, is hailed as king by Sigar and his men, and sends a message to Odulf bidding him to surrender the kingdom.

Odulf assembles a host, but Havelok suggests that single combat would end the struggle and the former is killed, Olaf Tryggvason engages in a similar conflict.

Alpin the champion pays court to Gyda, known as Olaf Kvaran's sister, but she will not heed him, and, (like the queen in Holmgard), summons a court. Here she sees Olaf Tryggvason stand, wearing a fur cap, with his hat pushed down like that of the golden-haired boy of romance. Lifting the hat she looks at him, and pronounces him to be her choice, he slays Alpin after being challenged by him to single combat, and becomes the husband of Gyda.²

¹ Fornm., x. 145 f.

² Fornm. I. ch. 80 (p. 148-151) and x. 254, ff. Alpin, as written by Odd Monk, is certainly the correct form, not Alfvini. Alpin is a Pictish name.

In conclusion I will mention Havelok's strategy when fighting against King Edelsi. The battle not being concluded on the first day, he, by his wife's advice, fastened the fallen corpses to stakes during the night, raising them among the living combatants. Edelsi, believing that he had received reinforcements, concluded peace in alarm.

Similar stories are told of many Viking chiefs, Saxo¹ (p. 159) tells one of Hamlet when fighting against the king of Britain, and also of Fridleiv.²

By means of the foregoing investigations I have endeavoured to shew that the whole of Havelok's history may be explained as a remodelling of Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, though the objection might be raised that Denmark, not Norway, is Havelok's paternal inheritance, but the fact is well known that in England the names Dane and Danish were used indiscriminately to describe all the Northern peoples who visited England in Viking times, the narratives of Arthur's conquests outside Britain have caused the legend to become linked with him.

An attempt to follow the further development of its history would be deeply interesting, but I will content myself by saying that upon the whole the English poem appears to be of later date than the form adopted by Gaimar and the French poet.

Nevertheless it has preserved individual traits which are evidently original, a few of these have been mentioned already, and I will further add, that the army which Havelok brought to England in order to gain his wife's inheritance is called "a foreign Viking host (utenladdes here). They have taken monasteries, burned churches, and bound priests, they strangled both monks and nuns," (l. 2580: ff), can this be some dim memory of the days when Olaf Tryggvason came to England as leader of a Viking host?

Ward (p. 4404) thinks that Havelok's father, known

¹ Saxo, ed. Müller, p. 159, f.

² Ibid, p. 180.

as Birkabein in the English poem, may have some connection with the Norse king Sverre and his Birkabeiner, but this name has possibly been introduced into the poem in place of one which was older. In many old forms of the legend, one for example written shortly before 1300, Havelok's father is not called Birkabein but Kirkebain.¹

Have we another dim recollection handed down from the time of Olaf Tryggvason? Adam of Bremen states that King Olaf was not a good Christian, but noticed omens from birds, hence he received the name of Krakabein.² Can Kirkebain be a variation of Krakabein?

V.

OLAF TRYGGVASON'S SAGA IN BRITAIN.

If the narrative of Havelok is the legendary and popular poetical form of Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, and if features of this saga are reproduced in the Havelok legend, the following remarks become a matter of course.

A saga of Olaf Tryggvason was known and related in Britain during the eleventh century, though it cannot have had a poetical form, for the Norwegians of that date did not make use of poetry, least of all in reference to historical personages. It was a Viking-Saga, to use Olrik's striking name for this—the oldest saga form,³ and resembling romance even more closely than the writings of Odd Monk. Its existence is not merely a matter of conjecture, for the Icelander, Odd Snorrason, who lived in the monastery of Tingeyre in Iceland during the last half of the twelfth century, dying about the year 1200, speaks thus: "King Olaf was a great friend of the English king and had much honour from him, and when King Harald

¹ Ward, 443.

² Pertz, *Scriptores* vii. 320, 1-5; comp. Steenstrup *Normannerne* iii. 58. This name is frequently found in England.

³ Axel Olrik, *Nordisk aandsliv i vikingetid og tidlig middelalder*, 79-81.

Sigúrðarson ruled Norway, then Jatvarð was king in England. He was an excellent king in many things, he called to mind the friendship which King Olaf Tryggvason had borne to his father Aðalrad, and held King Olaf Tryggvason in great honour; he made it his custom to relate to his knights at Easter in every year the story of Olaf Tryggvason and his many famous deeds."¹

The same information is given in the great saga of Olaf Tryggvason, where we are told that King Edward was accustomed to read Olaf Tryggvason's Saga from a book as stated by a man from Orkney.²

I do not think, however, that King Edward ever read or repeated it, though the narratives of Odd Monk and the great Saga of Olaf Tryggvason show that some saga relating to him was told in the middle of the twelfth century, both in Iceland and the Orkneys, also affording evidence that belief existed in these places that it was known in England at that date.

If my preceding theories are correct, this matter is of great importance in many respects. Stray legends of Olaf Tryggvason, all the various stories of his heroic deeds, were now beginning to be welded into a long

¹ Fornm., x. 371, 1.

² Fornm., iii. (p. 63. ff). "King Jatvarð made it his custom to tell his commanders and liegemen the story of Olaf Tryggvason on the first day of Easter, and this is why he told the story of King Olaf at Easter rather than on any other day because he thought that Olaf Tryggvason was as far before other kings as Easter was before all other days in the twelve months. There was a man called Orm, who was Þorljot's son, a wise man and truthful, he lived at Deerness in the Orkneys when Jatvarð was king. Orm said that he had heard king Jatvarð read the saga of Olaf Tryggvason from the same book that Olaf had sent to king Jatvarð himself from Jerusalem. One year the king read to his commanders, and liegemen about the battle on the Orm, and he told of Olaf's journey over the sea to Jerusalem quite in the same way as it had been written before when Olaf had stayed at a convent in Syria, and then king Jatvarð told his men of the death of Olaf Tryggvason, about which some men lately come to England from Syria had told the king" (comp. Flateyjarbók I., p. 516).

The authenticity of this is doubtful, for Orm Thorljotsson must have lived in the middle of the twelfth century (comp. Munch II., book 7).

continuous narrative both in England and Norway; in other words legend becomes saga-narrative clad in the dramatic disconnected form of romance, while borrowing traits from the heroes of fairy-tale.

This saga takes its rise both in Norway and the western colonies. The English version dwells more especially upon the hero's youth, his seafaring expeditions, his achievements and homeward journey to his ancestral inheritance, while the Norse follows him to his last conflict, the roll of heroes upon the Orm having long been considered a versified rhapsody of the same description as that relating to the battle of Clontarf.

These saga-narratives probably took shape before the Norman conquest of England, I should say before the middle of the eleventh century.

As far as we know, therefore, Olaf Tryggvason's is the oldest Kings' Saga, being written down and taking its fixed Icelandic form in the latter half of the twelfth century, though already existing in Norway and the British Isles. In England, where memories of the hero-king soon became obliterated under the influence of new relations and Norman-French culture, the picture of Olaf Tryggvason as an historical figure grew blurred, he was confused with other kings of similar name, and the poem of *Havelok* arose.

Thus the Norse saga-narrative became the parent of the saga of Olaf Tryggvason as we know it, though there can be no doubt that Norse and Western forms have fertilised and influenced each other. The influence which it has received from the British Isles cannot be easily pointed out in detail, but I think that the narrative of Clontarf and Queen Gormflaith, so widely known in Northern countries, have affected it, both as related by Snorri, and in its legendary form. The Irish Saga *Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaill* (Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh) chap. 81, contains a dramatic story (probably arising from Northern sources), in the course of which

Gormflaith instigates her brother Maelmordha, King of Leinster, to revolt against King Brian, her former husband, who has cast her off, though she still lives at his court at Kincora. Maelmordha is forced to carry fir-masts there as tribute to Brian, and on his way loses a silver button from his silk cap; on arriving, he asks his sister to sew it on for him, but she, taking the cap, throws it into the fire, as she upbraids him for his thralldom to one whom his father and forefathers would never have obeyed. Growing enraged, he disputes with Brian's son on the following morning, and leaves Kincora in anger. He and Gormflaith assemble the king's enemies, and on Good Friday, 1014, the great battle of Clontarf took place.

The battle of Svolder was also the result of a woman's thirst for revenge. One spring day King Olaf bought a large branch of angelica in the market, and took it to the Queen, but she struck it with her hand, saying, "Harald Gormsson gave greater gifts, but had less fear than thou to journey from this land, and seek his possessions. He travelled to Norway, and took all for himself, both tax and treasure, but thou darest not travel through Denmark for fear of King Svein, my brother."

Olaf rose at these words and swore in a loud voice, "Never will I fear King Svein thy brother, and he shall know it when we meet." Adam of Bremen states that Tyre instigated Olaf to fight against the Danes, but the dramatic story of the angelica branch as the incentive of the battle of Svolder is the work of later times, its prototype being contained in the story of Gormflaith and Maelmordha. We find much evidence that the art of saga-telling flourished in the British Isles; Sophus Bugge has pointed out a Norse Saga narrative of King Brian and the battle of Clontarf¹ and Axel Olrik indicates one relating to Siward Digri in Northern England.

The author of *Gesta Herewardi*, written in the twelfth

¹ S. Bugge, *Norsk Saga fortælling og Sagaskrivning i Irland*, published by the Norske historiske Forening.

century, speaks expressly of *fabula Danorum*, that is Norse Sagas. Hereward, its hero who defended Anglo-Saxon freedom against William the Conqueror, lived in Northumberland in his youth and slew "illum maximum ursum qui aderat, quem inclyti ursi Norweyæ fuisse filium, ac formatum secundum pedes illius et caput ad fabulam Danorum affirmabant sensum humanum habentem et loquelam hominis intelligentem, ac doctum ad bellum; ejus igitur pater in silvis fertur puellam rapuisse et ex ea Biernum regem Norweyæ genuisse."¹

The original Norse "fornaldarsaga" of Bodvar Bjarki's birth was also told about the year 1100 in North English Viking settlements, where Norse was still spoken, and Olrik points out that the legend arose as an explanation of the hero's name, the Icelandic Bodvarr Bjarki, being derived from Bodvar Bjarki ("War Bjarki."). Bjarki is a man's name, originally a short form of Biörn=bear.

The name of Boduvar Berki is contained in a list of benefactors to Durham Cathedral, dating from the twelfth century, another proof that this legend was known in Northern England.² Is it possible that the saga of Rolf Kraki and his champions secured a firm footing here, owing to the influence of stories linked with King Arthur and his knights of the round table, and Charlemagne and his paladins?

We may notice that one of these knights, the cup-bearer, was named Beduerus (according to Geoffrey of Monmouth) or Bedwer, *vide* Robert of Gloucester, this name corresponds to the Norse *Boðvarr*, and seems to prove that Geoffrey was acquainted with the poem of Rolf Kraki and his champions. Probably the saga of Ragnar Lothbrok and his sons developed among Norsemen, who on coming westward mixed with English and Irish-speaking men.³

¹ *Gesta Herewardi* is printed with Gaimar's *Lestorie*, vol. I. p. 339-404. See especially p. 343.

² A. Olrik, *Danmarks helteedigtning*. I., 137, ff.

³ S. Bugge, *Norsk Sagafortælling i Irland*, p. 208.

The story of the Raven banner, so artistically woven by his daughter that the bird thereon depicted gave warning of victory or defeat, shews the commencement of the legendary form almost during the life of Lothbrok's sons. The story is certainly related by Asser, and in the Irish Chronicle "Three Fragments"; a narrative of Ragnar and his sons (that is Lothbrok's sons) shews the early saga-form, this story being its central-point. The legend in "Ragnars Saga Loðbrokar" seems to stand out like some fully formed Icelandic "fornaldar" saga. Can it possibly have been known in England?

Every one must remember the fine scene where King Ella sends messengers to announce Ragnar Lothbrok's death and the impression which the message makes upon his sons. Sigurthr ormr-i-auga (snake eye) and Hvitserkr are seated playing draughts (at Hneftafl), but they let the pieces fall as they listen, Hvitserkr grasping one so tightly that blood issues from beneath each nail.

This scene is not described in any English chronicle, but Gaimar speaks thus in a wholly different connection (l. 3655) of Ordgar, a mighty Englishman and guest of king Edgar "Ordgar was playing chess, a game which he had learnt in Denmark" (Orgar iuout a vn esches, vn giu kil aprist des Doeneis); this game did not reach England from Denmark, however, but the Norsemen were fond of playing draughts no less than "hneftafl" which resembled chess, having men with different figures.

Gaimar must have learnt this from some other literary source, though it is difficult to imagine what it can have been.¹

¹ Gaimar's *Lestorie* also proves that Rigspula, one of the Edda-lays, was known in East England, stating twice (l. 2083 and 4317 ff) that king Dan reigned in Britain before the Saxons came (he was born in Denmark). Sometimes he writes "li reis Daneis" sometimes "Dane" (l. 4317). Knut the great looked upon him as his ancestor, and said that he had reigned in England a thousand years before his time. Gaimar considers

The poem of Havelok cannot have come into existence in East England or entirely among English-speaking people, but must have arisen in the district peopled by the Cymri, probably in Cumberland where Norsemen and Cymri lived side by side for centuries, fashioning a remarkably mixed form of culture, partly Christian, partly heathen, partly Norse, partly Celtic, abundant traces of which exist to-day in the Gosforth Cross and other memorials.

Numerous place-names, possibly more than in any other part of England, are found here, testifying that the Norse tongue was spoken, and lingered until the time of Sverre and Valdemar. St. Leonard's Church, Furness, built in the middle of the twelfth century, bears the following runic inscription carved above the door:—

K(A)M(A)L : SETI : ÞISA KIRK :
HUBERT : MASUN . U(A)N . M(ERKI)

that is, "Gammel built this church; Hubert Mason cut these runes in stone."¹

In this district, lying as it does beside calm lakes with wooded banks, where rippling streams and rushing waterfalls abound in narrow valleys, possibly the wildest

this King Dan as the "eponym" and first king of the Danes who had settled in England, he is, however, none other than King Dan mentioned in the last strophe of Rigspåla and also by Arngrim Jonsson and Snorre (comp. *Sæmundar Edda* ed. S. Bugge, p. 419, ff). The knowledge of King Dan can only have reached Gaimar third-hand from the lay of Rig. This confirms the conclusion that Rigspåla came into existence in the British Isles.

In the Irish story "*The violent death of Goll, son of Carbad and Garb of Glenn Rige* (Revue Celtique xiv. pp. 396-449) the three brothers Goll, Cromm, and Rig (Goll, Cromm, Rig in nominative) appear, they are sons of Carbad, king of North Germany (Goll mac Carbad mac rig na Germane tuascertaige don domun). They cast lots for the three islands, Britain, Denmark (inis Danmarg) and Erin (p. 406f.). Goll was slain by Cuchulainn, we hear nothing more of the others. This is evidence of the connection between Rigspåla and Irish legend.

¹ This inscription is given by Mr. Collingwood in the SAGA-BOOK of the Viking Club, III. p. 139, ff.

and most romantic part of England, many of her greatest poets have lived and worked in close proximity to the spots where our forefathers first attempted to bind the stories of the hero-kings together in the form of sagas, and here the imaginative Cymri heard tales of the Viking heroes from Norsemen and Dane, remodelling, enlarging, and finally placing them within the primitive fruitful forest of their own legendary world.

As the Irish imagined that Magnus Bareleg was a contemporary of Finn and Oisín, heroes of antiquity, so their kinsmen in Wales and Cumberland admitted Olaf Tryggvason within the legendary circle of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table.

A similar course was followed regarding the Viking chief Gorm or Gudrum, who concluded peace with Alfred the Great, was baptised, took the name of Athelstan, and became first Viking king of East Anglia.

Gudrum was a Dane, leader of the Dubgenti, Gentiles nigri, "the black Heathen" (as Irish and Cymri called the Danes as opposed to Finngenti, "the white Heathen" i.e. Norsemen).

The Welshman's lively imagination converted "the black Heathen" into negroes, Gudrum becoming Gormundus rex Africanorum, who, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth (xi. ch. 8-10, xii. ch. 2), ruled France, England and Ireland, finally being admitted to the legendary circle of Tristram and Isolde, for Gottfried of Strassburg calls the latter daughter of *Gurmun, geboren von Affrica*.¹ The history of Gormundus has long been known as an old Viking Saga.² Readers of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "*Historia regum Britanniae*" will meet with a large number of Viking sagas; some by the imaginative Welshman or one of the verbal saga-tellers, who preceded him, are connected with King Arthur and

Zimmer i. *Gött gel, Ang.*, 1890, No. 20, p. 824. (review of *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vol. xxx.

² Deutschbein, 243.

other Cymric legends. Reminiscences of the battle of Brunanburh may certainly be traced in the narrative of Arthur's battle with Colgrim and his capture of York.¹ Geoffrey relates a story of Brennius, who wishes to shake off the dominion of his brother, king Belinus, and woos the Norse king Elsingius' daughter.² Having won her, they sail away together, encountering on the voyage the Danish King Guichtlacus, her former lover; the rivals fight, and upon a storm arising, the ships are separated, when the latter carries her off.

Deutschbein has in my opinion rightly connected this story with the Edda lay of Helge Hundingsbane and Sigrun, though not laying special stress upon the storm, which I consider an important incident.

My father Sophus Bugge has stated in his book on *The Helgi Lays*, p. 49-53, that the writer of the Helgi Lay must have been acquainted with the Irish saga-narrative of the battle of Ross-na-Rig, itself a Norse saga-narrative of the battle of Clontarf in 1014, in a remodelled form,³ in other words the Helgi Lay was influenced by the story of this battle, and isolated passages in Geoffrey's narrative also bring it to mind.⁴

The Danish king comes to King Belinus with his stolen bride, King Brennius follows, the brothers meet with their armies, and a heated battle ensues in a wood, near the town of Calaterium in Northumberland; I may here remark that the historic battle of Clontarf was fought near a wood.⁵

In the Irish saga (chap. 108) we are told that the spectators on the ramparts of Dublin gazed at that great host of men cut down like corn laid low by reapers. And Amhlaibh's son looked from his watch tower and

¹ Comp. Malmesbury, *Gesta reg. Angl.*, ed. Hardy, I., p. 207.

² *Historia regum Britannia*, I. iii., ch. 1-3.

³ Comp. S. Bugge, *Norsk Sagafortælling i Irland*.

⁴ See *Helgedigtene*, translated by Schofield in *Home of the Eddic Poems*. (Nutt).

Comp. *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, 256.

said, "Well do the foreigners reap the field; many is the sheaf they cast aside." "It will be at the end of the day that will be seen," replied his wife, Brian's daughter.¹

Did Geoffrey borrow from this source when he says of the battle of Calaterium "Concidebant intercorruentes cohortes vulnerati, quemadmodum segetes cum a falcatoribus aggrediuntur"?² Is this the connection which strengthens Sophus Bugge's opinion that the short, pictorial and dramatically-worded Irish saga (Cogadh Gaedhel) shews evidence that the description of the battle of Clontarf is derived from Norse Saga-narrative?

The saga relating to this battle must have been well known in Britain both by English and Cymri in the popular form with which we are familiar in the fight of Ross-na-Rig at any rate.

Deutschbein asserts (p. 264 ff.) that the Anglo-Danish saga, as he calls it, of Hereward (*Gesta Herewardi*) is influenced by it. Hereward reproduces features of the Viking chief Broder, murderer of Brian; his brother's sons Siward Rufus and Siward Albus, who fight beside him in Ireland, are the Orkney Earl Sigurd Lodversson doubled in many lists of heroes (*Annals of Loch Cé*) for instance, as Siograd Finn (Siograd the white) and Siograd Donn (Siograd the brown), and as in the Norse Saga forming the foundation of the fight at Ross-na-Rig amalgamated with Broder (not as a name but a term of relationship). Here we find Broder Roth (= Rauðr) Brodor Fivít (= Hvítr) and Siugrad Soga king of Sudiam (= Sigrøðr Sugga Konungr yfir Suðreyjum).³

Thus the art of saga-telling flourished towards the close of the Viking age, and beyond—in the Viking districts of the British Isles, more especially where Norsemen and

¹ Comp. Steinstrup, *Normannerne* III. 164: *Norsk Sagafortælling*, 176.

² *Historia* III. ch. 3. In San Marte's translation of the Cymric *Brut Tysilio* we read "und die Reihen fielen wie das Getreide im Herbst unter der Hand des Schnitters."

³ Comp. S. Bugge. *Norsk Sagafortælling i Irland*.

Cymri, or Norsemen and Irish lived side by side. Prose narrative in epic form existed among the Celtic tribes at the close of the tenth century, a form in which all description of legendary matter was given forth.¹ Cymri and Irish opened the Norsemen's eyes to the value of saga-narrative, showing them that it possessed greater capacity than the heroic lay for dramatic tension and the exhibition of the diversities of human nature. On the other hand they learnt much from the Norsemen, the Irish historical saga as it appears in the account of the fight at Clontarf being greatly indebted to the influence of the latter. Franco-Norman culture took deep hold in England after its conquest in 1066, though we still find an attempt to tell sagas, those of Siward Digri and Hereward for instance, both strongly imbued with the spirit of the North, and even at a later period when "rhyme" had largely penetrated into the country, Northern legends and sagas did not fail to infuse new life into Anglo-Norman poetry.

¹ Zimmer. *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890. No. 20, p. 807.

GROTTA SÖNGR AND THE ORKNEY AND SHETLAND QUERN.

By ALFRED W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot., Vice-President.

IN the prose introduction to the *Grotta Söngr*, in *Skáldskapar-mál*, we are told that Fenja and Menja sang the *Grotta Söngr* while they ground Fróði's gold mill, and that before they had finished the song they ground out King Mýsing and his host, who slew Fróði. Mýsing took the mill, Grotti, together with Fenja and Menja, and bade them grind salt, which they did until the ship sank, and in the ocean arose a *svelgr*, whirlpool [the Swelchie in the Pentland Firth], in the place where the sea runs into the *kvern-auga*, the mill-eye, and thus the sea became salt.

Vigfússon remarks that this prose introduction mixes up the legend of *Fróði and his Gold Mill* with the story of *King Mýsing and his Salt Mill*, which latter is a variety of the well-known folk-tale, "How the sea became salt," localised fittingly enough in the Pentland Firth, where the swelchies are ever churning up the white foam. He also calls attention to a remarkable passage in *Rimbegla*, where it relates how at the end of Fróði's reign, there arose a terrible tempest, mighty thunderings, the earth rocking and casting up huge stones. This is the Giant-Maidens' play of *Grotta Söngr*, where they are pictured as casting rocks for sport from under the earth, upon which they first climb in search of their missing playthings. Their subsequent conversion into Valkyries, he continues, is very curious as an evidence of how the Valkyrie legend gradually grew up, and that it was as Valkyries that they were taken by Fróði.¹

¹ *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, Vol. I., p. 184

The only other reference to Grotti is in the Hamlet verses in Edda, where it appears as *her-grimmastr skerja-grotti*, host-cruel skerry-quern, the sea; together with *Eylúðr*, island bin, the sea; *Amlóða lið-meldr*, Hamlet's lið-meal in the mill; and *eymylrir* or *eymylvir*, island mill. The word *melder*, with this meaning of corn or flour in the mill, is still preserved in certain dialects in England, Scotland and Ireland.¹

In 1895, Dr. Jakob Jakobsen, when in Dunrossness, Shetland, met a man from Fair Isle who, without being prompted or questioned, voluntarily told him that his, the narrator's parents or grand-parents who had come from Orkney, had told a story which they had heard in Orkney about Grotti Finnie and Grotti Minnie, who ground the salt-quern in the Pentland Firth. Unfortunately Dr. Jakobsen neither noted the narrator's name nor had time to hear the story. When Dr. Jakobsen was in North Ronaldsey (Rinanse), Orkney, this autumn, he met a woman who hailed from South Ronaldsey (Rögnvaldsey), which lies near to the Swelchie in the Pentland Firth, who told him that she had heard stories, which she could not now remember, about Grotti Finnie and Grotti Minnie and their Salt-Quern in the Pentland Firth.

After Dr. Jakobsen had told me these facts, I had occasion to call on my friend, Mrs. Robert Sinclair, whose maiden name is Mary Leslie, a native of Fair Isle, now residing with her husband at Greenigoe, Orphir, and in the course of telling me some Fair Isle folk-lore, she spoke about two witches there called Grotti Finnie and Luki Minnie, who were still invoked to frighten naughty bairns. I also had no time to continue the enquiry, but next summer I hope to hear more about these famous Valkyries.

Let us now compare the mill, Grotti, with the Orkney and Shetland quern.

I believe I have heard a quern called a Grotti in

Orkney, but of this I must get further confirmation. The nave of the lower stone is called *grotti* in Shetland and Norway. The bin or table on which the quern rests is called *lúðr* in Edda and *lúdr* in Shetland and Norway, while it is called *kvarnar-stokkr* in Iceland. The props or legs of the *lúðr* are called *stokkar* in Edda. The handle, *möndull*, in Edda and Iceland. The opening in the upper stone *kvern-auga* in Edda, *kvern-auga* in Norway, and *quern-eye* in Shetland. The plate across the eye of the upper stone, which rests on the spindle, is called *segl* (sail) in Iceland and *sile* in Shetland. The notch at each side of the eye, on the under-side of the upper stone, in which the *sile* is fitted, is called *lith* in Shetland, O.N. *lið*, a joint. In Edda, Fenja, and Menja say "léttom steinom," let us lighten the stones; in Shetland the stones are *lightened* by a lever called the *lightening-tree*. In Shetland the quern is turned "with the sun," while in Iceland it is turned withershins, or against the sun. In Sutherland the handle of the upper stone is inserted at such an angle as to prevent its being turned withershins. In Shetland, during Yule, the upper stone was removed to prevent the witches turning it withershins. A *skap-tré*, shaft-tree,¹ is also mentioned in Edda, apparently referring to the spindle.

On the extreme point of Seltjarnarnes, a mile or so west of Reykjavík, is a homestead called Gróttá, outside which the incoming and outgoing tides, round the ness point, form an eddy or swelkie.

In Edda the kenning, *Amlóða lið-meldr* is translated by Vigfússon² as Amlodi's (Hamlet's) meal-bin, the sea; while in Cleasby's *Dictionary*, s.v. *Amlóði*, it is rendered *meldr-lið Amlóða*, the flour-bin of Amlode, i.e., the sea-shore, the sand being the flour, the sea the mill. This interpretation is disputed by Professor Gollancz in the introduction to his *Hamlet in Iceland*,

¹ In Cleasby's *Dictionary* it is explained as a *flour-bin*!

² C.P.B.

where he prefers the text *lið-meldr*, and suggests that it might well stand for “‘ship-meal’ (? ‘sea-meal,’ to be compared with the Eddaic phrase ‘græðismeldr,’ i.e., sea-flour, a poetical periphrasis for the sand of the shore).”

Is it possible that *lith*, the name of the socket in the eye of the upper stone of a Shetland quern, can have some connection with this mysterious word *lið-meldr*, accentuating the fact that *meldr* is meal or corn in the mill, where it would of course be in close contact with the lith?

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, in answer to the writer’s queries, writes:—

I will first give the prose order of Snæbjörn’s verse according to Egilsson and Finnur Jónsson:—‘Kveða níu skerja brúðir hræra hvatt hergrimmastan ey-lúðrs Grotta út fyrir jarðar skauti, þær es fyr löngu mólu Amlóða melðr-lið’ = men say that nine ‘skerry-brides’ move swiftly the most men-scuting (host-savage) island-quern-bin’s Grotti out off the earth’s skirt (outside the coast), those who long ago ground Amlóði’s melðr-lið.’ (F. Jónsson: ‘the ocean, i.e., set the ocean in motion as if a quern were turned round.’—Egilsson: *quæ stratum cui latera navium incubare solent longo tempore comminuerunt*).

The níu ‘skerja brúðir’ are, of course, taken to signify the daughters of Ægir, the waves. But, although the waves can be said in a way to embrace the skerries, that does not make them the brides of the sea-rocks. This kenning I hold to be inadmissible. No determinative element beyond ‘nine’ was required here, as no one could for a moment doubt who the nine brides were that ground ey-lúðrs Grotti. It should be added that ‘þær (es fyr löngu,’ etc.) renders the kenning really impossible, because *þær skerja brúðir* = those ‘skerry-brides,’ would imply that there were some other nine skerry brides in the poet’s mind, which is not at all the case. ‘Brúðr,’ let me observe, means in the old poems not only bride, but also maiden, female, sister, wife, etc.

Eylúðr, islands’ quern-bin (quern case) is, no doubt, meant to signify the ocean. But it is a kenning wanting in pellucidity.

Now let us see whether by a different prosaic arrangement of the words we do not get a sounder and clearer thought: ‘Kveða níu brúðir hræra hvatt ey-lúðrs Grotta, grimmastan her (dat.) skerja, út fyrir jarðar skauti, þær er löngu mólu Amlóða lið-meldr.’ Lúðr = bin, ey-lúðr = bin studded with islands, = the ocean surface, its grotti, the mighty ocean mill. þær er löngu mólu, etc., explains who the nine brúðir were, and corroborates my opinion that the

poet meant 'níu brúðir,' not níu 'skerja brúðir.' 'Grimmastan her skerja' is an appositive sentence explanatory of *where* the action of Grotti manifests itself as most savage, namely, on the 'host' (her) of skerries (sea-rocks) at all sides of which it is eternally savagely grinding.

Snæbjörn transfers, not in a lucid manner, the function of Fenja and Menja to the nine daughters of Ægir after having created—probably on the basis of the Mýsing element of the Grotti myth—an ocean Grotti, about which we otherwise are left in ignorance.

Now that you have brought to light the fact, that in a Shetland hand-mill "lith" means the slot into which the segl (sile) is fitted, I think there can be little doubt, that in Icel. *lið* we have a term for the same peculiarity in an Icel. quern. That being so, according to the law of custom that governs skaldic kennings, *lið*, a detail in a mill, can stand for the quern-stone itself. Then *lið melder* must mean that which the quern-stone has ground = flour, and *Amlóða lið melder* = the flour of Amlóði's quern, gold or salt, according to which tradition is followed.

Thus Snæbjörn's *vísa* would mean: "They say, that the nine maidens move swiftly the island-bin's Grotti, most savage to the host of skerries, outside the skirt of the earth—those (maidens) who of yore ground the flour of Amlóði's quern." In this way one gets rid of the ridiculous *skerja-brúðir*. Her-grimmr, as one word, can, of course, mean furious to any host, but her-grimmastr (superlative) obviously applies best to the host of skerries.

The reference to Amleth in Saxo Grammaticus is commented on by Mr. Magnússon as follows:—

Amlethus, in order to delude Fengo, the murderer of his father and usurper of the throne of Denmark, feigns madness. Taken to the sea-shore by his keepers, he is bidden by them to observe how the sand was exactly like meal (flour), and he answered. "*eadem albicantibus maris procellis permolita esse*," they were ground fine by the white (crested) waves of the sea. If behind the answer there lurked the implied idea of an ocean-quern, it was a quern which was associated with Amlodi merely as a conception of his own. His own words, however, do not warrant even the assumption that he had the notion of a quern in his mind.

Now Snæbjörn's *vísa* says in reality that the nine brúðir-maidens, sisters = waves, ground in ages gone Amlodi's flour = that flour which Amlodi said the "*albicantes procellae*" had ground fine, which flour was sand. But this element of myth runs him into association of ideas connected with the myth of Grotti, and he makes the waves grinding agents, "*molitrices*" of the *ey-lúðrs* Grotti, an ocean mill,

apparently because Grotti ground salt to the destruction of the sea-king Mýsingr (who slew Fróði and took on board Grotti) with the result that his ship, with Grotti, sank into the sea, whence followed a swelchie in the ocean, from the sea rushing through the hole of the upper quernstone.

Taken in conjunction with Saxo's tradition of the twelfth century, viz., that Amleth referred to the sand of the sea-shore as flour ground by the waves, the explanation appears to be that Snæbjörn, a sailor-poet, the earliest Arctic adventurer of the tenth century, in a poem says that the nine daughters of Ægir, the waves, ground Hamlet's flour, the sand of the sea-shore. He likens the ocean, in its rôle as the grinder of skerries, to Grotti, which ground salt, gold, peace, etc. Professor York Powell, in his notes to the translation of *The first nine books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus*, 1894, p. 411, writes that "there are several marked indications of *sea-influence* in this Amlethus story; his remarks touching the rudder smack of the sea. . . . He kills his foes by a net which trammels them. . . . Is it not possible that the original Amlethus took vengeance by water, not by fire? Is not this folk-tale, the Sea-Hamlet, one of the ground-elements in Saxo's story?"

The other references to Fenja and Menja are:—

Skáldskapar-mál (Younger Edda); *Fenjo forverk*, the toil of Fenja, gold.

Heimskringla: *Fenjo melder*, Fenja's meal, gold.

Kviða Sigurðar (Elder Edda): *Neit Menjo*.

Egla: *Fróða-miöl* Fróði's meal, gold.

Heimskringla: *Fróða þýja melder*, Fróði's bond-maids' meal, gold.

In Helgakviða Hundingsbana II., we find mentioned the kvern, lúðr, steinar and möndul-tré.

In Vafþrúðnir's-mál: Vafþrúðnir, in telling Óðinn about Bergelmir's birth, says: "The first thing I know of is when this wise giant was laid in the lúðr." Cf. Sn. Edda I., 48.

With regard to the name *Lukie* in *Lukie Minnie*, we have the following Shetland words: *luk*, to entice, O.N., *lokka*; *lukie*, a witch, which may be from O.N. *lokkari*, an allurer, transformed into *luki* under the influence of the Scotch word, *lucky*, an old woman, or, it may be from *Loki*, the evil giant god; *lukie's-lines*, a plant growing in deep water near the shore and spreading itself over the surface, called *drew* in Orkney; *lukie-minnie's oo*, a fleecy substance that grows upon plants in wet ground, explained in Shetland as *witche's wool*. We have the Scotch word *lucky-minnie*, a grandmother, but I am not aware that a Scotch grandmother was looked upon as a witch in Shetland, where people only credited Scotland with "dear meal and greedy ministers."

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon writes:—

Norse-Icel. *lok* (in Swedish laws; *lok*, *luk*, *luuk*) is a term for some undefined weed which grows in woods, and spreads rapidly into cultivated land that may happen to be in the neighbourhood. Hence the phrase: "at fara eins ok *lok* yfir akr," to spread like *lok* over acre; to swarm, rush on furiously.¹ Perhaps this *lok* rather than *Loki* lies behind the term you adduce for sea-weed.

But if in *Luki-Minnie* *Luki* is to go back to *Loki*, then the Orkney-Shetland tradition must be supposed to have gone on a verse in a Grotti ballad or a statement in a Grotti legend, which gave *Loki* the credit for having been behind the fatal grinding. Of course, it would suit his rôle perfectly, and even give the Grotti tradition a more truly mythic stamp than it possesses as we now have it.

To sum up these facts: The Edda name of the great quern Grotti is applied to the nave of the lower stone of an Orkney-Shetland quern. *Lúðr*, the name of the bin on which Grotti stood, is also its name in Shetland, while it is called a *kvarnar-stokkr* in Iceland. *Fenja* and *Menja* lightened the stones, "*léttom steinom*," while in Shetland the same process is effected by the *lightening-tree*, which raised or lowered the upper stone to regulate the coarseness or fineness of the meal. *Lith*,

¹ See also Orkneyinga Saga (Rolls Text) p. 2: "menn hans gengu sem *lok* yfir akra."

O.N. *lið*, the Shetland name of the socket in the eye of the upper stone, appears to explain the hitherto inexplicable *lið-meldr* of Snæbjörn's Hamlet verses in Edda.

Fenja and Menja of the Grotta Söngr are still living names in Orkney and Shetland—Grotti-Finnie and Grotti or Luki-Minnie—and are associated with the salt-quern in the Pentland Firth.

Dr. Jakob Jakobsen thinks that the gold-mill legend and the salt-mill legend are only two varieties of the legend about the mill which would grind anything that was wanted. Both legends are very ancient. Fenja and Menja originally belong to the gold-mill legend. In the Edda version (originally probably an Orkney version) the two varieties are run together. Hence in Orkney folk-lore, Finnie and Minnie are associated with the quern grinding salt on the sea-bottom at Swelkie ("svelgr" in the Edda) in the Pentland Firth.

Vígfússon suggested that the Poetic Edda¹ and parts of Edda² were probably the oral traditions of Orkney and Shetland and not of Iceland, because of the many words, things and ideas which were quite foreign to the latter place; and that the poetic Edda might have been collected by Bishop Biarne or Earl Rögnvald in Orkney, who lived at the time that the lays appear to have been taken down in writing. In this connection it is interesting to note that P. A. Munch wrote in his *History of the Norwegian People* iii., 1051: "Snorre had older fragments of Sagas, of which several may perhaps be due to the literary Biarne, who was in friendly intercourse with several Icelandic chieftains, and especially may have sent his own historical works or those of others to Jón Loptsson or Sæmund Jónsson, who was his intimate friend." Sophus Bugge wrote in 1875: "It would be highly surprising if Snorre had not had any intimate knowledge of the poetic works of the Orkney bishop." Dr. Jón Stefánsson, in writing

¹ C.P.B. I. lxxiii., etc., etc. ² C.P.B. II., 423, etc., etc.

about Biarne,¹ has shown how Orkney had been a literary centre from the days of Turf Einar, earl of Orkney, of whose poetry five verses are preserved by Snorre, who calls one of the metres in Háttatal by his name. Arnor, the skald of the Earls of Orkney, in 1064, quoted from Völuspá in his dirge on Earl Thorfinn.

One other suggestion on this head. It is generally acknowledged that Völuspá bears the stamp of Christian influence. Where could it have been so tainted in this way? Orkney was the earliest Viking colony, and the Vikings found there a country which had already been christianised, as is proved by the perpetuation of numerous Celtic dedications of churches and Celtic place-names, the finding of pre-Norse ecclesiastical remains, not to speak of St. Columba's historic mission. The Vikings, however much they may have been influenced by Christianity, continued in their old beliefs until and probably long after their nominal conversion by King Olaf. The contact with the neighbouring Scottish Christians would also naturally affect their religious beliefs. In Orkney, of all places where it is probable that Völuspá was current, the old Norse religion would have been most influenced by Christianity.

I have attempted elsewhere, from time to time, to find parallels in Orkney and Shetland to the non-Icelandic elements in the two Eddas, and I now submit Grotti as one link in the chain, or as one stone in the heap of evidence pointing to Orkney and Shetland as the home of the Elder Edda, or at least as its last home, one which has left its indelible marks on these relics of our old religion.

I am indebted to Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon for a description of an Icelandic kvern, and to Mr. Gilbert Goudie's *Antiquities of Shetland* and Dr. Jakobsen's *Shetland Ordbog* and his other works for a description of a Shetland quern, etc.

¹ *Old-lore Miscellany*, Vol. I., p. 70.

THE ALLEGED PREVALENCE OF GAVELKIND IN ORKNEY AND SHETLAND.

By ALFRED W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot., Vice-President.

IN Green's *Encyclopædia of the Law of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1900, s.v., *udal law*, it is stated with regard to *succession* in Orkney and Shetland:—

Udaller's children all succeeded equally to the father in his whole estate, heritable and movable, the youngest son receiving the father's dwelling house, because the elder children were commonly forisfamiated before the father's death. (Gifford's *Zetland*, 54; Hibbert's *Shetland*, 193, 305, 336). Peterkin (*Notes*, app. p. 96) quoted a document of date 1610 relating to Shetland, subscribed by the Sheriff Depute and others, bearing witness that, while from time immemorial all the children succeeded, there was this inequality, viz., "comptand always twa sisters partis for ane brotheris pairt."

In addition to the above quoted authorities regarding the succession of the youngest son to the father's house, may be mentioned Mrs. Saxby, in *Old-love Miscellany*, Vol. I., p. 314, and Wallaces *Description of Orkney* (1693 and 1700) Reprint, 1883, p. 108, s.v. *Gavelkind*, "upon the decease of the father in Zetland, the youngest got the dwelling house, and the rest, both movables and heritages, was divided gavelkind, *sine discrimine sexus vel ætatis*."

It should be noted that whereas Green's *Encyclopædia* refers to the alleged custom as prevailing in both Orkney and Shetland, all the authorities quoted distinctly restrict the practice to Shetland.

To turn now from literature to records, we find in Gulathing Law of 1274 (of which the lost Orkney Law Book is generally acknowledged to have been a copy),

that all sons and daughters inherited property, the eldest son receiving the head ból, and each daughter half a son's share. In old Gulathing Law, before 1274, no mention is made of the head ból going to any son in particular, and, under it, daughters received equal shares with the sons. There does not exist, to my knowledge, a single legal document or scrap of evidence that in Orkney or Shetland the youngest son inherited the head house. The evidence is all the other way. To quote one succession deed (see Goudie's *Antiquities of Shetland*, pp. 81, 82, 84, 95), dated 1545, which refers to a case of succession in 1516, in which a man called Sander "chose for himself as a head buil . . . [a place called Heele], and the said Sander was the oldest brother and had therefore the first choice; or, as it is expressed in the old Shetland language of the deed: "Koyss siig ffor hóffuidt bólle . . . stett och waar ffornefnde Sander elsthe brodhr, ther ffor eige handseg fforsthe wilkor." ¹

To quote the document of 1610 in *Peterkin's Notes*, cited in Green's *Encyclopædia (ante)*: "the eldest brother had na farder prerogative abone the rest of his brether except the first choice of the pairtis and parcellis of the landis divydit."

How has this extraordinary fallacy arisen? Dr. Wallace came to Orkney shortly after 1659 and died there in 1688. His description of Orkney was published in 1693. Gifford's *Description of Shetland* was written in 1733, while he himself was born about 1680, and died 1760. The latter states that Odal succession ceased in Shetland in 1660.

The disappearance of the Law-Book, circa 1600, practically brought odal succession to an end. As early as the beginning of the 16th century, the larger odal land-owners had recourse to the Scottish Courts to set

¹ For a similar case in Orkney, in 1514, see Mackenzie's *Grievances*; app. p. v.

aside odal succession in favour of primogeniture and entail. Therefore, by 1688, when Wallace wrote, the practice was a thing of the past and well-nigh forgotten. It continued longer in Shetland and hence Dr. Wallace refers to it as a Shetland custom. I would suggest that Dr. Wallace or some other ferry-louper, with a knowledge of gavelkind—a word which is unknown in the north—coming to Orkney or Shetland used that term as the nearest equivalent in English to describe odal succession, and, at the same time, erroneously tacked on to odal succession the custom of gavelkind by which the youngest son succeeded to the father's house.¹ Gifford may have been misled by Wallace.

Gavelkind appears to have been originally confined to the Welsh and Irish communal (not private) ownership of land. There being no evidence to the contrary, it may be possible that in Orkney and Shetland, the tenants of the Earldom and Church lands, who enjoyed a sort of fixity of tenure with a uniform rate of rent, may have had some sort of custom by which the youngest son succeeded to the lease of the farm. I have no evidence one way or another, as to whether the Earldom tenancies were sub-divided between children, but of one thing I am certain, and that is, that the statements quoted above to the effect that the youngest son, in udal succession, succeeded to his father's house is a fiction.

¹ Seebohm's *The Tribal System in Wales*, 1904, p. 74. The English custom of gavelkind surviving in Kent, etc., does not allocate the head house to the youngest son.

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Blindi, blind (Magnus).
Bol-öx, pole-axe (Ösbern).
Danmarkar-bót, Denmark's weal (Thyri).

Digri, the thick (Siward).
Galinn, bewitched (Hakon).
Gilli, servant (Harald).
Gráfeldr, grey-coat (Harald).
Gull-skór, goldenshoe (Hallward).
Harðráði, determined (Harald).
Heppni, lucky (Leif).
Héra-fótr, hare-foot (Harald).
Hildi-tönn, war-tooth (Harald).
Hringer, ring. (Sigurd).
Hvítí, white (Thorhall).
Hvítaskáld, white poet (Olaf).
Járnsíða, ironside (Björn).
Jorsalafari, crusader (Sigurd).
Kakali, earthen pot (Thord).
Kraki, a stake, *i.e.*, thin and tall (Rolf).

Kvaran, sandal (Olaf).
Lávarðr, lord (Sigurd).
Lín-seyma, linen-seam (Paul).
Loðbrók, shaggy-breech (Ragnar).
Munnr, mouth (Sigurd).
Murtr, little fellow (Jón).

Oreiða, unready (Arni).
Oreyða, the wastrel (Arni).
Ormr-í-auga, worm-in-eye (Sigurd).
Skarði, hare-lip (Thorgils).
Skrauthanki, gaud-hasp (Ivar).
Slembidjárn, sham deacon (Sigurd).
Sprakaleggr, [sprawl-leg?] (Thorgils).
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ERRATA.

- p. 9, ll. 5, 6, up, delete *the then . . . published* and insert after *Saga* l. 4, up, *was published, translated by Jón A. Hjaltalin and Gilbert Goudie, and edited by Dr. Joseph Anderson.* See also p. 168 for correction. Mr. Goudie was solely responsible for its issue.
- p. 171, l. 4, for *(Plate I.)* read *(Plates I., II.)*.
- p. 232. l. 11, for p. 6. read p. 217.
- p. 259. l. 4, for King's *herdsmen* read King's *men*.
- p. 301. l. 4, up, for *Vafþrúðnir's* read *Vafþrúðni's*.