



Saga Book

OF THE

Viking Society

VOL. VIII.

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PROCEEDINGS

1912—1913

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CONTENTS.

	PAGES
REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS, 1912	I
REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS, 1913... ..	131
THE ORIGIN OF COMMERCE AND CURRENCY. By Edward Lovett, F.R.H.S.	I
SOME POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN BEOWULF AND THE GRETTLA, OR GRETTIS SAGA. By Douglas C. Stedman, B.A.	3, 6
THE CULT OF NERTHUS. By dr. Gudmund Schütte ...	3, 29
THE VÖLUSPÁ; THE SYBIL'S LAY IN THE EDDA OF SÆMUND. By W. F. Kirby, F.L.S., F.E.S., <i>President</i> ...	4, 44
A MAP OF DENMARK, 1900 YEARS OLD. With Maps. By dr. Gudmund Schütte	4, 53
ST. BRIDGET OF SWEDEN. By A. W. Taylor, B.A. ...	5, 85
THE VIKINGS AND THE WENDS. By Francis P. Mar- chant	5, 108
THE CULTUS OF NORWEGIAN SAINTS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND. By dr. Edvard Bull... ..	131, 135
NOTES ON THE PRE-NORSE INHABITANTS OF ORKNEY, SHETLAND AND ICELAND, THE NORSE COLONISATION AND THE CONVERSION OF THE VIKINGS TO CHRISTIANITY. By A. W. Johnson, F.S.A.Scot., <i>President</i>	131
BISHOP JÓN ARASON. By professor W. P. Ker, LL.D., <i>Vice-President</i>	133, 149
SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE IN ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES. By professor Allen Mawer, M.A., <i>Vice-President</i> ...	133, 172

	PAGES
ORKNEY AND SHETLAND HISTORICAL NOTES. By A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., F.S.North.A., <i>President</i> ...	133, 211
<i>Note.</i> —The latest research on <i>Taxation</i> , p. 241, will be found in <i>The Fiscal Antiquities of O. and S.</i> (<i>Old-Lore Miscellany</i> , IX., 53), and on <i>Óðal Law</i> , p. 246, in <i>Old-Lore Miscellany</i> , VIII. 47. A few corrections will be found in the <i>Index</i> and <i>Errata</i> .	
TEMPLE-ADMINISTRATION AND CHIEFTAINSHIP IN PRE-CHRISTIAN NORWAY AND ICELAND. By Miss Bertha Phillpotts, M.A.	134, 264
THYRA, WIFE OF GORM THE OLD, WAS SHE ENGLISH OR DANISH? By captain Ernest Rason, R.N. ...	134, 285
INDEX	303
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	358
ERRATA	358



ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
The Ptolemaic map of Denmark in the <i>Codex Urbinas</i> 82...	61
Ptolemy's prototype A. Section a.—Map of Denmark and N.-W. Germany	71
The Ptolemaic map of Scandia in the Mount Athos Codex and the <i>Codex Urbinas</i> 82	72
Ptolemy's prototype B ¹ and B ² . Duplicate maps of Bohemia and eastern Germany	74
Ptolemy's prototype C. Map of northern Gaul, Belgium and Germany. Folding Plate facing... ..	76
Ptolemy's prototype D. Map of Belgium (?) and N.-W. Germany	77
Ptolemy's map. Photograph	79
Ptolemy's map, prototypes E. and F. diagram	80
Eiríkr Magnússon (facing)	131
Thyra's Font at Sönderho I.	297
Thyra's Font at Sönderho II.	299

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

TWENTIETH SESSION, 1912.

MEETING, JANUARY 17TH, 1912.

Mr. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

The publication was announced of "ESSAYS on Questions connected with the Old English Poem of BEOWULF." By Knut Stjerna, Ph.D. Translated and Edited by John R. Clark Hall, M.A., Ph.D.

Mr. Edward Lovett, F.R.H.S., gave a lecture on "The Origin of Commerce and Currency," illustrated by lantern slides. Mr. Lovett explained what commerce and currency really meant, and that commerce began in the later Stone Age; the much-coveted axe of diorite or nephrite being used largely as a standard of barter. This has been proved by the finding of stone axes at very great distances from the locality where the stone itself was found *in situ*. Later on the axe of bronze was brought from the East by the Phœnicians, and the lecturer showed a chart of the early trade routes by which the precious golden amber was obtained in exchange for such axes from the Baltic and North Seas. He also explained the method of the Phœnician trading by barter, and showed how such a method still exists, to some extent, on the Congo. He then described the trade of ancient Egypt, and reverted to the curious standards of exchange of various countries, as illustrated by ring money, axe money, bullet money, knife money, shell money, hat money, etc., all of which

tended to the usage of coinage. Bars of metal which once passed as currency became cut up into short pieces and stamped, and from this the coin was evolved. Describing "emergency money," Mr. Lovett showed some copper-slab "Dålers" of Charles XII. of Sweden, some of which weighed nearly seven pounds each, and were carried about in carts as required for use. Reverting to the ever-present trouble of depreciation, the lecturer stated that shell money, as illustrated by the cowrie, had "run down" to such an extent that a silver fish hook "coin" was equated to twelve thousand cowries. Chinese "cash," too, changed hands in great masses of several pounds in weight. Mr. Lovett explained that £ s. d. really stood respectively for the Libra, or balance, the solidus and the Roman denarius. He then proceeded to give an account of the origin of banking. The first bankers (Lombards) were really pawnbrokers, who did business in the street on benches, or "Banco." If one of them defaulted his bench was broken, hence our word bankrupt. The origin of bills was then dealt with, the word "bill" really being a French word meaning a piece of wood, as the first bills were hazel sticks with notches cut in them. These were called tallies, and were once employed in connection with Government annuities! The lecturer, after giving further details of the appliances used in early banking, concluded by drawing attention to the project which was on foot for establishing a Folk Museum in this country. One of the many sections of such a museum would be the history of British Commerce and Banking, and Mr. Lovett said that a collection of objects such as he had used to illustrate his lecture would not only be of great popular interest, but would be of enormous educational value to business men as well as to children.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Edward Lovett for his lecture, which was carried by acclamation.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 16TH, 1912.

MR. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. Douglas C. Stedman read a paper on "Some Points of Resemblance between Beowulf and the Grettla (or Gretti's Saga)." Printed on pp. 6-28.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. W. B. Steveni and Mr. John Marshall took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Stedman for his paper.

MEETING, MARCH 15TH, 1912.

MR. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

The following papers were read: "The Cult of Nerthus," by Dr. Gudmund Schütte. Printed on pp. 29-33.

Mr. John Marshall, M.A., read a paper on "Etymological Notes on Orkney, Shetland, Unst." Printed in the Old-Lore Series, *Miscellany*, Vol. V., p. 105.

Mr. F. P. Marchant took part in the discussion which followed.

On a motion by the Chairman a vote of thanks was accorded to Dr. Schütte and Mr. Marshall for their papers, and to Mrs. A. W. Johnston for reading the former.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
APRIL 19TH, 1912.

MR. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held in the Theatre, King's College, Strand, on Friday, April 19th, 1912, at 8 p.m.

The adoption of the Annual Report and Balance Sheet was proposed by Mr. A. W. Johnston, seconded by Mr. Douglas C. Stedman, and carried unanimously.

The Officers of the Club, nominated by the Council for the ensuing year, were unanimously elected; Mr.

D. C. Stedman and Mr. F. P. Marchant acting as scrutineers to the ballot.

Mr. W. F. Kirby gave his Presidential Address on "The Völuspá: The Sibyl's Lay in the Edda of Sæmund": printed on pp. 44-52.

A hearty vote of thanks to the retiring President, Mr. W. F. Kirby, was unanimously carried by acclamation.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., Founder of the Society, then took the chair.

The Rev. Dr. H. J. Dukinfield Astley moved a vote of thanks to the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. A. W. Johnston, which was carried unanimously.

MEETING, MAY 7TH, 1912.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Dr. Jón Stefansson's translation of Ibsen's play, "The Pretenders," was read by Members of the Club; a report of which is printed in the YEAR-BOOK.

On a motion by the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the Members who had kindly taken part, which was received with applause.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 1ST, 1912.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Dr. Gudmund Schütte gave a lecture on "A Map of Denmark: 1900 years old." Illustrated by lantern slides. Printed on pp. 53-84.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. F. P. Marchant and Mr. A. W. Taylor took part.

On a motion by the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer for his paper, to which he responded.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 15TH, 1912.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. A. W. Taylor, B.A., read a paper on "St. Bridget of Sweden." Printed on pp. 85-107.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. J. A. Fallows and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Taylor for his paper, which was carried unanimously.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING,
DECEMBER 20TH, 1912.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

The adoption of the Law-book was moved by Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, M.A., and seconded by Dr. J. M. Laughton, and carried unanimously. Mr. E. F. Etchells expressed the hope that the social character of the Society should be maintained and developed, with the ultimate view of the Society securing its own premises; and on it being pointed out that this was quite in accordance with the laws, Mr. Etchells was satisfied.

On a motion by the Chairman, seconded by Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, it was unanimously resolved that the Council be asked to invite Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal to become the First Patron of the Society, and to attend the Annual Dinner in July as the guest of the Society, accompanied by Lady Strathcona.

Mr. F. P. Marchant then read a paper on "The Vikings and the Wends." Printed on pp. 108-120.

Mr. John Marshall took part in the discussion which followed.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Marchant for his paper, which was carried by acclamation.

SOME POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN BEOWULF AND THE GRETTLA (OR GRETTIS SAGA).

By DOUGLAS STEDMAN, B.A.

“PERSISTENT attempts have been made for many years, and are still being made with much vigour to establish connection between the Grendel and the Dragon-Stories in Beowulf, and tales in (among others) the Grettis Saga. In face of such exhaustive disquisitions as that published by Panzer, it behoves one to be modest, but I may say that I have never felt able to accept the conclusions of the theorists in this matter in their entirety. The resemblance of the Beowulf-stories to (say) the Glam and the Grettir tale is not close enough to satisfy me.” Thus Dr. John R. Clark Hall in the Introduction to the latest edition of his excellent Prose Translation of Beowulf. The object of these few notes is to show that there are real and close resemblances between :—

(a) The Beowulf-Grendel and the Grettir-Glam story.

(b) The Beowulf-Grendel's mother and the troll-wife story in the Grettla.

(a) In the first place we should, I think, consider the character of a fiend that wrought such dire scathe to the noble hall Heorot and the thanes of Hrothgar. That eminent scholar, Professor Skeat, has in the “Journal of Philology,” No. 29 xv., 120-131, pointed out the fact that, in many respects, the monster Grendel resembles a bear. I will not dwell upon this point here—though it is of some import, for Glam is not a beast, but the evil ghost of a murdered shepherd—save to agree that several of the epithets applied to Grendel, *e.g.*, *mūð-bona* (mouth bane), *bona blōdig-tōð* (bloody-

toothed destroyer), seem singularly applicable to a wild beast. And again—grāpode gearo-folm (grasped with ready hand).

Glōf hangode

Sid ond syllic searo-bendum fæst;

sīo wæs orðoncum eall gegyrwed

Dēofles cræftum ond dracan fellum.

Beo. 2085-8.

“ Wide and wondrous his glove hung down, fast in cunning bands; it was all skilfully wrought with craft of devils and with skins of drakes,” might be taken as a poetical description of a bear’s paw.

Hē mec ðær on innan unsynnigne,

dīor dæd fruma, gedōn wolde

manigra sumne;

Beo. 2089-91.

Therein he wished that fierce deed-worker to destroy me, sacless, one of many.

But appropriate to a wild animal as are these epithets and descriptions, there is, I think, far more of the semi-human monster than of the beast about Grendel. There is, however, throughout the early passages of the poem a kind of reticence concerning him as if, indeed, the sons of men, the dwellers-in-land, could make little of him, could gain little knowledge of his real nature. He is the

deorc dēað-scūa (the dark death-shadow),

the atol æglæca (the dire monster),

the atol ān-gengea (the dire lone-goer),

the dēogol dæd-hata (the secret ravager),

the mære mearc-stapa (the great march-stalker),

the sceaðona ic nāt hwylc (some scather I know not what),

all which vagueness, as in so many modern poems, is dramatically most effective.

But can we stretch the point so far as to imagine the Angles and Saxons speaking of a beast, bear or another, as contemplating and despising the use of weapons?

Hæbbe ic ēac geāhsod pæt se æglæca
 for his won-hȳdum wæpna ne recceð;
 ic ðæt ðonne forhicge, swā mē Higelāc sīe,
 mīn mon-drihten, mōdes bliðe,
 ðæt ic sweord here oððe sīdne scyld,
 geolo-rand tō gūðe; ac ic mid grāpe sceal
 fōn wið fēonde, ond ymb feorh sacan
 lāð wið lāðum;

Beo. 433-40.

Also I have heard that in his rashness the monster reckes not of weapons. I then forgo—so on my score may Hygelac my (lawful) lord be blithe-mooded—to bear sword or wide shield, yellow buckled to battle; but with my grip I shall grapple with the fiend and strive about life, foe with foe. Again he (Grendel) is said to be of the kin of Cain, but this may be a later and Christian touch—in any case it is not at all inconsistent with the elementary and crude ideas our forefathers held on the teaching of Christ, and on the problem of the everlasting struggle with evil. Mr. Thomas Arnold calls Grendel a monster in human form. Mr. Stopford Brooke, a grim and giant demon of the old Eoten race, “a man beast,” Ten Brink, “a monster that dwells in the fens,” Earle, “a devouring fiend.”

So that I think you will concur with me so far that the general opinion among scholars is broadly that Grendel was a monster in man’s shape. I must now proceed to a comparison of the night attack by Grendel upon Heorot Hall with the night attack by Glam upon Thorhall-stead. First there are one or two little points, trivial perhaps, but interesting, of resemblance between the two “spirits of Elsewhere.” Each, for instance, loathes the sound of music,

Ðā se ellen-gæst earfoðlice
 þrage geðolode, sē þe in þȳstrum bād,
 þæt hē dōgora gehwām drēam gehȳrde
 hlūdne in healle; þær wæs hearpan swēg,

Beo. 86-9.

“then the mighty spirit that dwelt in the shadows scarce for a time, with difficulty, bore it that he each day heard loud joy in the hall. There was sound of the harp.”

Kirkja var á Thórhalls töthum; eigi vildi Glámr til hennar koma: hann var osöngvenn ok trúlauss, stirfinn ok viðskotailr: “öllum var hann hvímeiðr.”

There was a church at Thorhall-stead, but Glam would by no means come therein, he was a hater of church-song, and godless, foul of temper and surly; nor could any man abide him.”

Consider likewise the description in each story of the monster's head.

Fēower scoldon
on þāem wael-stenge weorcum geferian
to þāem gold-sele Grendl's hēafod. *Beo.* 1637-9.

Ðā wæs be feaxe on flet boren
Grendles hēafod, þær guman druncon,
egeslic for eorlum ond þære idese mid. *Beo.* 1647-9.

Four of them (Beowulf's party) had much ado to bear on spear the head of Grendel to the gold-hall.

And—

Where men drank, then on the floor, was dragged by the hair Grendel's head; terrible before the earls and the lady too.”

And of Glam:—

sá Grettir, at þrællinn rétti inn höfuðit, ok sýndist
honum afskræmilega mikit ok undarlega stórskorit.

Grettir saw that the thrall stretched in his head, which seemed to him monstrously big and wondrous thick cut.

The horror in the eyes of both trolls is emphasized, particularly in the case of Glam.

him of ēagum stōd
ligge gelicost lēoht unfæger. *Beo.* 726-7.

“From forth his eyes stood a loathly light, likest to flame.” *Beo.* 726-7.

Tunglskin var mikit úti ok gluggaþyk; hratt stundum fyrir, enn stundum dró frá. Nú i því er Glámr fell, rak skýt frá tunglinu, enn Glámr hvesti augun upp i móti, ok svá hefir Grettir sagt sjálf, at þá eina sýn hafi hann sét svá, at honum brygði við. Ðá sigaði svá at honum af öllu saman, mæði ok því, er hann sá at Glámr gaut sínum sjónum harðlega, at hann gat eigi brugðit saxinu, ok lá nálega i milli heims ok heljar.

“Bright moonlight was there without, and the drift was broken, now drawn over the moon, now driven from off her, and even as Glam fell a cloud was driven from the moon, and Glam glared up against her. And Grettir himself says that by that sight only was he dismayed amidst all that he ever saw. Then his soul sank within him so, from all these things, both from weariness, and because he had seen Glam turn his eyes so horribly, that he might not draw the short sword, and lay well-nigh 'twixt home and hell.”

But this so fearful terror of Glam's eyes which exerts a marked effect on the whole of Grettir's future life is unparalleled in “Beowulf.” While the victorious battle with Glam marks a turning point for the worse in Grettir's story, the noble unselfish Swede is haunted by no such shadow. He goes on and on, from strength to strength; ending a laurel-crowned life as illustriously as he began it.

I said “began it,” and perhaps I should have used some other expression for, as Professor Ker puts it: “His youth was like that of the lubberly younger sons in the fairy stories” :—¹

ne hyne on medo-bence micles wyrðne
drihten wereda gedōn wolde
swýðe (wēn) don, þæt hē slēac wære,
æðeling unfrom.

Beo. 2185-8.

¹ “Epic and Romance,” Ch. ii., p. 166.

Nor would the lords of hosts do him much honour on the mead-bench, they held strongly that he was slack, an inert ætheling.

Then the fight in each case is maintained with Nature's weapons, the bare hands, and the terrible struggle between Beowulf and Grendel has its counterpart in that of Grettir with Glam in Thorhall-stead. The latter, as would be expected, in a story written later, is far fuller in detail, but for sheer power and intensity of horror I know of nothing of the sort to compare with the rending of the Render in Heorot. There is a tense and awful majesty about Grendel's advance on the Hall, twice repeated is the poet's announcement of his approach :—

Cōm on wanre niht
scriðan sceadu-genga.

“ In dim night came the shadow-goer stalking.”

Beo. 702-3.

And again :—

Ðā cōm of mōre under mist-hleoþum
Grendel gongan, Godes yrre bær;

Beo. 710-11.

“ Then from the moorland all under the misty slopes came Grendel striding, wrath of God he bore.”

Glam is more of the ghost, less of the monster, but the added details of the gruesomeness of Glam, terror-striking as they are, do not compensate for the sense of awful resistlessness the poet of “ Beowulf ” has wrought into his description of Grendel.

Once more we have in each story the details of the havoc wrought on both halls by the mighty power of the contestants. In the case of Heorot the door is burst in at Grendel's first grip.

duru sōna onarn
fȳr-bendum fæst, syððan hē hire folmum [hr]jān;

Beo. 721-22.

“The door, fast in forged bands, opened at once when he had laid hands thereon.”

“It is great wonder that the wine-hall itself withstood the bold in fight, that it fell not to ground, the fair earth-building, but it was fast in iron bands, smithied with crafty thought. There from the sill, as I heard, started many a mead bench, adorned with gold, where fought the fierce, the wise of the Scyldings never erst deemed that any of men might break it with might, splendid, antler-adorned, secured with cunning, unless the embrace of fire should consume it in smoke.”

After the fight the hall is repaired :—

wæs þæt beorhte bold to brocen swiðe,
eal inne-weard iren-bendum fæst,
heorras tōhlidene; hrōf āna genæs
ealles ansund.

Beo. 997-1000.

“That bright dwelling, all inward strong in iron-bands, was much shattered; the hinges destroyed, the roof alone remained, entirely sound.”

Glam, also like Grendel, glares into the Hall he haunts. He and Grettir are almost as destructive as Grendel and Beowulf :—

Gengu þá frá stokkarnir, ok alt brotnaði þat
sem fyrir varð.

The seat-beams were driven out of place, and all was broken that was before them.

And again, at the end of the wrestle :—

Glam gathered up his strength and knit Grettir towards him when they came to the outer door; but when Grettir saw that he might not set his foot against that, all of a sudden in one rush he drave his hardest against the thrall's breast and spurned both feet against the half sunken stone that stood in the threshold of the door; for this the thrall was not ready, for he had been tugging to draw Grettir to him, therefore he reeled

aback and spun out against the door, so that his shoulders caught the upper door-case, and the roof burst asunder, both rafters and frozen thatch, and therewith he fell open-armed aback out of the house and Grettir over him.

So much for the first great troll-fight in each saga. I proceed to consider the second :—

Beowulf and Grendel's mother

Grettir and the Troll-wife or, rather,—

Grettir and the Giant under the force.

Between these stories, we shall find, I think, even more striking resemblances than those I have already indicated. In both fights the hero dives under water to find the fiend—note, please, that as in the Beowulf-Grendel, so in the Grettir-Troll-wife story—there is a second monster beneath the water, in each case the champion is accompanied by others, one or more who leave the falls, despairing of the hero's life; in each case a peculiar weapon in the monster's cave is described—the “eald sweord eotenisc ecgum þyhtig,” in the “Beowulf,” the “hefti-sax-” in the Grettla. Grendel's mother is thus defined :—

ides, āglæc-wīf, yrmþe gemunde,
sē þe wæter-egesan wunian scōlde,
cealde strēamas.

Beo. 1259-61.

A woman, a woman-monster, was mindful of her woe, she who must inhabit the terror of the waters, the cold streams—

The troll-wife likewise dwells in a cave beneath the force, she drags Grettir to its brink, she had carried these Steinvor's goodman and her house-carle also.

However different the mere of the Grendels be from the force of the trolls, however they themselves differ in nature from the Grendel-kin, it seems to me that this is to be ascribed to the racial differences of thought, of imagination, of fear of the supernatural between the

peoples by whom the stories were fostered and among whom they grew up. For we do not know in what form the Danes or Continental Saxons had the "Beowulf"; as it exists now it is essentially old English in form and spirit; the other, of course, Icelandic.

But there are points of resemblance far closer than these I have described, points which, to my mind, are not to be disregarded or lightly set aside, between the Beowulf-Grendel's mother and the Grettir Troll-wife contests. It will be remembered that, to find the mere-wife, Beowulf has to dive into an uncanny mere, or, rather, as Stopford Brooke has it, "a deep sea-gorge with a narrow entrance from the sea." When seized by the she-fiend, the two swim upward into her cavern, and the fight is waged on the sandy floor, the combatants being protected from the sea by the fact that the cavern rises upward and inland; its entrance is below the lowest level of the tide. Stopford Brooke describes it minutely. He observes that "we have here a cavern of which kind many known examples exist, and such a cavern was, I think, known to the poet. It marks especially the sea-nature of the Grendel-kin."¹

Now when Grettir has smitten off the arm of the troll-wife, she falls into the gulf and is carried down the force. Stein the priest comes to Sandheaps and asks Grettir his opinion as to the fate of the two men who had previously disappeared. Grettir replies that he thinks that they would have gone into the gulf—he had all but been carried thither himself—the priest refuses to credit this without signs thereof. Grettir promises an investigation, and, after Yule-tide, fares with Stein to the gulf. The champion dives under the force and comes up under it, where is a jutting rock and a great cave.

Gekk hann þá inn i hellinn, ok var þar eldr mikill á bröndum.

¹ Early English Literature (Vol. i.).

“ He went up into the cave and there was a great fire flaming from amidst of brands.”

Likewise does Beowulf find a fire in the cave :—

fȳr-lēoht geseah,
blācne lēoman beorhte scīnan.

Beo. 1516-17.

“ Firelight he saw, a bleak flame shine brightly.”

And in the Grettis Saga :—

Grettir sá, at þar sat jötunn ógurlega mikill;
hann var hræðilegr at sjá.

“ And there he saw a giant sitting withal, marvelously great and dreadful to look on.”

And now we come to another curious point. Unlike Grendel and Glam, these two cave-monsters use weapons against their foes. Beowulf throws Grendel's mother, she pays him hand-reward therefor, throws him, sits on him and draws her seax.

Ofsæt þā þone sele-gyst ond hyre seax getēah
brād, brūnecg.

Beo. 1545-6.

“ Then she sat on the hall-guest and drew her seax, broad, brown-edged.”

Enn ed Grettir kom at honum, hljóp jötuninn upp ok greip flein einn, ok hjó til þess er kominn var; því at bæði mátti höggvad ok leggja með honum. Tréskaft var í; þat kölluðu menn þá heftisax, er þann veg var gert.

“ But when Grettir came anigh, the giant leapt up and caught up a glaive and smote at the new-comer, for with that glaive might a man both cut and thrust, a wooden shaft it had, and that fashion of weapon men called then, heft-sax.”

Notice the detailed description of the giant's weapon. It is paralleled in “ Beowulf ” where Unferth lends the sword Hrunting to the hero for his coming fight with Grendel's mother.

Næs þæt þonne mæ̃tost mægen-fultuma,
 þæt him on ðearfe lāh ðyle Hrōðgāres;
 wæs þām hæft-mēce Hrunting nama;
 þæt wæs ān foran eald-gestrēona;
 ecg wæs iren ātertānum fāh,
 āhyrded heaþo-swāte; nāfre hit æt hilde ne swāc
 manna ængum, þāra þe hit mid mundum bewand,
 sē ðe gryre-sīðas gegān dorste,
 folc-stede fāra; næs þæt forma sīð,
 þæt hit ellen weorc æfnan scolde.

Beo. 1455-64.

“Nor was that the least of mighty aids, which Hrothgar’s spokesman lent him in his need. Hrunting was the name of that hafted sword which was one of the foremost of treasures of eld. The edge was iron, stained with poison-twigs, hardened with battle-blood, never in strife had it failed any man, of those who grasped it with hands, who durst approach the terror-ways, the camp of foemen; nor was that the first time that it must do deeds of might.”

The point to notice has been remarked by Dr. Vigfússon:—The unique compound hæft-mece, unknown elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon, is paralleled—with exactly similar meaning—by hefti-sax, an unique word—so far as I know—in Icelandic.

King Hrothgar and the Danes leave the mere despairing of Beowulf’s life when:—

Sōna þæt gesāwon snottre ceorlas,
 þā ðe mid Hrōðgāre on holm wilton,
 þæt wæs yð-geblond eal gemenged,
 brim blōde fāh.

Beo. 1591-4.

“Soon saw they, the wise men who with Hrothgar were gazing on the mere that the surge was all mingled, the mere stained with blood.”

Ðā cōm nōn dæges; næs ofgēafon
 hwate Scyldingas; gewāt him hām þonon
 gold-wine gumena.

Beo. 1600-2.

“Then came noon of the day; the bold Scyldings left the ness; the prince of men departed thence home.”

The priest waiting for Grettir leaves the force when he sees a similar sinister token:—

ok er prestr sat við festina, sá hann at slyðrur
nökkurar rak ofan eftir strengnum, blöðugar allar.

“And as the priest sat by the rope, he saw certain fibres all covered with blood swept down the swirls of the stream.”

Hann varð þá lauss á velli, ok þóttist nú vita,
at Grettir myndi dauðr vera; hljóp hann þá frá
festarhaldinu ok fór heim.

“Then he grew unsteady in his place, and thought for sure that Grettir was dead, so he ran from the holding of the rope and gat him home.”

There is one other point of resemblance between these two noble old stories, which as Hume of Godscroft saith: “We will not omit here (to shut up all) . . .” Both heroes are befriended at the last, by one comrade and one only. In the case of Beowulf, it is his young kinsman of the Wægmunding race, Wiglaf, who apparently succeeds him on the throne of the Geats; in the Grettla, it is the beautiful figure of Illugi, fighting over his dying brother, and refusing, when offered his life, to accept it at the price of forgoing the feud for that brother’s death at the hands of Thorbiorn Angle. Wiglaf is among the twelve men whom Beowulf leaves on the headland when he goes to seek the dragon in his rocky lair. At the sight of the flaming monster the young men are terror-stricken and retire landwards into the wood, but:—

Hiora in ānum wēoll
sefa wið sorgum; sibb æfre ne mæg
wiht onwenden, þām ðe wel þenceð.

“The heart of one of them welled with sorrows; to a right-minded man naught may set aside kinship.

And Wiglaf reminds his comrades of the whole duty of a thane to his lord, in return for the joy of the mead-hall and the rings and swords from the gift stool, to shield his lord's person in battle, and never to return to hearth and home without him. That was the worst disgrace that could befall:—

God wāt on mec,
 þæt mē is micle lēofre, þæt minne lic-haman
 mid mīnnie gold-gyfan glēd fæðmie.
 Ne þynceð mē gerysne, þæt wē rondas beren
 eft tō earde, nemne wē æror mægen
 fane gefyllan, feorh ealgian.
 Wedra ðēodnes.

Beo. 2650-6.

“For mine own part, God knows that I had far liefer the flame should embrace my body with my gold-giver. Nor seemeth it seemly to me that we should bear our shields again to home, save we may first fell the foe, and shield the life of the Weders' Lord.”

He rushes to the fight, and between them the old king and the young thane slay the drake. But the life-joys of the strongest of men are nearly over, the sun is setting for him who was:—

manna mildust ond mon-[ðw]ærust,
 lēodum liðost, ond lof-geornost.

Beo. 3181-3.

“The mildest and the gentlest of men, the kindest to his people, and the keenest for praise.”

On his return from the fight, Wiglaf sharply rebukes the cowards and finally banishes them.

Nū sceal sinc-þegow and swyrd-gifu,
eall ēðel-wyn, ēowrum cynne
lufen ālicgean; lond-rihtes mōt
þære mæg-burge monna æghwylc
īdel hweorfan, syððan æðelingas
feorran gefricgean flēam ēowerne,
dōm-lēasan dæd. Dēað bið sēlla
eorla gehwylcum þonne edwit-lif.

Beo. 2884-2891.

“Now shall all treasure-looting and sword-giving, all joy of ownership, estates, be alienated from your kin, each man of your folk must wander, shorn of land-right, so soon as nobles from afar learn of your flight, your inglorious act. Better is death to every man of noble birth than a life of infamy.”

How these last few words recall those of Beowulf in the noblest speech the poem contains, I mean that to Hrothgar after the sudden slaughter of his old friend and servant, Æschere, by Grendel's mother. The gray-haired Danish king is beside himself with grief, but his noble young guest bids him up and be doing; overgreat sorrow is unmanly:—

“Ne sorga, snotor guma; sēlre bið æghwām,
þæt hē his frēond wrece, þonne hē fela murne.
Ure æghwylc sceal ende gebidan
worolde lifes; wyrce sē þe mōte
dōmes ær dēaþe; þæt bið driht-guman
unlifgendum æfter sēlest.
Arīs, rīces weard; uton harþe fēran,
Grendles māgan gang scēawigan.
Ic hit þe gehāte: nō hē on helm losað,
ne on foldan fæþm, ne on fyr-gen-holt,
ne on gyfenes grund, gā þær hē wille.
Ðys dōgor þū geþyld hafa
wēana gehwylces swā ic þe wēne to.”

Beo. 1384-96.

“Sorrow not, wise man; for each is it better that he avenge his friend, than that he overmuch mourn him. Each of us must abide the end-day of world-life: let him who may work glory before death; that for every warrior lifeless lying is afterward most fitting. Arise, kingdom’s ward; with speed let us go to look on the track of the kinsman of Grendel. I promise thee: he shall not escape to covert, nor in the lap of earth, nor in the mountain wood, nor in the bed of ocean, go where he will. This day have thou patience of each of thy woes, as I expect of thee!”

Wiglaf is the ideal thane. He is Beowulf’s kinsman, too, but not in that nearness in blood in which Illugi stands to Grettir. Beowulf is the son of Ecgtheow, Wiglaf of Ecgtheow’s younger brother, Weohstan. Both are of the House of Wægmund, therefore Swedes on the father’s side. But Illugi is Grettir’s own brother . . . and by so much as the character of Grettir falls short of that of Beowulf in nobility, by so much does the beauty of the picture of Illugi outshine that of Wiglaf. Utterly loyal as the young Swede of the House of Wægmund is, I do not remember a more noble picture than that of Asdis’ youngest son, bearing his brother company when for dread of Glam’s eyes he might not dwell alone, ever at his side, fighting for him on Drangey, defending the dying outlaw—dying already when the coward crew of Angle assailed him. When Gudmund the Rich counsels Grettir to fortify himself in Drangey, the impregnable island in Skaga-firth, Grettir tells Asdis, his mother, that he could by no means abide there alone for the horror ever present with him at nights. Then it is the pretty fifteen-year-old boy who, of his own will, sacrifices home and all its comforts to bear his lonely brother comradeship in the hours of darkness:—

“Ek man fara með þér, bróðir, enn eigi veit ek, at þér sé fylgd í mér, utan þat, at trúr man ek þér vera,

ok eigi renna frá þér, meðan þú stendr uppi, ok gerr veit ek, hvat um þik liðr, ef ek fylgi þer."

"I will go with thee, brother, though I know not that I shall be of any help to thee, unless it be that I shall be ever true to thee, nor run from thee whiles thou standest up; and moreover I shall know more surely how thou farest, if I am still in thy fellowship."

This always seems to me one of the most charming little speeches imaginable. Notice the boyish bashfulness of the first words. The promise of loyalty rings like the vow of a true lover, and the concluding words show how Grettir, surly as he was, rough as his life had been, was yet able to inspire utter devotion in the hearts of those who were dear to him. Of such have been, are and shall be, the leaders of men.

"Nor shall I run from thee whiles thou standest up." How nobly young Illugi kept this word is known to all readers of the Saga. Not only is he ever at the side of Grettir while that strong brother of his is hale and sound, the terror of men, but when brought low at the last by sorcery, dying in the midst of Angle's men, it is Illugi who fights the hopeless battle over his body, smiting the heads from foemen's spears. He steadily refuses Angle's offer of life if he will but renounce the feud for Grettir's death.

"Rösklega segir þú, enn eigi mun svá vera. Vil ek sýna þat, at mér synist mannskaði í þér, ok mun ek gefa þer lif, ef þú vilt vinna oss trúnadareið, at hefna engum þeim, er í þessari ferð hafa verit."

"In manly wise speakest thou, but not thus will it be; and I will show thee that I think great scathe in thy death, for thy life will I give thee if thou wilt swear an oath for us here, to avenge thyself on none of those who have been in this journey," says Thorbiorn.

But Illugi makes reply:—

Þat þætti mér umtalsmál, ef Grettir hefði mátt verja sik, ok hefði þér unnið hann með drengskap ok harðfengi; enn nú er þess engi ván, at ek muna þat til

lifs mér vinna, at vera slíkr ódrengr sem þú; er þat skjótt af at segja, at engi skal yðr óþarfari enn ek, ef ek lifi, því at seint mun fyrnast mér, hversu þér hafið unnit á Gretti; kýss ek miklu heldr at deyja.

“That night I have deemed a thing to talk about, if Grettir had been suffered to defend himself, and ye had won him with manliness and hardihood, but now nowise is it to be thought that I will do so much for the keeping of my life, as to become base, even as thou art: and here I tell thee, once for all, that no one of men shall be of less gain to thee than I, if I live; for long will it be or ever I forget how ye have prevailed against Grettir. Yea, much rather do I choose to die.”

And even so on the east shore of the isle died this noble boy, with his face to the dawn.

The object of this paper is only to bring together some of the points of resemblance between the two sagas. What the explanation of the existence of those resemblances may be is another and much-disputed matter. Mr. Thomas Arnold says:—“Although it is manifest that if there be a legend which lies at the base of ‘Beowulf’ on the one hand, and the Böðvar (Biarki) and Grettir sagas on the other, it preserves in the former a shape far nearer to its pristine character than in the two latter, and must have been reduced to writing many centuries earlier than they, yet the resemblances are much too close to be accidental.”¹ One of the latest essays on “Beowulf,” that by Mr. H. Munro Chadwick, of Clare College, takes the view that since Grettir is an historical person who died about the year 1031, there was an older story, which has become attached to his name, “but,” he says, “there is nothing in the account that gives any colour to the idea that it is actually derived from the Old English poem. More probably the origin of both stories alike is to be sought in a folk-tale, and just as the adventures were attributed in Iceland to the historical Grettir, so in England, and,

¹ “Notes on Beowulf,” pp. 97 *seq.*

possibly also in Denmark, at an earlier date they were associated with a historical prince of the Götar." This, I may remark, is one of the explanations advanced by Stopford Brooke in his study of the Mythology in "Beowulf."

He says:—"The parallel is very close, and three suggestions may be made concerning it. Either the Beowulf Saga was known over Sweden and Norway, and its lays came from Norway or the Western Isles to Iceland in a broken fashion, or there was a tale older than 'Beowulf' itself—a combination of a nature-myth and a folk-tale—which was common property of the Northmen, and out of which the Grendel story in 'Beowulf' and the Glam and Troll story both grew independently of each other."²

My answer is that the details of the contest seem to be so curiously alike as to establish a very strong probability that the author (Sturla Thordson or another) of Grettla knew "Beowulf," and used the stories of the great fights in that poem in his history of Grettir's life, and I believe that this knowledge of "Beowulf" in Iceland was one of the results of the work of Anglo-Saxon missionaries there.³

There is another saga which has such remarkable resemblances to "Beowulf" that I feel that some mention of it will not be out of place here. In "Hrólf's Saga Kraka," Böðvarr Biarki has been brought up at the court of King Hring of Updal. Böðvar comes from Götaland to Leire, the royal seat of the Danish king, and slays a demon-beast, a bear, which has been making constant attacks on the king's farmyard at Yule-tide. Böðvar is himself credited with the power of becoming a bear at will. In the battle on the ice of Lake Vener he fights for Aðils against Áli. Beowulf is brought up at King Hrethel's court; he comes

¹Cambridge History of English Literature, Ch. III.

²History of Early English Literature, Ch. V.

See Year-Book of the Viking Club, Vol. II., 1909-10.

to Heorot. He slays Grendel, the ravager. Later in life he fights for Eadgils against Onela, and these two have been identified with Aðils and Ali. Beowulf's uncle, Hygelac, is king of the Geats or Gauts, and Biarki's brother, Thorir, rules over Gautland. Beowulf slays Dæghræfn by crushing him in his mighty arms, those arms that tore asunder the shoulder sinews of the giant Grendel; and Biarki, observe, has the power of becoming a bear at will. And certain it is that the tone of the following speech by Biarki is curiously like, both in tone and sentiment, to many of Beowulf's speeches, and particularly to the noble address (already quoted) to Hrothgar after Æschere's violent death:—"Sorrow not, wise man; for each is it better that he avenge his friend, than that he overmuch mourn him," &c.

Then said Bjarke: "If I may look on the awful husband of Frigg, howsoever he be covered with his white shield, and guide his tall steed, he shall in no wise go safe out of Leire; it is lawful to lay low in war the war-waging God. Let a noble death come to those that fall before the eyes of the king. *While life lasts, let us strive for the power to die honourably and to reap a noble end by our deeds* ("each of us," says Beowulf, must abide the end-day of world-life: let him who may *work glory before death*"). I will die overpowered near the head of my slain captain, and at his feet thou also shalt slip on thy face in death, so that whoso scans the piled corpses may see in what wise we rate the gold our lord gave us. We shall be the prey of ravens and a morsel for hungry eagles, and the ravening bird shall feast on the banquet of our body. Thus should fall princes dauntless in war, clasping their famous king in a common death."¹

Compare the grim passage in "Beowulf," where Wiglaf prophesies the fate of the Geats now that the great warrior is dead:—

¹ Saxo Grammaticus-Elton's translation, p. 80.

ac se wonna hrefn
fūs ofer fægum fela reordian,
earne secgan hū him æt æte spēow,
þenden hē wið wulf wæl rēafode.

Beo. 3024-7.

“ But the wan raven, fain o’er the fey, many things shall tell forth, shall say to the erne how it sped him at feasting when, with the wolf, he plundered the slain.”

Finally then :—

The main points of resemblance between these two great Northern sagas, “ Beowulf ” and the Grettla (or Gretti’s saga), are :—

- (a) The details of the wrestling contests of Beowulf with Grendel and of Grettir with Glam.
- (b) The minute details of the sword-fight of Beowulf with Grendel’s mother and of Grettir with the giant under the force.
- (c) The great swimming power of each champion—a point I have omitted in the reading of this paper. Beowulf in his race with Breca swims for five nights in a storm-tossed sea (seven nights according to Unferth), and will not leave his spent rival until the waves force them apart. Before he comes to land nine eoten-fish have fallen to his sword. Then after the fight with the Franks, Hetware and Hugas, in which Hygelac falls, Beowulf swims away to Sweden, with thirty mail-shirts as his spoil.

Sōð ic talige,
þæt ic mere-strengo mārān āhte,
earfeþo on ŷþum, ðonne ænig oþer man.

Beo. 532-4.

“ Sooth I tell thee more might had I, more endurance in the waves, than any other man.

“ Grettir, too, is a mighty swimmer; he will make

no double journey over the ice-bound Isledale river, for Steinvor and her child. Placing the child in the mother's lap, and both in his left arm, thrusting the ice-floes before him, he lands both of them safely and comes back alone. And he swims the sea-mile from Drangey to Reeks for firewood, to the wonder of all men and in especial of Illugi :—

“Mikit þykki mér þat,” segir Illugi, “pvi at vit erum upp gefnir, ef þér verðr nökkut.” “Eigi mun ek á sunði drukna,” sagði Grettir.

“Much my mind misgives me thereof,” said Illugi, “for we are all lost if thou comest to any ill.”

“I shall not be swallowed up swimming,” said Grettir.

(d) The loneliness of each hero is emphasised :—

Biowulf maþelade, bearn Ecgðēowes :

Fela ic on giogoðe gūð-ræsa genæs,
orleg-hwīla; ic þæt eall gemon.

Ic wæs syfan-wintre, þā mec sinca baldor,
frēa-wine folca, æt mīnum fæder genam.

Beo. 2425-29.

Beowulf, son of Ecgtheow, spake :—

“In youth I endured many a battle storm, times of war : all that I mind me of. Seven winters old was I when the treasure-lord, the friendly ruler of folk, received me from my father.”

His father was exiled early in life; we hear but little of his mother, but she was the only daughter of Hrethel, King of the Geats and sister of Hygelac, Beowulf's lord. Hygelac and Beowulf were therefore uncle and nephew.

Beowulf has no son. When dying, he says :—

“Nū ic suna mīnum syllan wolde
gūð-gewædu, þær mē gifeðe swā
ænig yrfe-weard æfter wurde
lice gelenge.”

Beo. 2729-32.

“Now would I give my son these war-weeds, had it been granted that any heir belonging to my body should come after me.”

Nor has he a wife. As Thomas Arnold puts it :—

“Beowulf has no wife, no lover; he has indeed, his period of peace and prosperity ushered in by successful battle and ended by utter discomfiture; but this is the common lot of eminent men.”¹ Unless, I would add, we accept the theory that, after Hygelac’s death, Hygd became Beowulf’s wife. At the burning of his body, an aged woman mourns her fate; but the text of the passage is grievously mutilated :—

swylce gīomor gyd [sīo gēo-] mēowle
· · · · · [b] unden heorde
· · · sorg-cearig sālðe geneahhe,
þæt hīo hyre :::::gas hearde:::::de
wæl-fylla wonn :::::des egesan
hyðo: h:::::d.

Beo. 3150-55.

of which Bugge’s admirable reconstruction is :—

swylce gīomor-gyd sīo gēo-mēowle
æfter Beowulfe bunden-heorde
songsorg-cearig, sāde geneahhe,
þæt hīo hyre hearm-dagas hearde ondrēde,
wæl-fylla worn, wigendes egesan,
hȳnðo ond hæft-nȳd, hēof on rīce wealg.

Likewise the “wife of his youth,”² with hair bound up [sang] a mournful dirge (and said) oft-times that sorely she feared evil days for herself, much slaughter, the terror [of warriors], shame and captivity.

It is to be remembered that, after the death of Hygelac, Hygd, the young widowed queen, offered Beowulf the “hord ond rīce, bēagas ond brego-stōl,” thus passing over Heardred, her son or step-son.

¹ “Notes on Beowulf.”

² Perhaps Hygd (So Wyatt).

And this same pathos of utter loneliness in Grettir's case is finely shewn by S. Baring-Gould's metrical paraphrase of the fragmentary death-chant of Grettir, in the Saga:—

“ For nineteen years, I a hunted man,
On mountain, on moor, and fen;
For nineteen years had to shun and flee
The face of my fellow-men.

“ For nineteen years all bitter to bear
Both hunger and cold and pain;
And never to know when I laid me down,
If I might awake again.

“ And now do I lie with a burning eye,
As a wolf is fain to die;
Whilst the skies are dripping and ocean roars,
And the winds sob sadly by —.”¹

(d) The last fight of each hero, befriended by one ideal kinsman, Wiglaf, the loyal cousin and thane of Beowulf and Illugi, Grettir's young brother, fifteen winters of age, and of all men the goodliest to look on.

Illugi bróðir hans var þá fimtán vetra gamall,
ok allra manna gervilegastr.

¹ “Grettir the Outlaw,” by S. Baring-Gould.

NOTE—Translations of the Grettla throughout are those of Magnússon and Morris, Anglo-Saxon text of “Beowulf” follows that of A. J. Wyatt (Camb. Univ. Press). Icelandic Text of Grettis Saga, the Reykjavik Edition.

THE CULT OF NERTHUS.

BY DR. GUDMUND SCHÜTTE.

I. INTRODUCTION.—TRADITION.

NO religion has such a venerable place within old Northern myth-lore as the cult of Nerthus. It is verified through older tests than any other cult within that group of nations which was in Old Norse called *Got-thiod*, in Old English "*eþel Gotena*," (*Widsith*)—we here prefer to say: the *Gottonic* group.¹

The following little sketch does not pretend to be a special study on myth-lore or folk-lore. It simply collects those facts which quite involuntarily present themselves to any student who happens to read the evidences in question. For particulars of the discussion, see the works of the specialists, such as the German: Müllenhoff; the Dane: Axel Olrik; the Swede: Axel Kock; the Englishman: H. M. Chadwick.

The base of our notions about the Nerthus cult is a series of linguistical and mythological identifications.

Nerthus, main goddess of the Angles, is identified with *Niaerth* or *Niorðr*, main god of some Scandinavian tribes. The first name is the exact older linguistical stage of the latter.

Niorðr is married to his own sister; they have a son *Freyr* and a daughter *Freyja*, who in later times inherits the place of the parents. This secondary pair of deities is regarded as an "emanation" of the first.

¹ Commonly used names of the group are:—Goths, Teutons, "Germanen." As all of these names are misleading, "Germanen" has some 8 or 9 significations—we have chosen the classical form "*Guttones*, *Gothones*" which is nowadays never used, and can therefore conveniently be privileged to signify the same as Old Norse, *Got-thiod*, "the whole of our group of nations." Cf. our discussion with Karl Blind in previous volumes of the "*Saga Book*." Also our treatise "*Gottonic Names*," *The Journal of Engl. and Germ. Philol.*, 1912.

Freyr, also called Fricco, is the spender of the sacred peace, O. Norse fróða-friðr. He reappears as a dethroned god in the Swedish king Frø, and as the Danish king Frið-Fróði or Frode Fredegod, the spender of the fróða-friðr.

Freyr is called Yngvi-Freyr or Ingun-ár-freyr, *i.e.*, the "lord of Inguions," "the fertility-spending lord of Inguions." The Inguions are an ethnical group, embracing especially Angles, Jutes, Danes, and (later?) Swedes. The most direct continuation of the group seems to be the state of Denmark. A whole series of characteristic features accompany the cult more or less generally.

The deity is a symbol of fertility: Nerthus, Niorðr, Freyr, king Fro. The deity is a symbol of peace: Nerthus, Niorðr, Freyr, Fróde, Frede-god. During the feast of the deity all weapons are ritually locked up: Nerthus; Swedish custom, generalised by Tacitus. During the feast, the deity visits the districts of the country, driving in a chariot: Nerthus, goddess of Hleiðrar, Freyr, Frode Fredegod. The deity is concealed behind the veils of a tester: Nerthus, the goddess of Hleiðrar (hleiðrar = tents). The sanctuary is on an island, peninsula, or connected with sea-trade; Nerthus on an island in the Ocean, Nærbjerg on the isolated peninsular "Holy-ness" in N. Jutland, 2 Nærth-øwæ ("Nerthus-hills") on the island of Funen; residence of a goddess in Hleiðrar on the isle of Sealand, Niartherum on the isle of Sealand, islet Niærdholm near the coast of Skane, mythical residence of Niorðr in Noa-tún, "Naval town."

A ritual differentiation is observed, according to the sex of the deity: the female Nerthus as a priest, the male Nerthus (Freyr) as a priestess. Cf. Tacitus on the cult of the dioscures ("tveir Haddingjar") among the Vandales: the priests have female dress.

A death motive appears: the actual death or disappearance of the deity is hidden to the common people,

whereas the priests go on receiving the sacrifices: Freyr (two different traditions), Frode Fredegod. Most likely it is a mere fortunity that the same feature does not appear in the tradition about the female Nerthus.

The naval element is emphasised more in the tradition about Nogrðr than in the traditions about the female Nerthus and about Freyr.

The element of fertility is, in the cult of Freyr, combined with phallic rites. This special feature does not appear in the tradition about the female Nerthus, but it is quite natural that it was eliminated here, as it did not agree with Tacitus's tendency of idealizing the Gottons.

Most of the above statements are generally accepted by the specialists.

There is some dissension about the extension of the group of Inguions. Most Germans arbitrarily identify the group with the Anglo-Frisians, excluding the Scandinavians. Other Germans, such as Rieger, Kosinna, have shown the futility of this assumption. We here follow Chadwick, who places the centre of the Inguions exactly on Danish ground.

We shall now relate the different main evidences.

II. EVIDENCES ON THE CULT.—2. TACITUS ON THE CULT OF NERTHUS.—In his "Germania," c. 40, Tacitus speaks of a religious community behind the Semnons and Langobards, already belonging partly to the "less known parts of the Gottonic country" ("secretiora Germaniæ"). Members of the community Rendings (Reudigni), Avions, Angles, Varines, Eudoses, "Suarines" or "Suardones," and "Nui-thonnes"; the latter two names are no doubt corrupt—we may correct them into Charudes and Euthones, *i.e.*, "Hardboer" and Jutes. (See under III.)

"There is nothing particular to be said about these tribes, except that they jointly worship Nerthus, *i.e.*, the 'Mother Earth.' On an island in the ocean there is a chaste grove, and therein a sacred chariot, covered by a tester. Nobody is allowed to touch it except the

priest; he notices when the goddess is present in the sanctuary; then he puts the female oxen to the chariot and follows it with great veneration. Then they have glad days, and there is feasting in all places, which the goddess honours by her presence. They do not begin wars, and touch no weapons; all iron is locked up. Peace and good time is the only thing they know of and aspire. And so it goes on, till at last the goddess gets tired of the intercourse with the mortal beings and retires to her temple. Then immediately the chariot and the garments, and, if people may believe it, the goddess is washed in a secret lake. Slaves make service at the washing, and immediately after it they are swallowed by the lake. Hence is the origin of the mysterious terror and the sacred ignorance about what that may be which nobody is allowed to see unless he is sure to die."

3. TACITUS ON THE CUSTOMS OF THE SWEDES.—After describing how the republicanism of the southern Gottons is replaced by royalism among the Goths in Prussia, Tacitus goes on, making the Swedes represent royal absolutism. The Sitons (= Kvænes), north of the Swedes, form the top of the climax, being reigned by a queen. About the Swedes he says: "They pay much respect to wealth, and therefore a single man rules them, with no exceptions. The weapons are not granted to anybody indiscriminately, as among the other Gottons, but locked up under the custody of a slave. For the ocean prohibits sudden inroads of foes, and armed men's hands often strike out ('lasciviunt'), when they are idle." The whole description is obviously due to an exaggerated report about the ritual peace during the sacrifices.

4. SNORRI ON FREYR.—In his *Ynglinga Saga*, c. 4, *et seq.*, Snorri, in his euhemeristic way, describes the religious development of ancient Sweden. The first vernacular gods were the Vanes. These must afterwards make terms with a southern set of gods, called

Ases, who were headed by Woden. "The most prominent among the Vanes were Niorðr and his son. . . . Niorðr had had his sister as wife—this was allowed among the Vanes. Their children were Freyr and Freyja. But among the Ases it was forbidden to marry such near relations. Freyja was a priestess who presided at the sacrifices (blót-gyðja); she was the first to teach the Ases witchcraft (seið), which was used among the Vanes. . . . Niorðr of Noatunir ("Naval towns") took over the rule among the Swedes, after Woden's death, and kept up the sacrifices. The Swedes called him their lord (dróttinn), and he took tributary gifts of them. In his days there was good peace and abundance of fertility, so that the Swedes believed that Niorðr determined the crops and the riches of men. Niorðr died of sickness; he made himself marked to Óðinn before his death. The Swedes burned him, and wept much at his grave."

"Freyr took over the rule after Niorðr. He was called lord of the Swedes, and took tributary gifts of them; he was kind, and the spender of good years, like his father. Freyr built a large temple near Upsala, and took his residence there, endowing it with all his incomes and possessions. This was the origin of the Upsala crownland, which has since been preserved. In his days the "Frode-peace" began, with fertility in all lands. The Swedes attributed it to Freyr, and therefore he was worshipped more than all other gods, inasmuch as the people grew richer. His wife was Gerð, daughter of Gymir; their son was Fiolnir. Freyr was also called Yngvi. This name was long used as an honorary title within his family, and his kinsmen were called Ynglings. Freyr finally got sick. When his death was approaching, his men allowed only few people to see him, while they themselves built a large hill with a door and three small windows. When Freyr was dead they carried him secretly into the hill, saying to the Swedes that he was still alive.

They guarded him there for three years, but all the tribute they poured down into the hill, the gold through one hole, the silver through another, and the copper through the third. Then fertility and peace persisted."

"Freyja continued the sacrifices. She was now left as the only still living of the gods. . . . When the Swedes noticed that Freyr was dead, and that nevertheless peace and fertility lasted, they believed that it would remain so, as long as Freyr was in Sweden; therefore they would not burn him, but called him "god of the world," and brought him sacrifices for the sake of fertility and peace henceforth."

5. OLAF TRYGGVASON'S SAGA ON FREYR (*Flateyjarbook* II., 337):—

The Norwegian Gunnar Helming was suspected of having committed a murder. For fear of King Olaf he fled to Sweden. There happened to be great sacrifices in the honour of Freyr, and his idol had such a power that the devil spoke through it, and it had been given a young wife. People believed that they could have sexual intercourse. Freyr's wife was pretty, and she had the dominion over the temple. Gunnar asked her for shelter. She answered: "You are not fortunate, for Freyr does not like you. Nevertheless, stay here for three nights, and we may see." He said: "I like better to be helped by you than by Freyr." Gunnar was a very jolly and cheerful person. After three nights he asked whether he might stay there any longer. "I do not know exactly," said she. "You are a poor fellow, and still, as it seems, of good extraction, I should like to help you, only I am afraid that Freyr hates you. Still, remain here half a month, and we may again see." . . . Gunnar pleased the Swedes well because of his cheerfulness and smartness. After some time, he talked again with Freyr's wife. She said: "People like you well, and I think it better you stay here this winter and accompany us when Freyr makes his annual journey. But I must tell you that he is still angry with you." Gunnar thanked her well. . . . Now the festival time came, and the procession started. Freyr and his wife were placed in the carriage, whereas their servants and Gunnar had to walk beside. When driving through the mountains, they were surprised by a tempest and all the servants fled. Gunnar remained. At last he got tired of walking, went into the carriage and let the draught-cattle go as they liked. Freyr's wife said: "You had better try and walk again, for otherwise Freyr will arise against you." Gunnar did so, but when he got too tired, he said: "Anyhow, let him come, I will stand against him." Now Freyr arises, and they wrestle till Gunnar notices that he is getting weaker. Then he thinks by himself that if he overcomes this load

Foe, he will return to the right faith and be reconciled with King Olaf. And immediately after Freyr begins to give way, and afterwards to sink. Now this Foe leaps out of the idol, and it lay there empty. Gunnar broke it into pieces and gave Freyr's wife two alternatives: that he might leave, or that she might declare him publicly to be the god Freyr. She said that she would willingly declare what he liked. Now Gunnar was dressed in Freyr's clothes, the weather improved and they went together to the festival. People were very much impressed by the power of Freyr, because he was able to visit the country in such a tempest, although all the servants had fled. They wondered how he went about among them and talked like other men. Thus Freyr and his wife spent the winter going to festivals. Freyr was not more eloquent towards other people than his wife, and he would not receive living victims, as before, and no offerings except gold, silk, and good clothings. After some months, people began to notice that Freyr's wife was gravid. They thought it splendid, and many expected great wonders of their god Freyr. Also the weather was fine, and it looked like such a harvest as nobody remembered to have seen before. The rumours of Freyr's power were reported to Norway, and also brought before King Olaf. He had some suspicion of the truth and asked Gunnar's brother Sigurd what he knew about the exiled. Sigurd knew of nothing. The King said: "I believe that this mighty god of the Swedes, who is so famous in all countries, is no other person than your brother Gunnar. For otherwise, those sacrifices are the greatest where living men are slaughtered. . . . Now I will send you to Sweden, for it is terrible to know that a Christian man's soul should be situated thus. I shall give up my wrath, if he comes voluntarily, for now I know that he has not committed the murder." . . . Sigurd immediately went to Sweden and brought his brother these news. Gunnar answered: "Certainly might I willingly go back; but if the Swedes discover the truth, they will kill me." Sigurd said: "We shall secretly carry you away, and be sure that King Olaf's good fortune and God's mercy is more powerful than the Swedes." Now Gunnar and his wife prepare their flight, taking with them as many goods as they were able to carry. The Swedes went in pursuit of them, but lost the trace and did not find them. So Gunnar and his people arrived in Norway and went to King Olaf, who received them well and made him and his wife be baptized.

6. EDDA POEM SKIRNISMAL ON FREY'S LOVE OF GERÐ.—Freyr here appears as the incarnation of sensual desire.

7. ADAM OF BREMEN ON FRICCO.—According to Adam, the three main gods of the Swedes had a temple in Upsala. The most venerated was Fricco, who was represented "*cum ingenti priapo.*" The name of

Fricco may contain the same Aryan root as Priapos, but it may at the same time have been regarded as a pet form of "frið-góði," "the peace-good."

8. SAXO ON KING FRØ.—According to Saxo, once the Swedes were ruled by King Frø, who was a cruel tyrant. After conquering a Norwegian, King Siward, he used to carry off the wives and daughters of the most notable men in Norway, compelling them to a sort of infamy. Because of his cruelty and lechery he was at last slain by Ragnar Loðbrók.

9. SAXO ON KING FRØ'S SONS.—The champion, Starkad, dwelt for seven years with King Frø's sons in Sweden. At last he could no longer stand the lascivious dancing and jingling which took place in Upsala during the times of sacrifice. So he departed for Denmark. [Not King Frø, but the god seems to be meant directly.] The report goes on with a description of quite similar rites at the court of the Irish King, Hugleth, who is killed by Starkad and Haki. Snorri has exactly the same report on the destruction of the lascivious king and his court. But here the scene is at Upsala. Among King Hagleik's people, Snorri also mentions sorcerers ("seiðmenn"). It is obviously Snorri who preserves the correct localisation; the whole tradition must be referred to the Swedish cult of Freyr.

10. SAXO ON KING FRODE FREDEGOD.—What Saxo relates in his 5th book on King Frode Fredegod is mixed up with Icelandic fancy sagas of more or less individual fabrication. The whole story of Frode's battles and conquests must be eliminated. What remains is a ritual tradition which may be summed up in the following way. Frode established the firm and sacred peace (fróða friðr). In order to manifest its firmness, he placed unlocked treasures near the high roads on two spots in Norway and also in Jutland. Nobody ventured to steal them. At last a witch persuaded her son to steal them for her, and when the king set out to punish the thief, she transformed her-

self into a sea-cow and gored him with her horn. Frode died of the wound. But his chieftains embalmed his corpse, put it on a chariot, and dragged it round the country; so credulous people believed that he was still living, and paid their taxes as before. The corpse at last rotted so much that they could not bear the stench; so they buried it near Værebro, on the island of Sealand. N.B.—This locality is close to Ud-Lejre, reminding one of the name of the famous Sealandic place of worship.

We do not take into account the myths about Gefjón, Baldr, and King Skjold, which have been regarded by several scholars as closely connected with the Nerthus-cult. As the connection is not strictly obvious, we think it better to leave this material aside.

III. LOCALISATION OF THE NERTHUS-PEOPLE OF TACITUS.—Tacitus says, "Germania," c. 40: Nerthus is worshipped by Rendingi, Aviones, Anglii, Varini, Eudoses, Suarines, Nuithones. Sanctuary: an island in the ocean.

Corresponding group in Widsith: Rondings, Brondings, Wærnes, Eoves, Ytes. The Angles are left out, as they must be named at the end of the whole list, according to the law of "back stress."

The hapax legomenon Reudigni of Tacitus no doubt must be read Rendingi or Randingi=the Rendings of Widsith.¹ They may have lived near the river Gudenaa in North Jutland; this river must formerly have been called Rand, since the town at its mouth has the name of Randers, Randar-ós, "mouth of

¹ Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, p. 199, combines the Varini with the South Jutlandic peninsular district of Varnæs, in the neighbourhood of Angel = "promontorium Varinorum in a document of the thirteenth century." It is not quite excluded that this suggestion of Müllenhoff could be correct. But the assertion that the cited words are actually found in a document, "*Liber census Daniæ*," is false; it is due to a careless quotation from Müllenhoff in the extremely unreliable treatise of Seelman, in "*Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*" 1886, p. 31.

Rand." Besides, there is a firth near Fredericia called Randsfjord.

Avions, Eowan, are either "Island-dwellers" or "River-dwellers." The first interpretation has been referred to the islands along the coast of South Jutland. Detlefsen, in Sieglin's "*Quellen u. Forschungen zur alten . . . Geographie*," Heft 8, Nachtrag, p. 10, suggests that the Avions might be the inhabitants of Åbo Syssel in North Jutland, *i.e.*, the environs of Randers and Aarhus. Åbo means exactly "River-dweller." If the Rondings lived near Randers, the said localisation of the Avions would fit in very well. Yet we must provisionally leave the suggestion as a vague possibility.

Anglii, Angles, are inhabitants of the South Jutlandic district of Angel, perhaps also of the neighbouring east coast of Holstein.

Varini, Wærnes, on the map of Ptolemy, are placed fairly in the present Mecklenburg. One of the main rivers of the country till this day are called Warnow; it debouches near the well-known railway junction of Warnemünde. The reign of the Varines was ruined by the Franks in the year 595. The later invading Slavs who settled near the river of Warnow called themselves Varnabi; perhaps the tribe may have been a denationalised remnant of the Varines.

Eudoses are like the Eudosioi of Ptolemy (corrupted into Fundusioi). Ptolemy's map places them on the north-west coast of Jutland, as neighbours of the Charudes who lived on the east coast. In Cesar's time Enduses and Charudes jointly made an inroad into Gaul. We know of no other native possible equation than the tribe of Wederas in the Beowulf poem. As Euthungi are often called Vithungi, and the Jutæ often Vitæ, it does not seem to us quite excluded that a similar displacement of the initial sounds might have taken place in Euduses-Wederas. The R could be quite regularly developed from a voiced S.

Suarines or Suardones are by Chadwick and others combined with the Varini as Su-varines, and again re-found in the Mecklenburgian town of Schwerin. We should prefer to correct Suarines, Suardones into Charudes, as these are the notorious neighbours of the Euduses.

The Charudes on Ptolemy's map are placed on the east coast of Jutland, and here they are brought to mind by the medieval district of Harz Hæret, nowadays Hads Herréd. The greater part of the Charudes, however, have moved on to the west coast, and live here as Hardboer, in the district of Hard Syssel.

Nuithones is evidently corrupt. It may be bettered into Teutones or Euthiones. The Teutones, according to Ptolemy's map, are the neighbours of the Varines, whereas Mela places them on the island of Codanonia (Scandinavia?). The Euthiones, who occur in a poem of Venantius Fortunatus, 583, of course would be identical with the well-known Jutes.

Half of the above interpretations, it is true, are questionable, but at least Angles, Varines and Euduses are firmly localised, and this is enough to give some idea of the general extension of the Nerthus community. Jutland in its whole length is included; that is to say, so far as it belongs to the Baltic sphere; the south-western part, because of its maritime intercourse with the North Sea regions, seems to have belonged to another community. So the Nerthus-community belonged, moreover, to Mecklenburg, the territory of the Varines. As to the Danish islands, they are not directly mentioned. But the sacred "island in the ocean," in the opinion of many scholars, is exactly Sealand. And at any rate we cannot wonder if Tacitus was not aware of the extension of the community beyond the Belts: for here his geographical knowledge was quite sporadic and unreliable.

IV. PLACE-NAMES OR RUNE-STONES PRESERVING THE NERTHUS-CULT.—Nærild in Varvith Syssel, West Jut-

land, anciently a church village = Nerthus-hill? Njære, vicarage in Aabo Syssel, near Randers, = Niarthar-ví, "Nerthus-sanctuary." Nærbyærg, in Aabo Syssel, on Hælghænæs, the "Holy Ness," = Nerthus-Barrow? The "Holy Ness" is no doubt the most suitable place for a maritime cult on the whole coast of North Jutland, as it stands far out into the Kattegat, widely visible with its steep bank, which is called Ellemandsbjerget, "the Elf-mountain." Rune-stone, on the island of Funen, mentioning Nora goði (Nura kuði), according to Magnus Olsen, "the priest of the Nerthus-worshippers." Nærthowæ, now N. and S. Næraa, in the northern and eastern part of Funen, = "Nerthus-hill." Niartherum, now Nærum, in N. Sealand, = Nerthus-place." Närlunda, near Helsingborg in Scania = "Nerthus-grove." Niærdholm, an unknown islet near the coast of Scania.

In the upper Swedish provinces, place-names, preserving the cult of Nerthus, are exceedingly numerous. Sometimes they are now singularly distorted, such as Mjerdevid, formerly Njærdevi; (H. V. Clausen). Also in Norway the name of Nerthus is represented, *e.g.*, Njarðey, now Nærø is the well-known Nærøfjord.

V. EVIDENCES ON THE CULT OF THE ANCESTRAL HERO, INGUO.—The Inguions, as we have said before, are generally identified with the Nerthus-worshippers. We must remark beforehand that according to ancient Gottonic laws of nomenclature, no ordinary human being was allowed to bear the name of his own native eponymous hero, national nor gentile. Hence we draw the conclusion that eponymous names, found in the early parts of ancient pedigrees, have a certain systematic significance: they proved the means of indicating the genealogical classification of the families concerned. This must be remembered in order to understand the evidences correctly.

Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, IV., 96 and 99. The Inguions consist of the inhabitants of Saevo (Norway), more-

over of Cimbrians, Teutons, *i.e.*, Jutlanders, and of Chauks in northern Hannoveria.

GENEALOGY OF THE ANGLIAN KINGS OF BERNICIA—Woden—Beornec—Ing-ui. Anglo-Saxon Rune-Song. Ing was first among the East-Danes. Hence he went eastward over the wave. The chariot (?) ran after him.

BEOWULF.—The Skjoldungs or Danes are constantly called Ing-wine, *i.e.*, "friends of Inguo."

GENEALOGY OF THE SIKLINGS, who, according to Saxo, have emigrated from Götland to Sealand. Ungvin, at the top of the genealogy, = Ing-vin.

GENEALOGY OF THE YNGLINGS OR SKILFINGS, Kings of Sweden, worshipping the gods called Vanes. Niorthr-Freyr (called Yngvi, Yngvi-Freyr or Ingun-ár-Freyr) (Vana f.) Vanlandi (Skjalf f.) Yngvi.

VI. FIRST COUNTER-VERIFICATION. LOCAL OR NON-LOCAL CHARACTER OF THE NERTHUS-CULT.—It is a question how much of the above-mentioned rites is international, and how much of more local origin.

The sacrificial procession of driving is of course not local. We again find it with the lascivities, etc., on Rhenish ground in the year of 1123 (*Rodulf's Chronicon abbatiae S. Trudonis lib. XI.*, see Kögel, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Litt I.*, p. 23, *Grimm Mythologie* (3) 242, (4) III., 86).

The chariot with religious images is found on Celtic ground in Steiermark (Sophus Müller, "Urgesch. Europas," p. 131, Hallstadt Period) and Danish ground near the Seelandic place of Trundholm, belonging to the cult of the Sun (Müller, *ibid.*, p. 116).

Survivals of sacrificial sexual rites were found on the island of Helgoland as late as in the 17th century (Nathan Chytræus).

If we should try to trace the existence of more local features, we should like to point out the difference in the means of conveyance. The Baltic districts evidently prefer the ordinary chariot. Evidences: Nerthus,

goddess of Lejre, Peace-Frode, Freyr, Sun-chariot from Sealand. We may, perhaps, add Gefion's plough as a sub-species. Only one instance of ship-driving is known within this region; the custom exists till this day in Aarhus, the capital of Jutland.

The South Teutonic region seems to prefer the ship-driving. Tacitus relates that a goddess, "Isis," is worshipped by the Swebians in the likeness of a ship. And we again find the ship-procession both on Rhenish ground and in Tyrol (Kögel, i.e.). As the ship symbol is inappropriate for an inland country like the Tyrol, the custom may have been carried thither by Swebian "Isis-worshippers."

VII. SECOND COUNTER-VERIFICATION.—EVIDENCES ABOUT NON-INGUIONIC TRIBES.—(a) Saxons. A national symbol of theirs is Saxnôt. From him the East-Saxon kings in England are derived, whereas all Jutic and Anglian kings are derived from Woden. Another national god of the Saxons is Er, who is also worshipped by the Bavarians. His symbol most likely is the Irmin-sûl, "the enormous column," worshipped by the Saxons, who therefore would seem to belong to the Ermines, a group co-ordinate with the Inguions; the Saxons, and the neighbouring Sigulons and Ambrons of classical times appear in the same relation to the Inguions as the Saxons, Siggs and Ymbres of Widsith, not being mentioned within the Nerthus group.

(b) Swebians, etc. According to Pliny, they belong to the group of Ermines, co-ordinate with Inguions. The Bavarians in the middle ages remembered their origin from Ermin or "Armen," who was, by learned conjecture, derived from Armenia. The national god Er is worshipped from Saxony to Bavaria; hence Bavarian Ertag = Tuesday. Symbol: Irmin-sûl? Compare the Saxons. The god Woden is unknown to the Bavarians; hence German Mittwoch = Wednesday. A part of the Swebians, according to Tacitus, *Germ.* c. 9,

worship "Isis," symbolized as a ship. The ship-symbol is also found in the Rhine-province (near Aachen), and in the Tyrol, see above. The German name of "Isis" was perhaps Hulda, Frau Holle. She may have been a counterpart of the female Nerthus.

(c) Frisians, etc. A national god of theirs is Forsete, the president of the "thing" or law-court, worshipped especially in Helgoland, or "Fosetesland." He seems to be the same as the Mars Thingsus, worshipped by the Tuiantes, the inhabitants of Twenthe, south of West Frisia. Tuesday in German is named after Mars Thingsus: *Dingstag*, *Dienstag*; this denomination is most frequent in Western Germany and Holland. The Norwegians in later times adopted Forsete into their mythology, but real worship of him cannot be traced on Scandinavian ground.

(d) Franks. According to Pliny, the people near the Rhine form a group called Istiones, or Istvæones. The statement is supported by a 6th century "*Generatio regum and gentium*," written down in Gaul; here the Franks appear as "sons of Istio." Even if the genealogy is not to be trusted, its statement about the vernacular tribe may lay claim to reliability. We know nothing about local Franconian gods of greater significance.

The collective evidence from the tribes south of Jutland seems to show that their worship is characterized by special features, in contrast to that of the Inguions. At any rate, we have found nothing which justifies the assertion that the Inguions belonged to a southern type, limited to the countries west of the Øresund and sharply contrasting with the Scandinavian type.

THE VOLUSPÁ, THE SIBYL'S LAY IN THE EDDA OF SÆMUND.

By W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S., President.

AMONG the ancient Teutonic nations, women always occupied a very high and honourable place, and not least as prophetesses and sooth-sayers. This was the case even among the Gods, and we read in the *Vegtamskvida* that when evil dreams and omens threatened the life of Balder, Odin himself rode down to the eastern gate of Helheim, to the grave of a great Vala, and he compelled her by his spells to rise from the dead and answer his questions. When he left her, she declared that he might boast that no man should ever visit her again until Loki shall break his bonds, and Ragnarök, the Twilight of the Gods, all-destroying, shall come. The *Vegtamskvide* is better known in England than any other poem of the Edda, for it is the original of Gray's *Descent of Odin*.

One of the oldest and most interesting poems of the Elder Edda is the *Völuspâ*, or Vala's Prophecy, which gives a fairly complete outline of Eddaic cosmogony and mythology, and the Prose Edda of Snorri largely consists of an amplification and commentary on the *Völuspâ*.

At one time this poem was supposed to be of great antiquity, and it embodies much ancient belief; but in its present form it comes down to us from about the time of the introduction of Christianity into the North. We now know that Irish poetry of the same period possesses Oriental and Sibylline characters very similar to those of the oldest Eddaic poems, and the literary connection between Ireland and Iceland was probably much closer than we are able to estimate at present.

Vigfusson and York Powell, in their "*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*," have subjected the Völuspá to a kind of "higher criticism," and see in it the prophecy of three Sibyls, in addition to the so-called "Short Völuspá," which forms part of another poem, the Hyndlulíð. But I prefer to discuss the poem in the form in which it generally stands, and following Thorpe's translation in the main. I may say that it seems to me that Vigfusson and York Powell have been too ready to read Christian allusions into it. Thus, in one passage they allude to the Ash Yggdrasil as the "rood." But while it is quite possible that certain ideas connected with the Crucifix may have been mixed up with the idea of the World-Tree, yet the original conception is far older, and thoroughly Oriental in character. Nor is it clear that obscure casual allusions to a Mighty One who shall come to preside over the renovated world, necessarily refer to Christ, as they assume. But we will now see what the Sybil herself teaches.

First of all, she demands silence from all men, great and small, the children of Heimdall, who is said, in the Rigsmál, to have infused life into the ancestors of the human race. She remembers the giants among whom she was reared, and nine worlds. Thorpe adds, "nine trees, the great central tree beneath the earth"; but Vigfusson and York Powell read, "nine Pythonesses, a blessed Judge beneath the earth."

As they suggest, the Pythonesses *may* refer to the nine virgin mothers of Heimdall; the "blessed Judge" they suggest is Mimir, but the interpretation "Central tree" seems to me much more reasonable. The "blessed Judge," and the allusion to Mimir, seem to me to be nonsense. Miss Olive Bray reads "nine in the Tree, the glorious Fate-Tree that springs 'neath the earth."

Then the Sybil relates how in the time of chaos everything was in confusion, till the Gods created or

refashioned the heavens and the earth, and assigned their courses to the Sun, Moon, and Stars. Then the Gods settled on the plain of Ida, and led a joyous and prosperous life, and everything was of gold, till there came three hideous giant-maidens from Jötunheim, when all the prosperity of the Gods vanished. Here follows a long account of the creation of the dwarfs from the blood and bones of the Giant Ymir, which Vigfusson and York Powell reject as spurious. According to the Prose Edda, the dwarfs were created from the maggots that bred in the carcase of the giant Ymir, who was slain by the Gods, and from whose body they constructed the world.

In the Prose Edda, the creative Gods are called Odin, Vili, and Ve; but in one passage in the *Völuspâ* they are called Odin, Hœnir and Lodur, and the last name does not occur elsewhere. They were wandering on the shore, when they found two logs of wood, Ask and Embla (Ash and Elm?), and they changed them into a man and woman, and gave them life and understanding. In the *Rigsmal*, the vitalising of the ancestors of the three castes of mankind—thralls, peasants, and nobles—is ascribed to Heimdall, but this is not mentioned in the *Völuspâ*. The Ash was always a sacred emblem in the North; here we find that the ancestor of all men was originally an ash-stump; the great World-Tree, Yggdrasil, was also an Ash; and the son of Hengist was named Æsc; and the men of Kent were called after him Æscings.

Now we come to the Ash Tree itself.

19. I know an ash standing
Yggdrasil hight,
A lofty tree, laved
With limpid water;
Thence come the dews,
Into the dales that fall;
Ever stands it green
Over Urd's fountain.

Here sit the three Nornir—Urd, Verdandi, and Skuld, Past, Present, and Future, by the Fountain of the Past, weaving the fates of men.

The Vala then relates how she sat alone, when Odin came and gazed upon her; and she declared to him that she knew how he had left his eye in pledge at the well of Mimir. The allusions to Mimir, the guardian of the Well of Wisdom, are inconsistent. Here, Mimir is said to drink mead every morning from the eye as from a cup. Elsewhere Odin is said to have given his eye for a draught from Mimir's well; while other passages seem to imply that Odin cut off the head of Mimir, and used to consult it in time of doubt and difficulty, as if it had been a Teraph.

Then Odin conferred on the Vala the gifts of prophecy and seership, and she beheld in vision the coming of the Valkyriur, and of the Witch of Gold, followed by the outbreak of war in the world, between the Æsir and the Vanir (the Gods and the Wind-Gods?), and the murder, by Thor, of a giant to whom the gods had pledged the hand of Freya, which is related more fully in the Prose Edda.

Then the Vala beheld the Witch of the Iron Wood, and the wolves of the race of Fenrir, especially Managarm, who will devour the moon. There is some confusion about these wolves; and the Prose Edda has mixed up two different legends. According to one, the sun and moon are constantly pursued by two wolves, named Sköll and Hati, who will finally overtake and devour them; but according to the other account, the sun and moon will be devoured by Fenrir and Managarm, the former of whom is fettered up while the world lasts, while Managarm, though here said to be reared up in the Iron Wood, is perhaps the same as Garm, the watch dog of Helheim, who is said in the Prose Edda, as Managarm is said in the Völuspâ, to be the most terrible of all the monsters.

Then the Vala beheld three cocks, the red cock Fialar, crowing over the Bird Wood, the gold-combed cock, Gullinkambi, crowing over the abode of the Gods, and a cock of sooty red crowing beneath the earth in the halls of Hel.

Then follows an account of the slaying of Balder by Höder with a spear of mistletoe, to the great grief of the Gods, and especially of Balder's mother Frigga. This event Vigfusson and York Powell regard as transferred, and they connect it with the first war in the world, already alluded to, and refer to the story of Cain and Abel, to which, however, it is not an exact parallel, because Höder slew Balder by misadventure, through the machinations of Loki, who, as the Vala relates, was afterwards bound to a rock, with the entrails of one of his wolf-sons, with his sad wife, Sigyn, sitting by him with a shell to catch the poison dropping from a serpent hung above him, and to prevent it from falling on his face. In another poem of the Edda, however (*Ægisdrekka*), Loki is said to have been hunted down and fettered up on account of the abuse and scandal he poured on all the Gods at a drinking-bout given by *Ægir*, the God of the Sea.

Then the Vala speaks of *Slid*, one of the rivers of Hell; the drinking hall of the Giant *Brimir*; and the Hall of Serpents in *Naströnd*, where murderers, perjurers, and adulterers wade in sluggish streams of venom, and the serpent *Nidhögg* sucks corpses, and wolves tear them.

Then the Vala passes on to the greatest Myths of the Northern Mythology; the Twilight of the Gods, and the destruction and renovation of the world.

44. Further forward I see
Much can I say
Of Ragnarök,
And the Gods' conflict.

45. Brothers shall fight,
And slay each other,
Cousins shall
Kinship violate,
The earth resounds.
The giantesses flee ;
No man will
Another spare.
46. Hard is it in the world,
Great whoredom,
An axe age, a sword age,
Shields shall be cloven,
A wind age, A wolf age,
Ere the world sinks.

Mimir's sons dance, and Heimdall blows his horn loudly, when the Ash Yggdrasil totters and bursts into flames, and Odin consults the head of Mimir. Then all bonds are broken, and the monsters rise up in their fury on all sides ; Loki, Garm, the giant Hrym, in his warship of dead men's nails, the Midgard Serpent, who lies round the world in the sea with his tail in his mouth, and the army of Muspellheim, led by Surtur, waving a sword brighter than the sun in his hand.

52. How is it with the Æsir ?
How with the Alfar ?
All Jötunheim resounds ;
The Æsir are in council,
The dwarfs groan
Before their stony doors,
The sages of the rocky walls.
Understand ye yet, or what ?

Then Odin goes forth to fight the Wolf Fenrir, and perishes, to the great grief of Frigga. As William Herbert paraphrases the passages—

She must taste a second sorrow,
She who wept when Balder bled ;
Fate demands a nobler quarry,
Death must light on Odin's head.

The Wolf is then slain by Vidar. Frey, the bright slayer of Beli, fights with Surtur, and is slain, because he gave his own sword to his messenger, Skirnir, when he sent him to woo the giantess Gerda on his behalf. In the Prose Edda we are told that the combat with Beli was a slight affair, and Frey could have slain him with a blow of his fist; but he slew him with a stag's antlers. Who Beli was, I do not know, but the name occurs in old Irish tales, and I think it possible that the story, lost in Iceland, may ultimately be traced in this quarter. Keary says, in the "Heroes of Asgard": "Beli was the name of a large stag which Frey slew"; but I doubt the correctness of this interpretation. In the Glossary to the second edition, Keary writes: "Beli"—the stag killed by Frey. *Beli* signifies "to bellow." There was also a King Bele or Beli, a Norseman who settled in Orkney (see a pamphlet by Lady Paget, published at Cambridge in 1894), who was the father of Ingebiörg, the beloved of the famous hero Frithiof; but we do not know that Bele or Frithiof had any special connection with Frey.

Thor fights the Midgard Serpent, whom he had already encountered in indecisive conflict and they slay each other; as do also Loki and Heimdall, and Tyr and Garm, as we learn from the Prose Edda.

Then the sun grows dark, the stars fall, the earth sinks in the sea, and the burning ash-tree flames up to heaven. At length the Vala beholds the fire sink, and a new and beautiful world rise from the waters. The Gods shall meet again on the plain of Ida, speak of the mighty deeds of the past, and recover the ancient tablets of Wisdom, while Balder and Höder return from Helheim, and likewise Hœnir, who had been given to the Vanir, as a hostage. The fields shall bring forth unsown and all evil vanish from the new world. Two brothers' sons shall inhabit the spacious Hall of the Winds, and in the golden palace of Gimli all the righteous shall dwell for ever.

64. Then comes the mighty one
To the great judgment,
The powerful from above
Who rules o'er all.
He shall dooms pronounce,
And strifes allay.
Holy peace establish
Which shall ever be.

It is possible and indeed probable that Christian ideas may have influenced these passages; but they are much mixed with non-Christian matters and may well be largely derived from Persian or other old Oriental sources, directly or indirectly. Another poem in the Edda, the Hyndlulíð, contains a very similar passage.

42. Then shall another come
Yet mightier,
Although I dare not
His name declare.
Few may see
Further forth
Than when Odin
Meets the Wolf.

This passage occurs in the portion of the poem which Vigfusson and York Powell separate as forming fragments of a lost poem, under the title of "Skamma," or the "Short Völuspá." It is quite distinct in matter and manner from the genealogical poem called the Hyndlulíð, in which it is incorporated.

The last strophe of the Völuspá is obscure, and probably out of place. It seems to have no immediate connection with what has gone before.

65. There comes the dark
Dragon flying from beneath,
The glistening serpent
From Níðafells.
On his wings bears Níðhöggr,
Flying o'er the plain,
A corpse.
Now she will descend.

Vigfusson and York Powell close the poem with this stanza, but bring it into association with the other reference to Naströnd and Nidhögg, which they place before it.

Notwithstanding the mass of commentary which has already appeared on the Scandinavian Mythology, there are still many important questions unsettled in relation to it. We only possess it in a fragmentary form, but much light may still be thrown upon it; from quarters perhaps quite unexpected. I have already alluded to Old Irish literature, and other important side-lights may be looked for in Northern and North-Eastern Europe. Thus we find, in Scheffer's "History of Lapland" (1674) that Thor was still worshipped in some parts of the country at that time. I presume he may be identified in some of his attributes at least, with Tara of the Esthonians, who are also a Finnish-ugrian people.

The symbolism of the Völuspá in an extensive and profoundly interesting part of the subject which I have not attempted to discuss, for I must not further trespass on your patience, or I might wander from one question to another all night.

A MAP OF DENMARK: 1900 YEARS OLD.

BY DR. GUDMUND SCHÜTTE.

1.—HOW EXPLORERS FROM THE SOUTH DISCOVERED DENMARK.

THE Greek geographer, Pytheas, of Marseilles, was, as far as we know, the first European explorer who undertook a voyage of discovery towards the land of the midnight sun. This occurred about 325 B.C. He also sought the amber coast, as amber was in his time no less highly appreciated than the Kimberley diamonds are now. So he went along the north-west coast of Germany till he met an amber-selling tribe called Teutones. They probably lived in Jutland, or near there. Unfortunately, many of his learned landsmen would not believe in his report. Especially the geographer, Strabo, was hard on Pytheas, calling him an obvious liar. So the book of Pytheas was lost, only some tiny fragments being preserved.

Some two hundred years after the voyage of Pytheas, the Teutones paid a return visit to the environs of his native town. They raided southern Europe, together with the Cimbrians, who decidedly came from Jutland. Both were defeated by the Roman general, Marius, 101-102 B.C. Again, fifty years later, new flocks of Jutlanders attacked Gaul. They were driven back by Cæsar, 58 B.C. So the Romans had repeatedly to do with Jutlanders, but still they did not know where these people came from.

At the beginning of the Christian era, however, the Romans subjugated north-west Germany right up to the mouth of the Elbe. In this way their horizon was at once advanced towards the north, and they became neighbours of the peninsula, which they called the Cimbrian, that is to say, Jutland and Holstein.

2.—ACTIVITY OF THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS IN ORGANIZING THE GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY.

Augustus, the first Roman Emperor, promoted the knowledge of the classical world in different ways. It is well known from the Bible that "in those days there went out a decree from Augustus that all the world should be taxed. And all went to be taxed, every one to his own city." As he thus caused statistical researches to be made, he also promoted the study of geography. Agrippa, his own son-in-law, began constructing a monumental map of the world. After his death, it was finished by order of the Emperor in the year 7 B.C. The map was of colossal size, and painted with bright colours. Copies seem to have been placed in several provincial capitals.

In the year 5 A.D. new discoveries were made by the Romans, and these exactly concerned the present Denmark. While the Roman army was operating at the mouth of the Elbe, the navy undertook a great expedition towards the north-east. The Emperor Augustus relates its exploits in his autobiography, which was carved on triumphal monuments in Rome and other great towns of the Empire. "By order of Me," he says, "my navy sailed from the mouth of the Rhine to the regions of the rising sun, so far that no Roman had proceeded thither before, be it by vessel, be it on foot. Cimbrians and Charudes and other tribes of that neighbourhood sent ambassadors, asking for friendship with Me and the Roman people." The two mentioned tribes were both Jutlanders; they live in Jutland till

this day, as we shall see later on. One of the Emperor's triumphal monuments is preserved in Angora, it is the so-called "Monumentum Ancyranum." Thus the Jutlanders may read the names of their ancestors on a 1900-year-old Roman monument in the middle of Asia Minor.

The Greek geographer, Strabo, adds that the Cimbrians sent their most sacred bowl as a present to Augustus. Evidently the Jutlanders must have been greatly terrified at the coming of the Roman navy, and their gift to His Majesty was a sort of atonement, because their kinsmen had poured the blood of so many slaughtered Roman captives into a huge bowl a hundred years before. How such bowls looked we may guess from a similar one which was dug up lately in the middle of the Cimbrian district; it is preserved in the Copenhagen Museum of Northern Antiquities; the bowl is of silver, with barbarian reliefs. On its bottom a recumbent bull is represented, evidently a Cimbrian god; for the Greek historian, Plutarch, relates that the Cimbrians carried a bronze bull with them on their raid; they used to certify their oaths by it, as Christian men swear by the Bible. Curiously enough, that very county in which the bowl was found has as coat of arms a bull-head, possibly a survival of the old Cimbrian bull-god.

The same imperial expedition which discovered the land of the Cimbrians also seems to have visited the Saxons in western Holstein and the "Saxon islands" in the North Sea. The Romans also heard about the Angles. Only we do not know exactly when.

3.—DEVELOPMENT OF GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE FROM AUGUSTUS TO PTOLEMY.

It was only for a very short time that the Romans had the opportunity of entering into direct relations with the people north-east of the lower Elbe. The

naval expedition to the Cimbrian country had been undertaken in the year 5 A.D., and already four years later the Roman dominion over Germany collapsed. It was the fatal defeat in the Teutoburgian forest which caused Rome to retire. After that time no Roman navy or army ever visited the neighbourhood of Jutland, and the progress of the geographical knowledge consequently stopped here for more than five hundred years. We are able to show that not a single classical information on Jutland dates from the times after Augustus, except perhaps the above-mentioned notice about the Anglian tribes, preserved by Tacitus in his *Germania*.

From a scientific point of view, however, the discoveries of the Roman navy were not lost. Although the Greek geographer, Strabo, distrusted them, as he distrusted those of Pytheas, the observations of the imperial fleet expedition were not forgotten. They were accepted in the revised editions of the Roman map of the world, and so they were finally handed down to us through the Greek geographer, Ptolemy.

4.—VALUING OF PTOLEMY'S WORK.

Ptolemy published his geography in the last half of the second century. He lived in Alexandria, which was at that time a flourishing centre of science and art. He is known as the most famous astronomer of antiquity, even if others were in reality more deserving of the title.

The astronomic destinations of the atlas are very detailed. Ptolemy relates the length of the longest day in Scandinavia and on other important points of the world. Even the tiniest borough is localised in the geography, with longitude and latitude, so that we may reconstruct the atlas from out the text with relative exactness. The statistical scheme of the atlas is equally minutious: boroughs, towns, smaller and larger, are

distinguished by means of towers and other signs. Ptolemy's leading historical principle was praiseworthy. It was his aim to bring his predecessors' work up to date, leaving out all such names which were no longer actually used, as he says in the preface. But now we turn to his bad sides. He was completely unable to interpret barbarian names. When two of the original maps from which he was composing his own atlas, had the same name spelt a little differently, he would not recognize the identity. Thus the same name may on Ptolemy's map occur twice, thrice, and even four times. It was clearly his ambition to fill out any bare spot of the maps, and for this purpose the despised barbarian names were good enough to be used two or three times over in his philological bed of Procrustes. By means of the duplicates and triplicates we are able to show that Ptolemy's atlas is made up of at least five separate original maps. Often these were completely upset: sea-coasts being mistaken for rivers, and rivers being mistaken for mountains, and so on. The result was the most terrible chaos.

The German philologist, Müllenhoff, in his *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, III., p. 95, calls Ptolemy and his predecessor Marinus the "Sudelköche" of ancient geography.

Perhaps the verdict is a little too hard, for the same scheme of constructing maps is found in most other geographies down to modern times. But at any rate it marks the culmination of classical geography in an impressive way.

5.—PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY IN MEDÆVAL TRADITION.

Famous as it was, Ptolemy's monumental work was copied in numerous MSS. The best copy of the atlas is the Cod. Urbinas 82 in Rome; others are preserved in the British Museum.¹ But only one has been repro-

¹Cf. J. Fischer, "Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Ptolemäus-Karten" in "Verhandl. des deutschen Geographentags." 1912.

duced, viz., the MS. of the monastery of Vatopedion, on Mount Athos in Greece. It was published in phototypical reproduction by the Russian scholar, Sewastionow, and the French scholar, Langlois, Paris, 1867. We could wish it republished with the more advanced technics of modern reproductive methods; but still the present edition is completely sufficient to show the main features of the atlas.

A comprehensive critical edition of Ptolemy's Geography was published by the German scholar, Carl Müller, Paris, 1883-1901. It contains the different readings of most Context MSS., copious foot-notes, and an atlas, reconstructed from the context. The foot-notes are valuable, but the reading of the text is not absolutely exact, and the editor, like all of his predecessors, commits the main fault that he ignores completely the MSS. atlas. The Russian scholar, Kunik, in 1892, advised his German colleague, H. Kiepert, to examine it, but in vain. It was not until 1906 that Kunik's letter was publicly known (see Roediger's Preface to Müllenhoff's *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. II.), and R. Kiepert's *Formae orbis antiqui* still ignores the MSS. atlas. The disregarding of its copies was a fatal error, because they contain many original features which are lost or hidden away in the geography—*e.g.*, on the reconstructed map the mountains of Germany are piteously meagre; whereas on the Mount Athos copy they are astonishingly rich. Moreover, the reconstruction could not unveil the colossal error of the modern geographers who unanimously place Ptolemy's Sudetian mountains north-east of Bohemia. Whereas the MSS. atlas shows at a first glance that the true Sudetian mountains lay south-west of this country.

7.—THE MAKING OF PTOLEMY'S ATLAS.

The reconstructed atlas in Müller's edition has at least one indisputable advantage: it is on the whole

exhaustive; whereas the Mount Athos atlas often leaves out the tribe-names. Thus the reconstruction gives a good total idea about the confusion prevailing in Ptolemy's maps of barbarian Europe. Let us, *e.g.*, take the map of Germany and Scandinavia. We here notice, first of all, that the Angles are placed in the middle of Germany, far away from the Saxons, a corrupt localisation which has puzzled scholars for five hundred years. We notice a still more obvious displacement of the Langobards. This tribe belongs to those which are doubled. The one example is correctly placed next to the Saxons in the present Barden-Gau, on the left border of the Elbe. The alter-ego, however, has sprung from the Elbe to the Rhine, accompanying the Angles on their migration towards south-west. The Burgundians are split up in a corresponding way. They correctly maintain their place near the Baltic coast of Germany, whereas the alter-ego is banished from Germanic ground, appearing in Poland, east of the Vistula. Near the Polish "Burgundians" we observe the Ombrones, who are in reality the Anglo-Saxon Ambrones from the south-western edge of the Baltic. They have followed the Burgundians into their exile, just as the Angles have followed the Langobards.

Such proofs may be sufficient. Ptolemy's maps of barbarian Europe, as they now appear, are in reality worse than nothing, for the errors are more numerous than the correct information. The consequences of using such corrupt maps without criticism are shown by the corresponding sheets in Spruner's *Atlas antiquus*, and Berghaus' *Physikalischer Atlas*, 3rd edition.

In order to make Ptolemy's material practically serviceable, we have tried to reconstruct the original maps which he has made into one. The task is certainly difficult, but not at all impossible. For although Ptolemy has amalgamated half a dozen maps, he has generally not gone so far that he eliminated every trace of the original, dissolving the material into its

atoms. On the contrary, the series of names, extracted from the different original maps, were entangled into each other, but the order within each series was generally not disturbed. So we can in a great number of cases disentangle the different maps from each other with almost complete certainty.

Within the northern and north-eastern parts of Europe we distinguish the following prototypes:—

A. A very fine map of Europe, etc., forming the general framework with which other prototypes (B, C, D, E, F) were combined. Its Latin redaction still appears from numerous spellings such as *Angriouarioi*, instead of *Aggriouarioi*, etc.

B¹ & B². Special map of eastern Germany, in two copies, both with exact design. B¹ seems to have formed the base of the East German section in A.

C & D. Maps of N. Gaul and Germany, with more or less incorrect design,—that of D is very bad.

E. Map of Germany and Sarmatia. The shape is oblong, the design exceedingly bad, betraying the scheme of overlapping ("telescoping"), known from itineraries of the Peutingerian type. The spellings mostly point towards Greek origin, but in E there are traces of a previous Latin stage, *e.g.*, *Sarmatai* instead of *Skythai* in F.

Sk. Special map of Skandia, perhaps amalgamated with F. The localisations are good. The spellings exclusively point towards Greek origin.

F. Map of Sarmatia and N. Asia, with very good design, amalgamated with A. It is characterized by the system of combining nearly every tribe with homonymous localities, *e.g.*, *Venedai*, *Venedian* mountains. The language seems to have been Greek.

9.—PROTOTYPE A.

A partial reconstruction of Prototype A is contained in our Plate B. Our design is based upon the Urbinas 82.

ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ



*By kind permission of Professor Jos. Fischer: after a photograph in his library.
From a sketch by Gudmund Schütte with the map of Gaul added, which is separate in the atlas.*

Prototype A forms the fundamental framework of the map of Europe. We may regard it as representing the design of the imperial map, such as it appeared after the discoveries in the year 5 A.D. A very fine map indeed.

In some cases we may still distinguish the local maps, of which the collective design was composed. Such fundamental elements are represented by our Prototype B, and we may regard the design of Denmark and north-western Germany as another, evidently representing the discoveries from the great naval expedition, 5 A.D. But the amalgamation of such elements seems to have been skilfully carried through, leaving no irregularities or inconsistencies worth speaking of.

The reconstruction of Prototype A is easy enough, so far as the physical design is concerned. Prototype A can claim practically the total amount of coast-lines, mountain-chains and rivers. On the map of Germany, *e.g.*, there appear only two interpolated rivers, duplicates of the Vistula and the Oder, originating from Prototype B².

The reconstruction of the nomenclature is more difficult. Generally, we may assign the correctly localised names to Prototype A, but many names do not appear outside of Ptolemy's Geography. Owing to this isolated appearance, it cannot be made out whether their place on the Ptolemaic map is right or wrong, and so it is in many cases not possible to distinguish from which prototype they originate.

In the sphere of our special research, however, it is fortunately otherwise. On the Cimbrian Peninsula and along the north-west coast of Germany there appears a series of tribe-names which are all sufficiently verified by other authorities. Especially favourable is the state of things in the region of the Cimbrian Peninsula. For this part of Prototype A has remained completely free from confusion with other maps used by Ptolemy. Consequently the entire material here belongs

to Prototype A, which has again drawn it from the coast description executed during the naval expedition, 5 A.D.

An additional criterium is found in the orthography. The names assigned by us to Prototype A in a great number of cases have spellings pointing towards a Latin original, *e.g.*, Flêum instead of Flêon. Typical Greek spellings are introduced in a very few cases only, *e.g.*, Sygambroi instead of Sugambri. The described stand of the orthography shows that Prototype A had undergone only a rather superficial translation into Greek, when it was incorporated with Ptolemy's map of the world. Several of the additional maps used by Ptolemy had a much more decidedly Greek type, so especially our Prototype Sk. Consequently we observe here a linguistical contrast which may in certain cases contribute to the distinction of Ptolemaic prototypes.

We shall now more especially examine the design of Denmark. Compare our reconstruction, Plate B.

Our comparison strikingly illustrates the superior topography of the MSS. atlas. As it appears here, it could not possibly have been constructed from the figures of longitude and latitude in Ptolemy's Geography; what results from such a construction is sufficiently shown by the meagre design in the atlantes of Müller, v. Erckert and Kiepert. And especially it is impossible that the superior design of the MSS. atlas map could be due to some Greek monks in the 13th or 14th century. Such a correct idea of remote northern countries was impossible in mediæval Greece, apart from the traditional delivery of Ptolemy's map. This fact is sufficiently shown by their piteously deformed shape in the existing specimens of mediæval maps.

In order to understand the single details, we may recall the circumstances of the Roman discoveries.

The knowledge of West Holstein is explained by the fact that the opposite bank of the Elbe was under Roman dominion for at least four years, viz., from 5 to 9 A.D. In the year 5 the imperial prince Tiberius sub-

jugated the Langobards, who appear on the map; they used to live in the present Barden-Gau, which preserves their name. Tiberius camped for a long time near the mouth of the Elbe, and during the following years of peace Roman merchants no doubt traded actively with the Holsteiners. Hence we understand Ptolemy's knowledge of the Saxons, then a quite insignificant tribe, which, after the downfall of Roman rule over Germany, remained practically unknown till 280 A.D.

The "Saxon islands," as connected with the inhabitants of Holstein, evidently are identical with Helgoland and the neighbouring islands, especially those along the south Jutlandic coast. The west coast of Holstein and of South Jutland must have been explored by the Romans in the year 5 A.D., for Vellejus says, that great flocks of natives fled along the coast for fear of the imperial navy, when it joined the army near the mouth of the Elbe. Most likely Roman merchants visited the Saxon islands even after the downfall of Roman rule in Germany. For the coast of South Jutland was a centre of the amber trade, which was so actively carried on by the Romans that they called the North Sea islands in their own language "*Glaesiae*," i.e., "Amber islands." The word "*glæsum*" was of Teutonic origin, being related to "*glass*." Moreover, the Romans were perfectly informed about the great importance of the tides in the channels between the "Saxon" islands. This is shown by the description which Mela gives of the Cimbrian Peninsula, he only by mistake refers the phenomenon to the Baltic coast. The inhabitants of the coast behind the Saxon islands became known to the Romans as *Sigulones*; they reappear in the Old English poem of *Widsith* as *Sycgas*, directly beside the Saxons.

Farther north the Romans had to pass a coast without harbours. Here they only stated the existence of a long, smooth coast-line, such as is shown by the MSS. atlas.

But as soon as the navy had sailed round the Skaw, or perhaps already when it reached the western mouth of the Limfjord, the country again became accessible. And here we clearly observe how well the Roman marine officers have used their eyes. They have, as a matter of fact, discovered and designed the whole southern basin of the Kattegat, from the Skaw to the east coast of the Øresund, and the main groups of surrounding islands.

The outline of the map north of the Limfjord is not yet interpreted with absolute certainty. Directly west of the Cimbrian headland there is a large bay, which would at the first glance seem identical with the Jammer-Bugt. But what then about the three islands of Alokiai, lying north of the bay? Nowadays there is absolutely nothing corresponding with the group of islands, they not being sufficiently accounted for by the existing isolated cliff called Skarreklit, standing in the Jammer-Bugt, opposite the point of Bulbjerg. We therefore agree with those Danish authors according to whom the bay mentioned is the Limfjord, whereas the Alokiai are the insular districts north of that channel. The same opinion is held by H. M. Chadwick in his excellent book on *The Origin of the English Nation*. It is true that the present Limfjord debouches into the Kattegat, and not into the bay of Jammer-Bugt, where its eastern mouth would have been placed by Ptolemy, if our interpretation is correct. But the most northern inlet of the Fjord, Bygholms Vejle, at any rate, is separated from the Jammer-Bugt only by a narrow isthmus, c. $1\frac{1}{2}$ (Engl.) miles broad, and the downs here rise nowhere higher than 30 metres. It is not at all impossible that the inlet of the Limfjord was in ancient times an outlet into the sea. Or, if we proceed farther east, we meet the streamlet Ryaa, running nearly from the Jammer-Bugt into the Limfjord. This streamlet runs along the Vildmose ("Wild bog") and other large bogs which have evidently replaced ancient

lagunes. And why should we not assume that 1900 years ago the streamlet still was a channel, connecting the Limfjord with the sea? As a matter of fact the western extremity of the Limfjord has changed its shape repeatedly during historical times: in the middle ages the Fjord was a real "firth," separated from the North Sea by an isthmus; in 1634 an outlet was formed, but soon after closed again; a lasting outlet was formed in 1825, but it changed its place in 1863. Even if we do not admit the supposed northern outlet as late as 5 A.D., it is quite perceivable that the Roman observers could suggest its existence. For the hills of Hanherred, between Bygholms Vejle and the Vildmose, arise to 90 metres, within surroundings of very low level. Consequently, when observed by seafarers at some distance, Hanherred appears as an island.

Finally, it must be added that the Roman observers could hardly correct eventual mistakes by means of asking the natives; for the ancient northern languages made no distinction between "island" and "greater peninsula"; *e.g.*, Scandinavia literally means "island of Scandia."

If we identify the eastern Alokian island with Hanherred, it is almost certain that the middle will be the island of Morsø in the Limfjord, whereas the western will be the district of Ty, anciently Thiod, between the Limfjord and the North Sea. The inhabitants of the latter district, the Tyboer, seem to be kinsmen of the classical Teutones.

The east coast of Jutland, in the MSS. atlas, has perhaps hardly such a characteristic shape as the west coast, especially the peninsulas of Skaw and Djursland are not prominent enough. Still the character of the coast is, as a whole, correctly observed: it is not the smooth line of the west coast, but a zig-zag line, evidently marking the existence of numerous headlands and firths. Concerning the Skaw, we may add that its exact shape was known to Pliny, who calls it a long

headland, projecting into the ocean. He also knew its native name, *Thastris* or *Chartris*, as the MSS. have it, and likewise the name of a neighbouring gulf, *Lagnus*.

In order to accomplish our survey of classical Jutland, we must finally look at its tribe-names.

One general observation must be made before discussing details. In our opinion the Ptolemaic tribes of the Cimbrian Peninsula are all to be sought in the coast regions, and especially in those parts which were accessible to the Roman navy. We must expect that the Roman explorers got less exact information concerning the interior of the country, and on the west coast which is so scarce of harbours. On the east coast the Romans got very closely in touch with the more northern districts, where they negotiated with Cimbrians and Charudes; the southern districts remained less known. We find these suppositions approximately confirmed by the MSS. atlas, for here all tribes of the Peninsula are maritime, except one, and a great part of the middle and eastern territory is filled out by the words "*Kim-brikê Chersonêsos*," evidently for want of local details. The reconstructed map in Müller's edition distributes the tribes over the whole of the Peninsula, which is evidently wrong.

So much about the distribution of Jutlandic tribe-names in general; now we shall examine the single ones.

CIMBRI, Greek *Kimbroi*=the present *Himmerboer* in *Himmerland*, the mediæval *Himber Sysæl*. The letter *C* in the Latin form *Cimbri* is an archaic spelling, which got fixed owing to the historical fame of the tribe. If the Cimbrians had been discovered as late as Cæsar's times, the name would rather have been spelled *Chimbri* or *Himbri*. There is not the slightest doubt about the identification with the inhabitants of *Himber Sysæl*, for "*Cimbri*" and "*Himber*" are equally unique forms. The usual identification of *Cimbri* and Welsh *Kymry* is evidently wrong, since the latter form

goes back to Combrogēs, meaning the same as "compatriots" or "comrades." The place of the Cimbri is exactly in Himber Sysæl, according to Ptolemy, who puts them on the northern extremity of the Peninsula. Cimbri and Himmerboer were identified first by the Royal Danish historiographer, Lyschander, c. 1620, since by his successor, Pontanus, a Dutchman (1630), and by the later Danish scholars, Pontoppidan (1730), Bredsdorff (1824), Werlauff (1836), and by the Norwegian scholars, Schøning (1760), and Keyser (1839). The German scholars, owing to Müllenhoff's influence, would for a long time not accept the identification, but now it is gaining ground, even among them, so, *e.g.*, it is accepted by Much (1905) and Detlefsen (1909). It is accepted by the English scholar, Chadwick, in his book on *The Origin of the English Nation* (1907).

CHARUDES, Cæsar's Harudes=the present Hardboer or Hasselboer in Hardsyssel, the mediæval Harthæ Sysæl. The tribe was first known through its attack on Gaul in Cæsar's times. Ptolemy places the Charudes on the east coast; later, the Hardboer must have moved to the west coast, but their name seems to have survived on the east coast in the county of Hads Herred, the mediæval Harz Hæret. Charudes and Hardboer were identified first by Pontanus (1630), since by Bredsdorff, Werlauff, Much, Detlefsen, etc. The connection with Harz Hæret was first suggested by Werlauff.

ŞABALINGIOI=the present Sallingboer in Saling Sysæl. The identification is a little inexact, both in spelling and localisation, but the whole surroundings make it overwhelmingly probable. Identified by Pontanus, Bredsdorff, Much, Detlefsen.

EUDOSIOI (Ptolemy's Fundusioi), south-west of the Charudes, according to the MSS. atlas, fairly at the west end of the Limfjord. Euduses (MSS., Edusii, Eudures), together with Harudes, attacked Cæsar in Gaul. Eudoses, together with Angles and

Varines, worshipped Nerthus, the goddess of peace and fertility (see Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 40). The tribe is no more traceable nowadays, but its connections with Charudes and Angles show that the Ptolemaic localisation is quite correct. Some scholars connect the Euduses with the original tribe of Jutes. If even phonetically difficult, the identification is perhaps not quite excluded. But it is at any rate only a vague suggestion.

It seems that the Angles were not discovered by the Roman naval expedition, 5 A.D., for they are not found on the map of the Cimbrian Peninsula. So we conclude that the Roman explorers did not land on the east coast of South Jutland, where the district of Angel is situated.

The neighbouring Varines, who, like the Angles, worshipped Nerthus, were, however, noticed. Some German scholars, such as Müllenhoff, have placed them in South Jutland, but this assumption is wrong. The Varines are on Ptolemy's map distinctly placed in Mecklenburg, where their name seems to survive in the river Warnow, debouching at Warnemünde. The Slavonian Varnabi may have inherited the name.

The less renowned Nerthus-worshippers are, on Ptolemy's map, conspicuous by absence only. They still appear as a closed group in the Old English epical catalogue, called *Widsith*. It is evident that Reudigni, Aviones, Varini, Uithones are identical with the epical Rendingas, Wærne, Eowan, Yte. But the group seems to be epically unimportant, and the localisation is quite uncertain (for particulars, see Detlefsen, in Sieglin's *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, 1904-09, and Chambers, *Widsith*).

It deserves to be noticed that exactly the historically renowned tribes have survived till this day as distinct populations: inhabitants of Barden-Gau, Saxons, Himmerboer, Hardboer, Angelboer. Whereas the tribes of minor importance have generally disappeared,

except the Sabalingioi=Sallingboer. This fact shows that the preservation or loss of ethnical names is to a large degree directed by traceable laws of rank and merit.

So much about the Cimbrian Peninsula. We now turn to the Scandian islands, that is to say: the east Danish regions.

The "greater Scandia" is the peninsula of Scania, the south part of Scandinavia. Here we notice the observation of several coast details: the cape of Kullen, the capes of Skanör ("ear of Scania") and Smyge Huk.

A still better design than in the Urbinas 82 seems to be contained in the Athos Atlas,—we may believe to notice here even the small bays along the coast of Scania,—but this may be accidental.

Ptolemy relates no individual names from the smaller "Scandian islands," and also the "greater Scandia" seems to have been bare of names on his original Map A.

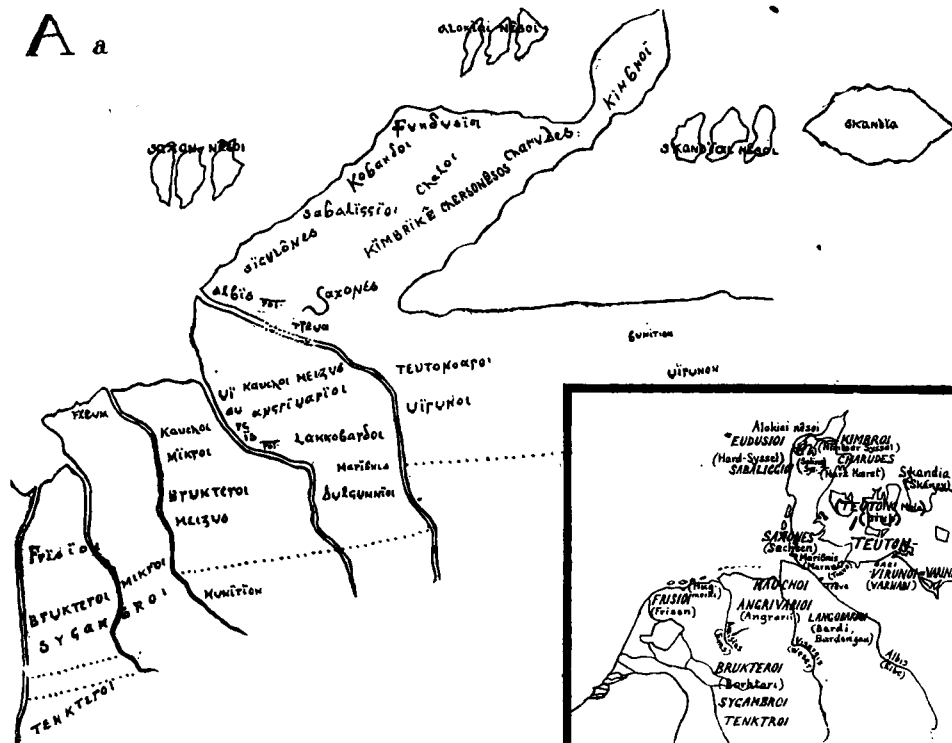
The names of Scandia, Scania, and Scandinavia are identical. Scandinavia in old Norse means "Island of Scade." In Norse mythology, there is a goddess Skade, of Finnic origin, and very fond of hunting and ski-racing—the Diana of the North. She is evidently the personification of "Scade's island."

When the Scandinavian Peninsula of to-day is in Northern language called an island, we understand all the better how it could get an insular shape on the Roman map of 5 A.C. As a matter of fact, it was not before medieval times that its peninsular nature was commonly recognised.

There are no traces of observations north of Skelder Vik and east of Karlskrona or Kristianopol. So far, the Roman navy must have sailed, and no further.

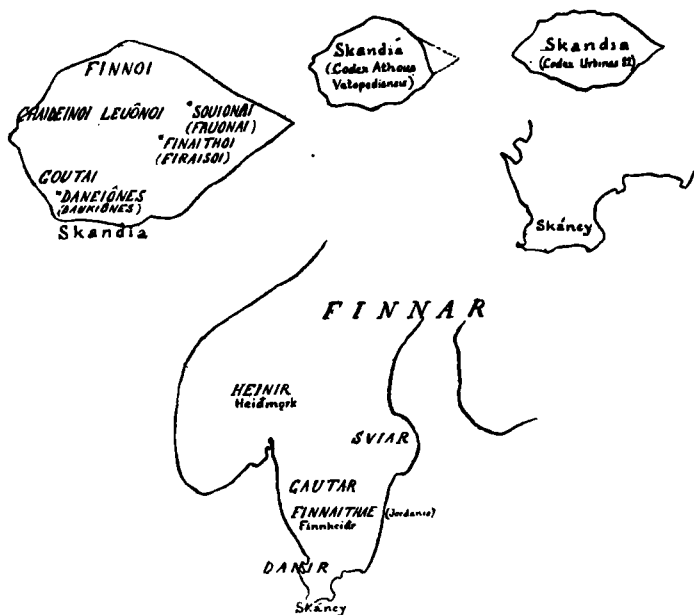
On Ptolemy's map the "Greater Scandia" contains 7 tribes, but most of these cannot have been observed by the Roman navy, as they belong to the country farther north, right up to Finland; we therefore leave them for our next paragraph.

A a



Ptolemy's Prototype A. Section a.—Map of Denmark and N.W. Germany.

Sk.



"The Ptolemaic map of Scandia in the Mount Athos Codex and the Codex Urbinas 82. The larger map to the left contains the Ptolemaic Names of tribes according to the description in the text of the Geography."

10.—PROTOTYPE SK.=SCANDIA.

Prototype Sk., according to its spellings, seems to have been of Greek origin. There are no traces whatever of a Latin original. No doubt it was a local map of the Scandinavian Peninsula. It may be based upon reports, acquired by Roman merchants who dwelt on the Prussian amber coast. That Roman factories were established here under the Emperor Nero is related by Pliny's *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii. 45.

Ptolemy has compressed six northern tribes and the Fins within that fragmentary country which appears as Scandia in Prototype A. Such a proceeding is of course a *contradictio in adjecto*; the seven tribes or peoples in Scandia necessarily signalize a country of colossal dimensions. It is clearly that "separate continent," of which Pliny was vaguely informed: he says that the inhabitants of Scandinavia regard their country as an "alter orbis terrarum," IV., 96.

The author of Prototype Sk. must have been excellently informed about the geography of the Scandinavian Peninsula. Hardly a single one of those tribes which we can recognize is misplaced. We shall now regard the tribes separately.

Daukiônes,—read Daneiônes or Danniônes—in the southern part of Scandia, = Danes.

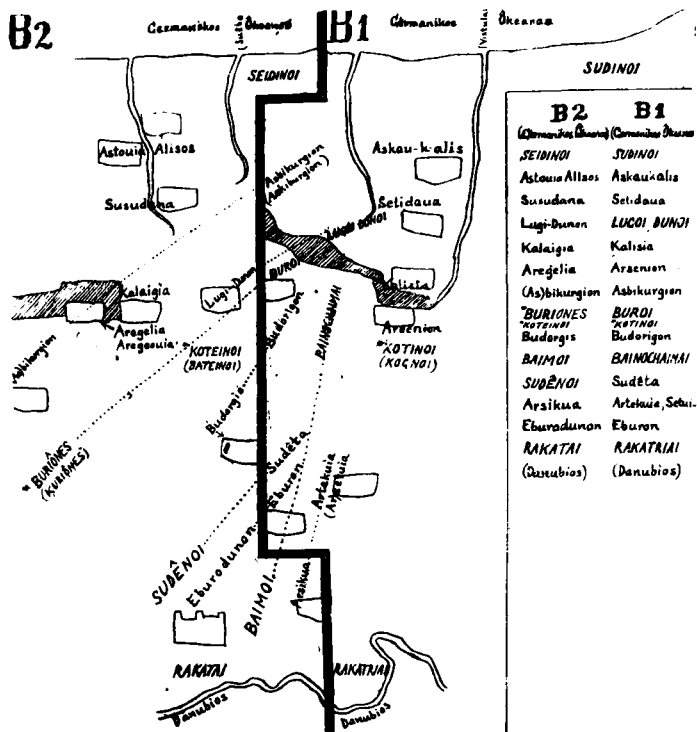
The emendation is necessary, and subjected to no doubt. Among Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, Germans and Goths, there is only one single historically known tribe with a name beginning on Da—, and these people are exactly the Danes. The primeval age of the name cannot be doubted. Short, bisyllabic names of that sort generally belong to the very oldest stock.

Goutai in southern Scandia=Gautoi (Procopius), the present Götter in Götland. The identity is complete, both in phonetical and geographical respect.

Leuônoi in middle Scandia are dubious, perhaps identical with the tribe of Liethida, mentioned by Jordanis.

Firaisoi, in eastern Scandia, most likely = the Finn-aithae of Jordanis, *i.e.*, the inhabitants of Finnheidr ("Finnish heath"), the present Finveden in Småland.

Fauonai, read Souionai, in eastern Scandia, = Suiones (Tacitus), the present Swedes in Svearike.



Ptolemy's Prototypes B¹ and B².

Duplicate maps of Bohemia and eastern Germany.

On Ptolemy's map, B² is placed directly west of B¹.

The emendation is necessary, because the Swedes were the most renowned northern people in Scandia—the only ones who are mentioned by Tacitus. They could not possibly have been missed in a detailed list like Prototype Sk.

Chaideinoi in western Scandia = Hei(d)nir in Heidmork, the present Norwegian district of Hedemarken "Heath-wood." The identity is complete, both in phonetical and geographical respect. The fact that the inhabitants of Hedemarken appear as solitary representatives of Norway is no mere fortuity: for, as a matter of fact, Hedemarken is the most fertile province of this country.

Finnoi in northern Scandia = Fins in Finmarken and Finland. The identity is complete, both in phonetical and geographical respect.

The prominence of our document is obvious, not only from the localisations, but also from the statistical selection: out of numerous Scandinavian tribes, exactly the most important are chosen.

II.—PROTOTYPE B¹ AND B².

Prototype B¹ and B² are duplicates of the same original document, a local map of the mercantile road from the Danube to the Prussian amber coast. Its language was Latin; the design was first-class. Prototype B¹ seems to have been used as a fundament by the constructor of Prototype A, whereas Prototype B² was interpolated later on. The two maps do not concern the design of Denmark, but we just mention them here because they most strikingly illustrate the successive making of Ptolemy's map of the world.

12.—PROTOTYPE C.

Prototype C seems to have represented northern Gaul, Belgium, and north-western Germany. The Rhine was designed better than in Prototype A, or else the design was rather bad. The original document was written in Latin. The translation into Greek effaced the Latin type a little more strictly than the case was in Prototype A; *e.g.*, we find Omega in the

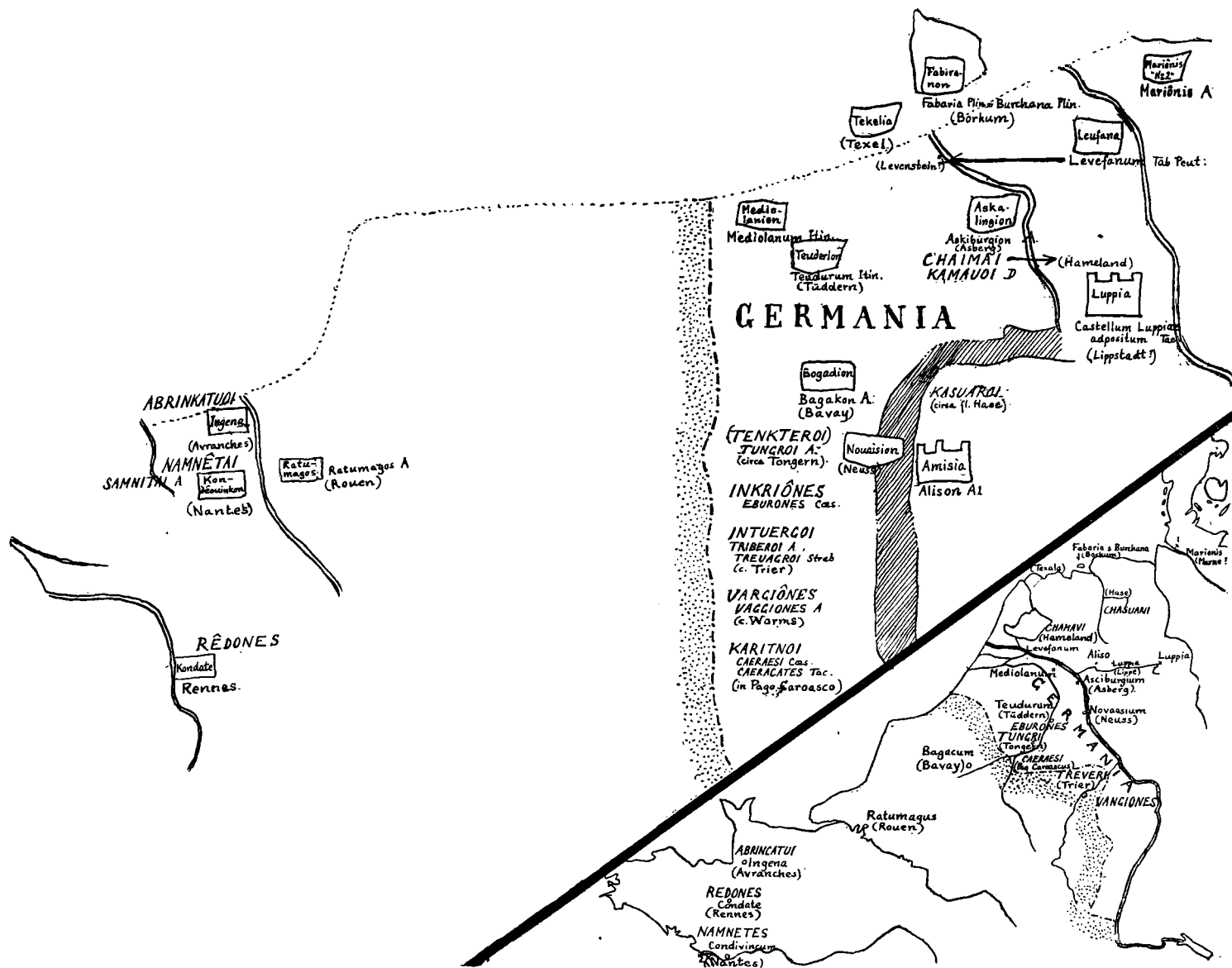
tribe-names of Inkriônes Uargiônes, whereas Prototype A has here constantly short *o*: Uaggiones.

Ptolemy has confused Prototype C with Prototype A in that way, that the localities of C are always placed a little east of their correspondences in A. The displacement was most likely caused by a guess of Ptolemy concerning Rennes. This town, then called Condate, appeared in Prototype C as capital of the Rêdones, a Gaulish tribe. In Prototype A, Ptolemy seems to have found neither the town nor the tribe, but he found a homonymous town, Condate, on the upper course of the Loire. So he transplanted the Rennes-people from the mouth of the river to interior Gaul, and the rest of the map was displaced in the same eastward direction. The Belgian district of "Germania" was mistaken for Germany east of the Rhine. The middle Rhine was mistaken for the middle German mountains (Mêlibokos), and the lower Rhine was mistaken for the Weser. The town of Mariônîs, placed by Prototype A on the lower Elbe, was transplanted to the western shore of the Baltic.

It seems that Prototype C contained no design of the Cimbrian Peninsula nor of Skandia. In so far it cannot interest us here. But at any rate it is important to state that the interpolation of Prototype C has not been able to confuse the design of the Cimbrian Peninsula contained in A. This negative statement is proved by the treatment of Mariônîs. In Prototype A this town marks the base of the Cimbrian Peninsula, and the duplicate of this base, originating from Prototype C, is by Ptolemy transplanted to the Baltic region. So the two bases are neatly separated from each other.

13.—PROTOTYPE D.

Prototype D represents north-western Germany and, as it seems, part of Belgian Gaul. The design is exceedingly bad. Its confusion has been increased by



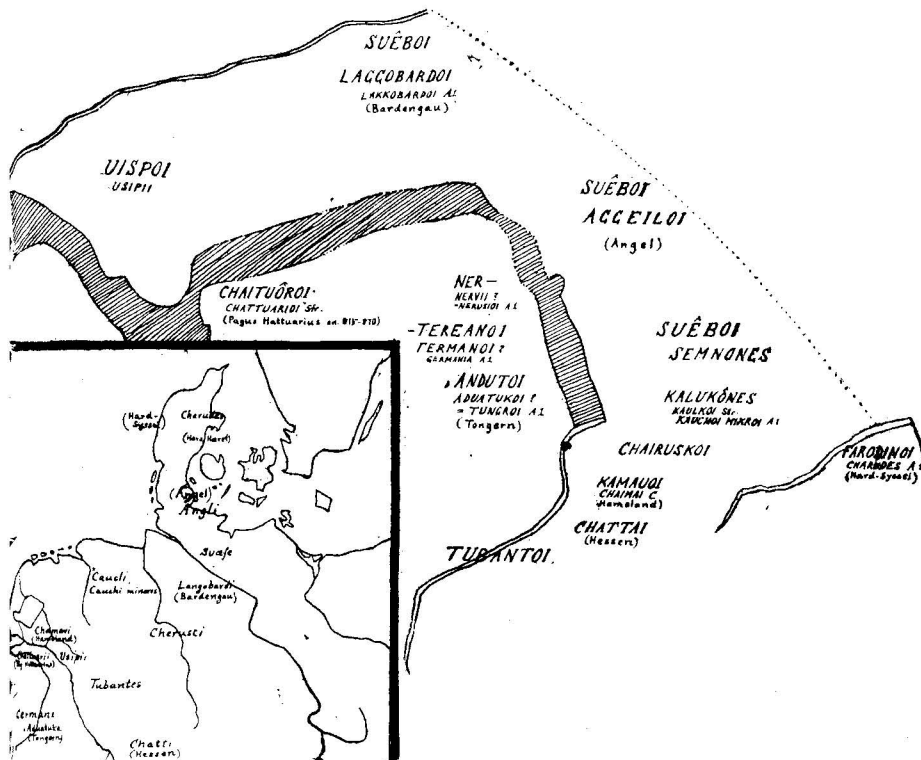
Ptolemy's Prototype C.

Map of northern Gaul, Belgium, and Germany.

The Belgian District "Germania" of this map was by Ptolemy mistaken for the "Great Germania" (Germany) of Prototype A.

The western frontier of "Germania Belgica" (C) was identified with the Rhine (A), whereas the Rhine (C) was identified with the mountains Abroba and Melibokos and the river Weser (A). Our reconstruction represents the mountains as a broad, hatched stripe, and the Weser as ==.

the constructor of the atlas, who mistook the Rhine of D for a line composed of the mountains Abnoba-Melibokos and the river Elbe in A. Thus the tribes from



Ptolemy's Prototype D.

Map of Belgium (?) and N.W. Germany. On Ptolemy's map of Germany, D is quite upse
 e North Sea Coast (D) has been mistaken for the Rhine (Prototype A), whereas the Rhine
 has been changed into the mountains Abnoba and Melibokos and the river Elbe (D). On
 construction represents the mountains as a broad, hatched stripe and the Elbe as
 through this confusion, the Langobards are transplanted from Hannover to Westfalia, and th
 gles from the Cimbrian Peninsula to interior Germany.

N.W. Germany were removed partly towards the south-
 west, partly towards the east.

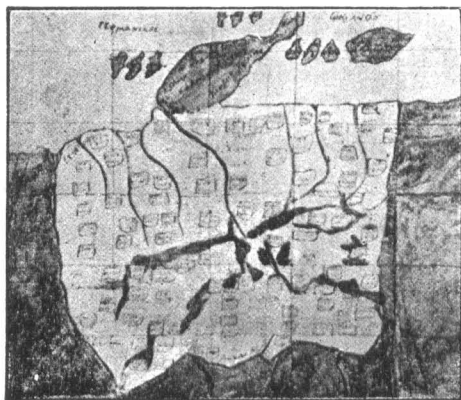
In most cases, Prototype D does not add to our
 knowledge, but there is one important exception:

through this prototype we are informed about the home of the Angles. The prototype places them, correctly enough, in its northern part, directly beside the Langobards, that is to say, in the neighbourhood of the South Jutlandic district of Angel. The fact that they have been able to emerge in the middle of Germany was only due to the confused scheme of Ptolemy. This colossal blunder has puzzled scholars for five hundred years. And although the editor, Müller, already in 1883 recognized the south-westward displacement of Langobards and Angles, still the Swedish scientist, Erdmann, in 1889, once more defended Ptolemy's statement with philological reasons, and actually succeeded in sustaining its credit for a quarter of a century. After we have disentangled the original maps used by Ptolemy, the riddle seems to be solved in a quite natural way; the "middle-German Angles" will be hopelessly doomed, in spite of the fact that a colony of Angles have actually wandered to the interior of Germany in mediæval times. We shall not go in for a detailed discussion here, but we must at any rate mention an old evidence which has hitherto been completely ignored. *The Quedlinburg Annals* say, a.d. 445: "The Angles emigrate to Britain from the land of the Danes, led by their king, Angling." Here the already concordant Anglo-Danish tradition is confirmed by a German evidence which is absolutely free from literary interdependency of *Saxo Grammaticus*, but still reminds his tale of King Angul in the most striking way. And such a concordant epical tradition of three Gottonic nations should be rejected because it does not agree with a confused geography from Egypt. It is needless to discuss the matter any more.

14.—PROTOTYPE E AND F.

Prototype E and F are so closely related that they may nearly be called duplicates of the very same type.

Both represent Germany and Sarmatia. Both have an oblong shape, stretching from west towards east. Prototype E obviously was an itinerary with the same scheme of overlapping ("telescoping") which appears in the famous "Tabula Peutingeriana," from the fourth century, A.D. That is to say, the map was mainly meant for registering road distances, and the topographical details were pulled east or west in a Procrustean way. The Greek type of spelling is more strictly carried through in Prototype F than in E; still, even in the latter, there are not so many Latin traces as in Prototype A.



In combining the two maps with Prototype A, Ptolemy has distributed them thus: Prototype F is placed within Germania, Sarmatia and Scythia, whereas Prototype E is placed within Sarmatia only. The southern Baltic coast of E is by Ptolemy mistaken for the river Vistula.

The two prototypes touch Denmark and its neighbourhood only peripherally. Still the evidence of E is not without importance to our question. We are informed about the home of the Ombrônes (read,

E

Auarinoi Frugundiônes Sulônes Finnoi Veltai Karbônes Osioi Saloi Aorsoi Kareôtai

Igylliônes

Boruskoi Chainides Modokai Zakatai asaii Hippofagoi-Sarmatai

Sturnoi Exoby-gitai Sauaroi Lëinon Trabana Pagýritai Reukanaloi

P. Asiakês

F

Finnói

Roboskoi Samnites Mologënoi Zaratai Massaii Hippofagoi-Skythai

Auarpoi Eluaiônes Gythônes
Burguntes

Venedai Kariônes Osiloi Valoi Aorsoi Karatai

Bastarnai Hamaxobioi-Skythai Nauaroi Leianon Tabana Pakyris Rôxolanoi

Axiakês

Ptolemy's Prototypes E and F compared.

F Roboskoi Chomaroi Tocharioi Karatai Tapureioi Massagëtai Issedôn-Skythikâ

Fa Norossoi Komaroi Tachoroi Kachatai Tapuroi Massagëtai Issedôn-Serikê

Ambrones). This tribe accompanied the Cimbrians and Teutones on their raid against Rome, 113-101 B.C. After the conquest of Britain the Saxons were often called Ambrones by their Welsh neighbours (Nennius, etc.), and the same tribe-name seems to appear in the neighbourhood of the Saxons as "Ymbre," according to the old English epical catalogue, called *Widsith*. But no direct localisation is ever given by the said authorities. Now Prototype E unmistakably informs us that the Ambrones used to live directly west of the "Auarinoi" = the "Ouarinoi," or Varines, in Mecklenburg. Consequently, the Ambrones are placed exactly in the neighbourhood of the Saxons, where they ought to stand. It seems most adjacent to connect them with the Imbræ, as the Danes used to call the island of Fehmern. Some scholars have identified the Ambrones with the present Amringer on the island of Amrum or Ambrum, west of South Jutland. Here only the localisation agrees less with that of Prototype E. But it is of course possible that the tribe has been divided into two sections.

15.—THE RELATIONS OF CLASSICAL DENMARK TO "GERMANIA."

Finally, we must discuss an important question concerning the geographical or ethnical classification of ancient Denmark. It practically concerns our Ptolemaic Prototypes A and Sk., but we have put it off till here, because of its importance.

Among modern scholars, it is very usual to regard classical Denmark, or at least Jutland, as belonging to "Germania proper," *i.e.*, Germany, whereas the rest of the Scandinavian territory is placed outside, still within the "wider Germania," but yet as Germanic in a less pronounced degree. So Jutland is represented as Germanic by A. v. Kampen, "*Perthes' Atlas*

antiquus, 3rd ed., 1894, and the whole present Denmark is swallowed by K. Wolff's map of Germania, Meyer's *Konversationslexikon*, last ed., 1904.

Several Danes have contributed to the dogma of Jutlandic Germanism, even if against their will. After 1848, most Danish scholars began denying that the Cimbrians and Angles had anything to do with Jutland. The Cimbrians had been Germans or Celts, no matter which, and the Angles had been pure Germans, who were not to be admitted into Danish ground.

These Danish scholars actually proved neither their negative nor their positive statements. But it is obvious that the alleged Germanism of the Angles could be exploited for regarding Jutland as a part of Germany, because there is a South Jutlandic district called Angel.

Now what about the classical authorities? Do they regard the Danish territory as belonging to "Germania proper" and as separated from the Scandinavian territory? By no means! There is no reason whatever for such a statement.

We have only three classical authorities on the matter: Tacitus, Pliny, and Ptolemy.

Tacitus gives copious, but somewhat confused information. His "Germania" embraces Germans, Scandinavians, and all other Gottonic tribes, and besides Lithuanians and some Fins. The Angles are placed within the "Swebians," a German group; the Cimbrians are placed outside. This statement would seem to assign a part of Jutland to "Germania proper." But what is then to be concluded further on, when we observe that the Swebians of Tacitus embrace also the Swedes and even the Lithuanians and a part of the Fins? These additional statements obviously show that the "Swebian group" of Tacitus, as an ethnical category, is worth nothing.

Pliny regards the Scandinavians as "Germani" in the complexive sense, like Tacitus. There, no distinction is

made between a "Germania proper" and a "wider Germania."

Ptolemy represents things in the same way as Pliny, and consequently the reconstructed maps in Müller's edition and Erckert's Atlas shows Denmark and the Scandinavian Peninsula as Germanic, without making any sub-divisions.

The three hitherto known classical authorities agree on the main fact that Denmark and the Scandinavian Peninsula belong to Germania, and none of these authorities gives any reason for regarding Jutland or the whole of Denmark as properly Germanic, in contrast with the Scandinavian Peninsula.

But there is a hitherto unknown classical authority that disagrees in a way which has hardly been dreamt of.

This ignored authority is Ptolemy himself, as represented through the Mount Athos Copy of the original atlas. The text of the Geography and the accompanying atlas in reality are sharply inconsistent; for whereas the text assigns Denmark and Scandia to Germania, the corresponding map places them outside, as a separate section. The contrast appears in the colouring; whereas "Germania" is left without colour, the Cimbrian Peninsula and the Scandian islands are painted strongly brown, like the sections of Sarmatia, Rhætia, etc., on the same map.

What is the meaning of this distinction?

We do not at all overvalue its ethnical significance, urging that the Romans must have observed the contrast between German and Scandinavian nationality. It is very possible that the distinction points towards the political status of 5 A.D., when N.-W. Germany was under Roman dominion, whereas the Cimbrian Peninsula and the other regions east of the Elbe remained independent.

But at any rate we must state the following fact: the Athos copy of the original Roman map of the world does not support the extension of Germania, as assumed by v. Kampen, K. Wolff and other scholars. It does not place Denmark within Germania, but, on the contrary, distinctly outside.

The reader will be aware that Denmark is the oldest kingdom of Europe: from the Skjoldung kings mentioned in Beowulf and down to our present king we may count some 1500 years of uninterrupted existence. Among the republics of Europe, only France may be called a rival.

Maybe that the colouring of the Mount Athos map has no direct bearing to this historical fact. But, even if regarded as accidental, it is at any rate very remarkable. And we Danes may say that our national continuity with classical times is symbolized in the most beautiful way through the venerable old map in the venerable monastery of Mount Athos.

ST. BRIDGET OF SWEDEN.

By A. W. TAYLOR, B.A.

IT was only after some hesitation that I made up my mind to read a paper to you upon St. Bridget. It seemed difficult when dealing with such a personage to avoid transgressing the rule of the Club, which forbids theological discussions.

At the same time the importance of St. Bridget with regard to the history and literature of Europe in general and of Sweden in particular is very great indeed. With the exception of another great visionary, Emmanuel Swedenborg, she is apparently the only Swede who has exercised any influence upon English life and thought, outside the sphere of the exact sciences. I need not therefore apologise for reading to you a paper about her. With her religious experiences I will try to deal as objectively as possible. It must always be remembered that St. Bridget was a fourteenth century Catholic. Only when this is borne in mind can an adequate idea be formed of her career and character. Within the limits of this paper I cannot profess to give more than a very slight sketch of the more important part of the enormous literature which has grown up round St. Bridget, her Revelations, and the Order which she founded.

A list of the ancient authorities for her life (dating from 1373 to about 1520) is given in the First Volume of the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* of the Bollandists. Other bibliographies are those contained in Klemming's "*Birgitta-Literatur*," published at Stockholm in 1883 as an appendix to volume 5 of his edition of the Old Swedish version of the Revelations, in Geete's "*Fornsvenk Bibliografi*"; and in the notes to the second edition of the *Comtesse de Flavigny's* "*Vie de Sainte Brigitte*," published at Paris in 1910. Chevallier and Potthast should also be consulted.

There is no thoroughly satisfactory modern biography of St. Bridget. The one by the Countess de Flavigny is the best, but it is far too uncritical. Its statements should be corrected with the aid of the excellent Memoir of St. Bridget, written by M. Hans Hildebrand in Swedish, and published in the nineteenth volume (that for 1904) of the Transactions of the Swedish Academy.

The life of St. Bridget may be divided into three main divisions, the period from her birth in 1303 to her marriage in 1316, her married life from 1316 to 1344, and her life as a widow from 1344 to her death in 1373. The family of the saint belong to the highest nobility, and she was nearly related through both her parents to the royal family of the Folkungs. Her father, Birger Persson, was lawman of Tiundaland, the most important district in Upland. His second wife, Ingeborg, who was the mother of St. Bridget, was a daughter of Benedict Magnusson. Birger lived at the Castle of Finsta, near Lake Bjoerken. He was given to literature, and he had revised the Laws of Upland. They were contained in the scattered verses, *Vigers flokkar*, attributed to the heathen poet Viger Spa, who was said to have been the first lawman of Upland.

Birger's revised code is still extant, and has been edited by Dr. Schlyter as the third volume of the great collection of the Ancient Laws of Sweden, edited by Drs. Collin and Schlyter.

St. Bridget was born, it would seem, on or about June 14th, 1303.

The first point of interest about St. Bridget is her name. There can be no doubt but that she was named after the great Irish wonderworker, St. Bridget of Kildare. The first time that the name of Bridget occurs in a Swedish document is in the list of Swedish kings appended to the Laws of West Gothland (*Vestgötalagen*). But though the main part of that venerable code dates from 1230 to 1290, the list of the kings

of Sweden and that of the bishops of Skara (Book IV., chapters 15 and 16) form part of a supplement which is only found in the Manuscript Codex, B. 59. This supplement which, as has been shown by Dr. Nathaniel Beckman,¹ was written in 1325 by the deacon Lawrence, who was prebendary of Vidhem in Skara Cathedral, and one of the secretaries of Peter of Husaby, Bishop of Skara from 1322 to 1336.

The list of the kings of Sweden refers to the baptism of Olaf Skotkonung, first Christian of Sweden, at Husaby, near Skara, in 1008, in the following terms: "han war döptae i kyældu þerrœ wið hosœby liggoer, oc heter byrghittœ, af sigfriði biscop," he was baptised in the spring which is situated near Husaby and is called St. Bridget's, by Sigfrid the Bishop. Now it is quite certain that this embodies a far older tradition. Although Bishop Peter of Husaby founded a prebend in Skara Cathedral, as we learn from the Chronicles of the Bishops of Skara, in honour of St. Brigid or Bride of Kildare, the patron saint of his native parish, "the Mary of the Gael" was but little known in the North in the fourteenth century. Even in Ireland her fame would seem to have suffered an eclipse. She had apparently become confused in the popular mind with an ancient Irish sun goddess, and the perpetual fire kept alight by her nuns at Kildare had been extinguished by Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin and Papal Legate in 1220. St. Bride lived from about 452 to 523, and for many centuries she was, as she has since again become, one of the saints most venerated by the Catholic Celts. Her cultus had been transplanted not only to the Western Islands and other parts of Scotland, but even to Cornwall, where the parish of Breage (St. Breaca) still commemorates her name. It was from the Celtic world that King Olaf

¹ *Hvem har döpt Olof Skotkonung?* in *Kyrkshistorisk Årsskrift*, vol. xi. (Upsala, 1910), pp. 214-219 and *Studier till Västgötalagarnes historia* in *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, xxviii. (Lund, 1911), pp. 54-98, 140-167.

Skotkonung and Bishop St. Sigfrid, who had been court bishop to King Olaf Tryggvasön, brought the cultus of St. Bride. Olaf Skotkonung had many connections with the Celts. His wife was from Ireland, and there he had spent some time. It was in the Scilly Isles that it had been prophesied that he would become a Christian, and there too he had lived for some time after his baptism. In the North of England, of which Bishop Sigurd or Sigfrid was most probably a native, the thaumaturge of Kildare was not unknown. Two parishes in Cumberland, St. Bride's and Bridekirk, still commemorate her name, and it is to be noted that the font of the Church of Bridekirk bears a tenth century Runic inscription, a sure sign of the presence of Northmen in the neighbourhood.

But though these facts are interesting and important as showing how the name of Bridget came to Scandinavia, they afford no adequate explanation as to the manner in which that name was introduced into the family of St. Bridget. The explanation is as follows. In 1102 Magnus Barfot, King of Norway, made a raid upon Ireland, in the course of which he took as his mistress a woman whose name was Bridget, or who had a relative of that name. By her the King had a son, who was named Harald Gillekrist (Servant of Christ), and who is better known as the Norwegian king Harold Gille. He in his turn had a daughter, whom he named Bridget, after her grandmother. King Harold's daughter, Bridget, married first the usurper, Magnus Henriksson, who was king of Sweden for a very short time, and then Sweden's uncrowned king, Earl Birger Brosa. It was thus that the name Bridget (Birgitta) came to be connected with the native Swedish name Birger (the bright one), and obtained entrance into a Swedish noble family. Later on the name of Birgetta was borne by the wife of Tyrgil Knutsson and by the saint upon whom I am trying to lecture. I have, I fear, devoted what may seem a disproportionate amount of

time to showing how the saint got her name. My reason for dwelling at such length upon the subject is that none of the biographers of St. Bridget have, so far as I know, traced with any certainty the connexion between her name and that of the great Irish abbess. Indeed Hildebrand goes so far as to deny that the fame of St. Bride had ever reached the north at all. It was reserved for Dr. Beckman to trace the progress of the name of Bridget from Kildare to Finsta.

But to return to the life of our saint.

In 1314, when she was only about eleven, she lost her mother. As her father had no intention of marrying a third time, Bridget and her sister Catherine were removed to the custody of her mother's sister Ingrid. The latter had married Knut Jonsson, who was lawman of Östergötland, and had twice filled the important office of governor (*drotsete*) of Sweden. Fru Ingrid was a woman of character and a foe to all undue religious excitement. In her house Bridget learned to embroider, and probably also to read and write. There, too, she seems to have acquired the iron strength of will by which she was afterwards distinguished. The poor children were not long left in peace. In 1316, when Bridget was only thirteen, and Catherine not more than twelve, they were betrothed, by their father's orders, to Ulf and Magnus, the sons of his friend and partisan, Gudmar Magnussön, lawman of Vestergothland. St. Bridget would have preferred to die, but dared not disobey her father. Fortunately, Ulf Gudmarsson, who became her husband, and who was only eighteen years old, was a youth of the most ardent piety. As his knowledge was not equal to his zeal, his wife taught him to read, so that he might follow the services of the Church in his book. She also induced him to study law, so that he might be the better able to do his duty as lawman of Nericia, which post he held in 1330. About 1324 he had become a knight. In 1335 he was a member of the Council of State. By

him Bridget had eight children, four sons, two of whom died young, and four daughters. Ulf owned many estates, but he made his home at Ulfåsa, which lay in a beautiful situation near the southern shore of Lake Borèn. He and Bridget had only been living there for a year or so, when he was called away to help his father-in-law, Birger Persson, and other partisans and feudatories of the Dukes Eric and Valdemar. They had been thrown into prison by their brother, King Birger I., when on a visit to him at Nyköping, towards the end of the year 1317. Their followers besieged Nyköping, and when, early in 1318, Eric and Valdemar were starved to death by their unnatural brother, a crime which filled the whole country with horror, Eric's new-born son, Magnus, was proclaimed heir to the throne of Sweden. Bridget suffered agonies of anxiety during the absence of her husband. She found her only consolation in the contemplation of the mysteries of her religion. Then it was that she composed four beautiful prayers or litanies, addressed to Christ and the Virgin Mary, which are still extant. The civil war continued to rage. Magnus, son of Birger I., who was only nineteen, was decapitated at Stockholm on October 28, 1320. His father died of grief during the following year.

On June 24, 1319, a diet, summoned by Birger Persson to elect a king, met at Mora near Upsala. For the first time representatives of the towns appeared as well as those of the nobility, the clergy, and the peasantry. Matthew Ketilmundsson enthroned the three-year-old son of Duke Eric, Prince Magnus, upon the Coronation Stone. He had just inherited the throne of Norway from his maternal grandfather, Haakon V. Ketilmundsson ruled the country, and established peace at home and abroad, until Magnus came of age in 1332. Ulf returned home about 1319. He rebuilt the chateau of Ulfåsa, the arrangement of which he left to his wife. Among other things she caused a

magnificent bed to be constructed by a local carpenter. One day, however, the story goes, St. Bridget felt a blow on the back of the head, and being led by the Spirit into another part of the house, she heard a voice coming from a crucifix, which hung upon the wall. "I did not rest, but hung upon the Cross. My head had nowhere to repose, but thou carest so greatly for thine ease and comfort." Bridget was smitten with remorse, and henceforth, whenever she was able, she lay upon the ground amongst the rushes or upon a bearskin. It is certain that she increased her mortifications about this time. She became a tertiary of the Order of St. Francis. Being anxious to do good, she had gathered round her a number of noble ladies living in the neighbourhood. At their meetings they used to do needlework for the benefit of the poor or for the adornment of the churches. Ingeborg, the daughter of the lawman of Ostergöthland, and the most learned member of the party, read aloud in Latin or in Swedish the stories of the sufferings of the Martyrs, the Dialogue of Peregrinus and Theodora concerning the Mirror of Virgins, or, what St. Bridget liked best of all, portions of the Bible, which had been translated by the Cistercians into Swedish about the year 1300. On March 25, 1328, St. Bridget had the misfortune to lose her father, Birger Persson. He was buried in the Cathedral of Upsala, where his tombstone may still be seen. In consequence of her father's death the extensive landed estates of St. Bridget and her husband were considerably augmented.

About 1332 she engaged as a tutor to her two elder sons, Charles and Birger, Nicholas Hermansson, who died as Bishop of Linköping in 1391, and was the last Swede to be canonised before the Reformation. Bridget set apart at Ulfåsa a large house, where those who were poor and sick could live free of expense. She waited upon them at table, and washed and kissed their feet. She was not afraid of infectious diseases. She obeyed

all the counsels of her confessor, Matthias, Canon of Linköping, who had studied philosophy and theology at the university of Paris, where he had taken his master's degree. A Paraphrase of the Books of Moses, composed by Master Matthias, is still extant, and he had also written about the art of poetry. In company with her husband Bridget made two long pilgrimages. The first was to the shrine of St. Olaf at Trondhjem, probably in 1336 or 1337. The journey there and back lasted 35 days. It was made partly on horseback and partly on foot, as St. Bridget wished to walk as much as possible. The second great pilgrimage of the pious couple was to the tomb of St. James the Great at Compostella in Spain, and was apparently made in 1341 and 1342. Starting in the autumn in the former year, and accompanied by a number of priests and laymen, the pious pilgrims stopped first at a church eight miles from Stockholm to venerate the remains of St. Bothwid, an Englishman who was one of the first Christian missionaries to visit Sweden, where he was martyred. We next find them at the holy city of Cologne, and then at Aix-la-Chapelle. From the latter city they proceeded to Tarascon. St. Bridget was anxious to visit the localities in Provence which were traditionally associated with the supposed visit of Lazarus, and of his sisters Mary and Martha and of St. Mary Magdalene to Provence and Burgundy.

The whole legend, though devoid of historical foundation, and only dating from about 1150, was universally believed in the fourteenth century. The Swedish pilgrims visited with rapture the cavern on the Mountain of Sainte Baume (the Holy Ointment) in which St. Mary Magdalen is supposed to have spent thirty years in penitence. They probably embarked at Marseilles, and sailed thence to Barcelona, whence they made their way on foot to Compostella. St. Bridget's confessor during the pilgrimage was Dom Swenung, a Cistercian monk, who was to become Abbot of Warnhem. The whole

party seem to have arrived at Compostella in time to celebrate St. James' Day, July 25, 1342, there. Belief in the fact of St. James' burial at Compostella was regarded almost as an article of faith during the Middle Ages, and those were happy indeed who were able to wear a mussel shell on the left side of their cloaks in token that they had made the pilgrimage to his shrine.

On the way back Ulf fell very ill at Arras, but he recovered, and was able to pursue his journey. He returned to Sweden and continued to perform the duties of his office as lawman of Nericia until shortly before his death, which took place in one of the buildings of the Cistercian Monastery of Alvastra on February 12, 1344. On his deathbed he gave his wife a ring, which he himself had worn. Whenever she looked at it, she was to think of his soul. A few days after Ulf's death Bridget took his ring from her finger, and when her friends reproached her for her heartlessness, she explained that she had buried her earthly love with her husband, and that she was henceforward to live for God alone. Her children were already provided for. The eldest, Martha, who had been born in 1320, was married to Sigvid Ribbing, governor of Southern Halland, whose wickedness caused his saintly mother-in-law the deepest pain. She designates him in the Revelations as "the robber."

Of St. Bridget's sons, Gudmar died when a school boy. Benedict survived his father but a short time. Of Charles and Birger I shall speak later on.

Catherine, who like her mother was eventually canonised, was born about 1332, and married very early to the knight, Eggard Lydersson van Kyren. Her sister, Ingeborg, entered the Cistercian nunnery of Riseberga in 1341. The youngest daughter Cecilia was still in the world and unmarried. As her children were more or less able to shift for themselves, Bridget found that she could devote herself to the things of God. For four years off and on she lived as an anchoress in a little

house abutting on the north side of the Abbey Church of Alvastra. Here it was that she began in 1344 to compose her famous "Revelations." As this is probably the most famous work ever written by a Swede, it well merits our attention. It was originally written in Swedish by the saint, at the dictation, as she believed, of Christ and the Blessed Virgin. A few leaves of manuscript of the original text, in St. Bridget's own handwriting, are preserved at the Royal Library of Stockholm. They came originally from the Bridgettine abbey of Vadstena, founded by St. Bridget and her daughter, St. Catherine. The saint's manuscript was translated as soon as it was finished, by Peter, sub-prior of Alvastra, into Latin, and this translation, which ended with the 130th chapter of the 4th Book, was handed over to Alphonso, formerly bishop of Jaen in Spain, who revised it and divided it into books and chapters. To his text fourteen chapters were added later on at Vadstena. Before the end of the fourteenth century the Latin text was retranslated into Swedish at the same abbey. The few fragments of St. Bridget's Swedish text, which yet remain to us, were published at Stockholm in 1854, under the editorship of M. G. E. Klemming. The same writer published the fourteenth century Swedish translation under the auspices of the Swedish Early Texts' Society (Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet) in 1857 and the following years.

The old Swedish translation above referred to represents an earlier form of the Latin text than to any of the numerous Latin editions of the Revelations which were published between the end of the fifteenth and the last quarter of the seventeenth centuries.

I wish to say a few words about the Revelations now, instead of deferring the consideration of the subject until after we have followed St. Bridget to the close of her earthly career. My reason for doing so is that the Revelations may be said to give the keynote of the last thirty years of the life of St. Bridget, from 1344 to 1373.

St. Bridget was a mystic and a psychic in the fullest sense of the word. From her early childhood she saw visions and dreamed dreams. She fell into trances and received revelations, she was able to distinguish good men from bad, thanks to an almost supernatural insight, long before the death of Ulf. It was, however, only after she had lost the husband whom she loved so dearly that she gave herself up entirely to those great activities as prophetess and seer which were to carry her fame to the furthest limits of the Catholic world. Like many other religious leaders, she seems to have been richly endowed with mediumistic faculties. She was, as we have seen, a clairvoyant. More than once she was, according to contemporary accounts, seen suspended in the air. She saw her visions when she was in a state of trance. In one of the precious fragments of the Revelations, written in her own handwriting, St. Bridget describes herself, as she often does in other passages, as a person who seemed to be awake and not asleep (*enne persona syntis vakande oc eg sofande*).

The Revelations, whether in the Old Swedish version or in the better known Latin one, make up a large book. They belong to the same class as the Revelations of various mystics among St. Bridget's predecessors and contemporaries. Mention need only be made of three inmates of the Benedictine Abbey of Helfta, near Eisleben, under the rule of the Abbess Gertrude of Hackeborn. These were Mechthildis of Madgeburg (1212 to 1277), who had been a béguine for thirty years before she entered the nunnery of Helfta in 1265, St. Mechthildis of Hackeborn, and her pupil, St. Gertrude the Great, who lived from 1256 to 1302, and was abbess of Helfta. Among the contemporaries and successors of St. Bridget may be reckoned the Blessed Ruysbrock; St. Gertrude the Great; St. Machtildis; St. Catherine of Siena; Suso; and Thomas à Kempis. The only person, however,

who combined like St. Bridget the possession of the greatest mystical piety with a mighty influence in ecclesiastical politics was St. Catherine of Siena, who lived from 1347 to 1380. The Latin editions of the Revelations of St. Bridget include the following among her writings :—

1. The eight books of the Revelations, the first being preceded by the so-called prologue of Master Matthias.

To the eighth book, which contains the visions of St. Bridget concerning various kings and princes, there is an introduction in the shape of a letter to kings written by Bishop Alphonso of Jaen, who compiled the contents of the book.

2. The rules of the Order of the Saviour, that is, of the Brigittine Order.

3. An angelic sermon on the excellencies of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

4. Four prayers.

And fifthly, and lastly, the additional revelations, *Revelationes Extravagantes*, so called because they were added to the original collection.

St. Bridget's husband, Ulf Gudmarsson, died, as we have seen, on February 12th, 1344. A few days after his death St. Bridget had a vision of the Saviour, who commanded that Peter, subprior at Alvastra, should write down all those things which He was about to reveal to His servant. Many of the Revelations, and especially the earlier ones, deal with matters of dogma. St. Bridget believed that she had been taken by Christ to be His new Bride, as such something of the fulness of heavenly wisdom had been revealed to her. Her writings bear witness to the most ardent piety, to an accurate knowledge of Catholic theology, and to the possession of a great fund of burning eloquence.

From 1344 to 1348 St. Bridget remained at Alvastra, a devout lay brother being scandalised at her presence in the abbey, for St. Bridget had, it seemed, access to the monastic parlour or *æstuarium*, whither she occa-

sionally went to warm herself in winter time, was put to silence on becoming convinced of her holiness.

During at least the last two years of her stay at Alvastra St. Bridget visited more than once the court of King Magnus II., although the assertion in the Latin Version of the Revelations that the saint was Mistress of the Robes to his wife, Queen Blanche of Namur, seems to be unsupported by existing documentary evidence.

In spite of the fact that both King Magnus and his consort were very young and frivolous, St. Bridget seems at times to have exercised enormous influence over them. We can readily believe that they were somewhat afraid of their pious and austere relative. Thus it was that King Magnus asked the saint to define the duties of a monarch.

In reply she told him that he ought to put away evil councillors, to build the nunnery which she had planned, and to send his vassals on a crusade, and not to besiege Copenhagen, as he had recently done, because he coveted part of another Christian kingdom. He was to recite the Hours of the Blessed Virgin daily, unless prevented by business. He was to hear two Low Masses or one High Mass every day. Five times each day he was to meditate on the Five Wounds of our Lord. He was to keep the fast days, and abstain from meat on Fridays, and from butter, if he wished to do so, on Saturdays. Yet his austerities were not to be so great as to hinder him from fulfilling his duties. He was to give a tenth of all his revenues to the poor. If he gave them more, it would be counted to him as a good work.

Every Friday when at home he was to wash the feet of thirteen poor men and to give them food and money with his own hands. On Fridays too he was to remain quietly in his palace and to listen to all the complaints of the common people. He was to be careful in the distribution of his gifts, not generous towards one and miserly towards another. He might bestow gifts even

upon foreigners. He was not to transgress the laws of God, nor yet to introduce new laws contrary to the laws and customs of the country. Finally, he was to show himself in all things worthy of the name of king, to flee covetousness and to love humility, for as a king is higher and greater than all others, he must be all the more humble towards God, from Whom all power cometh, and Who will take as strict account of a king as of the lowest of his subjects. Such are but a few of the precepts laid down by St. Bridget. Her ideal of kingship found its highest expression, as was most fitting, in a woman. The great Queen Margaret, who was born in 1353, and who united Denmark, Norway, and Sweden under her sceptre in 1397, was greatly influenced by the Brigittines. Martha, the eldest daughter of St. Bridget had, after her (second) marriage with Knut Algotsson, been Mistress of the Robes to the young queen, and Fru Martha's daughter became Abbess of Vadstena. Queen Margaret was an associate of the Abbey and the main promoter of the canonisation of St. Bridget. One of the plans which her death in 1412 prevented Queen Margaret from realising was the foundation of a Briggittine Abbey at Maribo, in Laaland, Denmark, which was however carried through by her successor King Eric of Pomerania. Magnus II. Ladulas was, however, a very different monarch from Queen Margaret. He and Queen Blanche and the courtiers who rivalled them in frivolousness and extravagances did not like the rebukes of St. Bridget. Respect for their kinswoman and reports of her miraculous powers prevented the king and queen from taking action. Their followers, however, accused the saint of witchcraft, and were only prevented from insulting her by fear of the vengeance of her valient sons. As it was she did not escape annoyance. Knut Folkesson, perceiving that the king was being converted to a better life by the influence of the saint, and that his own influence was thus being diminished, threw some

water over St. Bridget as she was going along the narrow streets of Stockholm past his house. "May God forgive him and not punish him for it in the next life," was her only remark. It was soon after this time that St. Bridget began to extend her sphere of action to the Christian world outside Sweden.

She sent letters to the Kings of England and France to beg them to put an end to the hundred years' war, but her letters were unheeded. But all of the events which had taken place in the world at large the transference of the Papal See from Rome to Avignon in 1309 was that which made the deepest impression upon St. Bridget. Like all pious Catholics of her time she deplored most deeply the desertion of the holy city of Rome by its Bishops. She attacked Pope Clement VI. most violently for his worldliness.

When, however, the same Pope proclaimed a jubilee at Rome in 1350, St. Bridget set out for the Holy City at the end of 1349, though only after some hesitation. She left Sweden just in time to escape a great visitation of the black death, which disease came to Sweden from Norway at the beginning of 1350. In the fifty-seventh chapter of the Eighth Book of the Revelations, St. Bridget regards the pestilence as a punishment for pride, incontinence, and love of money. On her journey to Rome the saint was accompanied by a great following of men and women, clerks and laymen. They seemed to have passed through Stralsund and Northern Suabia, where they stopped at Mayingen. The pilgrims spent a long time at Milan, whence they proceeded by ship to Ostia on the road to Rome. At that time the City on the Seven Hills was in a parlous state. The Pope was at Avignon. The short-lived Italian republic under Cola di Rienzo had been overthrown. Terrible earthquakes had destroyed some of the fairest buildings of Rome, such as St. Paul's, outside the Walls, and the Church of the Holy Apostles. Civil warfare had everywhere left its marks in ruined palaces

and fallen towers and desolate churches and empty monasteries, in whose grass-grown courtyards goats grazed undisturbed. St. Bridget cared for none of the classical antiquities. To her they seemed but vanity. She was lodged in the palace of Cardinal Hugh de Beaufort, brother to Pope Clement VI. His abode adjoined the Church of Saint Lorenzo in Damaso.

On Christmas Eve, 1349, the Jubilee was opened by the Pope's Vicar, Ponzio Perotti, Bishop of Orvieto. Thousands of pilgrims had come from all parts from Christendom. But neither the splendour of the festivals nor the fervour of the pilgrims could hide from St. Bridget the terrible state of the city upon which the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, had bestowed their doctrine, together with their blood. I see, she says, how certain churches, in which the bones of the saints do rest, have been laid waste. Some blessings still remain, but the hearts and the morals of those who rule here, are far from God. Such reflections assailed St. Bridget as she made the pilgrimage of the Seven Churches and prayed in the countless sanctuaries of Rome. Nor was she content to be a passive spectator of all the misery of Rome. In spite of the charity of the clergy and people there was no room for many of the pilgrims in the city, and they had to camp in the open air around great bonfires. As for the Swedish pilgrims, St. Bridget comforted them in all their troubles, both spiritual and temporal, curing their diseases, and receiving them into her own house.

There she and her companion lived according to rule under the guidance of their director, Peter of Alvastra. At four they rose. From four to eight they recited the Hours of the Breviary and heard Mass. Breakfast and recreation lasted from eight to ten. From ten to four all were at liberty to employ their time as they thought fit. From four to six in the afternoon vespers, compline, and other prayers were said. Supper and recreation occupied the time between six and eight, and

at eight o'clock the whole company went to bed. Silence was kept from four to eight in the morning and from four to six in the evening. In August, 1350, St. Bridget left Rome for a time. Widespread displeasure was felt there because the Pope had not visited the city even during the year of Jubilee, but had only allowed himself to be represented by a Cardinal Legate, Annibaldo Gaetani. The Legate's life was threatened, and he laid the city under an interdict for eight days. At the very time that Rome was full of pilgrims, no masses were to be said, and the doors of the churches were to be shut. Such a measure would naturally cause the greatest distress to so pious a Catholic as St. Bridget, and it is therefore not surprising to find her at the Benedictine Abbey of Farfa, north of Rome. It was one of the three richest abbeys in Italy, but had at the time fallen into sad decay. The fame of St. Bridget as a preacher of penitence had preceded her, and she was very ill received. Finally, a miserable hut was assigned to her as an habitation. It contrasted strangely with the splendour of the abbey, where the abbot's hawks and hounds were lodged better than the great lady from Sweden.

In spite of all rebuffs, St. Bridget was not daunted. She gained access to the Abbot Dom Arnold and rebuked him for his sins with such effect that he reformed his own life and that of his community. During her stay at Farfa St. Bridget was greatly comforted by the arrival of her daughter, St. Catherine, whom she persuaded to remain with her during the rest of her life.

After she had spent four years at San Lorenzo in Damaso, *i.e.*, about 1353, St. Bridget removed to the House of St. Bridget, in the Piazza Farnese, which is still standing. There the saint and her companions lived in the deepest poverty. Her bed was of straw, with scarcely a single pillow, and nothing but an old counterpane to cover it. St. Bridget had often to take

her place among the beggars who, then as now, crowded about the entrances of the more frequented churches. Sometimes she received unexpected assistance, as when a messenger arrived from Sweden with a crown which the wife of her son Charles had bequeathed to St. Catherine. The proceeds of its sale were sufficient to supply all the needs of the little community for a whole year. It was between 1365 and 1367, it would seem, that St. Bridget and St. Catherine and a numerous following made long journeys in Italy.

Towards the end of July the pilgrims left Rome and arrived at Assisi in time to gain the Portiuncula Indulgence there in August 1st and 2nd. As usual the saint, whose relics were preserved there, appeared to St. Bridget. This seems to have happened at every important sanctuary. St. Francis preached to her the necessity of obedience. Later on she visited Naples, from whence she made an excursion to Amalfi, in order to visit the relics of the Apostle St. Andrew. Other places visited by the saint were Benevento, which claimed to possess the body of St. Bartholomew, and Ortona where the remains of his brother apostle St. Thomas were said to rest. Thence the pilgrims proceeded to the sanctuary of St. Michael the Archangel at Monte Gargano, the rocky promontory which stretches out into the Adriatic. On the way down to Manfredonia Thomas of Malstad, Bishop of Vexiö, fell from his horse and broke two of his ribs. Next morning the pilgrims had to start very early for Barletta on the way to the sanctuary of St. Nicholas at Bari, so as to avoid the Saracenic pirates, who infested the coasts of Apulia. The bishop being in great pain begged St. Bridget to touch his side. She did so, and he was, it is said, immediately healed. From Bari the Swedish pilgrims made their way to Naples. St. Bridget lodged with Jacqueline Acciaioli, a noble lady whose austere mode of life formed a strange contrast to the prevailing luxury. The sovereign of Naples at that time was

Joanna I., the most beautiful woman of her time, and the patroness of Petrarch and Boccaccio. When St. Bridget arrived at Naples in the summer of 1367, Joanna was already married to her third husband James II., King of Majorca. She was suspected by many of having been concerned with the murder of her first husband, Andrew of Hungary. To her splendid court St. Bridget came. Very small of stature and clad in a gown of coarse grey serge, with a black veil concealing her glorious golden hair, St. Bridget visited Queen Joanna with her beautiful daughter, S^t. Catherine, who was similarly dressed. To Joanna and her courtiers St. Bridget preached repentance, and she succeeded in bringing about a religious revival in pleasure-loving Naples as long as she remained there. This was not very long. The saint returned to Rome in time to welcome Urban V. on his solemn entry into the Eternal City on October 16th, 1367. As soon as possible after the Pope's arrival, St. Bridget urged upon him the necessity of reforming the clergy both higher and lower. Even the cardinals, "the hinges of the doors of the Church," were in most grievous need of reformation.

A couple of years later, namely, in 1369, a number of Swedish pilgrims came to Rome, and among them St. Bridget's two sons, Charles and Birger. They differed greatly in character. Birger was a rough warrior. Charles seems to have been a dandy of the first order. Their mother presented them to Pope Urban V. Birger wore rather old, but quite suitable garments. Charles was gorgeously dressed. He is described as wearing a chain round his neck and a surcoat of ermine, with rows of stuffed animals above and below a magnificent belt loaded with silver. The Pope, on seeing the young men, said to Birger, "You are your mother's son, and to Charles, "You are a child of this world." Then lifting up Charles' belt the Pontiff observed that it must be a real penance to bear

so heavy a burden. "Holy Father," exclaimed St. Bridget, "do you free him from his sins. I will undertake to free him from his belt." It was at this time that St. Bridget used her utmost endeavours to have the Rule of the Order of the Saviour sanctioned by the Pope. She had already besought the intercession of the Emperor Charles IV. when he was in Rome in 1369. But all her efforts were fruitless for the time being. On April 17th, 1370, Urban V. set out on his return to France to St. Bridget's great sorrow and disappointment. She followed the Pope to Montefiascone and tried to induce Cardinal Peter Roger de Beaufort (better known as Pope Gregory XI.) to hand to Urban V. a revelation which she had received. As the Cardinal was afraid to go to the Supreme Pontiff on such an errand, St. Bridget went herself and delivered her message, which was couched in the most threatening terms, to Urban V. himself. But all her efforts were in vain. As for the Rule of her new order the Pope and Cardinals maintained that a new Rule could only be sanctioned by a general council, as the Council of Lyons in 1274 had forbidden the formation of any new orders under other rules than those which existed already. Eventually the Rule of the Brigittines was sanctioned subject to the condition that it was to be regarded as a modification of the Rule of St. Augustine.

In May, 1371, St. Bridget received a revelation exhorting her to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Accordingly she left Rome early in 1372 with her two sons, Charles and Birger, her daughter, St. Catherine, and a number of other pilgrims, including Alphonso, formerly Bishop of Jaen. The first place at which they stayed was Naples. There, according to the Chronicle of Margaret Klausdotter, Abbess of Vadstena, St. Bridget presented her two sons to Queen Johanna. Charles, after kissing the queen's foot, kissed her on the mouth. Joanna was so pleased that she is said to have declared her intention of taking him

as her husband, in spite of the fact that her rightful husband, the King of Majorca, was, it seems, alive at the time. St. Bridget remarked that such an arrangement could not possibly be carried out, as Charles had a wife in Sweden. In her despair she betook herself to prayer. Soon after, namely on February 24, 1372, Charles fell sick, and a fortnight later he died.

On March 14 the pilgrims left Naples on their dangerous journey. After travelling for a month they reached Famagusta. There St. Bridget was well received by Eleanor of Aragon, Queen of Cyprus, and she delivered many exhortations and warnings to the queen, the nobility, and the vicious population of the island. After a stay of fourteen days the travellers set out for Jaffa, which they reached at the beginning of May. In the middle of that month they came to Jerusalem. Altogether they spent four and a half months in the Holy Land, visiting Bethlehem and the Valley of Jehoshaphat as well as Jerusalem and Jaffa. St. Bridget saw the sacred events which had taken place at the various places, re-enacted before her eyes. An altar piece still exists in the National Museum at Stockholm, which was taken from the Church of Lye in Gothland, and represents the Passion of Christ as seen by St. Bridget. The dangers and excitements and fatigues of the long journey seem to have been too much for St. Bridget. She returned to Rome in 1373, but only to die. Sometime before her death she suffered much from depression, but that passed away and she was comforted. On July 23rd, 1373, she expired in the presence of her friends and of her children Birger and Catherine. Her funeral took place with the greatest solemnity two days later, and her body was deposited in the Church of San Lorenzo in Panisperna, which belonged to the Poor Clares. At the end of 1373 the Abbey of Vadstena was ready to receive the remains of its foundress. Her remains were carried in triumph through Italy and Germany, accompanied by her

daughter St. Catherine, her two confessors, and others of her friends. Everywhere miracles were, it was believed, wrought by the sacred relics. From Danzig they were taken by sea to Söderköping, where they were welcomed by Bishop Nicholas Hermannson, and thence by Linköping to Vadstena, where they were deposited. By degrees a number of nuns and brethren were admitted into the Abbey of Vadstena, which was a double monastery, like other Brigittine houses, though the two sexes were, of course, rigidly separated, and could not even see one another in Church. St. Catherine became the first Abbess of Vadstena, but had to spend much time at Rome in promoting the canonisation of her mother. The canonisation of St. Bridget became a national question with the Swedes, was, as we have seen, promoted by Queen Margaret, and finally it was proclaimed by Urban VI. on October 8th, 1391.

Such is a bare outline of the career of St. Bridget. Of the mighty influence exercised by her teachings and her order after her death I have no time to speak.

A large number of monasteries were founded in Denmark, Norway, Finland, Germany, Poland, Italy, and elsewhere during the fifteenth century. Even now a certain number of Brigittine nunneries exist in England, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Spain, and Mexico. The Brigittine nunnery at Chudleigh, Devon, is the direct descendant of the Brigittine house founded at Hinton in 1407, and refounded at Sion Abbey, Isleworth, by Henry V. in 1415, in thanksgiving for the victory of Agincourt. The community went abroad at the Reformation and did not return to England till the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it has preserved its continuity unbroken from 1407. It is the only convent in England of which this can be said. The order of Brigittine monks was revived in South London a few years ago.

The abbey of Vadstena did a great work in Sweden. Much of the Swedish literature of the fifteenth century proceeded from the Brigittine houses of Vadstena in Östergöthland and of Nådendal in Finland.

The Brigittines of Scandinavia wrote many of their books in the so-called Brigittine language, a mixture of Danish and Swedish, as they were always anxious to knit the three kingdoms more closely together. Most of the nuns were of noble birth. It is therefore no wonder that the nunnery of Vadstena survived until 1592, and that of Maribo in Denmark until 1628.

The spirit and influence of so noble a character as St. Bridget, the glory of Sweden, can never altogether die.

THE VIKINGS AND THE WENDS.

By FRANCIS P. MARCHANT.

THE following notes on the Vikings and Wends are the outcome of a suggestion by an esteemed fellow-member, to whom I am indebted for valuable advice and materials. I cannot refrain from passing a tribute to the memory of our beloved former President, Mr. W. F. Kirby, a close friend of many years, through whom I became a Viking, who kindly placed important volumes at my disposal.

At the outset it will be observed that greater space is devoted to the Wends than to the Vikings, and if any apology be needed it is that I am privileged to address older and far stronger Vikings than myself; that the Vikings and their history have formed their life study, while I can offer no such pretensions; and that, on the other hand, I may claim some personal knowledge of the Slavs. Other members have discoursed on the relations of the Vikings with Russia and Byzantium.

The point of departure shall be the Vikings of Jomsburg, near Wolin, of which settlement the founder, Palnatoki, who slew his lord Harald Blaaland, was jarl of Fjon, and also had a jarldom in Bretland (Wales). He invaded Wendland one summer, and Prince Burislav made offers of friendship with a *fylki* or *riki* called Jom, on condition that he should defend it. A sea burg was built, with a harbour to accommodate 300 longships. The community were under rigid laws: no member should be younger than eighteen nor older than fifty; no slander was allowed; only Palnatoki could tell news; booty was shared. Like the Templars, Hospitallers, and the *Sietch* of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Jomsburgers were celibates. The name Jom is supposed to be related to Jomala, a deity of the Lapps and Finns,

whose temple in Biarmaland was plundered by some daring Vikings under Olaf the Saint. (For Jomala or Jumala, otherwise Ukko (the old man), the god of heaven and cloud-compeller, see the Finnish *Kalevala*, translated by W. F. Kirby, F.L.S., F.E.S.). After the time of Sigvald, Jomsburg passed to Denmark. Knut appointed Sweyn governor, but he abandoned the place. Magnus the Good destroyed it in 1044 after a revolt, and the last was heard of Jomsburg under Waldemar I. Wisby, in Gothland, succeeded Jomsburg as a Baltic trade centre.

The late Sir G. W. Dasent wrote a charming historical romance, "The Vikings of the Baltic," based on the saga of the Vikings of Jomsburg during the time that Earl Sigvald, son of Strut Harald, was the chief. This free celibate community had been founded by Palnatoki in the reign of Harald Blaatand (blue tooth); at whose command he had performed the arrow feat, better known in the story of Wilhelm Tell as dramatised by Schiller. Sigvald boasted that each Jomsburg Viking was equal to a king, though lieges in Denmark, Norway, Wales, or wherever they originally belonged. Burislav was then king of the Wends and resided at Stargard, forty miles from Jomsburg, with his Russian consort and three daughters bearing non-Slavonic names, Astrida, Gunnhilda, and Geira. Though the Wends had towns they loved rural life, and Burislav lived practically out of doors. He is called "a short, oily-looking man, with a sleek, sly expression of face." He wore woollen outer garments, with a silk shirt brought from Byzantium by way of Russia, and a gold circlet denoted his rank. King Sweyn Haraldson demanded the tribute levied by King Harald from Mieczeslav, father of Burislav, and Earl Sigvald effected the capture of Sweyn by a ruse, freed Wendland from the tribute, won Astrida for his bride, and arranged that Gunnhilda should marry Sweyn. The daughters of Burislav would inherit a third of his

kingdom. Sweyn taunted Burislav in a parable that the Wends were tits while the Danes were eagles. The dissimilarity of the Scandinavian and Slavonic languages is indicated by the description of Mieczeslav and Burislav as "jaw-breaking names," a hoary sneer at Russian and other Slav words. Burislav's messenger says he is not a Wend, otherwise his name would end in "laf"—this should be "slav." The traditional hospitality is implied in the king's remark, "Burislav the Wend can never turn a guest out of his house." His people were famed for mead and wisdom, and their kings had come straight from heaven. As to their women, the princesses were supposed to have bewitched Sigvald with runes and philtres, like the Finns. Gunnhilda said that the way of Wendish women was to give good counsel, and Astrida was not pleased when her husband returned from battle without a wound. "Valkyries," she said, "we have no such things in the Wends: there all our women are flesh and blood." The story concludes with the expedition of Earl Sigvald against Earl Hakon ("the bad") of Norway, from the effects of which the free company never recovered but passed over to England, where perhaps St. Clement Danes, Strand, marks the site of their camp. Christianity was advancing, but the worship of Thor and Odin by the Vikings, and of Perun and Svantovit by the Wends, was still strong, and the marriages of Burislav's daughters were performed under the holy hammer. Burislav had been half converted by priests from the Emperor Otto. A sturdy Jomsburg hero, Beorn, the sceptical Welshman with a non-Celtic name, cries out—

"The last cup that many of us will drain before we feast with Odin, or Czernebog, or St. Peter, or wherever the hall may be outside this world, where the good and brave of all races and religions will sit and drink this even."

Referring to Snorro Sturlusson's *Heimskringla*, we find many allusions to the Wends and Wendland,

without any defined limits of their importance or extent. The "Avowing of the Jomsburg Vikings" forms a chapter, the occasion being the grave-ale held by King Sweyn, to which Earl Sigvald and his Jomsburgers were bidden, where great oaths were taken, mainly for the conquest of Earl Hakon. There was a Wendel district (Wendsyssel) in Jutland, north of Limfjord, but this is outside the area under consideration. Rolf Ganger was outlawed by Harald Haarfager for making a cattle foray south of the Baltic. Hakon the Good ravaged Seeland, Scania, and Wendland. Earl Hakon Sigurdson was called "foe of Wendland men." Sweyn Alfifuson, son of King Knut, governed Jomsburg before he became King of Norway. Hakon Ivarson was commander of King Sweyn's coast defence against the Wendland, Curland, and other raiders of the Danish coast. Harald Hadrada, that campaigner of more than European fame, fought against the Wends. King Magnus the Good, with Duke Otto of Brunswick, advanced against the Wends, and encouraged by a vision of his father defeated them at Hlyrskog heath after his capture of Jomsburg. The slaughter of the heathens, it was said, was greater than any that had taken place since the introduction of Christianity. A young unnamed man from Denmark was captured by heathens and taken to Wendland, but was delivered from a wretched imprisonment by the help of King Olaf the Saint, to whom he prayed. The Wendland king, Rettibur (Ratibor), with his nephew, Dunimiz, and a friend, Unibur, in the days of Magnus the Blind, the Danish king, Eirik, and Archbishop Ozur, of Lund, attacked the town of Konungahella. In spite of heavy losses the Wends spoiled the town and took away captives. When the priest, Andres, went on board Rettibur's vessel with the cross, all were disconcerted by a mysterious feeling of heat, whereupon the heathens aided the priest to depart in safety. The town of Konungahella declined after this Wendish raid.

From the "Saga of Olaf Tryggvason" (translated by J. Sephton, M.A.) we hear a good deal of the intercourse of Vikings and Wends. Hakon, foster-son of Athelstan, subjected Zealand, and "the strength of the choicest of the Wends," by the coast of Skane. Whitserk, one of Ragnar Lodbrok's warlike sons, possessed Reidgotaland and Wendland. Following his conquests in Jutland, Gorm the Old conducted a successful campaign against the Wends. After pillaging Borgundarholm, Olaf Tryggvason and his fleet were compelled to sail to the coast of Wendland, the realm of King Burislav. Geira ruled as queen, and had the shrewd and powerful Dixin for steward. The steward reports to Geira that a fleet is at anchor in the harbour, commanded by a handsome stranger of noble birth, who gives himself out to be the merchant Oli of Garda, though Dixin suspects his real character. As Olaf had arrived peaceably, he and his men were invited by Queen Geira to spend the winter at her capital. Their marriage was almost a matter of course, and as some of the Wendish towns had ceased to pay tribute to their queen, Olaf and his warriors proceeded by stern measures to compel payment. On his second expedition to Christianise Denmark, the Emperor Otto the Young was supported by King Burislav and the Wends. After their repulse by Earl Hakon at the Danework they were joined by Olaf Tryggvason under his assumed name of Oli, by whose help the Danework was burnt, Hakon defeated, and he and Harald, king of the Danes, converted. The cares of his Wendish kingdom prevented Olaf from accepting the Emperor's offer, on hearing who he really was, to become a chief in Saxland.

The Wends appear to have paid tribute to the Danes, and the warlike Vikings of Jomsburg formed a powerful defence for King Burislav. The latter, wishing to free himself from this tax, agreed to Earl Sigvald's demand for the hand of his daughter, Astrida, on con-

dition that the Vikings continued to defend the country, and that King Sweyn Haraldson, of Denmark, was placed in his power. Sigvald obtained possession of Sweyn, who was reluctantly compelled to remit the tax, though he accepted as bride Gunnhilda. In return, Sweyn's sister, Thyri, was offered as wife to King Burislav, and the two countries became independent. (Olaf had left Wendland some time before and settled in England, where he married an English queen, Gyda, sister to the King of Dublin.) Thyri refused to marry the old heathen, Burislav, who complained to Earl Sigvald that this part of the treaty with Sweyn had not been kept. Under pressure she came to Wendland, went through the marriage ceremony, but escaped after the feast, sought refuge in Norway with King Olaf, and married him. Large estates in Wendland had been settled upon Thyri, who protested to King Olaf that with him she was not rich enough for her station. At her entreaty, Olaf agreed to sail for Wendland to claim her estates for her, so a levy was called and the *Long Serpent* manned. After some delays King Olaf arrived at Wendland, saw King Burislav, with whom he had an amicable conference, and met old friends there. Then followed the conspiracy prompted by Queen Sigrid, wife of Sweyn after the death of Gunnhilda, against Olaf, headed by Sweyn, Olaf King of the Swedes, Earl Eric Hakonson, and Earl Sigvald. Tidings reached the fleet of King Olaf, who were impatient at their lengthy stay in Wendland. Before Olaf set sail he was warned by his friend Astrida, Sigvald's wife, of the plot. As the bulk of his host had previously departed, Olaf's following was small, but a mysterious Wendish smack ran up to the *Long Serpent*, when King Olaf perceived that he was trapped by his enemies at the mouth of the Swold. The battle of Swold does not call for description here, when the "crusher of Wends" long held his own valiantly. The crew of the Wendish smack offered

help, which was declined by the king, who bade them stand by at a distance, in case they could be useful later. After the battle they pulled away, and some held that King Olaf was with them, as he disappeared suddenly from the *Long Serpent*. Astrida related that King Olaf reached Wendland, was healed of his wounds, but declined to fight for his kingdom again, feeling that Providence has taken it away. At his request she fitted him out for a pilgrimage to Rome, and accompanied him part way there. It was said that Astrida and the steward Dixin were on board the strange Wendish smack at Swold. In the same saga there is the story of Rognwald, who, in his scheme of revenge against his master, Thorolf, employed two Wendish craftsmen to build a hall, arrange a feast, make the guests tipsy, and burn the whole place about their ears. As he sailed away with the booty the ship was wrecked and the Wends were drowned, though Rognwald escaped.

See for some general information the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (Vigfusson and York Powell), *Joms-wikinga-drápa*, by Bishop Biarni (V. II., 301).

Having referred to the sagas, wherein little or nothing is said of the history, politics, or religion of the people generally summed up under the term "Wends," we will turn attention to the historians. The Lusatians, or Serbs of Lusatia, in Prussian and Saxon Lusatia, like the maritime Slovines (Pomeranians; *po*, by, *more*, the sea) and Kašoby, on the East Prussian shore of the Baltic Sea, form an insignificant remnant of a once broad Slavonic population occupying the whole of Northern Prussia, extending west of the Elbe, having on the east Bohemia and Poland. They are broadly divided into Baltic Slavs and Polabes (*po Labc*, by the Elbe), and were never fused into a nationality. The Baltic Slavs included the Obotrites or Bodritshy (north-west), Liutitshy or Viltzy (Wilzen), and Pomeranians. There were Viltzy in Holland and Friesland, and the eminent Bohemian

antiquary, Šafařík, thought he saw this name in our Wiltshire. The Baltic Slavs are related to the Liakhy (including the Poles proper, *Poliany*, agriculturists, *pole*, a field), Chorvaty, and Mazovshany. The term Wends (Veneti, Venedi) is given to the Slavs (*Sklaboi*, Greek) by foreign writers, and is not their native name, as is Serbs (Sorbs). It is probable that Phœnician traders bought amber of the Baltic Slavs. At the time of Pliny and Tacitus they lived near the Vistula and bordered Dacia on the south. The word *Wend* has been traced to a Celtic word *Vindos*, whence *Vindobona* (Vienna, in Polish and Bohemian *Viden*). The primitive sense of *vindos* (cf. Welsh, *gywn*) is said to be *weiss*, *schön*, *glücklich*. According to Šafařík, the term *Wenden* or *Winden* is not only employed by old German writers, but also by Finns, Lithuanians, and Celts. The Finnish name for Russia is *Wennalaiset*. The classical Veneti must be distinguished from those of similar name on the Adriatic, and the Vandals, though there is distant relationship. Germans, Scandinavians, and Anglo-Saxons called the Slavs *Wendi*, *Vindi*, *Vinidi*, the country *Wendland*, *Windland*, *Winedaland*. Latin writers employed *Slavi*, *Sclavi*, *Slavia*, *Slavania*, and sometimes *Vinedi*, *Vinedi*, *Vinuli*. The form *Slovensky* or *Slovinsky* for the language, and *Slovintsi* for themselves, was used by some of them, a term akin to Slovenes, the archaic Slavs of the valleys near the Italian frontier.

The following are names of Slav tribes derived from their localities:—*Luzitsy* (of the marshes), *Pomorcy*, *Primorcy*, *Morlany* (of the seashore), *Berezany*, *Brzezany* (of the river banks), *Dolency* (of the plain), *Hority*, *Chlumcy* (of the mountains), *Borany*, *Drevany*, *Drevliany* (of the woods), *Ozercy*, *Jezercy* (of the lakes), *Luczany* (of the meadows), *Polany*, *Opoly* (of the fields), *Krajincy*, *Okrajincy* (of the frontiers), *Nizeny*, *Nizicy* (of the lowlands). “*Hunnen*” is a name applied to the Slavs by Bede and other historians.

In 690 a priest named Ekbert went to Germany to preach to the "Fressones, Rugini, Dani, Huni, antiqui Saxones, Boruchtuarii," etc. There were traditions of giants and their tombs (*Wanowe mogili, Hünengräber*), in Latin records *tumuli paganorum, sepulchrum Slavorum*.

At the end of the eighth century, writes Professor Freeman ("Historical Geography of Europe") the Scandinavian and Slavonic inhabitants of the Baltic as yet hardly touched one another. The Bohemian historian and statesman, Francis Palacky (quoted by Count Lützow in his "History of Bohemia") writes that—

"The Slavonic races in the ninth century extended from the frontiers of Holstein to the coast of the Peloponnesus, much divided and disconnected, varying in habits and circumstances, but everywhere able, diligent, and capable of instruction."

The wars with the Romans drew the Germans southwards, thus facilitating expansion of the Slavs and their occupation of German lands. Attila conquered the Veneti and Anti, but the Hunnish yoke was soon shaken. The Slavs proved irresistible to both eastern and western empires. Justinian took the name of Anti or Slav as one of his titles, though his arms did not acquire much glory over them. In 536, following a war of Romans and Goths, Valerian brought into Italy 1,600 mounted Slavs.

Little is heard of the Baltic Slavs before the time of the Emperor Charlemagne. In 748 Pepin had Slav allies in his contests with the Saxons. In 782 a great expedition of Charlemagne against the Elbe Slavs was defeated by the Saxons on the Weser, which was followed by the slaughter of 4,000 Saxons. Charlemagne directed the efforts of his Franks and Saxons against the Slavs. The Velety submitted to him, and joined him against their kinsmen, the Bodritshy, and were welcomed as "our Slavs" by the Germans. Charlemagne named Drazhko and Slavomir great princes of

the Bodritshy. Louis, his successor, settled the claims of Slav princes of Bodritshy and Liutitshy, and dissatisfied Slavs appealed to the Emperor. Lack of cohesion prevented the Slavs from profiting by the division of the Frankish sway. The adoption of Roman Christianity and the solid national feeling of the Germans gave them a powerful momentum in the struggle. The same factors operated in the stronger power of resistance to Teutonic rivals of the Polish and Čech nationalities. Charlemagne, however, did not accomplish the subjection of the Slavs, though they acknowledged him as over-lord and paid tribute. In 808 the Danish King, Godofrid, joined some of the Bodritshy against their prince, Drazhko, destroyed the trading city Rarog, and retired with plunder. At a parliament at Frankfort, in 822, deputies from the Liutitshy, Bodritshy, and Sorbs were present.

The military power of the Slavs declined during the reign of the vigorous Henry the Fowler, whose hand was felt by Danes and Hungarians. Henry instituted the German marks, comparable to the old Welsh marches: that of Schleswig, against the Danes; Meissen, against the Moravians; Austria, against the Hungarians; Salzwedel, afterwards Brandenburg, against the Wends. The state of Prussia (*Borussia, po Russa*) is the outcome of the old German mark. Henry's son, Otto the Great (936) founded the bishoprics of Oldenburg, Havelberg and Brandenburg, later those of Merseburg, Zeitz, and Meissen, and the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Under Otto II. the Slavs made great struggles for freedom, and the beginnings of Christianity were forced back. The Bodritshy and Liutitshy stormed Hamburg, Havelberg, and Brandenburg, and destroyed the churches and seats of the bishops, in 983. Otto III. made a truce with the Slavs, and they accepted Christianity, but under Henry II. Christianity and tribute were both refused. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Polish prince, Boleslav the

Brave, attempted to realise the dream of Samo, Svato-pluk of Moravia, and the Boleslavs of Bohemia, that of uniting all the Slavs politically, including Čechy, Moravians, and Slovaks. The scheme was defeated by Slavs themselves. Liutitshy and Čechy joined the German king against Boleslav, and his scheme was never revived after his death. Professor Freeman ("Norman Conquest") writes that Earl Godwin, in company with Knut, took part in a campaign against the Wends. One of the sisters of Knut was married to a Slavonic prince, "Wyr̥tgeorn, King of the Wends." (*The Foundations of England*," Sir James Ramsay).

The Bodritshy prince, Godeskalk (Gottschalk), son of a Danish princess, educated in a Lüneburg monastery, laboured hard for Christianity, and lost his kingdom for a time. His wife was Sirit, a Danish princess, and sister of a Saxon duchess. Ratibor, favourable to the Christians, fell in 1042 with his eight sons in battle against the Danes. Godeskalk was restored, and consolidated his people into a kingdom, but an anti-Christian and anti-German reaction restored the old paganism. The Rane prince, Krut (Krooko) succeeded Godeskalk, held his own against Danes and Germans, and ruled over all Holstein. A chance for the Slavs occurred in German dissensions. Henry IV. tried to incite the Liutitshy against the Saxons, with promises of grants of their land, but the Slavs replied that they had enough land of their own, and merely wanted to defend their frontiers. In 1093 Magnus of Saxony and Eric Ejegod, with Godeskalk's son, invaded the Slav lands, and Eric besieged Wolin and Rügen and placed them under tribute. Henry Godeskalkovitch, who slew Krut, extended his kingdom by German help, but at his death, about 1119, his kingdom was broken up, and a large part (the Liutitshy and Pomoriane) passed to the Polish princes.

After Godeskalk's family had died out, the Danish

prince, Knut Laward, duke of Schleswig, made claims the Slav lands, and defeated the Bodritshy princes Pribislav and his nephew Niklot. These chiefs continued with some of the Liutitshy the struggle against the Germans, and the kingdom of the former fell to Saxony. Niklot, one of the best known princes and last hope of these Slavs, repulsed a crusade of Germans and Danes, but had to succumb to a second attack by Henry the Lion in 1160. His successors strove vainly to throw off German vassalage, and Pribislav Niklotovitch submitted to the duke of Saxony, embraced Christianity, and held his lands as a vassal. Albert the Bear, markgrave of Brandenburg, acquired the lands of the Brizhany and Stodoriane, and the last to hold out, the prince of the Rane (Rügen) became a Danish vassal. Helmold writes of Albert the Bear—

Omnes enim terras Brizanorum, Stoderanorum multarumque gentium habitantium juxta Habelam et Albiam misit sub jugum et infrenavit rebelles eorum.

Then he—

Adduxit ex eis [Hollandris, Selandris, Flandris] populum multum nimis et habitare eos fecit in urbibus et oppidis Sclavorum.

The name Niklot means “unconquerable” (*ne, klat* or *kolot*, to beat, fight). His descendants, even when Germanised, were proud of their ancestor, and claimed princely titles. Poland, converted to Christianity, did not actively support the western Slav outposts against Danes and Germans, though some Polish princes were aware of their precarious position.

When the archbishopric of Lund was created, Wendland was included in the vast diocese. Pope Eugenius III. commanded a crusade under Adzer to operate against the Baltic Slavs, but this was a failure. The famous Archbishop Absalon, of Lund, was active against the Wends, and once interrupted a service on Palm Sunday to take the field. Henry the Lion and Waldemar I. (the Great) were alternately allies and

rivals in relation to the Slavs. After the conquest of Arkona by Waldemar, at Absalon's suggestion, Rügen was annexed by a Papal bull to the diocese of Zealand in 1169, and became tributary to the Danish crown. The town of Dantsic (*Danes wick*) was built by Waldemar the Great. In the time of Knut VI., Frederick Barbarossa incited Bogislas, duke of Pomerania, to attack the Danish vassal, Jarunar, prince of Rügen. The Pomeranians were defeated, and Knut VI. assumed the title of King of the Slavs or Vandals. Lubeck fell into his hands, and the nobles of Holstein and Schwerin paid tribute. On his expedition against Esthonia, Waldemar II. was accompanied by Wenceslas, prince of Rügen, who was of material assistance in the battle commemorated by the Dannebrog order. The town of Reval was founded and fortified by Waldemar, the terror of whose name spread from Schleswig to the Gulf of Finland. He was styled "Conqueror" and "King of the Danes and Slavs." The *Knyllinga-saga* sings of Waldemar's exploits. The Germans seized his conquests at length. Some time previously Pope Innocent III. proclaimed a crusade against the northern heathen, and Albert of Bremen was appointed Bishop of Livonia. In 1200 this prelate founded the important Order of Knights Sword-bearers, whose possessions included Dantsic, Thorn, Elbing, Mittau, with Marienburg, their capital. The Pope gave them the rule of the Templars, with the cross and sword as their emblem.

The story of the subjugation of a relatively gentle and humane people by vigorous and tyrannical aggressors is melancholy reading. The treatment of Slavs by Germans is contrasted by Slavonic writers with that meted out by Tartar and Turkish conquerors in Russia and the Balkan lands, and compared with that of the unfortunate Peruvians and Aztecs by the Spaniards. Their fall is explained by apathy, undue conservatism, deficient patriotic sentiment, and exaggerated personal

sensibilities. A Slav legend exists that when God created the different races He gave them gifts according to their desires but that the Slavs requested time for consideration before decision: their deliberations have not yet ceased. Nobles like Barnim of Stettin became Germanised, colonisation followed the crusades of the Teutonic knights, the natives were driven into the rural districts, and the Slav tongue was confined to old men and peasants, as was temporarily the case with Bohemian after the Thirty Years' War. Archbishop Absalon is said to have been more humane than the Germans.

The settlements of the Baltic Slavs were by families (*rod*), on their estates (*diedina*); this system gave way to the community (*obshtshina*), but names of the more prominent families survived in those of villages, e.g., Slaviboritch, Lobkovitch, and Gostiraditch, from the founders of families Slavibor, Lobko, and Gostirad. The heads were the *starosta* (from *stary*, old, elder or mayor), *shupan* (district chief), and *kniaz* (from O.H.G. *kunning*, prince). The *kniaz* was the chief judge and military leader. Originally these heads were elected, but the *kniaz* was often succeeded by his son. This title, which meant *dominus*, *Herr*, analogous to *monseigneur* and *dom*, was afterwards applied to the nobility generally, and may be translated *domicellus*, *Junker*, *Gutsherr*. The *kniaz* was sometimes the sacrificing priest. There were many of these princes in the different Slav districts. The Bodritshy had a *veliky kniaz* (great prince), the Russian title we know as Grand Duke. There were nobles and courtiers of various ranks. They dwelt in cities (*gorod*, *gard*), and villages (*celo*). At first the *gorod* was a fortified centre, where dwelt priests and officials, which formed a refuge in time of war for the surrounding people. Some of the important Slav towns were Stargard, Lubeck, (Bukovec), Dymin, Stettin and Koloberg. The German name of a city of the Bodritshy was Mikilinburg,

Mecklenburg (*mikil, magnus, cf. Mikkilgard, Byzantium*): the Danes called this Rerik. Stettin and Kamen (stone) were called by the Danes Bursteborg and Steimborg. An ancient town of great interest was the "Slavonic Amsterdam," Julin (Danish), Wolin (Slav), or Vineta (Saxon), a parallel with Venice. Helmold reports its destruction by the Danes, but that there were remains when he wrote. It has long been lost under the waves, where legend says Wolin and its inhabitants may still be seen. The city was said to rise on Good Friday, to disappear on Easter Day. Julin was erroneously ascribed to Julius Cæsar, whose lance was shown there. Strielov (Stralsund) was a rising city of the old principality of Rügen. The villagers who were free had taxes and duties towards the state and prince, whom they had to entertain while travelling and hunting. As vassals of emperor, duke (*herzog* or *voivode*), markgrave, or count, they had to pay tribute, and with the introduction of Christianity tithes to bishops (*biskopovnitsa*) in money and kind. All taxes and duties were in accordance with the general Slavonic law (*pravó Slaviansko, jus Slavicalis*). Besides the freemen there were serfs (*rab*), consisting of German, Danish, and rival Slav prisoners of war, kept in rigorous servitude. Slav prisoners were sold in the markets of Germany and western Europe, and from these the word *slave* is derived. Insolvent debtors shared this fate. The popular assemblies for deliberation on war and peace, judicial or public affairs, were the *snemy* or *seimy*, and *vetsy*. The old Slav constitution was excellent for taking possession of abandoned lands, but not for purposes of defence.

The early Slav lands were wooded and marshy, forming a natural defence for their inhabitants and a hindrance for Danish and German invaders. In the time of Albert the Bear colonists came from Holland, and from their experience knew how to deal with water and build dykes. The Slav ploughman used the small

ralo (*uncus, haken*), while the German had the heavier *pluga* (*aratum, pflug*). Slavonic commerce at first was limited to barter. In old Wendish tombs clay and wooden vessels and images have been found. Bagpipes, rebecs, and pipes formed their musical instruments. Traces of their songs have been found at Lausitz, Lüneburg, and Dalmatia. Their dances and games show warlike features. Assemblies were held of Slavs from all parts at temples. Fortified towns and districts became converted into principalities under Variag Vikings in the ninth and tenth centuries, in Russia and along the southern Baltic shore. The Variag arrival was for the purpose of trade and occasional piracy, not conquest. The Russians comprehend north German races, Swedes, Angles, Norwegians, and Gothlanders, in the term Variag. (Variagi is explained as a Slav form of the Scandinavian *vaering* or *varing*: *variag*, a pedlar: *variazhit*, to conduct petty trade.) The Baltic was the old *Variashskoe more* (*Variag sea*). Dwellers on the Baltic shores looked upon wreckage as a gift from the gods, and asked in their prayers for a good harvest of *strandgut*. The shoals of herrings, once furnishing a staple industry, have long left the Sound and the Baltic.

Traits of character and custom are common to all members of this extremely interesting race, whether extinct or flourishing, with whom extended acquaintance increases admiration and sympathy. A few notes on their social and religious customs will be appropriate here. The early Slavs, usually peaceable, were known to Greeks and Romans for tenacity and courage, doggedness and endurance, in warfare and when captured. Like the North American Indians, they would die under excruciating torture rather than betray secrets. Slav women went to battle, and their corpses were found among besiegers of Constantinople. The Wends fought with dagger and sword, and entered into battle with loud cries, to encourage themselves and alarm the

enemy. When a Wendish ambassador for peace returned, he was accustomed to light a fire as a signal to his people that he was a legate with news. When peace negotiations were unsuccessful the envoy remained with the enemy, so that he should not be able to give information to his countrymen. The Wends employed skilful spies. Desire for peace was intimated by throwing a stone into water, implying that he who broke peace deserved to perish by drowning. Their sturdy qualities were ascribed to northern conditions and climate. Their hospitality, inherited by Slavs of our day, and marital relations were admired by their neighbours. A system of *suttee* prevailed, suggesting an Indian origin, and a widow was discredited: it is thought that this was a safeguard against murder of husbands. The heathen Slavs were not inferior to heathen Germans and Danes, but adopted Roman-Christian culture later. Boniface, the "Apostle to Thuringia," gave the Slavs a high character on his arrival there in 724, and found all industries well represented.

The Baltic Slavs worshipped the powers of nature, with a supreme god, Svarog (heaven), whence proceeded the other gods, Svarozhitsh, son of Svarog, known as Svantovit (holy light, the sun), Bielbog (white, bright god), Triglav (three-headed god), Jarovit (god of war), and Radegost. With the Slavs, the supreme god cared not for terrestrial concerns but abode in heaven. To Bielbog was opposed Tshernobog, the black, evil god. George Borrow, in "The Romany Rye," makes one of his characters poke fun at Sir Walter Scott for calling Tshernobog a god of the heathen Saxons, but though this name is pure Slav there is little doubt that German heathens occasionally worshipped Slav deities, while Slavs adopted Odin. There was also Perun, the Slavonic Thor. The names of Prove and Proven, a god judge, at Oldenburg (Star-gard) appears to be a form of Perun, the thunder god.

Perun was succeeded by the prophet Elijah, controller of the seasons, among the Variag and Russian Christians. Bishop Dittmar, of Merseburg (976-1018), mentions a sacred wood, Zutibure (Svantibor), now Schkeitbar, and refers to the numerous idols. The Mecklenburg Wends long preserved some images of Odin. Saxo Grammaticus, secretary to Archbishop Absalon, gave an account of the idol and temple of Svantovit, at Arkona, Rügen, destroyed by Waldemar I. He says that even King Sweyn, of Denmark (probably Sweyngrate), murdered in 1157, sent an offering of a handsome cup to this idol. A huge mottled standard, honoured as a goddess, which, when carried, secured exemption from laws and even permitted insults to idols, stood in the temple of Svantovit, to whom sacrifices were made after harvest. Rhetra, a Slav temple, stood on lake Tollenz, Mecklenburg. The Baltic Slavs held their rude idol temples, called *gonlina*, a word meaning a shingle, in great veneration. Their priests wore long hair, entered into the holy place alone, and received a share of booty. According to Saxo, the priest who cleansed the temple at Arkona dared not breathe, for fear of contaminating something holy. The chief priest of Rügen had considerable power over many Slav families, maintained 300 mounted warriors for raids, and was distinguished above the rest by length of hair, beard, and dress. Besides animals, Christian captives or slaves bought from pirates were offered, and the gods were said to revel in Christian blood. A sacred horse was led over a lance, and victory or defeat was predicted from his manner of treading. (In the Bohemian legend, princess Libuša's horse guided the envoys to her ploughman consort, Přemysl.) Another method was by "toss-up" for white or black sides of pieces of wood. The women of Rügen predicted by observation of ashes. Festivals for the dead and the opening of summer were celebrated. A remarkable error was be-

lieved that monks from Corvey, Picardy, went to Rügen, preached the Gospel there, and founded a church of St. Vitus, their patron. Then it was said that the people chased the monks away and elevated St. Vitus into the Slav deity, Svantovit, whose statue they worshipped. As a matter of fact, monks who found the cult of Svantovit transformed his name into that of a Christian saint. (Numerous instances are on record of pious fraud through substitution of even fictitious saints for heathen deities by adroit variation of their names.) Christians were sometimes sacrificed to Svantovit. The interpretation of this name has given rise to much conjecture. (St. Vitus' cathedral, Prague, was founded by the Bohemian martyred prince, St. Vaclav—"good King Wenceslas"—in consequence of a gift from Henry the Fowler of an arm of that obscure young Sicilian saint.) A three-headed idol at Brandenburg was worshipped by Slavs and Saxons about 1153. Rugievit and Porevit, compared to Mars, were other idols destroyed by the Danes. In the temple of Jarovit was a large shield, which ensured victory like an oriflamme. A German who captured it was safe from his pursuers, who dared not approach it. Otto succeeded in destroying idols, and persuaded the people to use the gold of the figures to ransom captives. The general Slavonic word for God, *Bog*, is related to Sanscrit *bhaga*, god and good fortune. This word is matched by *Bes*, a demon. On one occasion the god of the Liutitshy, Svarozhitsh, marched in alliance with the Saxon St. Maurice, causing misgivings to a German missionary. Trees, lakes and rivers were sacred, and offers were made to their presiding genii. A great oak and spring near Stettin were venerated as the abode of a god. Midsummer day (St. John's day) came to be known by a joint Christian and heathen appellation, *John Kuppalo*. St. Columbanus, who converted German heathens, attempted, unsuccessfully, to reach the Slavs early in the seventh century. The Slavs showed

great obstinacy to Christianity, and though they usually opened the Baltic havens to all comers they excluded Christians, seizing their vessels and sacrificing their priests to idols. One writer says that they objected to Christianity because of the immorality, cruelty, and robbery practised by professing Christians. When Bishop Boso, of Merseburg, began to teach *Kyrieleyson* to the Slavs, they derided him and said *ve kri olsa* (in the copse is the alder). Adamus Bremensis, appointed a *Dom-Scholaster* by Archbishop Adalbert in 1069, author of the *Gesta Pontificum Hammenburgensium*, canon of the cathedral of a town which claimed to be the Christian metropolis of the Slavs, had been among the Danes and conversed with missionaries. At Rhetra, says Adam, a bishop, named John, of Mecklenburg, was executed by the Slavs, and his head offered to the god Radegost. Bishop Bernard persuaded the inhabitants of Wolin to accept baptism. He founded two churches there, and named them after the Bohemian saints, Vojtech (Adalbert) and Vaclav (Wenceslas). When St. Bernard first arrived, he walked barefooted and in rags. Asked his business, he said that he came in the name of the supreme God, lord of heaven and earth, to convert them from idolatry. The people said that his appearance dishonoured God, Who is glorious and rich. Bishop Otto, of Bamberg, the "Apostle of Pomerania," profited by the lesson, and came with a brilliant but unarmed company in 1125. This honoured missionary from Suabia lived in Poland, and learned the Slav language. After returning to Germany he was made Bishop of Bamberg. At the instance of Boleslav III. of Poland, Otto proceeded to evangelise Pomerania, where he was received by the Christian prince, Vratislav. On his first mission he converted 20,000 heathens and built 11 churches, thanks to his courage, sympathy, and knowledge of the people. A pretext for German and Danish aggression was removed in consequence of Otto's efforts. Helmold,

author of *Chronicon Slavorum*, priest of Bosau among the Wagry, assisted Bishops Vicelin and Herold of Oldenburg in mission work. He disparages the Slavs, and calls their country *terra horroris et vastæ solitudinis*. From him we learn much about the old Slavs and their religion. Helmold reports an outspoken speech by the chief Pribislav in reply to Bishop Herold's exhortations to embrace Christianity in 1154. He accepted the words of the prelate as wise and good for salvation, but complained of the exactions of dukes and counts. When oppressed on land, were the Slavs to blame for piracy upon Danes and merchants? Were not the German princes to blame? The Bishop promised that the persecutions should stop if the Slavs accepted Christianity, and Pribislav said that if they were allowed the same rights as the Saxons they would accept baptism, build churches, and pay tithes. In 1172 prince Casimir, of Pomerania, founded a Cistercian monastery at Dargun, and invited monks from Zealand and afterwards from Mecklenburg. Monks and nuns were Danes and Germans, with the exception of some Slavs of noble birth, and inhabited monasteries on the coast (Trebetov and Bielbog). At Stettin, prince Barnim (1237) appointed a German church of St. James and a Slav church of St. Peter, and allotted villages to each. The old Prussians were converted in the thirteenth century by the German Knights Hospitallers, who reduced them to bondage. The Sword-bearers proceeded in the same way with the Letts. The Sword-bearers suffered a permanently crippling defeat by Jagellon, of Poland, and his allies at the famous battle of Tannenberg, or Grünwald, in 1410.

To complete our story, these ancient Slavs are represented in Pomerania and West Prussia by the Kašuby, distributed among Poles and Germans. This name is derived from *kazub* or *kozub*, furs, and is of some antiquity, as Barnim was styled *dux Slavorum et Cassubiæ*. A few Slavs call themselves Slovintsy, and their lan-

guage Slovenish or Slovinish. There remain the so-called Lusatian Wends of Prussia and Saxony, divided into Serbs, Miltshany, and Luzhitshany, known generally in the Middle Ages as Wends (Vinidy, Venedy), or Serbs (Sorb's). The question has been posed by their champions, what would have become of Germany had not the Slavs interposed between that country and Oriental invasions, which materially changed the course of development of Russia and the old Balkan States.

For much of the foregoing information I am indebted to Professor Josef Perwolf's Russian work on the Germanisation of the Baltic Slavs, and some notes occur in the "Early Slavonic Literature" of my late honoured friend, Professor Dr. W. R. Morfill. The eminent Bohemian antiquaries, Dobrovsky, Čelakovsky and Šafařík (author of *Slovanské Starozitnosti*) did not overlook the Baltic Slavs, and Messrs. Pypin and Spassovitch ("History of Slavonic Literatures," a mine of wealth for students) enumerate German, Russian, and other savants who have written on the subject. There is also a great deal of information in *La Mythologie Slave*, by my veteran friend Professor Louis Leger, Vice-President of the Institut de France. Again I would express my best thanks and indebtedness to our late President, Mr. W. F. Kirby, for valuable advantages; and to a man of learning esteemed by all Oxford scholars, Dr. H. Krebs, of the Taylorian Library, for the opportunity of consulting Helmold's chronicles and other works.



Eivør Magnússon

*REPORTS OF PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE VIKING SOCIETY.*

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1913.

MEETING, JANUARY 20TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "The Cultus of Norwegian Saints in England and Scotland" by Dr. Edvard Bull. The following members took part in the discussion: Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, Mr. F. Marsh, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, Mr. F. P. Marchant and Mr. A. W. Taylor.

The Chairman moved a hearty vote of thanks to the author for his paper, and to Mr. A. W. Taylor, for reading it, which was carried unanimously. Printed on pp. 135-148.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 21ST, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

The President gave a short account of the pre-Norse inhabitants of Orkney, Shetland and Iceland, the Norse colonisation and the conversion of the Vikings to Christianity. It is now asserted that there are a number of large cave dwellings with inscriptions in the South of Iceland, pointing to a large pre-Norse population and not merely to the few Irish priests or Papas whom the Norse found there in the 9th century. From the old forms of Norse place-names, odal tenure, etc., found in

the Orkneys, it is surmised that the settlement of these islands took place as early as 700. The Picts having been christianized as early as 565, this would give 150 years, which is ample time, to account for the numerous Pictish ecclesiastical remains in the islands. Mr. Johnston said it was his opinion that the Vikings settled down peaceably and intermarried with the Picts. This is borne out by the survival of Pictish place-names and church dedications, and the latter indicate that Christianity never entirely died out in the islands. This latter theory is also supported by the ease with which Christianity was established there in 995, in strong contrast to the great opposition offered in pagan Norway. Moreover, the cathedral of Orkney was built only some 50 years after the sword-baptism of Earl Sigurd.

The Venerable Archdeacon Craven is of the opinion that two Celtic waves of Christianity affected Orkney and Shetland, the first being a mission of St. Kentigern from the East, and the second St. Cormac's historic mission from St. Columba in the West, represented respectively by the dedications to St. Ninian and St. Columba.

The origin of Norse literature was also referred to. Up to the 12th century the laws, sagas, and Edda lays were oral traditions. Christianity with its written Scriptures and missals gave the impetus to the writing down of the laws and sagas in the 12th century. We find Earl Ronald, a poet, and Bishop Biarni, the Skald, busy at literary work in that century in conjunction with Icelandic Skalds, when possibly some of the Western Edda lays were rescued and recorded. Many of Snorri's poetic words are still used as tabu names in Shetland and nowhere else. This is highly suggestive, seeing that the islanders changed their Norse speech for English from two to three centuries ago.

Mrs. Bannon and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part in the discussion which followed.

MEETING, MARCH 14TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Professor W. P. Ker, LL.D. (Vice-President), read a paper on "Bishop Jón Arason."

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Professor Ker for his paper, which was carried unanimously. Printed on pp. 149-171.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING.

ST. MAGNUS DAY, APRIL 16TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President and Founder), in the Chair.

The Twenty-first Annual General Meeting was held at King's College, Strand, on St. Magnus Day, Wednesday, April 16th, at 8 p.m.

The Annual Report was presented to the meeting and adopted unanimously.

The officers of the Society, nominated by the Council for the ensuing year, were unanimously elected, Mr. F. P. Marchant and Mr. Douglas C. Stedman acting as scrutineers to the ballot.

Professor Allen Mawer, M.A., read a paper on "Scandinavian Influence in English Place-names."

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Professor Mawer for his paper.

Printed on pp. 172-210.

MEETING, MAY 23RD, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

The President, Mr. A. W. Johnston, gave his Inaugural Address, "Orkney and Shetland Historical Notes."

A discussion followed in which Mr. J. S. Clouston and Mr. John Marshall took part. Printed on pp. 211-263.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 21ST, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "Temple-Administration and Chieftainship in Pre-Christian Norway and Iceland," by Miss Bertha S. Phillpotts, M.A.

The Chairman, Dr. Jón Stefansson, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. F. P. Marchant, and Mr. Etchells took part in the discussion which followed. The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Phillpotts for her paper. Printed on pp. 264-284.

MEETING, DECEMBER 12TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "Thyra, Wife of Gorm the Old, was she English or Danish?" by Captain Ernest Rason.

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman and Dr. Jón Stefansson and Mr. John Marshall took part.

The Chairman moved a hearty vote of thanks to Captain Rason for his paper. It was accorded by acclamation, and the reader responded. Printed on pp. 285-301.

THE CULTUS OF NORWEGIAN SAINTS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

By DR. EDVARD BULL.

SEEING how short is the distance from the Orkneys to Scotland, and frequent as have always been, from the very beginning of historical times, communications across the Pentland Firth, it is not improbable that ecclesiastical customs would be transmitted from Scotland to the Orkneys and from the Orkneys to Scotland from the earliest times. As the mediæval sources relating to the Orkneys are rather scanty, we know very little of the first movement¹; we are, however, better informed as to the movement from the North southwards, especially in connection with the veneration of the saint, Earl Magnus of the Orkneys.

Near the chapel of Ladykirk, in South Ronaldsay, the southernmost of the Orkneys, whence there is the shortest passage to Scotland, a stone is found, four feet long and pointed at both ends. It is called the boat of St. Magnus,² and local traditions concerning it still exist. Magnus is said to have used the stone as a boat—in the same way that so many other saints have done before him—when passing the Pentland Firth, and afterwards to have carried it to Ladykirk. According to others the stone is really a petrified whale. It is in fact the very whale which carried the earl on its back from Caithness to the Orkneys, thus enabling him to fulfil his promise to build a church and dedicate it to

¹ A few disconnected remarks in the *Statuta Generalia* of the Scottish Church (pp. cxiii. 111-112, 136) are almost all.

² Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish lochs and springs*, Glasgow, 1893, pp. 72ff.—The same, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 122.

Our Lady. In later times penitent sinners used to stand barefooted on the stone.

In the northern part of Caithness, on the boundary between the parishes of Halkirk and Watten, there was a hospital consecrated to St. Magnus, and in the 19th century an annual Magnus Fair was still held at Halkirk on the Tuesday before December 26th.¹

Even in Celtic literature the worship of St. Magnus may be traced in the beautiful hymn, *A Mhànnis mo rùin*,² in which Magnus is invoked as a deity of fecundity, who is besought to be kind to the cattle and support the growth of plants and animals. In this as in nearly all other prayers in the popular language his direct help is solicited, and not only his intercession with God.

We also find such local traditions relating to St. Olave in the northern parts of Scotland. The church of Cruden in Aberdeenshire was dedicated to this saint, and was certainly very old, even if the tradition that it was built in commemoration of the defeat of the Danes ("crow-dan") at Cruden, in the year 1006, by King Malcolm, who died in 1033 or 1034, three or four years after the battle at Stiklestad, sounds highly improbable. In the parish a holy well, called St. Olave's, is to be found, of which the people sing:—

St. Olave's well low by the sea,
Where pest nor plague shall never be.

St. Olave's fair is still held at Cruden in the month of March.³

This last fact leads us to the official Scottish ecclesiastical practice in the last period of Catholicism, when the day of St. Olave was kept, strangely enough, in

¹ Mackinlay, *The pre-reformation church and Scottish place-names*, 1904, pp. 380 ff.—The day of St. Magnus was really Dec. 13th; but probably the fair is of earlier origin than the worship of the Saint.

² Henderson, *The Norse influence on Celtic Scotland*, p. 35.

³ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, III., pp. 144-49. Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish lochs, etc.*, p. 105.—The same, *The pre-reformation church, etc.*, p. 21.

the last days of March. Here there are two chief sources of information to be taken into account. The first is the *Breviarium Aberdonense*, belonging to about the same time as the breviary and missal of Nidaros. It was printed in 1509, by direction of Bishop Elphinstone,¹ with a view to delivering the Scottish Church from the overwhelming influence of the liturgy of Sarum, the use of which had been admitted for national reasons, to counter-balance the claims of York on the primacy in Scotland. There is full reason, then, to suppose that this breviary contains fairly good evidence of Scottish church practice.

The other source is a missal from the church of St. Nicolas in Aberdeen, originally printed in Rouen, in 1506, according to the missal of Salisbury, but with manuscript notes. These notes, according to Scottish investigators, bear traces of Norse influence; but otherwise the calendar in this missal is very corrupt and quite overloaded with festivals.²

According to both these calendars the day of St. Olave is to be kept on March 30th, instead of on July 29th.³ The breviary, however, lays down⁴ that if March 30th falls in Easter week or on the first Sunday after Easter, the celebration is to be put off till after that

¹ Reprinted London, 1854, in two vols. (*Pars hyemalis* and *Pars estiva*). The notes concerning Olave are printed also by Metcalfe, *Passio et Miracula beati Olavi*, pp. 117ff. (see also pp. 33ff.)

² Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. 33 (1898-99), pp. 440-60.

³ 31st, according to *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Edinburgh, 1845, II., p. 7.

⁴ The print by Metcalfe, *Passio*, etc., p. 33, of these regulations is very inaccurate; the text of *Brev. Aberd.* (March 30th): *Si hoc festum sancti olaui vel festum sancti reguli infra passionem domini vel in ebdoma pasche aut in dominica oct. eiusdem contigerit nichil fiet de ipsis usque post octa. pasche et ibi tunc vbi conueniencius possunt celebrari: de ipsis fiat seruicium cum tribus lectionibus istius temporis. Sed cum R. iis et v. paschalis temporis. Et ita faciendum est de omnibus aliis festis simplicibus ix. lectionum infra dictum tempus contingenti. Ad matuti. ix. lec. fiant.*—See also *Brev. Aberd.* July 29th.

Sunday, and the day is then to be observed with two lessons only. The nine lessons which otherwise belong to the day of St. Olave, in these years, are to be read on July 29th, upon which day only a memorial of St. Olave is, as a rule, read. I am not able to explain this curious feature in the Aberdeen calendar. It is perhaps to be supposed that the March fair at Cruden is old, and that later it took its name from the saint of the parish church, and that then the festival from Cruden spread either over the whole diocese of Aberdeen, or perhaps only to the town of Aberdeen, not many miles away.

That the day of St. Magnus is celebrated as a higher feast than that of St. Olave (as *festum duplex*), is quite natural. So is it that not only the festival of his translation, December 13th,² but partly also the day of his death, April 16th, is observed as *inferius duplex*, and that the breviary of Aberdeen contains rather long hymns in his honour, while in the case of Olave only a very short legend is appointed. The worship of these two saints in the northern parts of Scotland has, of course, come from the Orkneys, where Magnus must have been much more popular than Olave.³

The cult of the two Norse saints, which we find in England, is of quite a different character. Here we find Olave more prominent, and Magnus seems a more or less casual attendant on his great compatriot. His worship is, however, not altogether without interest. In southern Scotland St. Magnus is not worshipped, and of the three churches dedicated to him in England, two belong to the southern parts of the country, Lon-

¹ To this worship of St. Olave in Northern Scotland belongs also the altar dedicated to him in S. Salvator's College, St. Andrews (Metcalf).

² 12th, in the missal of St. Nicolas; 14th, in *Liber Ecclesiæ Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott* (ed. A. P. Forbes, Edinburgh, 1872).

³ Daae, *Norges helgener*, p. 206, says that the nephew of Magnus, the Saint Earl Ragnvald, too, was worshipped in Scotland, but without giving any evidence.

don and Dorsetshire, and only one is situated in the North at Bessingby, in Yorkshire (East Riding).¹ Sea-communication of any importance between the Orkneys and England in the 12th century is not to be thought of, and a direct connexion with the North does not seem very probable, as the worship of Magnus is not to be traced in southern Scotland or northern England. There can therefore scarcely be any doubt but that this worship reached England from Norway, and that owing to the lively traffic between the two countries not only has Norway been influenced from England, but also England from Norway. That this last was the case in the Viking Period has always been acknowledged; but as Magnus was not regarded as a saint in the Orkneys before the year 1135, his worship cannot have been brought from Norway to England earlier than in the second half of the twelfth century.²

This influence surely issued from the western parts of Norway. Magnus, of course,—like the other saints of the Norwegian church—had his altar in the cathedral of Trondhjem; but all other traces of his worship in Norway, that can be localized, belong to the West. Generally speaking, the Norwegian Church only observe the day of his death (April 6th); but some few letters from Voss prove that here, not far from Bergen, the day of his translation (December 13th, generally called St. Lucia's Day), was also kept.³ In the church of Urnes in Sogn is a runic inscription which contains the name of St. Magnus; and in addition to this Professor Magnus Olsen, who has deciphered the inscription, mentions evidence of active communication

¹ Frances Arnold-Forster, *Studies in church dedications*, London, 1899, II., pp. 455-60. Miss Forster has no doubt that these churches really concern the Saint-Earl from the Orkneys, and not some of the other saints with the name of Magnus; but she gives no evidence, and I have not been able to verify it.

² But on the other hand, not much later; the Magnus church existed already in 1203 (Metcalf, l.c., p. 119).

³ *Historisk Tidsskrift*, III., Series II., p. 103.

between the Orkneys and Sogn in the Middle Ages.¹ It was from these parts probably that the worship of Magnus reached England in the 12th century.

How long the earl of the Orkneys was venerated in England cannot accurately be told; but possibly his cult continued until the Reformation. Henry Machyn, citizen of London, who has left an elaborate and very interesting diary for the years 1550-63, relates that in 1559, on September 16th, there were burnt at the corner of Pye-street pictures of Christ on the cross, Mary, John and St. Magnus; and there is no reason why this should have been any other than the Norse earl, who had his church in London, near London Bridge.

A much more prominent part, however, is played in England by St. Olave. He was popular as well in Anglo-Saxon times as after the Norman conquest. At least fifteen churches dedicated to him are known in England.

The oldest evidence on this subject seems to be the story that the well-known Earl Siward of Northumbria (1055) in the time of Edward the Confessor, built an Olave's church at York, where he was himself buried; but already in the year 1098, King William Rufus gave this church to St. Mary's abbey,² and only a little parish church in the neighbourhood (Marygate) has kept the name of the Norwegian saint. Probably also the son of Siward, Earl Wealhtheow, had inherited his father's love of St. Olave. During the turbulent times after the Norman Conquest he frequently resided in Lincolnshire, where he presented Crowland Abbey with large donations.³ Perhaps it is from this

¹ Aarsberetning fra foreningen til fortidsmindesmerkers bevaring, 1907, pp. 135ff, 160.

² Diary of Henry Machyn, citizen of London, ed. J. G. Nichols, London, 1848, p. 209.

³ Arnold-Forster, Church Dedications, II., pp. 451ff.

⁴ Monasticon Anglicanum (ed. 1846), III., p. 546.

⁵ Worsaae, Minder om danske og norske i England, p. 169-74.

period that the stone statue on Crowland Bridge dates. It represents a man with a huge loaf or cake, and local tradition has supposed it to be St. Olave, whose name has been transformed to *Holofius*, and by way of popular imagination connected with the word *loaf*.¹

From Anglo-Saxon times also dates the votive mass in honour of St. Olave, which is prescribed in *The Red Book of Derby*, a manuscript from the diocese of Winchester, which was written about the year 1061. In this manuscript not only is Olave the latest saint recognised, but the only one who is not English.²

Finally, St. Olave's church at Exeter is earlier than 1066.³

It is possible that the Norman Conquest brought about a reaction against the worship of the Norwegian saint, but in no case can this have been of long duration. The communications with Norway, recorded in the time of Henry I.,⁴ grew more and more frequent, and must have kept green the memory of St. Olave.

Characteristic of the prominent part played by St. Olave in the ideas Englishmen had of Scandinavia, and how they considered him the real centre of all the Scandinavian North, is the tale of the death of Swein Forkbeard in Maistre Geffrei Gaimar's poem *L'estorie des Engles* (written between 1135 and 1147).⁵

At York was he buried :
But then after ten years or more
The Danes took up his bones ;
They were carried to Norway,
To Saint Olaf, there were they laid.
In St. Peter's minster he lay
When the Danes took him away.

¹ J. Gunn, *Illustrations of the Rod-screen at Barton-Turf, Norwich*, 1869.—*Kunst og Kultur*, II. (1911), pp. 50 ff.

² *The Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E. Warren, Oxford, 1883, p. 244.—*Historisk Tidsskrift*, 3rd Series, IV., p. 357-69.

³ *Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift*, 5th Series, I., p. 563, notes.

⁴ *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XIX., nr. 32.

⁵ *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (vv. 4162-69).

After the conquest of Ireland, under Henry II., an Olave's abbey was founded in Dublin from Bristol, and it continued (till it was abolished by Henry VIII.) to keep up its connection with the convent of Augustinian monks at Bristol.¹

As late as in the beginning of the 13th century we are told that a monastery was founded in the honour of St. Olave at Herringfleet, on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk.² Although it is expressly said to have been founded by Roger Fitz Osbert shortly after 1216, English writers have considered this impossible. They have been of the opinion that all English churches and monasteries in honour of St. Olave—of which by far the greater part cannot be dated—must go back to Anglo-Saxon times, when the Norsemen still formed a separate class within the English people. And they have supported their theory by referring to the fact that all Olave's churches in England—with but one exception—were situated near the sea, where consequently the Vikings and their descendants might have had ready access. Accordingly it has been maintained that the monastery of Herringfleet cannot have been founded for the first time in 1216, but was only rebuilt and enlarged at that time.

Of this older foundation, however, nothing is known at all, and no remains have been found in spite of careful excavations, undertaken by the present proprietor of the ruins.³ Moreover, it seems quite superfluous in this way to contest the express words of the text. If an abbey in honour of St. Olave can have been founded in Dublin at the end of the 12th century, and if the worship of St. Magnus can have been introduced into

¹ J. P. Rushe, *A Second Thebaid*, Dublin and London, 1905, p. 59.—J. T. Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin*, 1854, I., pp. 48ff.—Bits of the garments of Olave were preserved, already from the 11th century, in the Trinity-abbey of Dublin (Daae, *Norges helgener*, p. 57).

² *The Victoria History of Suffolk*, London, 1907, II., p. 100.

³ *Kunst og Kultur*, II. (1911), pp. 49ff.

England about the same time, it is not at all impossible that a monastery in honour of St. Olave may have been founded in the beginning of the 13th century.

From this same period date also two manuscripts giving evidence of Norse influence on the English Church. The first belonged to Fountains Abbey near York, and is a copy of the work composed by Archbishop Eystein of Trondhjem, *Passio et miracula beati Olavi*.¹ The other is a psalter, originally written for the use of King Henry III., but with some calendar additions, evidently from the 13th century, including the following: 16th of April, *Magni ducis m.*; 15th of May, *Sancti Halluardi martyris*; 8th of July, *Sanctorum in selio*; 29th of July, *Olavi regis et martiris*.²

These facts seem to be of no slight importance, as showing that Norse influence in England was not restricted to Anglo-Saxon times, but continued in the 12th and 13th century, at a time when the Norwegians who visited England were no longer Vikings, but only more or less peaceful merchants, tradesmen and clerics.

By far the greater number of the churches dedicated to St. Olave were situated in large towns; at least four in London, two at Norwich,³ one at Chester, one at Exeter, one at Chichester; and most of the village churches were situated near the sea—Ruckland in Lincolnshire, Creting in Suffolk, Gatcombe in the Isle of Wight, and Poughill near Bude in North Cornwall.⁴

The age of these churches cannot be established; but the theory of Miss Arnold-Forster that most of them go back to the time when the Danes ruled in England, seems to me highly improbable. We have no evidence

¹ Edited by Metcalfe, Oxford, 1881.

² Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift, 8th Series, III., p. 232, note.

³ Blomefield, Hist. of Norfolk (ed. 1806), IV., 2, pp. 65 and 475. An Olave's-guild is mentioned at one of these churches in 1501.

⁴ All these dedications are to be found in the book of Miss Arnold-Forster (II., pp. 751ff), which, however, is to be used with some circumspection.

at all that the Danes spread the worship of St. Olave outside their own country, and we do not even know that Olave was regarded as a saint in Denmark itself, before the death of Harthacnut (1042). The oldest evidence of the worship of St. Olave in England belongs, as we have already mentioned, to the fifties and sixties of the 11th century, and some of these churches may have been founded in these years,¹ but scarcely all, or even the majority. The twenty-four years' reign of Edward the Confessor seems too short to include the foundation of four churches in London, dedicated to St. Olave. And as to the sea communications between Norway and England, we do not know much about them in the 11th century, but everything goes to show that the reign of Magnus the Good (1035-47) and of Harald Hardrada (1047-66) was not the time when they flourished most. Finally it may be mentioned that no one of these churches as it now stands is older than the Norman conquest, while at least one of them, Fritwell in Oxfordshire, is built in early Norman style. In short, the period when the worship of St. Olave spread most rapidly in England seems to have been the first 150 years or so after the Conquest. And in all this time it seems to have spread by direct influence from Norway, and not from one or more centres originating in England itself.

A few such centres, however, existed, and transmitted the worship of St. Olave not so much to other places as to later times. First of all, London must be mentioned, where, as late as the last century, there were founded two suburban churches bearing the name of St. Olave.² In the Ghetto of London, Old Jewry, near

¹ If Snorri is to be relied upon, there was an Olave's church in London in the reign of Harald Hardrada (1047-66). (The saga of H. H., ch. 57).

² At Stoke Newington and at Mile End, East London. The last one got its name because it was built from funds belonging to the old church in Hart Street.

Cheapside, was situated one Olave's church, mentioned for the first time in the reign of Edward the First,¹ and in the City itself also were to be found churches dedicated to this saint in Hart Street and in Silver Street. Just outside the City, in Southwark, at the end of London Bridge, is the still existing Olave's church in Tooley Street.² At the other end of London Bridge there stands a church dedicated to St. Magnus, and thus the very centre of the traffic in old London was flanked by churches dedicated to Norwegian saints.

To the church in Silver Street is attached a tale from the last period of Catholicism, which is often quoted in England.

When Queen Mary resuscitated Catholicism in England, she also desired to revive the old Catholic festivals, customs, miracle plays, etc., and of this also St. Olave had his share. For on the 29th of July, 1557, the above-mentioned Henry Machyn says in his diary: "On the same 29th July, being S. Olave's Day, was the Church Holy Day in Silver Street, the Parish Church whereof was dedicated to that Saint. And at Eight of the Clock at Night began a Stage-Play of goodly Matter [relating, 'tis like, to that Saint]."³

To these London churches finally is to be added one at Queenhithe, on the west side of Bread Street Hill, which is mentioned in the *Liber Custumarum* in the reign of Edward I., but which was very early united with a Nicholas Church in the neighbourhood, and a chantry in St. Paul's Cathedral, whose age we do not know, but which was in the year 1391 incorporated

¹ *Liber custumarum*, ed. Riley, p. 230.

² Tooley is the common English corruption of "St. Olave," as Tullock (Toolog) is the Irish one.

³ Strype, *Historical Memorials, Ecclesiastical and Civil*. London, 1721. Fol., Vol. III., p. 379. The diary of H.M. as we know it has several lacunas just for these days; but at the time of Strype it was still complete, and has been utilised by him. The words in [] were probably added by Strype.

into the general property of the church because of its smallness.¹

The other centre for the worship of St. Olave in England is the district on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk. We have already mentioned the two churches at Norwich, the church at Creeting and—the most important—the Augustinian priory at Herringfleet. The coast-line has here, in the flat land, with its numerous streams of water, changed much in the course of time. The ruins of the old priory are now situated about five English miles from the sea, but close by a river whose valley gives an easy passage to Norwich. In former times, when the water-courses were larger and the ships smaller, the navigation over the Norfolk Broads to Norwich presented no difficulty; the fleet of Swein Forkbeard is said to have passed Herringfleet on its way to this town; and by the old ferry as well as later on over St. Olave's Bridge, there must have been important traffic. Still in our own time St. Olave's railway-junction marks this natural topographic turning-point.

It therefore surely was a lucrative piece of business when the prior in 1226 got a royal license to hold an annual fair on the day of St. Olave.² The priory seems to have been prosperous for a long time; some parts of the ruins are built in the Tudor style; consequently, the priory still towards the end of mediæval times had enough funds to construct rather important new buildings.

Not far away (only 16 English miles), on the highest point in the neighbourhood, is situated the church of Barton Turf, dedicated to St. Michael. On a side-screen in this church there is to be found a painting from the 15th century, representing four saint-kings—

¹ *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, pp. 230, 233, 235.—*Metcalfé, Passio*, p. 34.—*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Richard II.*, Vol. IV., p. 421.

² *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, London, 1844, II., p. 165.

St. Edmund, St. Edward the Confessor, St. Holofius and King Henry VI. This last died in 1471, and Henry VII. later on tried to have him canonized by the Pope. Alexander VI. was not altogether unwilling, but finally it came to nothing. The picture of Henry VI. as a saint therefore must certainly date from the last years of the 15th century. The other kings seem to be about 50 years older.¹ It is curious evidence of the prominent part held by Olave in England, that as late as the 15th century he is the foreigner people would naturally represent together with the royal saints of the country itself.

King's Lynn, on the Wash, is the English port which, in the 13th and 14th century, had the greatest traffic with Norwegian ships. We do not know if there was an Olave's church here; but at least we hear of a place in the town called "St. Olave's fleet."² The Icelandic Saint, Thorlak, accomplished a wonderful miracle here about the year 1200.³

Also it is probable that St. Olave was worshipped at Grimsby, although nothing is known about it from written sources. Only last summer there was found on the west coast of Norway a seal, from the first half of the 14th century, bearing the legend "*Sigillum Monasterii S. Augustini de Grimesbi,*" and representing a saint king with an axe, who cannot very well be any other than Olave.⁴

The only church in England dedicated to St. Olave and not situated near the sea, is Fritwell in Oxfordshire.⁵ It was built in the 12th century; but here, of

¹ F. Gunn, *Illustrations of the Rood-screen at Barton-Turf, Norwich*, 1869.—*Kunst og Kultur*, 1911, p. 50.

² *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XIX., 462.

³ *Biskupa Sögur*, I., p. 357. ("Kynn" is certainly a mis-script for Lynn).

⁴ Now kept in the Public Record Office (Riksarkivet), Kristiania.

⁵ North Oxfordshire Archæological Society, *Publications* 1882 and 1903. The only trace of Norse influence in the neighbourhood is a manor at Barford St. Michael, some miles farther west, also bearing the name of St. Olave.

course, the worship may be older and date from before the Conquest. It is not easy to understand how Norse influence could reach Fritwell so late as the 12th century.

In this little out-of-the-way village the worship of St. Olave has continued with incredible tenacity. In the old parochial register for November 20th, 1720, is found, among collections for the poor of the parish itself, a collection "upon St. Olave's church near York," which gave a result of 2s. 6d. And still in our own time the day of St. Olave is observed in the parish as a great festival. The priest, dressed in a surplice with an embroidered—modern—image of St. Olave, and the parishioners walk in procession round the church; and the sermon of the day treats of the Norwegian saint. This custom is not—as is the case, for instance, at Herringfleet—newly introduced by people with literary education, but is genuinely old. This is proved, if there be any doubt, by the fact that the festival is held on the first Sunday after August 8th, not on the proper day of St. Olave, July 29th; when the Gregorian calendar was introduced in England (1752), the conservative peasants of Fritwell would not submit to this alteration of the almanac, and kept the old day for the festival, even if it got a new name, August 8th instead of July 29th.

This sketch of the worship of Norwegian saints in England can probably be supplemented. What we have set forth already will, however, suffice to show that in the matter of the relations between Norway and England it was not Norway alone which was the receiver during the 12th and 13th centuries, any more than it had been during the 9th and 10th centuries.

JÓN ARASON.

BY PROFESSOR W. P. KER, *Vice-President.*

THE glory of Iceland is lost at the death of Sturla the historian. This was not the very end of the great Icelandic work of prose history in the mother tongue, but the old spirit is gone; the true imaginative rendering of Icelandic and Norwegian life, the art of Snorri and Sturla, disappears at the union of Iceland and Norway. The decadence of Iceland is manifest in the failure of the great historic school; the decadence of Norway also, when there were no more lives of kings written by Icelanders in the common language.

But the dull times of Iceland, after the 13th century, ought not to be made out worse than they really were. Iceland ran through its good seasons and its fortune; but it never lost its distinctive character. It lost much; but it kept that pride and self-respect which is proved in the history of the language, and which saved Iceland from the fate of Norway, the degradation and disuse of the native tongue. Historians sometimes speak as if the condition of Norway and Iceland through the bad centuries were much the same. No doubt there is a great resemblance. Both countries are altered for the worse through their relations with Denmark; both turn into dependencies. But even though Iceland often received harder treatment than Norway, as happened under the tyranny of the Danish trade, Iceland never gave way in spirit as Norway did. The Icelanders kept their language and their art of poetry. They were saved by their good grammar from the Norwegian lethargy. They maintained their self-consciousness over against the rest of the world; a small community, not as large as Athens or Hampstead. Through the

vicissitudes of a thousand years the Icelanders have not changed their minds with regard to the use of their minds; at any rate they have continued to believe that they were meant to live as intelligent beings. Also, from the conditions of their land and society, as well as from their own native disposition, they pay more attention to individual men than is common in other countries. This habit of thought, which is the source of the great historical art of Iceland, is not lost when the historical school is closed. The history of the Reformation in Iceland, and the life of Jón Arason, Bishop of Hólar, may show how little the essentials have changed in three hundred years from the time of the Sturlungs. It is true that the life of Bishop Jón is not written out full and fair like the life of Bishop Gudmund, three hundred years before. But the scattered notes and memoirs from which the story can be put together were made by Icelanders who had the same tastes, though not the same ability, as the earlier historians. Snorri and Sturla must have worked with similar notes, in preparation for their finished work. The records of the time of Jón Arason show that there was the same sort of interest in character and adventures as there was when the Sturlung memoirs were composed.

The history of the Reformation in Iceland is a drama of persons more than in other countries. The persons, it is true, cannot be compared for dignity, and hardly for richness of humour, with the principal authors and adversaries of the Reformation, with Luther or Knox, Henry VIII., or the Emperor Charles. But in Iceland, unlike the rest of Christendom, there is very little to be told that is not obviously dramatic; the dramatic, the personal values, are not obscured by general impersonal forces and movements; the stage is compact and comprehensible. With earlier affairs in Iceland, with the matter of the Sagas, it is often amusing and surprising to find how readily historical events seem to fall into

their place like things in a novel. One gets the same impression in the history of Jón Arason, even although the action was never fully represented in the old Icelandic narrative way. The chief situations are intelligible and clear, just as they might be in a novel or a comedy. If one could imagine a chronicle of Barset, with the Reformation for its substance, instead of, *e.g.*, the problem of Hiram's Hospital, one might get something like the Icelandic scale and mode as observed in the life of Bishop Jón of Hólar. It is tempting, though irrelevant, to consider how the Barchester characters might have displayed themselves if they had been transported to the Icelandic scene; to think of Dean Arabin drawn into a raiding expedition by Archdeacon Grantly, against his better judgment, yet not unwilling; of Mrs. Proudie talking manfully and evangelically to the invaders, while Mark Robarts and Bertie Stanhope were packing up the Bishop to carry him away. How the Slopes and Thumbles would have behaved there is no need to imagine, for the Icelandic record has preserved their ancestors undecayed and unmistakable. One of them did his best to edify Jón Arason on the way to the headsman's block.

"When Bishop Jón was led out, there was a certain priest, Sir Svein, appointed to speak to him persuasively. The Bishop, as he came forth from the choir, sought to do obeisance before an image of Mary; but the priest bade him lay aside that superstition, and said (among other comforting words): 'There is a life after this life, my lord!' But Bishop Jón turned sharply and said, 'I know that, Sveinki!'" (*Biskupa Sögur*, ii., p. 353.)

Political novels and plays are apt to fail through overweight of political argument, or else, at the opposite extreme, because they make things too obviously superficial, too simple and easy. In Björnson's political plays the questions often seem too trivial, the politicians not really dangerous. In Icelandic history the casual

reader may often think that the interests are trifling, the values unduly heightened by chroniclers who do not know the world. The documents often confirm this view. There are extant from Jón Arason's time claims for damages suffered in certain raids which take up a considerable space in Icelandic history; a householder feels the loss, among other things, of a pepper-mill and a mustard-mill, and that is recorded. The great men, prelates and chiefs of Iceland, may seem on examination very much like the common people of the English border. "There are a thousand such elsewhere" in Liddesdale, Redesdale, and the Debatable Land. Kinmont Willie and the Laird's Wat might have been princes in Iceland. The great men of Iceland, are they not great through the emptiness of the region round them, the simplicity and inexperience of their countrymen? So one is tempted to ask, and this sort of scepticism and depreciation leads of course to such ignoring of Iceland as is shown in the histories of Europe generally.¹

This low opinion may be contradicted and proved unreasonable. Do not casual readers speak of the history of Attica in much the same way and with not much more consideration?² But it cannot be denied that the material weight of Iceland is small, that the greatest men are not rich men, that the interests are to all appearance domestic or parochial when compared with the fortunes of larger states.

There are at least two modes of defence in answer to this. Material interests may be unimportant where a principle or idea is at work. Thus, returning to Barchester, we observe that the historian Trollope, in *The Warden*, has made the case of Hiram's Hospital into a parable or

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. x. index, "Iceland, constitution for, 694" : text p. 694, "Iceland received a Constitution."

² It is a pleasure here to remember Sir George Trevelyan's translation of Thucydides into the terms of Stirlingshire and Clackmannan,

allegory containing the whole of politics and the quintessence of public opinion. The argument of *The Warden* does not require a larger scale or a higher stake, any more than Euclid would be helped if you offered him triangles of gold and silver. There is sometimes this kind of moral in Icelandic history. Indeed, this seems to be the peculiar office of Iceland among other nations. Iceland, again and again, is found to resemble an experimental table arranged by Destiny to work out certain political problems neatly, with not too many pieces in the game. So Iceland has been made to declare the true nature of early German civilisation; so the life of Bishop Gudmund is a dramatic conflict of High Church zeal with steady respectable worldly tradition, and represents in a personal story the contemporary life of Christendom. So in the life of Jón Arason the Reformation is exhibited as a dramatic opposition of characters.

But, taking the second mode of answer to those who depreciate and ignore, we may observe that the history of Iceland is not purely ideal or exemplary; it is itself part of the history of Europe and contributes its own share of reality to the actual world. The life of Jón Arason may illustrate the course of the Reformation in Denmark and Norway, but it is also different from anything in those countries, and has much in it that was lacking there—particularly some fortitude in opposition to the new doctrines and their advocates. The value of Jón Arason is not merely that his story brings out some common humanities and some common fashions of the time; he is part of the life of Christendom as far as Allhallowtide of the year 1550, and what he does is done by no one else in Iceland, Norway, or Denmark.

The Church in Iceland was not very well taken care of in the 15th century. The Bishops were mostly foreigners; of many of them, including at least one Englishman, very little is known. One Bishop of Skalholt, described as Confessor of the King of

Denmark, discovered that there was nothing to drink in Iceland except milk and water; therefore he made provision and obtained from Henry VI. of England a licence for two ship-captains to sail to Iceland with supplies. Before him in the same diocese there was a tyrannical Swedish bishop who had thirty unruly Irishmen in his retinue; he was at last (in accordance with the popular will) tied up in a sack and drowned in Brúará. Which, however, was not the last of him, for in the very familiar manner of ghosts in Iceland, he "came again" (of course as a solid body), and gave some trouble before he would lie quiet (1433).

It would have been a great misfortune for Iceland if the Reformation had come when there were no better Churchmen in the cathedrals than this Swedish bishop or the Danish royal chaplain who was so careful about his beer. But, as it fell out, the great debate was not left to be determined in Iceland by wholly external powers, by Luther or the King of Denmark. Some Icelanders very early began to think for themselves in a Lutheran way; and on the other side was Jón Arason.

It is one of the fortunate things and one of the strange things in Icelandic history that at the time of the Reformation the bishop in the north was one of the greatest men of the time, and a man who recalled the greatness of the old days. Jón Arason, Bishop of Hólar, was not like his predecessor, Bishop Gudmund, a great churchman with a consistent theory of the relations between church and laity. But he was a churchman of another old Icelandic sort, a great chieftain, a married man with a family, fond of power and wealth and glory, very closely resembling the great men of the Sturlung age. It was as if Kolbein Tumason or Sturla Sighvatsson had come back to life in Holy Orders. And this great man was not simply a worldly potentate with the dignity of a bishop; he was the chief poet of his time, and his poems were religious. He does not represent any theory of the relations

between Church and State: he is not the successor of Thomas à Becket, or of St. Thorlac. But he represents better than anyone else the church of Iceland as it was for centuries from the time of the first conversion—the rather easy-going but wholesome religion which in so many ways resembles the Church of England.

Jón Arason's poetry cannot be explained except to those who understand it already. Like all Icelandic poetry, its beauty is largely a beauty of form, and of the form it may be said that Jón Arason is a master of rhyming stanzas, apparently without much or any suggestion from foreign literature. He worked on the principles of Icelandic rhyming poetry, derived from the Latin rhyming poetry of the Middle Ages, and used those principles so as to make very beautiful stanzas in which the artifice is not so great as to hinder the freedom of expression. One of his poems has had a strange fortune. It was very early taken up by the Faroese, and was used by them at sea for the good of their fishery—"whale-verse" being a popular name for it.¹

¹ The Faroese version was edited in *Aarb. Oldk.*, 1869, pp. 311-338, by R. Jensen.

The first stanza is the proper 'hvalvers,' and the note on it is as follows:—

"This is what Lyngby quotes in the appendix to his Faroese ballads, the so-called 'whale-verse,' the only fragment of the poem which can be said to be generally known. The name comes from the belief that the singing of it had power to drive away the large whales, if there was danger from them to fishing-boats at sea (hvis man kom i hvalnød ude paa havet").

Miss Elizabeth Taylor, who has a close acquaintance with life in the Faroes, points out that the virtue of the "whale-verse" comes from a popular rendering of *kvölum* (= pains of hell) as *hvolum* (= whales; pronounced in the same way as the other word). The "whale-verse" is thus given, *loc. cit.*—*Ljómur Biskups Jóns Arasonar.*

Hægstur heilagur andi
himna kongurinn sterki
lovliga lít tu á meg,
signauðr á sjogv og landi
sannur í vilja og verki
hoyr tú, eg heiti á teg!
Forða tú mær fjandans pínu og díki,
feikna kvölum öllum frá mær víki,
mær veit tú tað, Mariu sonurin ríki,
mæla eg kundi nakað, svá tær líki!

The Reformation was established in Denmark by King Christian III., in his ordinance of 1538, which prescribed everything to the kingdom and the church, the King being himself the head. The name of "bishop" was disused, though the office was kept. Under the ordinance the king appointed "superintendents" for the various dioceses. These "superintendents" are the Protestant Lutheran bishops, and it may be observed that Bishop Gizur, the Protestant bishop of Skalholt, calls himself "superintendens," though in Iceland the authority and name of "bishop" were too respectable to be supplanted by this new government description.

The ordinance was imposed without difficulty in Denmark: the King was thinking of Denmark, and not particularly of Norway or Iceland, when the ordinance was granted. But Christian III. of Denmark held himself to be King of Norway also. There was some resistance to him, both to his title and his policy there; Norway, however, had no real strength, and it is here that the difference in spirit between Norway and Iceland comes out most clearly. To the Catholic Archbishop, Olaf Engelbrektsson, in Norway, the Reformation was loathsome, and there seems to have been little regard for it among the people. But there was just as little effective liking for the old church, and the Archbishop of Nidaros could make no party of his own out of the Catholics of Norway. He had to leave the country, unheroically though not dishonourably (April, 1537), and the kingdom of Norway accepted the ordinance, keeping all its sympathies still for the old faith, and taking no interest in the teaching of Luther.

The Lutheran ordinance of King Christian III. was imposed on Iceland also. It cannot be said that the people of Iceland showed themselves much more awake than the people of Norway to the meaning of the change, but there is a great difference between the two countries. Iceland being a small country as compared

with Norway is much more easily affected by the talent of any one of its members. New ideas run more easily over the land, and it happened that in Iceland both sides were much better represented than in Norway. The Protestant Reformation in Iceland was not merely a Lutheran ordinance imposed by a king. Although there was much dissatisfaction with the change, it cannot be said that the Reformation in Iceland was carried through without the general consent of the people. Icelandic history brings out very clearly the same unpleasant interests, particularly the appetite for church lands, as may be found in the history of the Reformation in other countries. But there was also very early a movement for the translation of the Scriptures, and afterwards the honour of the Reformation was maintained in Iceland by the great translator, Bishop Gudbrand.

Jón Arason was born in 1484; little is told of his early life. His father died, and Jón acted as steward for his mother at Laugaland (near Akreyri) till he was 24. Then he took Holy Orders, and shortly afterwards was married in some form or other to his wife Helga: a contract recognised by Icelandic tradition, and not apparently at any time challenged on any ground either by Catholics or Protestants. He made two voyages to Norway for Bishop Gottskalk of Hólar, and after the death of Gottskalk (1520) was elected bishop himself (1522) by all the priests with one dissentient.

At that time Bishop Ogmund, of Skalholt, had just been consecrated, a man in some things resembling Jón Arason, and very well fitted to be his rival or his friend. At first he was a decided enemy. It is curious how just before the Reformation—the “change of fashion” (*siðaskipti*), as it is called in Icelandic—there should have been, after so many foreign bishops, a return to the old natural conditions, with two men in the two cathedrals so thoroughly like their ancestors. Ogmund was a tall stout gentleman, with a remarkable talent for

strong language and little regard for his personal appearance, though much for his episcopal dignity and power. He was indeed a chieftain of the old school like Jón Arason, but without his wit and poetry. He tried at first to keep Jón Arason out of the bishopric of Hólar; he and Jón met once in the old fashion at the Althing, each with his tail of fighting men, and there was likelihood of a battle. But peace was made by the intervention of the Abbots and other clergy, and there was no more trouble of that kind.¹

The contention between the Bishops is told with some detail, and evidently with much enjoyment of the old fashioned tricks and stratagems. In that respect there was little change after five centuries.

Generally the two Bishops behaved like heroes of the older Sagas, and made their fortunes in the old way—by authority, maintenance, ingenious use of the law. There is material for the history of a law case in which Jón was concerned;² the facts resemble those of the Sturlung time. He thinks of his sons in the same way as Sighvat Sturluson might; the true meaning of heredity is proved when his son Ari is made Lawman. At the same time (in this also like the Sturlung house) he attends to the liberal arts; to his own poetry especially. He had no reputation for scholarship; it was a common belief that he knew no Latin. The Reformation, it should be remembered, encouraged the growth of classical learning in Iceland; the standard was raised after Bishop Jón's time. An interesting document is the Latin account of him written by a Protestant about 1600, pitying Jón for the want of proper Latin education in his youth. *Adeo miserum est infelici tempore natum esse.* This author recognises very fully the native genius of Jón Arason and his accomplishment in Icelandic verse.

¹ Jón Egilson has a curious story of a wager of battle in the old place—the island in Oxará—between champions of the Bishops. See Dict. s.v. *hólmanga*.

² *Biskupa Sögur*, ii., p. 430 sqq.

It is not quite easy to make out the extent of his learning. He was undoubtedly fond of books, and the first printer in Iceland, Síra Jón Matthiasson the Swede, worked under his patronage.¹ The Reformers did much for the encouragement of study, but they had not to begin at the very beginning.

Jón Arason does not appear very definitely in the earlier stages of the Reformation in Iceland.

The Reformation touched the southern diocese first; the south was more exposed to innovation, as the Danish government house was at Bessastad; and Bishop Ogmund of Skalholt had to meet the impinging forces alone. His tragedy is represented with some liveliness in the extant narratives.

The time is 1539-1541; the chief personages are Bishop Ogmund; his Protestant successor Gizur Einarsson; Didrik van Minden, a man from Hamburg, deputy of the Governor Claus van Marwitz; Christopher Hvítfeldt, a Danish commissioner with a ship of war. The chief witnesses, besides original letters and other documents, are Síra Einar, a priest who was faithful to the Bishop, and his son Egil, then about 17 years old. Egil was alive, aged 70, in 1593, when one of the narratives was written (Bs. ii. 237-259). Another is the work of his son Jón, parson at Hrepphólar in Arnes-sýsla about 1600.²

Bishop Ogmund was old and blind when the "change of manners" befel. He was riding with his attendants one sunny day when his sight went from him. He asked and was told that the sun was shining bright; then he said: "Farewell, world! long enough hast thou served me!"

He had to find an assistant and successor; first he chose his sister's son Sigmund, but Sigmund died in

¹ Biskupa Sögur, ii., p. 440 sqq.

² *Biskupa Annálar Jóns Egilssonar*, edited by Jón Sigurdsson in *Safn til Sögu Islands*, i., 29-117.

Norway not twenty days after his consecration (1537).¹

Then Bishop Ogmund, with the assent of the clergy, chose Gizur Einarsson to succeed him. This was the first Protestant Bishop in Iceland, and if he was not an absolute sneak, the witnesses (including himself) have done him great wrong. Bishop Ogmund was his patron from very early days, and Gizur made good use of his opportunities. He was a very able man, and the Bishop was right in thinking so. It is hard to discover how much the Bishop knew about Gizur's Protestant sympathies. There is no reason to doubt that Gizur was an earnest reformer. Like other men of the time, he had unpleasant ways of mixing his own profit with evangelical religion, but he seems to have obtained his religious principles through study, and not in a casual or superficial manner. He was associated with Odd Gottskalksson, the translator, and with other young Icelandic students who came under the influence of Luther.

In 1539 Gizur sailed for Denmark as Bishop-elect of Skalholt; and that same year the Reformation displayed itself in a Danish attack on the island of Videy at Reykjavík, and in spoliation of the monastery there. The agent in this was Didrik van Minden; fourteen men in an eight-oared boat were enough for the business. It seems a paltry thing, but, as usual, one must remember the Icelandic scale; the ruin of Videy was no less for Iceland than the ruin of the Charterhouse was for London. In Iceland the retribution was not slow. At the Althing, a few weeks later, all the Danes who had attacked the cloister were outlawed and their

¹ Bs. ii. p. 269. Sigmund's daughter Katrin was wife of Egil above-mentioned, and mother of Sira Jón who wrote the Bishops' Annals. She was a child of nine, staying with her grandmother at Hjalli when her grand-uncle, Bishop Ogmund, was arrested by the Danes in 1541. She was keeping the Bishop's feet warm that morning, and saw what happened. Cf. Jón Egilsson, p. 73. Hinir . . . kómu til Hjalla fyrir dagmál, og tóku þar biskupinn í baðstofunni; móðir mín lá á fótum hans og var níu vetra; þeir leiddu hann út, &c.

lives forfeited. The Danes made very little of the Althing and its sentence, but here they were wrong. In August Didrik and his men went to Skalholt to bully the old Bishop, meaning to go further east and break up the great cloisters of Thykkvabæ and Kirkjubæ. Didrik blustered in his bad language, bawling at the "divelz blindi biskup," but that was the end of him. The countryside rose; as he sat in the Bishop's parlour he looked out of the window and asked, "What is the meaning of all those halbards?" The meaning was that the avengers had come for him; he had to fight for his life; the man who killed him told Jón Egilsson all about it (*op. cit.*, p. 70). This happened on St. Lawrence Day, August 10th, 1539. It was followed by strong political action on the part of the Althing. Iceland was roused; not only were Didrik and his men convicted after execution and declared outlaws (*óþótamenn*), but a strong and clear description of Claus van Marwitz, the governor, his robberies and forgeries was sent from the Althing, 1540, to the King, with a petition for his removal and for the appointment of no one "who does not know or keep the law of the land, and is not of Danish tongue."¹ The previous summer, after the death of Didrik, arrangements had been made for carrying on the government business through the sheriffs, without the governor. The Icelandic case was upheld in Denmark; Claus van Marwitz was sentenced by King and Council in 1542 to imprisonment for life. He was released the year after.

So far the people of Iceland were victorious; Iceland had never spoken more clearly or with better right as a single community. But Bishop Ogmund had to meet a greater danger than the violence of Didrik and the other ruffians. His coadjutor, Gizur, then in Denmark, is said to have persuaded the King that Ogmund stood

¹ "Danish tongue" does not mean Danish; it is the old name for the old Norse language. The ambiguity may have been calculated, so as not to offend the King. The Icelanders address the king as King of Norway and acknowledge the laws of Norway, not of Denmark.

in the way of the Gospel. In the spring of 1541 he came out in a man-of-war, with Christopher Hvitfeldt, the commissioner, and set himself busily to collect as much as possible of Bishop Ogmund's goods. The story is pretty fully told from the report of eye-witnesses, and there is a letter of Gizur himself which shows how far any witness was from exaggerating.

Bishop Ogmund was staying with his sister at Hjalli when the Danes came upon him. They roused him from his bed, and took him out to the courtyard in his long nightgown, but allowed him after that to put his clothes on; then they collected as much as they could of his silver. His sister, Asdis, tried to keep hold of him, but they pulled her away, put the old Bishop on a horse and brought him off to the ship. How the Bishop's silver was taken is told particularly on very good authority. The Bishop promised to give up his silver, and sent for the priest Einar to fetch it. Einar (whose son Egil tells the story) went to see the Bishop on board the ship, got his letter and seal as warrant, and then started for Hjalli along with six Danes and Egil, his son. Asdis gave them the keys of the money chest, and they swept everything into a sack, dollars, nobles, Rhenish guldens, cups and pots and all, so that there was not a single "lübeck" left. They took even the rims of the drinking horns. Asdis claimed a brooch as her own, and it was given up to her. But the Bishop was not released. They repented about the brooch, and said they must have it too; and the Bishop sent a letter to his sister, and the Danes took the letter, and brought the brooch away. But the Bishop was not allowed to land again; he was taken to Denmark, and died there. King Christian was not well pleased at the work of his servants.

Jón Egilsson, whose father and mother, Egil and Katrin, both saw something of this affair, was told by his grandfather, Einar, of a letter, written by some one to the Commissioner, "not to let the old fox

go''; at which Christopher Hvittfeldt shook his head, apparently not liking the style of his correspondent. The letter is extant, and the writer was the new Bishop Gizur. It is worth quoting in full, as a document of the Reformation.¹ It appears that to do things thoroughly Gizur had gone with Claus van Marwitz (who had not yet been recalled) to another house of Ogmund's in Haukadal to make a search there. The letter is written in Low German, which may thus be translated:—

"IHS. *Salutem per Christum*. I do your worship to know, good Christopher, that I have been with Claus van Marwitz in Haukadal, but there was nothing there of silver plate or any such stuff, nothing worth a mite, except one small silver cup about an ounce weight; everything had been carried off before, as the old one can tell you if he will. And there was nothing here at all of any worth, but all cleared away together, as Claus can inform you. Further, good Christopher, see to it that you do not let the fox loose on land again, now that he is safe in your keeping, for if he were to land the people might raise an uproar. It is not advisable that he should come to the Althing, since many of his adherents will be there. If possible, I will come to speak with you, three or four days before the Althing.

"The blessing of Almighty God be with you eternally. Written in haste in Haukadal, the Eve of Whitsunday, A.D. 1541.

"GIZURUS EINARI,

"Superintendens Schalholt.

"To the honourable and discreet Christopher Hvittfeldt, &c., this letter with all speed. G."

It is pleasant to believe, on the evidence of Sira Einar, that Christopher was disgusted when he read those evangelical sentences. The author of them, it

¹ Printed in *Safu*, i., 128.

should be remembered, was the scholar who translated the Protestant ordinance of 1538 from Latin into the vernacular tongue: his version has lately appeared, together with the Latin original, in the *Diplomatarium Islandicum*.

Jón Arason, who had taken his full share in the condemnation of Claus van Marwitz, and who might have been expected to go further, was suddenly checked by the appearance of the Danish force and the removal of Bishop Ogmund. He seems to have felt that the proper course for him was to temporise, and if possible to fend off the detestable ordinance. He was on his way to the Althing when he heard of Ogmund's captivity; he stopped at Kalmanstunga and went no further. On the 27th June he wrote forbidding all action against the diocese of Hólar, and appealing to the Council of Norway. He also wrote in bolder terms to Christopher; sorry that he had been prevented by his friends from coming to an interview; he was ready to accept the ordinance if it were approved by the Catholic Church and the Chapter of Nidaros. The King summoned the two Icelandic Bishops to Copenhagen. Gizur went, of course; Jón of Hólar asked to be excused, and sent three proctors, his son Sigurd, Canon of Nidaros, being one (1542). They did homage to the King, and swore to the ordinance, and returned in 1543. Jón refused to be bound by their oath. But he did not attempt any active resistance, except in so far as he went on his way neglecting the new religion; *nusquam non more Papislico infantum confirmationes missas inferias lustrationes et dedicationes celebravit aliaque ejus farinae postliminio introducere allaboravit*, to quote the learned historian of the Church in Iceland. Jón did not quarrel openly with Gizur. The malignant may be sorry that he did not "teach" the superintendent of Skalholt, or at any rate ask him to consider it possible that he might be mistaken.

But Jón Arason must not be misunderstood through

his heroic death or through his spiritual songs. He was not a blameless heroic martyr; he was a hero like the men of the heroic age, working with craft and policy, and sometimes with violence, and often for very worldly ends. His fall came about through his likeness to his ancestors; he made the fortune of his family by the methods known three hundred or five hundred years earlier, and he came to ruin through a mistake about the strength of a worldly adversary. The other "big buck" (to repeat the familiar Icelandic term), Dadi Gudmundsson, won the match, and did not spare his enemy when he had got him down.

The story is as complicated as any of the feuds in *Sturlunga*. It is part of the great law case of Teit of Glaumbæ, which begins in 1523, and goes on for a century. It may be enough to say here that the Bishop and his sons took the old methods of getting their own; particulars are extant of the effect of their raids, including the loss of the pepper-mill and the mustard-mill already mentioned. The monotonous history comes to a head in the rivalry between Bishop Jón and Dadi Gudmundsson.

Dadi was one of the powerful men of the West, and has left his name in tradition. It may be taken perhaps as another proof of the Icelandic impartiality that tradition accepts with favour both the rivals, and has not made Dadi into a monster or a murderer on account of the beheading of Jón.¹

Gizur Einarsson died in the Lent of 1548. At that time Bishop Jón's spirits were high, and he was enjoying the old sport of raiding. He had let Gizur alone, for sufficient reasons. But the vacancy of the see was an opportunity not to be missed; and when Martin, the brother-in-law of Dadi, appeared as the new Superintendent, the temptation was irresistible.

Martin seems to have been an amiable man, without much distinction, except as a painter. He had been

¹ See Jón Arnason, *Þjóðsögur*, ii., 121.

engaged in trade before he took Orders. He was consecrated by Palladius at Easter, 1549; having spent the winter in Copenhagen studying evangelical divinity with Dr. Hans Machabeus, *i.e.*, John MacAlpine, some time Prior of the Black Friars in Perth, now a famous Professor of Theology in Denmark. Martin seems to have been treated in rather a condescending and patronising way by the great Protestant Theologians; but he got his certificate in good time.

The Protestant clergy in the diocese of Skalholt were fairly strong, and the Bishop of Hólar had not made much way there when Martin arrived. In a raid to the West, along with his two sons Síra Björn and Ari the Lawman, he picked up the new Bishop of Skalholt and Parson Arne Arnorsson, who as *officialis* of Skalholt in the vacancy had not been pliable. He hoped also to get hold of Dadi, and there was a chance of success. But warning was given in time; the story as told in one of the memoirs is not far below the level of the older Sagas. It describes the evening at Stadarstad, Martin's house on the south of the Snaefell promontory. As the Bishop's sons were sitting there, talking too freely about their plans, a man came in and sat near the door, no one paying him much attention, till as the dark drew on he stole away. Then he was missed; then it was asked who was the man sitting at the door saying nothing; and where had he gone? They looked for him and called; but all they saw was a man riding a good black horse hard over the moor. He was one of Dadi's men, riding the famous horse of which other stories were told long after. Naturally, when the Bishop and his sons came to Dadi's house at Snóksdal, their adversary was ready for them, and they had to be content with their clerical prisoners. Bishop Martin received a doubtful sort of hospitality during that winter; sometimes he was a guest at table;¹ some-

¹ A story told in the *Annals of Björn of Skarðsa* is translated C.P.B. ii., p. 387.

times he was set to beat stockfish. Parson Arne was for a time penned in a place of little ease; Bishop Jón made scoffing rhymes about him.

Arne comes into a curious passage of the memoirs of Jón Egilsson. Bishop Jón Arason had excommunicated Dadi; it happened that Parson Arne came to Snóksdal the very day that the curse was recited at Hólar. He and Dadi Gudmundsson were together.

“Then there came so violent hiccup on Dadi that he was amazed: it was like as if the breath were going out of him. Dadi said then:

‘Of me now there is word
Where I do not sit at board.’

Arne answered: ‘I will tell you how. There is word of you at Hólar because Bishop Jón is now putting you to the ban.’ Dadi Gudmundsson said: ‘You shall have five hundred from me if you manage so that it shall not touch me.’ Arne says: ‘That will I not do for any money, however much, to put myself so in pawn.’ But Dadi Gudmundsson kept on beseeching him, and Arne then says that he will make the venture ‘for our old acquaintance sake, but there will be a load to carry yet, I misdoubt me.’ Then both of them went to the church, and Arne stayed without, and Dadi Gudmundsson went in. Arne bolted the door on him. Then he stayed long outside, and at last he opened the door, and called Dadi Gudmundsson to come out; and there he saw that a shaggy year-old pony was running up and down by the side of a water as if he was mad. And at last the colt plunged head-first into a hole or pool, and ended there. Arne said: ‘Now, friend Dadi Gudmundsson, there you can see what was intended for you.’ ”

In his turn, King Christian in Copenhagen was cursing the Bishop of Hólar. (Monday after Scholastica, 1549; “he has treated us with disrespect, and not regarded our letters in no wise. Therefore we

outlaw the said Bishop John.'") And on Tuesday after the Conversion of St. Paul, 1550, the King writes to the clergy of Hólar to choose another Bishop.

About the same time, the Protestant Doctor Palladius writes to Jón Arason a letter which deserves to be read for instruction in manners, hardly less than the letter of Gizur Einarsson already quoted.

Palladius says that he is ready to explain the difference between the doctrines of Christ and the Pope, if only Jón will write or signify his wishes to the Governor of Iceland. As a specimen, he offers the statement that Christ has not commanded such things as Papal consecrations, confirmations, masses and fasts. He sends the prayer of Manasses, in Danish, which Jón (if it please him) may use with weeping tears. "Send a *Suffraganeus* who may stay and winter here, and then go out to reform churches and monasteries; *e.g.*, your son Sigurd, or Sir Olaf Hjaltason."

"Put not your trust in the Pope; he died on St. Martin's Eve († Paul III., 10 Nov., 1549). Perhaps you have already had news of that in Iceland; *for Hecla Fell often gives intimations of that nature.*"

Bishop Jón seems to have passed the winter comfortably. His ruin came through overweening; his son Ari (generally called the Lawman) had done his best to keep him from more raiding; his wife Helga thought poorly of her son Ari for this, and stirred him in the old-fashioned way with the present of a woman's skirt: so that Ari went along with his father and his brother Síra Björn in the last expedition.

The scene of failure is one that has come into older history; Saudafell, where Jón Arason and his sons were taken by Dadi Gudmundsson, had been once the house of Sturla Sighvatsson, and the raid on Saudafell by the sons of Thorvald, in January, 1229, when the master was away, is one of the memorable episodes in *Sturlunga*. It stands rather high at the mouth of a valley looking North-West over the water, towards Hvamm

and other famous places, past the country of Laxdale. Snóksdal, the house of Dadi Gudmundsson, is close to it, below, and nearer to the sea. Saudafell had been one chief cause of contention between the Bishop and Dadi; both had some sort of a claim to it.

The Bishop went there in September, 1550, not as a raider, but to keep an engagement and attend a court. The Lawman Orm Sturluson had been asked, and had agreed, to hold a court at Saudafell to decide the differences between the parties. Jón and his sons came to Saudafell and stayed there some days. They did not understand their enemy; he was preparing a surprise, which was thoroughly successful. The Bishop and his two sons were taken; their followers scattered, every man his own way, except two who stood fast.

But then came perplexity for the victorious side. It was October; nothing could be settled till the following summer. The prisoners were to be kept till the Althing. Judgment was pronounced in a court held at Snóksdal, October 23, 1550. The Bishop and his sons had been outlawed by the King; the King had commanded Dadi to take them; Christian, the deputy, was to keep them in custody at Skalholt, with the assistance of Martin, till the Althing in summer. But it was not easy to keep them safe; the men of the North might be expected to come and rescue their Bishop. They were removed to Skalholt, as the court had decided. Christian, the Governor's deputy, who had come to Snóksdal at once after the capture, was always in consultation with Dadi. Then at last some one said the inevitable word: "Let the earth keep them." Bishop Jón Arason and Björn and Ari, his sons, were beheaded at Skalholt on the Friday after Hallowmas, November 7th, 1550.

How they bore themselves was clearly remembered. It has already been told how Jón Arason answered the poor well-meaning minister who warned him against idolatry, and spoke of a future life. It was long before

the Reformers gave up their unnecessary consolations; Mary Queen of Scots had to endure the same sort of importunity.

Ari was the most regretted of the three. "I went into this game against my will, and willingly I leave it."

The Bishop remembered the poor of his diocese; he always gave away supplies in spring, and now sent a message to Hólar to take care this should not be forgotten. He also made an epigram:—

What is the world? a bitter cheat,
If Danes must sit on the judgment-seat,
When I step forth my death to meet,
And lay my head at the King's feet.

The bodies of the three were at Skalholt all winter; in the spring of 1551 they were brought home to the North like the relics of martyrs.

Vengeance had already been taken for them, and it was Jón's daughter Thorun who set it going.

Among the men of the North who went South for the fishing that winter were some who meant to have the life of Christian, the Danish deputy. They got him at Kirkjuból, out at the end of Rosmhvalanes, and surrounded the house, wearing hoods and masks—a modern precaution. Before breaking into the house they asked and got leave from the owner: "Yes, break away, if you pay for it after." Christian and some other Danes were killed. It was reported that they came back from their graves, which made it necessary to dig them up and cut their heads off, with further preventive measures.

Ships of war came out, too late; and it is notable that the commander who was sent from Denmark to bring Bishop Jón Arason before King Christian III. was the same Kristoffer Trondsson (a great sea-captain in his day) who had enabled Archbishop Olaf Engelbrektsson of Nidaros to escape from Norway to the Netherlands, in April, 1537, out of the same King's danger.

The case against Jón Arason is found in the form of a speech supposed to have been delivered by Christian, the Danish deputy, in Skalholt, the day before the beheading of the Bishop and his sons. This is scarcely less remarkable than the letter of Gizur Einarsson as an historical document of the Reformation. The following is a good sample:—

“Likewise it is known to many gentlemen how Bishop John and his sons have set themselves to oppose the native people of this land, who have been at cost to venture over sea and salt water, sailing to transact their due business before our gracious lord the King, and many of them for their long voyage and their trouble have received letters from his Majesty, some upon monasteries, some upon royal benefices, which same letters of his Majesty might no longer avail or be made effective by no means, but as soon as they came here to Iceland Bishop John and his sons have made the King's letters null and void, and many a poor man has had his long journey for nothing and all in vain.”

On the other hand, it must be observed that with the exception of some contemporary rhymes upon his death none of the records which bring out the heroic character of Jón Arason were written by Catholics. The curious impartiality of the old Icelandic historians is still found working with regard to the Protestant Reformation, and it is Lutheran opinion in Iceland that thinks of Jón Arason as a martyr.

W. P. KER.

Additional Note. In *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok och Biblioteksväsen* I. 1 (1914) Isak Collijn of Stockholm reports the discovery and gives plates of 2 leaves of the lost *Breviarium Nidrosiense*, printed at Hólar, 1534, for Bishop Jón Arason by Jón Mathiasson the Swede.

SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE IN THE PLACE-NAMES OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM.¹

By PROFESSOR ALLEN MAWER, M.A., *Vice-President.*

ONE of the most striking features of present-day philological study in England and on the Continent is the attention which is being paid to the history and development of our English place-names. These studies are of interest not only for the light they throw on certain philological questions, but also—and for many this is their chief interest—because of the help they give in the solution of certain questions of historical or social interest. Recent study of the place-names of Northumberland and Durham has suggested the possibility that the history of the place-names of these two counties may serve to throw some light, however dim, on the very difficult problem of the extent and character of the Scandinavian settlements in North-east England. Attacks by Vikings on Northern England began before the close of the eighth century, but it was not until after the middle of the ninth century that Northumbria fell definitely under their power. At first the invaders contented themselves with Northumbria south of the Tyne, but in 875 Healfdene sailed up the Tyne and devastated the whole of Northern Northumbria. In the same year Northumbria was divided among his followers, and they began to plough and cultivate it. His kingdom came to a violent end in 877, and then, after a six years' interregnum, the rule passed into the hands of Guthred-

¹Note. The earlier part of this paper, so far as it deals with Northumberland, is an expansion of a paper contributed to *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 306-14.

Cnut, a prince of undoubted Scandinavian origin. Guthred-Cnut's kingdom extended over the whole of Northumbria, and he was followed by other princes—Siefred and Sitric—who were connected with the Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin. The authority of these kings centred at York, and it is probable that from 885 onwards the portion of Northumbria covered by the present county of Northumberland was once more under the rule of English earls, acknowledging Alfred's authority, and holding Bamburgh as their capital. In the reign of Edward the elder (c. 915) a fresh Norse invasion from Ireland took place under Ragnall. He invaded Northumberland, and was victorious in a battle at Corbridge-on-Tyne against Eadred of Bamburgh, and Constantine of Scotland. After his victory Ragnall advanced on York, which he took into his possession, and at the same time he divided the lands of St. Cuthbert, (the territory covering roughly the east and south portions of the county of Durham), between his two chief followers, Scula and Onlafbald. From this time (c. 921) down to the middle of the tenth century a succession of kings of Norse origin held sway in Northumbria, the last being Eric Blood-axe, finally expelled in 952 or 954.

One of the many problems connected with the study of this Scandinavian kingdom of Northumbria is the real extent and character of the Norse and Danish settlements. We have seen that in 875 Healfdene is said to have divided Northumbria among his followers in the same way that East Anglia and Northern Mercia were portioned out among the Viking settlers there, but the fact that Ragnall, after his victories in 928, made an assignment of large portions of co. Durham, would suggest either that Northern Northumbria (Northumberland and Durham) had never been settled in the same way as Northumbria south of the Tees, or else that there had been some resurgence of the old Anglian element leading to the ousting of the

invaders from their hastily acquired land, at least in Northumbria.

An examination of the place-names of Northumbria supports this idea. It reveals wide differences in the proportionate distribution of place-names of Scandinavian origin over Northumbria as a whole, and the general result of this study, it may be stated at the outset, is to confirm the scanty evidence of history and compel us to draw a definite line of demarcation between the counties of Northumberland and Durham, on the one hand, and the remaining counties of the old kingdom on the other. Of the Scandinavian element in these other counties it is not my purpose to speak, except for purposes of comparison; but the intensely Scandinavian character of the place-nomenclature of almost the whole of Yorkshire, of great portions of Lancashire, of Cumberland and Westmoreland, is evident even from the most cursory examination of the modern map, and is made yet more clear if we study works dealing with the actual history of these names, such as Prof. Wyld's book on the Place-names of Lancashire, and Prof. Moorman's on those of the West Riding, or even better, for our purpose, the recently published work of Dr. Lindkvist on M.E. Place-names of Scandinavian origin, of which the first part is all that has at present appeared.

Let us now examine in detail the place-names of Northumberland and Durham, with a view to determining the Scandinavian element. In estimating Scandinavian influence in place nomenclature two methods may be adopted: (1) the rough and ready one of studying the modern ordnance map, and attempting to form an immediate and (in more senses than one) superficial estimate of the number of names containing Scandinavian elements; (2) the more accurate and satisfactory one of collecting the M.E. forms of all the place-names of any particular district, establishing their history and development, and finally determining those

which may definitely be stated to be of Scandinavian origin. In the case of the two counties at least which we have under present consideration both these methods have their value, for the counties of Northumberland and Durham stand somewhat apart from the rest of England in the character and extent of the documentary evidence which we have for the early forms of their place-names. Both alike have practically no charters belonging to pre-conquest times, a misfortune which they share, with but few exceptions, with the whole of England north of the Humber, and neither county is mentioned in Domesday. Northumberland has several valuable cartularies belonging to post-conquest times, and there are abundant references in the national records, but, unfortunately, there were large regalities within her borders where the king's writ seldom ran, and for these districts the evidence is at times scanty or insufficient. Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire belonged to the Palatinate Bishopric of Durham, and though there are some valuable early charters there are lamentable gaps. Still more unfortunate is the case of the large district of Northamptonshire, once a regality under the rule of the Archbishop of York. There the early records are very scarce, and it is the more to be regretted as, to judge from the present-day nomenclature, Scandinavian influence may at one time have been a good deal stronger here than in the rest of the county.

County Durham itself is in even worse case. She has, of course, her Domesday Book, in the form of Boldon Book, but invaluable as that work is for the understanding of her social and economic history, it is of comparatively little use for our purpose; for though Boldon Book was compiled in the twelfth century there are no copies extant of earlier date than the fourteenth century, with the result that place-names are recorded in very late forms, for the transcribers have for the most part given them the forms current in their own time.

There are some valuable eleventh and twelfth century charters belonging to the bishopric, and the records of Durham Priory are full and valuable, but a vast mass of early material concerned with the history of the Palatinate has disappeared through the vandalism of bishops and others, and we are, unfortunately, very scantily supplied with documentary evidence for those parts of county Durham in the extreme west, where, to judge from the present-day map, the influence was strongest. It is peculiarly advisable, therefore, in the case of these counties, and more so in Durham than in Northumberland, to endeavour to eke out the deficiencies of ancient material by a careful use of the modern ordnance map.

In the case of each county we will deal first with the comparatively certain material to be found in documents of the M.E. period. It should be added here that one or two names which have often been regarded as evidence of Scandinavian influence can no longer be used as such after examination of their M.E. forms. This applies especially to the two examples of *beck* which may be found in the county. The Wansbeck is in all early documents written as *Wanespic*, *Wanespike*, or some kindred form, showing clearly that the modern spelling is due to folk, or antiquarian, influence, while Bulbeck Common, above Blanchland, is so called from the great barony of Bulbeck, of which it once formed part. The first baron of Bulbeck took his title from Bolbec, a Norman village near the mouth of the Seine, and though the name is ultimately of Scandinavian origin, it is, of course, no mark of Viking settlement in England. One other example of *-beck* may be found in the form *Fullbek*, in the Newminster Cartulary, but the name has disappeared from the modern map and is of little importance. The place-names will be grouped as far as possible according to their geographical distribution. The following is a list of the chief abbreviations used :—

- Abbr.—Placitorum abbreviatio.
 Ass.—Assize Rolls for Northumberland (Surtees Soc.).
 Att. Test.—*Attestatio Testarum* (v. F.P.D.).
 B.B.—Baldon Book (Surtees Soc.).
 Björkman.—Z.A.N. (*Zur Altenglischen Namenkunde*), N.P. (*Nordische Personennamen*).
 B.B.H.—Black Book of Hexham (Surtees Soc.).
 B.C.S.—Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*.
 Brkb.—Brinkburn Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 B.M.—Charters and Rolls in British Museum.
 Ch.—Calendar of Charter Rolls.
 Cl.—Calendar of Close Rolls.
 D.B.—Domesday Book.
 Durh. Acct. Rolls.—(Surtees Soc.).
 D.S.T.—*Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Soc.).
 E.D.D.—English Dialect Dictionary.
 F.A.—Feudal Aids.
 F.P.D.—*Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis* (Surtees Soc.).
 Finch.—Finchale Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 Gray.—Archbishop Gray's Register (Surtees Soc.).
 H.—Hodgson's *Northumberland*.
 Hatf.—Bishop Hatfield's Survey (Surtees Soc.).
 H.P.—Hexham Priory (Surtees Soc.).
 H.S.C.—History of St. Cuthbert (v. S.D.).
 Inq. a.q.d.—*Inquisitiones ad quod damnum*.
 Ipm.—Calendar of Inquisitions *post mortem*.
 Iter.—*Iter de Wark* (Hartshorne's *Feudal Antiquities*).
 Lind.—*Norsk-isländska Dopnamn*.
 Lindkvist.—M.E. place-names of Scandinavian origin.
 Moorman.—Place-names of the West Riding (Thoresby Soc.).
 N.E.D.—New English Dictionary.
 Newm.—Newminster Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 Orig.—*Rotulorum originalium abbreviatio*.
 Pat.—Calendar of Patent Rolls.
 Perc.—Percy Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 Pipe.—Pipe Rolls (Pipe Roll Society, Hodgson's *Northumberland*).
 Q.W.—*Placita quo Warranto*.
 R.B.E.—Red Book of the Exchequer.
 R.C.—*Rotuli Cartarum*.
 R.H.—*Rotuli Hundredorum*.
 Reg. Bp. K.—Register of Bishop Kellaw (v. R.P.D.).
 R.P.D.—*Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, Rolls Series.
 Rygh.—Indl. (*Indledning til Norske Gaardnavne*), G.P. (*Gamle Personnavne i Norske Gaardnavne*), N.G. (*Norske Gaardnavne*).
 S.D.—Simeon of Durham (Rolls Series).
 S.R.—Subsidy Rolls (MS.).
 Swinb.—Swinburna Charters (Hodgson's *Northumberland*).
 Tax.—*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.
 Testa.—*Testa de Neville*.
 Ty.—Tynemouth Cartulary (Gibson's *Tynemouth*).
 Wickwane.—Abp. Wickwane's Register (Surtees Soc.).
 Wyld.—Place-names of Lancashire.

The basin of the Till and its tributaries:—

AKELD (Kirknewton). 1169 Pipe *Achelda*; 1176 Pipe *Hakelda*; 1229 Pat. *Akeld*; 1255 Ass. *Akil*, *Akyl*, *Akyld*; 1216-1307 Testa *Akild'*, *Akyld'*; 1346, 1428 F.A. *Akyld*.

O.N. *á*, river, and *kelda*, well, spring. The second element is used in the Northumberland dialect of a marshy place, and also of the still part of a lake or river which has an oily smoothness (E.D.D.). Akeld lies on the edge of the well-marked valley of the Glen, and Akeld Steads lies low, by the river itself—*cf.* Wyld, p. 363, and Keld in Swaledale (Yo.). The first element is found also in Aby (Lincs.), “the *-by* on the Great Eau (or river).” The O.N. *á* is found as M.E. *ā*, “stream or watercourse,” in mediæval documents (*v.* N.E.D.).

COUPLAND (Kirknewton). 1216-1307 Testa *Coupland*; 1255 Ass. *Couplaund*; 1323 Ipm. *Coupelande*; 1346, 1450, F.A. *Coupland*.

This name is explained by Lindkvist (pp. 145-6). It is the O.W.Sc. *kaupa-land*, land gained by purchase (= *kaupa-jörð*) opposed in a way to *óðals-jörð*, an allodial estate. Only one example of its use is to be found in O.W.Scand., viz., in Biskopa Sögur. Lindkvist notes its occurrence here and in Copeland (Cumb.). It is also to be found in Copeland House (co. Durham) (*v. infra*), and probably in the Copeland Islands, off Belfast Lough.

CROOKHAM (Ford). 1244 Ch. *Crucum*; 1254 Ipm. *Crukum*; 1273 R.H. *Cruchu'*; 1304 Ch. *Crukum*; 1340 Ch. *Crocum*; 1346, 1428 F.A. *Crokome*.

“At the windings.” The dat. pl. of O.N. *krókr*, a crook or winding. According to Rygh (Indl. p. 62) it often refers to the bends of a river, a sense which would suit Crookham well, for it stands on the banks of the Till, which takes an unusually tortuous course here.

CROOKHOUSE (Kirknewton). 1323 Ipm. *Le Croukes*.

The nom. pl. corresponding to the dat. pl. found in Crookham (v. supra). The name may have borne reference to the winding course of the Bowmont Water at this point—cf. Crookes (Moorman, p. 53).

ILDERTON. 1189 Abbr. *Hilderton*; 1228 Att. Test. *Ildertone*; 1255 Ass. *Hilderton*, *Ilderton*; 1291 Tax. *Hilderton*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Ildirtone*; 1216-1307 Testa *Hildirton*; 1336 Ch. *Ildretona*, *Hildreton*; 1346 F.A. *Hillerton*, *Ildreton*, *Hildreton*; 1428 F.A. *Ilderton*.

The history of this name is given by Lindkvist (pp. 10-11), viz., that it is the *tun* of a woman bearing the Scandinavian name *Hild*. *Hilder-* is the gen. form *Hildar* of this name. It is also found as the first element in Hinderwell (Yo.), earlier *Hilderwelle* and Hilderclay (Suff.). For the loss of initial *h* we may compare the history of Oakington (Cambs.). Skeat (*Place-names of Cambridgeshire*, p. 16) remarks that all the early spellings point to *Hocing-* as the first element in this name.

INGRAM. 1255 Ass. *Angram*; 1283 Ipm. *Hangrham*, *Angeharm*; 1291 Tax. *Angerham*; 1216-1307 Testa *Angerham*; 1306 R.P.D. *Angirham*; 1324 Ipm. *Angerham*; 1346 F.A. *Angram*; 1428 F.A. *Ayngramme*; 1507 D.S.T. cccvii. *Yngram*.

For this name v. Angerton *infra*. It is very doubtful if this name shows Scandinavian influence.

Bamburgh and district:—

LUCKER. 1167-9 Pipe *Lucre*; 1255 Ass. *Lucre*; 1288 Ipm. *Locre*; 1216-1307 Testa *Lukre*; 1290 Abbr. *Loker*; 1307 Ch. *Lucre*; 1314 Ipm. *Louker*; 1346 F.A. *Loker*; 1379 Ipm. *Lokere*.

The second element is M.E. *ker*, "a marshy place" < O.N. *kiarr*, "ground of a swampy nature overgrown with brushwood." The first element may be O.N. *ló*, a sandpiper. The sandpiper specially frequents flat

marshy places, such as are often found near the sea-shore. This description would suit the actual site of Lucker.

RENNINGTON. 1104-8 S.D. *Reiningtun*; 1175 Pipe *Renninton*; 1255 Ass. *Renington*; 1256 Ch. *Renigton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Renigton*; 1307 Ch. *Renington*; 1314 Ipm. *Renington*.

The ultimate history of this name would seem to be settled by the passage in Simeon of Durham (Vol. I., pp. 65, 80), which says that Franco, one of the bearers of the body of St. Cuthbert (c. 880) "pater erat Reingualdi, a quo illa quam condiderat villa Reiningtun est appellata." The name *Reingualdus* is doubtless the Latinised form of the O.N. name *Rōgnvaldr*, borne by more than one Viking chieftain in England and Ireland. The name *Franco* is certainly not of Scandinavian origin, so that probably *Reingualdus* was Scandinavian only on his mother's side. The history of the form is difficult unless we assume that the name *Regenweald* or *Rægenald*, the Anglicised form of O.N. *Rōgnvaldr* was in use also in the short form *Regin* or *Rein*, whence the patronymic *Reining* was formed.

HOWICK. 1230 Pat. *Hawic*; 1278 Ass. *Hawick*. *Hawyke*; 1281 Wickwane *Howyk'*; 1288 Ipm. *Howick*; 1291 Tax. *Howyk*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Houwyk*; 1318 Inq. aqd. *Howyke*, *Owike*; 1340 Pat. *Howyke*; 1359 Cl. *Houwyk*; 1374; Durh. Acct. Rolls *Hawyke*; 1375 ib. *Howik*.

This name is explained by Lindkvist (pp. 182-3) as from O.N. *hár*, *hór*, "high," and *vík*, "creek, inlet, bay," and he compares it with the Norw. *Haavik*, which is found in several localities and has different origins, but refers sometimes to a shore skirted with high mountains or some (steep) acclivity on the shore. The early prevalence of forms with *o* may have been helped by memories of O.E. *hōh*, M.E. *ho(we)* "a promontory."

DENWICK. 1278 Ass. *Denewick*; 1288 Ipm. *Denewick*;
1216-1307 Testa *Denwyk*; 1334 Pat. *Denewyk*.

The "wick" or dwelling-place in the valley (O.E. *denu*) or, possibly, of the Danes (O.E. *Dena*).

BROTHERWICK. 1251 Ipm. *Brothirwike*; 1275 Ipm.
Brothirwyk; 1216-1307 Testa *Brotherwick*; 1273
R.H. *Broyerwyk*.

The "wick" or dwelling-place of a Scandinavian settler named *Broðir*. This is a well-established Norse and Danish personal name. The corresponding English name, *Broðir*, is only found in the 11th century, and may well be due to Scandinavian influence. Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 27) finds the same element in Brotherton (Yo.) and Brothertoft (Lincs.). The name is common in Danish place-names. Nielsen (*Old-danske Personnavne*, p. 13), gives Brarup (earlier *Brothærthorp*), Brotherstedt, Brodersby, Brorstrup.

The basin of the Coquet and its tributaries:—

BRINKBURN. 1216-27 Newm. *Brinkeburn*; 1252 Ch.
Brinkeburn; 1259 Ch. *Brinkeburn*; 1255 Ass.
Brinkeburn; 1313 R.P.D. *Brenkeburn*; 1507
D.S.T. ccciv. *Brenkeburn*.

"The place on the steep sloping banks of the burn," here the R. Coquet. It is doubtful if the element *Brink-* is necessarily evidence for Scandinavian influence *v.* *Brenkley infra*.

ROTHBURY. 1099-1128 H.P. *Routhebiria*; 1176 Pipe
Robirei, *Roberi*; 1200 R.C. *Robery*; 1203 R.C.
Robery; 1204 R.C. *Rodbery*; 1210-2 R.B.E.
Roburiam; 1212 R.C. *Roubir*; 1219 Pat. *Roobiry*;
1228 Cl. *Robir*; 1228 Pat. *Rothebiry*; 1248 Ipm.
Roubiri; 1255 Ass. *Roubir*, *Rowebyr*; 1258-9
Newm. *Routhbiry*; 1271 Ch. *Rodebir*, *Robery*;
1291 Tax. *Routhebyr*; 1331 Perc. *Routhebiry*;
1346 F.A. *Rothebury*, *Routhbery*.

The explanation of this name is given by Lindkvist (pp. 158-9). The first element is O.W.Sc. *rauðr*, "red,"

the diphthong *au* being regularly represented in M.E. by *ou*; the second element is the common suffix *-bury*, representing the dative singular of O.E. *burg*, "fortress, castle," etc., and the name of the place was originally "at the red fort." It is of hybrid formation.

THROPTON (Rothbury). 1176 Pipe *Tropton*; 1248 Ipm. *Tropton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Thropton*; 1309 Ipm. *Thropton*; 1334 Perc. *Thorpton*; 1346 F.A. *Thropton*.

"The farm by the thorp." O.E. and O.N. *Þorp-tún*. *Throp* is a fairly common metathesised form of *thorp*. cf. Throp Hill (in Mitford), Dunthrop and Heythrop ((Oxf.). The same metathesis is found in Danish. cf. *Hos-trup*, *Vam-drup*. For the use of *thorp* in Northumberland v. *infra*, p.

SNITTER (Rothbury). 1176 Pipe *Snittera*; 1175 Pipe *Snitere*; 1248 Ipm. *Snither*; 1278 Ass. *Snytre*, *Snyter*; 1309 Ipm. *Snytir*; 1334 Perc. *Snytir*; 1346 F.A. *Snytie*; 1439 Ipm. *Snyter*.

For the Scandinavian origin of this element, which is found also in Snetterton (Norf.), Snitterby (Lincs.), Snitterfield (Warw.), Snitterton (Derbys.), Snitterley (Norf.), v. Essays and Studies by members of the English Association, Vol IV., p. 66.

BICKERTON. 1245 Brkb. *Bykerton*; c. 1247 Newm. *Bikerton*; 1266 Ass. *Bikerton*, *Bykertone*; 1216-1307 Testa *Bikerton*; 1346 F.A. *Bikerton*; 1428 F.A. *Bekerton*.

For the history of this name and its Scandinavian origin v. Essays and Studies, *u.s.*, p. 59.

PLAINFIELD. 1272 Newm. *Flaynefeld*.

The first element is fairly certainly of Scandinavian origin, *ay* representing the common O.N. diphthong *ei*. It would seem to be the O.N. *flcinn*, "a pike, an arrow, or the fluke of an anchor" (= O.E. *flān*), and *Flaynefeld* may have meant originally a field whose shape suggested the fluke of an anchor. Less probably the

first element may be an O.N. personal name. *Fleinn* was the name of a 9th century skald (Lind. s.v.), and the name is also found as a nickname in *Aeiríkr flæin*. Rygh (G.P., p. 272) finds this name also in the Norse place-name *Flenstad*. The modern name would seem to be due to the substitution of a form more easily capable of explanation.

ROTHLEY. 1233-4 Pipe *Rotheleg*; 1255 Ass. *Rotheley*, *Rotheleg*; 1271 Ch. *Rotheley*, *Rothelay*; 1216-1307 Testa *Rotheley*; 1346 F.A. *Rotheley*.

The first element in this name may be the same as that in Rothbury, but the absence of any M.E. spelling with *ou* makes such an etymology difficult of acceptance. Otherwise it may be for O.E. *Hrōðan-leah*, the meadow of a man *Hrōða*, that being a shortened or pet form of one of the numerous Old English names of which *Hrōð-* is the first element. A very doubtful example of Scandinavian influence.

Basin of the Wansbeck and its tributaries:—

THROP HILL (Mitford). 1166 R.B.E. *Trophil*; 1273 R.H. *Troppil*; 1216-1307 Testa *Throphill*; 1201 Tax. *Throphill*.

"The hill by the thorp." cf. Thropton *supra*.

TRANWELL. 1267 Ipm. *Trennewell*; 1280 Ipm. *Tranewell*; 1310 Ch. *Tranwell*; 1316 Ipm. *Tranwell*; 1323 Ipm. *Trenwell*, *Tranewell*; 1356 Cl. *Tranewell*; 1386 Ipm. *Trenwell*; 1428 F.A. *Trenwell*.

For the Scandinavian origin of this name v. Essays and Studies, u.s., p. 68.

ANGERTON (Hartburn). 1186 Pipe *Angerton*; 1261 Ipm. *Angerton*; 1278 Ass. *Angerton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Ang'ton*; 1312 Ipm. *Angirton*, *Angerton*; 1314 Ipm. *Angerton*; 1346 F.A. *Angerton*.

For the history of this name v. Essays and Studies, n.s., p. 58. It is very doubtful if it can be considered an example of Scandinavian influence.

FISELBY (Hartington). 1319 Pat. *Fiselby*; 1378 Ipm. *Fisilby*; 1390 Ipm. *Fisildene*; 1396 Ipm. *Fesilby*; 1418 Ipm. *Fisilby*.

This is a place which has, unfortunately, disappeared entirely from the modern map. It seems to be a clear example of the well-known Scandinavian suffix *-by*, but if so it is unique in Northumberland, and it is impossible to explain the first element from any known Scandinavian name.

HAWICK (Kirkharle). 1284 Ipm. *Hawik*; 1216-1307 Testa *Hawic*; 1346 F.A. *Hauwyk*.

The M.E. forms of Hawick are identical with the *a*-forms of Howick (*v. supra*). The second element here is probably M.E. *wick*, O.E. *wic*, a dwelling-place, though it may possibly be the O.N. *vik*, which, according to Rygh (Indl., p. 55) is sometimes applied to a bend of a river, and was perhaps used generally in the sense of "curve," "angle" (*cf.* Lindkv., p. 145).

CROOKDEAN (Kirkwhelpington). 1324 Ipm. *Crokeden*; 1331 Ipm. *Crokden*.

Probably the "valley of a Norseman named *Krókr*," though it may be "the valley with or by a crook, or twist" (*cf.* Crookham, *supra*). For the former *cf.* Wyld, pp. 104-5 (Crookells, Croston and Croxteth), Björkman, N.P., p. 89, and Z.A.N., p. 58. *Cf.* Croxton (Norf.), Croxby (Lincs.), Croxton (Lincs.), Croxton (Leic.).

Basin of the Blyth and its tributaries:—

BRENKLEY (Ponteland). 1177 Pipe *Brinchelawa*, *Brinkelawa*; 1271 Ch. *Brinkelawe*; 1216-1307 Testa *Brinkelawe*; 1248 B.B.H. 115 *Brinkelagh*; 1346 F.A. *Brenklawe*; 1354 Perc. *Brenkelawe*; 1479 B.B.H. *Brenklawe*.

The element *Brenk-* or *Brink-* is of doubtful Scandinavian origin, *v.* Essays and Studies, *u.s.*, p. 62.

COWPEN (Horton). 1153-95 Brkb. *Cupum*; a. 1197 Newm. *Cupum*; 1250 Newm. *Copoun*; 1271 Ch. *Copun*; 1292 Q.W. *Copun*; 1295 Ty. xci. *Cupun*; 1216-1307 Testa *Cupum*; 1315 Ch. *Coupon*; 1346 F.A. *Copon*; 1380 Ipm. *Cowpon*; 1428 F.A. *Coupowne*.

For the Scandinavian origin of this name v. Essays and Studies, *u.s.*, p. 63.

OUSTON (Stamfordham). 1255 Ass. *Hulkeston*, *Ulkilleston*; 1346 F.A. *Ulkeston*.

The *tun* of Ulkill, *i.e.*, O.N. *Ulfkell* < *Ulfketill* (*cf.* Björkman, N.P., p. 168, and Rygh, G.P., p. 269). *Cf.* Ouston (co. Durham) *infra*.

The Tyne Valley :—

BYKER. 1249-50 Pipe *Byker*; 1259 Ipm. *Bicre*; 1255 Ass. *Bykere*; 1298 Ch. *Biker*; 1216-1307 Testa *Byker*, *Biker*; 1313 Ch. *Byker*; 1322 Inq. aqd. *Biker*; 1428 F.A. *Byker*.

v. Essays and Studies, *u.s.*, p. 59.

WALKER. 1267 Ipm. *Walkyr*; 1216-1307 Testa *Wautre*; 1316 Ipm. *Walker*; 1346 F.A. *Walker*, *W'alcar*; 1428 F.A. *Walker*.

"The low-lying marshy place by the wall." O.N. *kjarr*, "copsewood, brushwood, especially on swampy ground." Walker is on the low-lying ground which slopes down to the Tyne just south of the line of the Roman wall, a little west of its terminus at Wallsend.¹

WHORLTON. 1323 Pat. *Wherleton*; 1324 Cl. *Wherlton*, *Wherwelton*.

For the history of this name, in which the first element is O.N. *hvirfill*, v. Essays and Studies, *u.s.*, p. 70.

¹ Falkmann (*Ortnamnen i Skåne*) pp. 65 and 95, derives the place-name *Vallkärra* from O.N. *völlr* (plain) and *kiarr*. This may possibly be the source of Walker.

NAFFERTON (Ovingham). 1182 Pipe *Nafferton*; 1212 R.C. *Naffertone*; 1221 Pat. *Nafretun*; 1225 Pat. *Naffreton*; 1253 Ch. *Naffreton*; 1261 Ipm. *Nafferton*; 1263 Ipm. *Natferton*; 1289 Ipm. *Natferton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Natferton*; 1280 Ipm. *Nafferton*.

The explanation of this place-name, together with that of *Nafferton* (Yo.) is given by Lindkvist (pp. 187-8) and accepted by Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 63), viz., that the first element is the O.W. Scand. name *Náttfari*, night-traveller, found in the place-name *Natt-faravik* (Lind., s.v.), and also in the place-name *Naffentorp* in Skåne, of which the earlier form is *Natfaræthorp*. The D.B. spelling of *Nafferton* in Yorkshire—*Nadfarmone*—is nearest to the original form *Náttfaratún*, except that *t* has become *d*, in accordance with a fairly common practice of A.N. scribes. One objection to this etymology however must be raised. There is a place *Nafford* in Worcestershire, of which the D.B. form is *Nadford*, and whose second element must be *-ford*. *Nafferton* might well be for *Nafford-ton*, in the same way that *Brafferton* (Durh.) goes back to *Bradford-tuna* (= *tun* by the broad ford), *Bretforton* (Duignan, *Worcestershire Place-names*, s.n.) to D.B. *Bratfortune*, *Swinerton* (Duignan, *Staffordshire Place-names*, s.n.) to *Swinforton* (= the *tun* by the swine-ford), *Hervington* (Duignan, *Worcestershire Place-names*, s.n.) to *Herforton* (= the *tun* by the army-ford). *Nadford* is difficult of explanation. It may be from O.E. *Natanford*, the ford of a man named *Nāta* (cf. B.C.S. 165, *Natangrafas* and Wyld, p. 193, for length of vowel), with shortening of vowel in first element of compound and voicing of *t* to *d* as above.

North Tyne and its tributaries:—

HAINING (Redesdale). 1304 Pat. *Haynyng*; 1358 Ipm. *Haynyng*.

This place-name is probably of Scandinavian origin. In M.E. *hain* is used in the sense of an enclosure or

park, and Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words* (p. 242) connects it with O.W.Sc. *hegna*, to hedge or fence, O.Sw. *hæghn*, Swed. *hägn*, enclosure, fence or protection, Dan. *hegn*, though he points out that as the word-stem from which it is formed was current in O.E. the word may possibly be of native formation. In the modern dialect of Northumberland and Durham the word *haining* (v. E.D.D.) is used to denote "the preserving of grass for cattle, protected grass, any fenced field or enclosure, a separate place for cattle," and the first part of the word is undoubtedly the same as the M.E. *hain*. The suffix *-ing* may be the M.E. *ing*, meadow, grassland, a word which is itself of Scandinavian origin, or it may be the verbal suffix *-ing*, the word meaning originally the action of hedging in or enclosing, and then being used of the enclosure itself. *cf.* the development of *Riding*, originally "a ridding or clearing," and then used of the actual space cleared. The word *haining* is found more than once in the place-names of both Northumberland and Durham.¹

TOFT HOUSE (Rochester). 1397 Pat. *Toft*.

One of the three examples of *toft* found in Northumberland place-names, and the only one for which a M.E. form has been found. It is from O.W. Scand. *toft*, *topt*, "a piece of ground, messuage, homestead, a place marked out for a house or building" (*cf.* Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words*, p. 113).

BINGFIELD. 1180 Pipe *Bingefeld*; 1290 Abbr. *Bingefeud*; 1295 S.R. *Bingefeld*; 1298 B.B.H. 69 *Byngefeld*; 1479 B.B.H. *Byngfeld*.

For the history of this name, in which the first element is pretty certainly Scandinavian, v. *Essays and Studies*, u.s., p. 60.

¹ Steenstrup, *Indledende Studier over de ældste Danske Stednavnes Bygning*, p. 276, mentions place-names of the forms *Hegneden*, *Hegningen*, *Heined*, *Heiningen* and connects them with the O.Dan. word *Hagnæth* used frequently in the laws of "enclosed" land as opposed to "common" land.

GUNNERTON. 1169-70 Pipe *Gunwarton*; 1255. Ass. *Cunewarton*; 1269 Ipm. *Gonewerton*; 1270 Ipm. *Gonewarton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Gunwarton*; 1318 Ipm. *Gunwertoun*; 1346 F.A. *Gunwarton*; 1479 B.B.H. *Gunwardton*, *Gonwarton*.

The element *Gunner-* in English place-names may go back to any one of the following Norse personal names (1) *Gunnarr* (m.), (2) *Gunnvarðr* (m.), or (3) *Gunnvor* (f.) The last two names appear in D.B. in the forms *Gunwardus* and *Gunneuware* respectively (Björkman, N.P., pp. 54-9). The old forms of *Gunnerton* suggest derivation from either of these last two names: if any stress may be laid on the isolated spelling, *Gunwardton*, the first of these two is the more likely, but it should be noted that the Norse name *Gunnvarðr* is very rare (Lind. s.v.) and Björkman (N.P., p. 59) suggests that possibly the English *Gunwardus* is a hybrid formation, with the common English suffix *-weard*. The name *Gunnvor* is found in Norse place-names (Rygh, G.P., pp. 106-7).

Valley of the South Tyne:—

STONECROFT HOUSE (Newbrough). 1175-6 Pipe *Stancroft*; 12th cent. B.B.H. 85 *Stancroft*; 1262 Ch. *Staincroft*; 1298 B.B.H. 109 *Stayncroft*; 1325 Ipm. *Stayncroft*; 1326 Ipm. *Staincroft*; 1327 Orig. *Stanncroft*.

“The croft by some well-known stone,” or “the stony croft.” Lindkvist (p. 90) notes two forms only—those of 1262 and 1298—and suggests that the first element is O.N. *steinn*, “a stone or rock.” The forms given above would tend to show that the name was originally genuinely O.E., with *stan* as the first element, which should have given Northern English *Stancroft*. During the M.E. period substitution of the form *Stain* or *Stayn*, derived from the O.N., took place, under the influence of the numerous place-names with

forms like *Stainton*. In modern English the Northern form *Stan-* has been replaced by standard English *Stone-*.

HENSHAW (Haltwhistle). 12th cent. B.B.H. 85 *Hedeneshalch*; 1262 Ch. *Hethingisalt*; 1279 Iter. *Heinzhalu*; 1299 Cal. Sc. *Hethenhalc*; 1298 B.B.H. 113 *Hetheneshalgh*; 1316 Ipm. *Hethyneshalch*; 1326 Ipm. *Henneshalgh*; 1328 Ipm. *Hethynsalgh*; 1479 B.B.H. *Hennishalgh*.

The history of this name is the same as that of the Yorkshire Hensall (Moorman, p. 96). The second element is the O.E. *healh*, a corner of land. The first element is explained by Moorman as O.E. *hæðenes*, and the whole name as the "heathen's corner," that is some settlement made by a Dane singled out by his Christian neighbours because of his heathen faith. Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 45) suggests, with more probability, that the first element is the common Old Norse name *Heðinn* (cf. Björkman, N.P., p. 66). This is very frequently found in Old Norse place-names (Rygh, G.P., pp. 120-1) with the same contracted form as in the English name.

OUSTON (Whitfield). 1258 H. 2, 3, 59 n. i. *Vlueston*; 1279 Iter. *Ulvestona*.

The *tun* of a man named Ulf < O.N. *Ulf* (= O.E. *Wulf*). Oulston (Yo.) has the same origin. Ouston in Leicestershire is from earlier *Osulveston*, i.e., the *tún* of *Oswulf*, a genuine English name.

FEATHERSTONE. c. 1215 B.B.H. 89 *Fetherstanhalcht*; 1222 Cal. Sc. *Ferstonehalc*; 1255 Ass. *Fetherstone-lawe*; 1278 Ass. *Ferstanhallu*; 1346 F. A. *Fetherstanehalgh*; 1428 F.A. *Fetherstanehaugh*; 1479 B.B.H. *Fetherstanhalgh*.

The place-name Featherstone is found in Staffordshire and also in Yorkshire. The forms of the Staffs. place name are 994 *Featherstan*, D.B. *Ferdestan*, 1271 *Fethereston*, and Duignan (p. 60) suggests that the

first element is the personal name *Feader*, the name of a huscarl of Harthacnut, slain at Worcester in 1014. If so, the name is probably of Scandinavian origin, corresponding to O.Sw. *Fadhir*, O.Dan. *Fathir*. The name *Faðir* is of fictitious origin in O.N. (Bjö., N.P., p. 38). It occurs in D.B. as *Fader*, and is found in Danish place-names, e.g., Fatherstorp, Faderstrup (Nielsen, *Olddanske Person-navne*, p. 24). Moorman (p. 71) accepts this explanation for the Yorkshire place-name, whose early forms are D.B. *Fredestan*, *Ferestane*, 1122 *Fedrestana*, 1166 *Fetherstan*, and Wyld (pp. 124-5) inclines to the same solution for the first element in Featherstall (Lancs.).

KELLAH (Featherstone). 1279 Iter. *Kellaw*; 1479 B.B.H. *Kellaw*, *Kellone*.

The first element is possibly a shortened form of the Old Norse name *Ketill*. This form is found in Kelsdaile (Lincs.) (Lindkv., p. 33), in Kelby (Lincs., D.B., *Chelebi*), Kelsey (Lincs., Lincs. Survey, *Chelese*), Kelsale (Suff., F.A., *Keleshale*), possibly in Kelling (Norf., D.B., *Kellinga*). A possible alternative explanation is that given by Moorman (p. 111) in explaining Kelbrook, viz., that the first element is O.N. *kelda*, a spring or well, which survives in modern northern dialects as *keld* or *kell*. Rygh (G.P., p. 158) notes the same possible alternatives in the explanation of some Norwegian place-names.¹

KNARESDALE. 1236-45 Swinb. *Cnaresdale*; 1255 Ass. *Gnaresdale*; 1266 Pipe *Cnaresdale*; 1291 Tax. *Knaresdale*; 1306 R.P.D. *Knaresdale*; 1325 Ipm. *Knaresdale*.

Hodgson (II., 3, 78) says that the place "has . . . the name from the Knar, a rough mountain torrent, which intersects the western portion of it from west to east." The torrent, however, is not the Knar but

¹ Since writing the above I find that Kelloe (co. Durham), whose early forms are for the most part identical with those of Kellah has a 12th cent. form *Celflawe* = calf-hill. Possibly that is the origin of Kellah also.

the Knar Burn, and that would seem to take its name from Knar farm on its banks. The name is probably of Scandinavian origin—*Knardal* and *Knarredalen* being of frequent occurrence in Norway (Rygh., G.P., pp. 162-3, but Rygh is unable to explain their origin. It is difficult to explain the first element as a personal name, as that would not explain the neighbouring *Knar*, and it is clearly not the same as in *Knaresborough* (Moorman, p. 118), for there is no form in *d* such as *Cnardesburc* which would allow of its connexion with O.E. *Cenward*. Rygh (N.G. I., 199) in commenting on the Norwegian place-names *Knarberg*, *Knarlag*, *Knarvik*, etc., suggests that the first element may be O.N. *knǫrr*, a large kind of ship, also used apparently of a piece of land or hill of that shape.

WHITWHAM (Knaresdale). 1316 Ipm. *Le Whitwhom*; 1344 Cl. *Wytquam*; 1364 Ipm. *Whitwham*; 1392 Ipm. *Wytwam*.

"White valley." O.N. *hvammr*, used according to Rygh (Indl., p. 57) of a short valley or depression, surrounded by high ground, but in such a way that there is an opening on one of the sides.

Derwent Valley :—

ESPER SHIELDS. 1268. Ipm. *Esperscheles*.

The first element in this name may be the same as that found in the Norwegian *Espervik*, which Rygh explains as being an old genitive of O.N. *ǫsp*, an aspen-tree. If so, it means the "shiels of (or by) the aspen-tree." It might also be O.N. *aspir*, pl. of *ǫsp*, with late substitution of the ordinary Northumbrian *esp* (< O.E. *æspe*) for Scandinavian *asþ*. In that case it means "the shiels by the aspen-trees." There is a place in co. Durham called Esperley, of which an early form (1230) is *Esperdeslegh*. The first element here is apparently a personal name *Esperd*, otherwise unknown, probably standing for earlier **Aespheard* (cf.

Aesc-heard). *Esperscheles* may be for earlier *Esperdescheles*, with loss of unstressed syllable and of *d* from the consonant group *dsch*. If so, it is not an example of Scandinavian influence.

WASKERLEY (Shotley). 1262 Ipm. *Waskerley*; 1292 Q.W. *Waskerleye*; 1312 Q.W. *Waskreley*.

See *Essays and Studies*, u.s., p. 69.

Hexhamshire :—

DOTLAND. 1154-67, Richard of Hexham, *Dotoland*; 1226 B.B.H. 93 *Doteland*; 1287 B.B.H. 104 *Dotte-land*; 1355 B.B.H. 140 *Dodland*; 1479 B.B.H. *Dot(e)land*.

The first element may be the Scandinavian woman's name *Dóttla*, which is found independently (Lind., s.v.) and also in several place-names (*cf.* Rygh, G.P., 58-9). The usual spelling with single *t* may, however, point rather to the name *Dot* or *Dotus*, found in D.B., which Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 29) attempts to explain. He compares the O.Sw. place-name *Dotabotha*, possibly going back to a name **Dote*. There is also an Old Swedish and Old Danish woman's name *Dota*. Björkman suggests, as an alternative explanation, that it may be originally a nickname, perhaps given with the meaning of the Norwegian dialectal *dote*, viz., a dull-witted person.

ESHELLS. c. 1160 Gray 275 n, *Eskeingeseles*; c. 1225 B.B.H. 90 *Eskilescales*, *Eskingseles*; 1226 B.B.H. 94 *Eskinschell*.

The second element in this name is the common Northumbrian *shiels*, "shelters, sheds for summer pasturage." The form *-scales* shows the influence of the corresponding Scandinavian word *scales* (O.N. *skáli*, a hut). The correct form of the first element it is difficult to determine. The only theory which could possibly explain all the forms alike would be that which said that

the first element is the O.N. personal name *Asketill*. This is found in English in the form *Askill*, *Askell* or *Eskill*. Side by side with this there is a well-established form, *Asketinus*, in M.E. documents (v. Björkman, N.P., p. 17). This may well have been shortened to *Askin* or *Eskin*.¹ The name would then have been the "shields" or "scales" belonging to *Asketill* or *Asketin*. *Esking-* might then be a mistake for *Eskin-*, the unfamiliar suffix *-in* being replaced by the patronymic *-ing*. Another possibility is to take *Esking-* as a compound of O.N. *eski*, ash-tree, and *eng*, an "ing," grassland. *Esking-* would then mean the "grass-land with ash-trees on it." *Esking* would in M.E. place-names often be written *Eskin*. The form *Eskil-* must then be explained as due to the common mistake of anticipating the *l* which is to come later in the word.

In various parts of the country.

NEWBIGGIN BY THE SEA. 1268 Ipm. *Neubigging*.

NEWBIGGIN BY BLANCHLAND. 1262 Ipm. *Neubiggyn*.

NEWBIGGIN BY NORHAM. 14th cent. B.B. *Newbiginga*
B. *Newburga*, C. *Newbinga*).

NEWBIGGIN IN HEXHAMSHIRE. 1344 Pat. *Neubyggyn*.

NEWBIGGIN HALL (Kenton). 1216-1307 Testa. *Neubiging*.

The "new building." O.W.Sc. *bygging*, a building, M.E. *bigginge*, and N.E. dialectal English *biggin(g)* (Björkman, *Scand. Loan-Words*, pp. 32-3). Considering the comparative rarity of place-names in Northumberland which are of Scandinavian origin, it is remarkable to find so many examples of the name Newbiggin, which is of somewhat infrequent occurrence in counties with a much larger proportion of place-names of Scandinavian origin.

¹ The O.Dan. name *Eskin*, (Nielsen, *Olddanske Personnavne*), p. 22 may be that same name.

In summarising the evidence for Scandinavian settlements in Northumberland to be drawn from the place-names found in M.E. documents we may note the following points:—

(1) That there are very few examples in this county of those place-name suffixes most commonly associated with Scandinavian settlements. There is no *-thwaite*, *-lund*, *-with*, *-beck*, *-holm* or *-garth*, only one *-toft*, dating from the 14th century, and a single example of *-by*, not to be found on the present-day map. There are, however, a considerable number of place-names in *-ker*, and the name *Newbiggin* is of remarkably frequent occurrence. Indeed, there are more *Newbiggins* in Northumberland than in any other English county. The absence of place-names in *-garth*, *-thwaite*, *-toft*, *-by* would seem to indicate that there can never at any time have been any regular settlement of the whole district, any division of the whole territory among an organised band of settlers. The prevalence of *-bigging* might at first sight seem to contradict this idea, but the word *biggin* is in common dialectal use in Northumberland for a building, and it is perhaps significant that all the *biggins* are labelled “new.” The majority of the place-names of Scandinavian origin either contain some personal name of Norse origin or they contain some Norse element commonly found in the local dialect. This latter statement is true of those containing *keld*, *crook*, *carr*, *flat*, *bing*, *haining*, *biggin*. Indeed, one noticeable feature of the Northumbrian dialect is that it contains a far larger proportion of Scandinavian words than the evidence of either history or archaeology would lead us to expect, and it is to be suspected that a good many of them are of comparatively recent importation into that district, coming from districts to the west and south where Scandinavian influence is stronger.

(2) That the settlements are rather markedly confined to the river-valleys and to the immediate neighbourhood

of the coast, a distribution very different from that in the Danelagh generally, and pointing again to isolated settlements rather than to any regular partition of the whole area.

The modern map yields some few additional points of interest. Along the coast we have a series of *skerrs* or rocky islets which must owe their name to O.N. *skiær*, "an isolated rock"; near to Long Houghton there is a stretch of rock bearing the curious name *Bondi Carr*. The second element is Celtic, but the first looks as if it might possibly be the familiar *bóndi*, "a peasant or farmer." Down by the coast at Warkworth there is a level stretch known as the Skaith (O.N. *skeið*, with various meanings, *cf.* Wickham Skaith, Suff.), and near to Monkseaton there is a small island, now called St. Mary's Island, or Bait Island, of which the earlier name (16th cent.) was St. Helen's Baits. This must certainly be connected with O.N. *beit*: if it is used in the sense of "fish-bait" the plural is strange, if, on the other hand, it means "pasturage," the name can only have been given in irony, for St. Mary's Island is nothing but a stretch of barren rocks. These names do not point so much to settlements as to the influence of Scandinavian seafarers, and it is worth noting in this connexion that there is a tradition of a considerable Scandinavian settlement at Tynemouth, a tradition which is to some extent borne out by the evidence of personal names occurring in mediæval documents relating to that town.

Inland we find a few more *Newbiggins*, and one or two *Holmes*, but it should be pointed out that it is not always certain that *holm* may not be a dialectal form of *hollin* or holly. The element *Kip*, found more than once in such names as *Kiphill*, *Kiplaw*, would seem to be the dialectal *kip*, "a large overgrown calf," which must itself be connected with O.Dan. *kip* (Kalkar, *s.v.*) and Sw. *kibb* (Rietz., *s.v.*), used with the same meaning. Silliway, near Langley, probably contains O.N.

vrá, "a corner," and means "the corner where the willows grow." Carlcroft in Alwinton is noteworthy because there are no Carltons in the county (*cf.* Charlton in Tynedale and Charlton near Bamburgh) while Gair Shiel in Hexhamshire contains the common dialectal word *gair*, meaning a triangular piece of land, from O.N. *geir*. In the high lands to the west and south of the county *fell*, *grain* and *sike* are in regular use, and except for the absence of *becks*, place-nomenclature is much the same on either side of the Pennine slopes.

In turning to county Durham it will be well, as before, to deal first with those names found in medieval documents. The names are arranged in alphabetical order.

AISLABY-ON-TEES. 1225-9 Att. Test. *Askelby*; 1311 R.P.D. *Aselackeby*; 1313 R.P.D. *Aslakeby*; 1314 Reg. Bp. K. *Aslagby*; 1344 R.P.D. *Aslagby*, *Aslakby*.

The suffix *-by* is the common Scandinavian termination. If the first form is not a metathetical spelling due to the scribe, the original name was the *by* of *Askell* or *Asketill* (*cf.* Rygh, G.P., p. 17, Björkman, N.P., pp. 16-20). The second form points to the name *Aslakr* (*cf.* O.E. *Oslac*) as the first element, with a tendency to voice the *k* before following *b* (*cf.* Rygh, G.P., p. 17, Björkman, N.P., p. 20), *cf.* *Aslacton*, Norf. (D.B. *Aslaketuna*), *Aslackby*, Lincs. (D.B. *Aslachebi*).

AMERSTON HALL (nr. Embleton). 1320 Cl. *Aymundeston*.

The *tun* or farmstead of a man bearing the Norse name *Eymundr*, later *Emundr* (Rygh, G.P., p. 65), *cf.* *Amotherby* (Yo.), of which an earlier form is *Aymunderby*. The *rs* in the modern form may be due to a confusion of the genuine Norse gen. *Eymundar* found in *Amotherby* with the anglicised gen. *Aymundes*.

BLAKESTON HILL (Norton). 1099-1128 D.S.T. xxx. *Bleikestuna*; 1100-35 F.P.D. n. *Bleichestona*; 1203 R.C. *Blakestone*; 1300 Ch. *Blaicheston*; 1335 Ch. *Blakeston*; 1345 R.P.D. *Blaykeston*.

The above spellings leave no doubt that the first element is the O.N. *bleikr*, pale. This is not recorded as an independent name, but is common as a nickname, and has maintained itself in the English personal name Blake. The name means the farmstead of a man named or nicknamed *Bleikr*. Lindkvist (p. 25) notes the name of a person called *Alanus Bleik* in the Coucher Book of Selby Abbey (13th cent.?).

BRANCEPETH. 1085 D.S.T. xx. *Brentespethe*; 1131 F.P.D. n. *Brauncepath*; 1155 F.P.D. n. *Brandespethe*; 1254 D.S.T. lxxxiii. *Branspath*; 1311 R.P.D. *Braundespath*; 1316 R.P.D. *Brauncepath*.

The "peth" or path of a man named Brand. The name is probably of Scandinavian origin, for beyond one occurrence in a Saxon genealogy the name is not found in Old English documents before the 11th century, whereas the name *Brandr* was very common in Iceland and other Scandinavian lands. The distribution of English place-names containing this element also favours their Scandinavian origin. Branceholm and Brauncedale (Yo.), Branston (Lincs.), Brandiston (Norf.), Bransby and Brauncewell (Lincs). See also Björkman, Z.A.N., p. 27.

BRUNTOFT (nr. Wynyard). 1304 Cl. *Bruntoft*.

The second element is the common Scandinavian suffix meaning a clearing: the first is probably the word *burn*, a stream. This often undergoes metathesis in compounds, cf. Brunton (in Embleton) and Brunton (nr. Newcastle) in Northumberland, of which the earlier form is *Burneton*. Lindkvist (p. 214) favours the derivation from O.W.Scand. *brunnr*, a spring or fountain, but the example of *Brunton* makes this unnecessary.

CARLBURY (Coniscliffe) 1271 Ch. *Carlesburi*; 1313 R.P.D. *Carlebury*; 1340 R.P.D. *Carlbury*.

The form is from the dative of O.E. *Ceorles burh* or *Ceorla burh*, the *burh* of the *ceorl* or *ceorls*, with substitution of Scandinavian Carl (O.N. *karlr*, a man) for English *ceorl*. cf. Charlbury (Oxf.).

CARLTON. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Carltun*; 1307 R.P.D. *Carleton*.

The *tun* of the Scandinavian *carls*: the equivalent of the native English Charlton. The English and Scandinavian forms are both widely distributed in England. The Scandinavian forms are specially frequent in Lincolnshire and Norfolk.

CLAXTON GRANGE (nr. Greatham). 1091 F.P.D. lxxxxii. *Clackestona*; 1312 Reg. Bp. K. *Claxton*.

The *tun* of a man named *Klakkr*. The name is of common occurrence in place-names in the Danelagh. cf. Claxton (Norf., D.B., *Clakestona*), Long Clawson (Leic., D.B., *Clachestane*).

CONISCLIFFE. c. 1035 H.S.C. *Cingceslife*; 1263 R.C. *Cunesclive*; 1271 Ch. *Cunesclive*; 1306 Cl. *Conesclive*; 1313 Reg. Bp. K. *Conysclive*; 1336 Ipm. *Consclyf*; 1345 R.P.D. *Conesclyf*; 1507 D.S.T. ccccv. *Cunyngsclyf*.

"King's cliff." This name would seem to have been originally purely English, to judge from the form found in the History of St. Cuthbert—O.E. *c(yn)inges clif*, but the later spellings point to the influence of O.N. *konungr*; cf. the history of Conisborough (Moorman, p. 49), Coniston (*ib.* pp. 49 and 50), Conishead and Coniston (Wyld, pp. 98-9), Conisholme (Lincs., D.B., *Coningesholm*).

COPELAND HOUSE (West Auckland). 1104-8 S.D. *Copland*; 1313 R.P.D. *Coupland*; 1340 R.P.D. *Coupe-land*.

For the history of this name v. Coupland (Nthb.) *supra*.

COWPEN BEWLEY. 1203 R.C. *Cupum*; 1335 Ch. *Cupum*; 1446 D.S.T. ccxcvi. *Coupon*.

v. Cowpen (Nthb.) *supra*.

CRAWCROOK. 14th cent. B.B. *Craucrok*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Cranwecrok* (*sic*).

"Crow's crook." O.E. *crāwa*, a crow, + O.N. *krókr*, a crook or winding. The place may have been so named because haunted by crows, or from a man (or woman) whose name or nickname was "Crow." *cf.* *Crawe*, a woman's name (Searle) and the modern surname *Crow*.

CROOK. 1267 F.P.D. n. *Cruketona*; 1304 Cl. *Crok*; 1312 R.P.D. *Crok*; 14th cent. B.B. *Cruktona*, *Crocketon*.

O.N. *krókr*, a crook, a winding, a nook. In Boldon Book the place is known as "the town by the crook," later it is called simply "the crook." The town may be so called because it is on one of the bends or nooks in the winding course of the Beechburn.

CROXDALE (Spennymoor). 1214 D.S.T. 36 *Croxtayl*; 1335 Ch. *Crokestail*.

The first element is the O.N. personal name *Krókr* (*cf.* Wyld, p. 105, Croxteth). The second element, as shown by the spelling in M.E., is not the ordinary English *dale* but the O.W.Scand. *deill*, "a share, allotment or portion of land." The existence of this word in English field-names has been clearly proved by Lindkvist (pp. 30-55), where an exhaustive and interesting account of its history is given, and numerous examples of its use are quoted from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. None of the examples given have survived on the modern map, and Lindkvist has no mention of Croxdale.

DURHAM. 1191, Feet of Fines, *Dunolm*, *Donelme*; 1227 Ch. *Dunholm*; 1231 Ch. *Durham*; 1313-8 Ch. *Durham*, *Durem*, *Duresme*; 1343-6 Ch. *Dunolm*.

The old name of Durham was *Dūn-holmr*, a compound of O.E. *dūn*, a hill (of Celtic origin), and O.N. *holmr*, an island, hence "the hill island," a name aptly descriptive of the site of ancient Durham, on high ground within a loop of the River Wear, whose two ends very nearly meet. The modern form is probably due to Anglo-Norman influence.

DYANCE (nr. Killerby). 1207 F.P.D. n. *Diendes*.

A difficult name; the first element may possibly be O.N. *dý*, "a bog," cf. Rygh, Indl., p. 30.

FELLING. 1325 F.P.D. n. *Felling*; 1434 F.P.D. *Fellyng*.

"The meadow or grassland below the fell," O.N. *ffjall*, mountain, and *eng*, grassland. The word *ing* is in common use in Mod. English dialect. The name aptly described the position of Felling, which stands on the ground sloping down from Gateshead Fell to the Tyne Valley.

FOLLINGSBY. Type I. 1133-40 F.P.D. n. *Foletesbi*; 1153-95 F.P.D. n. *Foleteby*, *Folesceby*; 1203 Cart. Johan. Regis. *Foletteby*; 1217-26 F.P.D. n. *Folasceby*; 1352 Ch. *Foethebi*. Type II. 1416 F.P.D. n. *Folaunceby*; 1430 F.P.D. *Folanceby*; 1446 D.S.T. ccxci. *Folaunceby*.

The explanation of Type I. would seem to go with that of Fulletby (Lincs.) of which the D.B. forms are *Folesbi*, *Fullobi*, while those in the Lincolnshire Survey (c. 1100), which usually gives Scandinavian names more correctly, are *Fuletebi*, *Fuledebi*. Here the first element would seem to be a personal name of the same type as O.N. *Hafliði*, *Sumarliði*, *Vetrliði*. The second of these names is common as the name of Scandinavian settlers in England, in the form *Sumerled*, and forms the first element in Somersby, and in three Somerbys in Lincolnshire, and in Somerleyton in Suffolk. No name *Fulliði* is recorded in Old Norse, but there is an

adjective *full-liða*, meaning "well provided with troops," "fully able" (v. Vigfusson and Fritzner, s.v.), and this name, used first as a nickname, may well have given rise to a personal name *Fulliði* (cf. Selaby *infra*). The forms *Foletes-* and *Folesce-* are due to Anglicising of the name and its being given a gen. sg. in *-s*. Type II. is difficult of explanation, but as it belongs to the 15th century it stands quite apart from any question of further Scandinavian influence.

FULTHORPE (Wynyard). 1311 Cart. Bp. K. *Fulthorp*;
1313 Reg. Bp. K. *Foulthorþ*.

"Foul or dirty village." For the use of *thorþ* v. *infra*.

HAINING (Houghton-le-Spring). 1401 D.S.T. cxc.
Haynyng.

See Haining (Nthb.) *supra*.

HOLME HILL (Muggleswick). 1446 D.S.T. ccxiv. *le Holme*.

The common M.E. *holme* (O.N. *holmr*), an island or peninsula.

HUTTON HENRY. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Hotun*; 1307 R.P.D. *Hoton*; 14th cent. B.B. *Hotona*, *Hotton*; 1430 F.P.D. *Huton*; 1446 D.S.T. ccxcv. *Hoton*.

The first element in this name may be O.W.Scand. *hór*, a phonetic variant of *hár*, meaning "high," which is discussed by Lindkvist (p. 224). This element is to be found in Huby (Lincs.) possibly also in Hoby (Lincs.), and in Huttoft (Lincs.), (v. Lindkvist *loc. cit.* and p. 218). Lindkvist's warning that places with *Hotun* in M.E. may go back to O.E. *hō(h)*, heel, projecting ridge of land, is probably not necessary in this case. There is no trace of a medial *h* in the M.E. spellings such as we regularly find in Houghton-le-Spring in the same county, which undoubtedly goes back to O.E. *Hōh-tūn*.

KILLERBY. 1091 F.P.D. lxxxii. *Culuerdebi*; 1197 Pipe *Culuerdebi*; 1207 F.P.D. *Kiluerdebi*; 1312 Reg. Bp. K. *Kyllewardby*; 14th cent. B.B. *Killirby*, *Kylwerby*; 1435 D.S.T. ccvli. *Killerby*.

The explanation of this place-name must go with that of Kilverstone (Norf. D.B. *Culverttestuna*), Kilwardby (Lincs. Surv. 1100 *Culverteb'*) and Killerby (Yo.) For the forms of the last *v*. Björkman, Z.A.N., p. 54. The first element is a personal name, probably of hybrid origin. The first element in the name is O.N. *Ketill*, which often gives an O.E. form *Cytel*, and the second the common English suffix *-weard* (cf. *Ed-ward*). The full O.N. form *Ketilvaðr* is not found (*v*. Björkman, p. 81).

LUMLEY. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Lummalea*; 1196 Finch. *Lumleia*; 1304 Cl. *Lomelay*.

For the history of this name *v*. Essays and Studies, u.s., p. 64.

OUSTERLEY FIELD. 1382 Hatf. *Oustre*, *Oustrefeld*.

The history of this name is similar to that of Austerfield (Yo.), which Moorman (p. 14) explains as from O.N. *austr*, east, + "field."

OUSTON (nr. Birtley).

Surtees (Vol. 2, pp. 126 and 192) gives early forms, *Ulkilstan* and *villa Ulkilli*, showing that the history of this name is the same as that of Ouston in Stamfordham in Northumberland (*v. supra*).

RABY. c. 1025 H.C.S. *Raby*; 1200 R.C. *Rabye*; 1313 Reg. Bp. K. *Raby*.

The second element is the common Scandinavian suffix *-by*, denoting a town, while the history of the first element is given by Lindkvist, pp. 188-9. He says that it is O.W.Scand. *rá*, a landmark. It is found in more than one Raby, and in Raydale and Raskelf in Yorkshire. As Lindkvist remarks, all of these names are capable of explanation from O.W.Scand. *rá* = a *roe*, but that alternative is unlikely. The old explana-

tion which connected these words with O.W.Scand. (*v*)*rú*, nook, corner, is stated by Lindkvist to be no longer tenable, as Scandinavian words commencing in *vr* show uniformly conservative tendencies in English, keeping the initial *v* long after it was dropped in W. Scandinavian itself.

RACEBY. 1344 (45th Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records) *Raceby*.

In the absence of any form earlier than 1344 it is difficult to say with certainty what may be the origin of this name. Raithby (Lincs.) has early forms, *Reythesby*, *Raitheby*, which Lindkvist (p. 76) takes to contain an unrecorded O.W.Scand. *Hreiði*, a shortened form of *Hreiðulfr* or *Hreiðarr*. A form *Reythesby* with the gen. of the personal name might well develop to Raceby in later times.

RAINTON. c. 1125 F.P.D. xli. *Reinuntun*, *Reningtun*, *Reington*; 1135-54 Cart. Hy. ii. *Raintonam*; 1153-95 Cart. Ep. Hug. *Reiningtone*; 1185 F.P.D. n. *Reinintun*, *Renintun*; 1203 Cart. Joh. Reg. *Reyn-ton*; 1228 Att. Test. *Reiningtone*; 1253 Ch. *Reignton*.

The forms for this place-name are practically the same as those for Rainton (Yorks.) (*v*. Lindkvist, p. 73), and Rennington (Nthb.). For the former Lindkvist suggests a patronymic formed from O.N *Hreinn*, while in a note on Rainhill in Lancs. (p. 74, n. 2) he quotes forms for the Durham Rainton, and suggests that the first element in both these names may be O.W.Scand. *rein*, a strip of land which forms the boundary of a tilled field or an estate (*v*. Björkman, Scand. Loan-words, p. 63), used in Norwegian dialect of a "long bank of earth or gravel." It seems, however, impossible to separate the history of the Durham and Yorkshire Raintons, and their history may be either that suggested by Lindkvist for the Yorkshire Rainton, or, more probably, that given above for the Northumberland Rennington.

RUMBY HILL. 1382 Hatf. *Ronundby*.

The M.E. form is probably a mistake for *Romundby*, the first element being the common O.N. name *Hrómundr*.

SADBERGE. 1154-89 Finch. *Satberga*; 1189 D.S.T. lix. *Sadberg*; 1214, Geoffrey of Coldingham, *Sathbergia*; 1176 Pipe *Sethberga*; 1234 Pat. *Sedberg*; 1338 Cl. *Sedberne*; 1307 R.P.D. *Sadberg*; 1318 Ch. *Seberge*, *Sedberga*; 1435 Pat. *Sadberg*.

There is a good deal of uncertainty about the vowel of the first element in this place-name. The same uncertainty is found in the case of the Yorkshire Sedbergh, but whereas the *e*-forms predominate there, in the Durham Sadberge the evidence inclines, if anything, to *a* as the original vowel. Sedbergh is commonly explained as from O.N. *set-berg*, "a hill whose top suggests a seat by its shape," and it is possible that this may be correct, though *t* is never found in any M.E. form. In Norwegian dialect the forms *sete* and *sata* are both alike used of a little flat place on a rock or hill-top, and this might account for the variation in vowel, the voicing of the *t* being due to the following voiced *b*. Another possible explanation is that the first element is O.N. *sáð*, "seed," used, according to Rygh (N.G. I., 346), as a nickname. The early spellings with *th* may possibly point to this, though they are capable of another explanation, and the variant vowel might be due to the influence of the cognate O.E. *sæd* > M.E. *sēd*. In any case the name is probably of Norse origin, as there was a "wapentake" of Sadberge, the only example of the use of that term north of the Tees.

SATLEY. 1228 Att. Test. *Sateley*; 1304 Cl. *Satley*; 1311 R.P.D. *Satteley*; 1312 R.P.D. *Satley*.

The first element in this word may be the O.N. *saata*, a haystack, which Rygh finds in more than one Norse place-name (*cf.* N.G., v. 276), the meaning being

"the meadow by the haystack." The first element might also be the Norw. dial. *seta*, *seta*, "a flat place on a rock, or the top of a hill," but this seems less likely.

SCHOOL AYCLIFFE. 14th cent. B.B. *Sculacle*; 1440 D.S.T. cccv. *Sculacley*.

So-called in distinction from Aycliffe, and probably named after its Norse owner, *Skúli*. cf. Scoulton (Norf. D.B. *Sculetuna*), Sculthorpe (*ib.* D.B. *Sculetorpa*). This *Skúli* may be the very *Scula* mentioned above (p. 173).

SELABY. 1197 Pipe *Selebi*; 1317 Cl. *Seletby*; 1322 Pat. *Seleteby*; 1335 Ipm. *Seletby*; 1336 Ipm. *Seletby*; 1460 Pat. *Seleby*.

The *-by* of a man bearing the O.N. name **Sæ-liði* = sea-goer, sailor. This name is not actually found, but names with *Sæ-* as the first element are common in O.N., and *Sæ-liði* is exactly equivalent to the name *Haf-liði* = ocean-goer, which is well established. *Sæ-liði* corresponds etymologically to the O.E. *sæ-lida*, a word commonly used to describe a pirate. For the M.E. development of the name cf. Follingsby, *supra*.

SKERNE, R. 1402 F.P.D. *aqua de Skyryne*; 1430 *ib.* *Skeryn*.

It is impossible to separate this name from Skerne (Yo.), of which the D.B. form is *Schirne*, while other early forms are *Skiren*, *Skyryn*. The closest parallel to these is the Norse river name *Skirna* (near Trondhjem), which Rygh (*Norske Elvenavne*, p. 217) connects with *skirr*, clear, bright, *skirna*, to clear up, and *skirning* (a clearing), and the farm name, *Skjern*, in the same district, which Rygh says is named after a stream close to the farm.

SKIRNINGHAM. c. 1090 Hist. de Obs. Dunelm. *Skirningeheim*, *Skerningeim*; 1135-54 Cart. Hy II. *Schirningaham*; 1203 Cart. Joh. Reg. *Skirningeham*.

"The homestead by the Skerne meadows." The element *-ing* is O.N. *engr*, "grass-land, meadow," and the early spellings in *heim* and *eim* point very clearly to O.N. *heimr* rather than O.E. *hām* as the earliest form of the final element. Place-names *Skjern* and *Skjerninge* are found in Denmark (Steenstrup, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-5), and we probably have the same name in Scarning (Norf. D.B. *Scerninga*). Whether the suffix has the same origin in all cases it is impossible to say.

SLINGLEY HALL (nr. Dalton-le-Dale). 1155 F.P.D. n. *Slingelawe*.

The first element in this word may be the proper name found also in the Yorkshire place-name *Slingsby*. The earlier form of that name is *Slingesby*, and Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 77) suggests that the first element is from a Norse nickname **Slongr* or **Slengi*, comparing the modern Norw. dial. *sleng*, used of a growing youth and also of an idler. In Northern English dialect *to sling* is used in the sense "to go about idling, to sneak or slink about." Björkman suggests that this usage depends on Norse influence. The second element is O.E. *hlāw*, a hill, very often corrupted in N.E. to *-ley*, as if from O.E. *lēah*.

STAINDROP. 1131 F.P.D. n. *Standrop*; 1135-54 Cart, Hy. II. *Steindrope*; 1203 Cart. Joh. Reg. *Steindrope*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Stayndrop*.

The first element is O.N. *steinn*, stone or rock, a common element in place-nomenclature. The spellings with *stan* show the substitution of the common O.E. form *stān*; cf. Stainton and Stanton. The second element, *-drop*, is found in other place-names in England as a variant form of *þorþ*, due to metathesis and stopping of the continuant *þ*, e.g., Burdrop (Oxf.) and Soul-drop (Beds.), but the early and uniform appearance of the spelling *drop* would seem to forbid such an explanation in this case. Lindkvist (p. 84, n. 4) suggests that the second element is O.W.Scand. *dropi*, a

drop, or O.W.Scand. *drop*, Norw. dial. *drop*, a dropping, dripping: Staindrop lies in a valley on a small stream called Langley Beck.

STANTON, GREAT AND LITTLE. 1284 Finch. *Staynton*; 1308 Ch. *Staintuna*.

STANTON-LE-STREET. 1312 Reg. Bp. K. *Staynton-in-Strata*; 1479 B.B.H. *Staynton-in-Strata*.

NUNSTANTON. 1387 D.S.T. clvii. *Nunstaynton*.

O.N. *steinn-tún* = stone-enclosure, the equivalent of English Stanton. For the question how far place-names of this type can be considered names of Scandinavian settlements v. Lindkvist, p. 83.

SWAINSTON (nr. Sedgefield). 1351 B.M. *Swayneston*.

"Swein's *tún*." This personal name is very common in place-names (v. Lindkvist, pp. 91-3). It is also found as *Swin-* in Swinford (Leic.), *Swine-* in Swineshurst (Lancs.), *Swan-* in Swanland (Yo.). There is a Swainston (I. of W.) containing this name: it is probably of comparatively late origin.

THORPE BY EASINGTON. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Thoreþ*; 1197 Pipe *Torp*.

THORPE BULMER. 1312 R.P.D. *Thorpebulmer*.

THORPE THEWLES. 1314 Reg. Bp. K. *Thorþtheules*.
For the use of *thorp* v. *infra*.

THRISLINGTON HALL (Ferryhill). 1309 F.P.D. 66 n. *Thurstaneston*.

The *tún* or farm of *Thorsteinn*, a very common Scandinavian name in England. It is found in Thurston (Cheshire), Thurston End (Suff. D.B. *Thurstanestuna*), Thruxton (Norf. D.B. *Turstanestuna*), Thrussington (Leic. D.B. *Turstanestone*).

THROSTON. c. 1270 (List of knights at Lewes) *Thoreston*.

"Thorir's farm." cf. Rygh, G.P., p. 259.

ULNABY HALL (High Coniscliffe). Newm. *Uluenebi*; 1314 Reg. Bp. K. *Ulnaby*.

The *-by* or settlement of *Ulfheðinn*. This is a common Icelandic name, and from its use there Lindkvist concludes that it was already in use in Norway during the Viking period, though no example of its use earlier than 1300 has been preserved to us. A contracted form, *Vlfuen*, is found in a Norse document of 1411. It is probable that a similar contraction took place in England, giving the form *Vluenebi*.

USHAW. a. 1196. Finch. *Ulveskahe*; 1312 Reg. Bp. K. *Uuesshawe*; 1312 Pat. *Uuesshawe*.

The first element is probably the O.N. name *Ulf* (= O.E. *Wulf*), and the second the O.E. *sceaga*, a wood, hence the "wood of a man named *Ulf*." The spelling *skahe* may be due to the influence of the corresponding Norse word *skógr*, a wood.

WHAM. 1315 R.P.D. *Northquwam*, *Qwhom*.
v. Whitwham (Nthb.) *supra*.

Taking a survey of the whole county, the number of names is of course absolutely smaller than in Northumberland, but in estimating the relative proportion we must bear in mind (1) that a much smaller proportion of the place-names of the whole county is preserved in mediæval documents in Durham than in Northumberland; (2) that the county has only one-half the area of co. Northumberland. Bearing these two points in mind, it is probable that there is relatively a much greater proportion of Scandinavian names in Durham. We have several clear examples of *-by*, some of *-ing*, *-toft*, and *-holm*, several containing the element *crook*, and the names are scattered fairly well over the county. Still, they are not so numerous as to suggest any definite partition. There does not seem to be any special prevalence of Scandinavian names even in those districts assigned by Rægeneald to his followers, Scula and

Onlafbeald, viz., from Castle Eden south to Billingham-in-Teesdale, and from Castle Eden north and west to the Wear.

In studying the modern map we find the continued use of Scar along the coast (*e.g.*, Long Scar), and Loom, by Easington, may well be the same as the familiar Norse place-name *Lóm*, dat. pl. of *Ló*, a word of somewhat uncertain meaning. Medieval documents show that Holmside and Butterby are no evidence for Scandinavian settlement. Holmside is from earlier *Holinside* (from M.E. *holen*, holly), and Butterby is *Beautrove* or *Beautrone* (the latter a blunder of the transcriber), meaning apparently "the well situated" (*beau trouvé*), a name which aptly describes the position of Butterby on the well-wooded winding banks of the Wear (*cf.* Bear Park in the immediate neighbourhood from earlier *Beau Repair*). Biggin and Newbiggin are fairly common, *garth* is occasionally used, there are many *holms* and a few *tofts*, *-mire* is fairly common, and so is *-carr*, *-ker*. Waskerley in the N.W. probably has the same history as in Northumberland, and so has Nafferton. In the high ground at the head of Wear-dale and Teesdale place-nomenclature is very largely Scandinavian: there are *fells*, *grains*, *sikes*, *becks* and *gills* in abundance, and it is much to be regretted that there is a great scarcity of early forms for these districts. Again, as in Northumberland, the great increase in the extreme west would seem to point to settlements from Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire, rather than from the eastern side of the county, though it should be noted that *fell* is found as far east as Gateshead Fell and Low Fell. The use of *beck* is significant. The tributaries of Tyne and Wear are all called *burn*, except in the extreme west of the county, and here a name like *Beechburn Beck* shows that they are not all original. On the other hand the tributaries of the Tees are almost uniformly known as *beck*, even in the easternmost parts of the county.

Finally, a word must be said about two suffixes over which there has been a good deal of discussion in dealing with questions of Scandinavian influence, viz., *-dale* and *-thorp*. With regard to *dale*, this is the common word for a valley in Northumberland and Durham alike. From the time of the earliest records we hear of *Glendale*, *Coquetdale*, *Tynedale*, *Allendale*, *Redesdale*, *Weardale*, *Teesdale*, and as there is so little Scandinavian nomenclature in Northumberland, and not much in Durham, it seems safe to conclude that this use of *dale* is Anglian rather than Scandinavian, though it may have been extended under the influence of the later settlers. One piece of evidence in this connexion seems to have been overlooked. Dalton-le-Dale is called *Daltun* already in Bede's history, so that the use of the word in Anglian place-names is clearly established.

The case of *thorp* is more difficult. There are *thorps* in southern England in Bucks., Oxon. and other counties outside the sphere of Danish or Norse influence, but they are scattered and comparatively few in number. *Thorps* are abundant in East Anglia and Northern Mercia and in Yorkshire, just where Scandinavian influence is admittedly strongest. In Northumberland, the only two *thorps* are both in places where there seems to have been a small collection of Scandinavian settlements, while in Durham there are three *thorps*, all in those lands of St. Cuthbert which we know to have been at one time in the hands of Viking settlers. While not denying that *thorp* may often be of native origin, it seems to be fairly clear from the evidence of Northumberland and Durham that it is often a mark of Scandinavian settlement.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND HISTORICAL NOTES.

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IT has been shown by professor Alexander Bugge and dr. Jakob Jakobsen that the Norse colonisation of the islands must have begun as early as, if not earlier than 700, to account for the primitive forms of Norse place-names and institutions which are to be found there and not in the later colonies in Iceland and elsewhere.¹ The place-names of Orkney and Shetland seem to indicate that the colonists came from western Norway. On the assumption that the *óðal*² succession of Gulathing-Law was in force at that time, we have, however, historical proof in the sagas that Orkney was colonised, at the latest, *circa* 664. When king Harald hárfagri fined the *bœndr* of Orkney, shortly after 893 (say 895), they were unable to pay him, whereupon earl Einar paid the fine on condition that the *bœndr* gave him their *óðul*, until they were able to redeem them. We have here these facts: (1) Orkney was in the possession of *óðalmenn*, and *óðal* law was in full force with its *lausn*, right of redemption; (2) it took five generations of continuous ownership of land to make it *óðal*; consequently (3) the youngest *óðal* family must have dated from the year 730 (*i.e.*, 895, less five generations of 33 years each). It is incredible that all these families began possession in the same year and exactly five generations before 895. We shall, therefore, be safe in allowing a minimum addition of two generations, or sixty-six years, to allow for the colonisation of the islands, which

¹ *Vesterlandenenes Inflydelse paa Nordboernes*, A. Bugge. *Shetlandsøernes Stednavne*, J. Jakobsen.

² *óðal*, pl. *óðul*, property held in allodial tenure.

would thus have begun at the latest *circa* 664.¹ The later colonisation of Iceland was effected in some fifty years, but this settlement arose from a definite political cause in the lifetime of one man, Harald hárfagri.

According to the accepted chronology, the Norsemen made their first appearance in England in 787, and in the west of Scotland and Ireland in 795. Orkney and Shetland, being the nearest western land to Norway, would be first visited. From 565, the time when Orkney and Shetland were Christianised, three generations, or ninety-nine years, would be ample time to account for the Pictish ecclesiastical monuments of which the remains have been found. It was only some fifty years after the Norsemen in Orkney were converted themselves that their earl made a pilgrimage to Rome and built a cathedral.

It has been contended that the first Norse settlers found the islands without inhabitants, because the sagas make no mention of any having been found there. But the sagas only commence with the history of the islands at the time the earldom was founded in 872, nearly two centuries after their colonisation which is not referred to at all. It is incredible that the Pictish ecclesiastical buildings, of which the remains have been found, could have been erected, utilised and abandoned and the islands deserted in the short space of a hundred years or even less.

The total absence of any record or tradition regarding the first arrival of the Norsemen in Orkney, and the continued presence of the Picts, as is shown by the survival of their place-names and church dedications, appear to indicate that the first colonisation by the vikings was gradual and peaceful, that they inter-married with the Picts, as they did later on with the Irish in Ireland, and that perhaps Christianity never

¹ The colonisation of Shetland has been already dated, 620 (Ud. N.H., ii., 10, quoting Otto Bremer: *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*, § 119).

entirely died out in the islands. The latter supposition, if correct, may account for the ease with which the vikings ultimately became Christians.

Although no anthropological survey has yet been made in the islands, it would not be surprising if such a survey should reveal Pictish features coinciding, even after all these twelve centuries, with the districts preserving Pictish place-names, presumably the inland and inaccessible places, as is the case in the Isle of Man.

The comparatively small number of Pictish place-names in the islands must be accounted for by the predominance of the Norsemen, whose language would have been consequently adopted by the Picts. Many so-called Norse place-names may be unrecognisable glosses of Pictish names. The name Orkney itself is a gloss of a Pictish name, and so also probably is Shetland.¹ If the names of the two groups themselves are not of Norse origin, and only clothed in Norse garments, what may not be the names of the lesser islands and places?

The persistency of Norse, as compared with Pictish place-names is well illustrated in the Hebrides, where the population, during the Norse period and until their cession to Scotland in 1266, was probably bilingual, the Gaels and the Norse each speaking their own language. Since the cession to Scotland, after which the rulers were no longer appointed by or under Norway, political influences very quickly made the Norsemen adopt the Gaelic language. And yet after all these centuries, since the extinction of the Norse language, Norse place-names still flourish with but a very slight Gaelic tinge. Moreover, there are many Norse loan-words in Gaelic, whereas there are very few Gaelic loan-words in Scandinavian.

The second migration from Norway to Orkney took place after king Harald hárfagri began to consolidate Norway into one kingdom, 860-933; during which

¹ *Old-Lore Miscellany* (Viking Society), v., 14, 104-8, vi., 10-19, 74.

period Iceland was colonised. He conquered Orkney and Shetland, and erected them into an earldom in 872. The first colonists no doubt took their Norwegian laws and form of government with them, and these would naturally have been conformed to Harald's new Norwegian constitution, when he founded the earldom.

It is stated in *Heimskringla* that Iceland and Faroe were discovered and peopled during Harald's reign, and that there was also much faring of Northmen to Shetland, and further, that many mighty men of Norway fled as outlaws and fell to warring in the west, spending the winter in the Hebrides and Orkney, and the summer in raiding Norway. It is also stated that before Harald's time, Orkney had been the haunt of vikings (*vikingabæli*). The special reference to the faring of Norwegians to Shetland and not to Orkney, in Harald's reign, appears to indicate that Shetland had not been previously so fully colonised as Orkney. This surmise appears to be supported by the researches of dr. Jakobsen, who has found older forms of place-names in Orkney than in Shetland.

The earliest Scandinavian literature consists of runic inscriptions. Writing began in Norway in the middle of the eleventh century, with the taking down of the hitherto oral code of laws, known as *Grágás*, a work now lost. In Iceland the laws were taken down in 1118, which was followed by the recording of the oral sagas. The oral Edda lays are supposed to have been taken down in the twelfth century.

There can be little doubt that the adoption of Christianity by the Norse, *circa* 1000, with its written scriptures and missals, set the fashion of writing; not to forget the great and uncongenial burden it would have been on the lawsayingmen to be suddenly called upon to add to their memory the voluminous new laws dealing with the establishment of Christianity.

As regards Orkney and Shetland we may therefore assume that their laws were written down at the same

time as they were in Norway, and also at the instigation of king St. Ólaf, the great apostle of Christianity in the north; if indeed his code itself was not actually adopted by or imposed upon the islands, which seems more probable.

From the middle of the twelfth century we find the Orkney earl St. Rögnvald, and, after him, the Orkney bishop Biarni, the skald, both expert poets, busy at work with Icelandic skalds, and we have some of their literature preserved. It was during this period that the Edda lays are supposed to have been taken down, and, as some of them have a local setting, it is not improbable that some, at least, may have been rescued from the mouths of Orkneymen and Shetlanders. It is significant that many Edda poetic words are now alone in use, as seanames, in Shetland.¹ Professor Sophus Bugge was of opinion that the lays were composed in the British Isles, in proximity to Christian influence.² Such of these lays as may have been composed in Britain *before* 787-795, when the Norsemen *first* appeared in the west of Scotland, Ireland and England, could only have been composed in Orkney, where, it has been shown, the Norse arrived *circa* 664, and lived among the Christian Picts, but it appears to be generally agreed now, that none of the lays could have been composed earlier than the ninth century.

In common with other Norse places, Orkney and Shetland had their sagas and poems. There are the sagas of the earls, 872-1206, which were taken down in writing and brought up to date in 1206. The following list of works is compiled from *Orkneyinga Saga*, unless where otherwise stated:—*Fundinn Noregr*, mythical. *Jarla-sögur*, made up of what must have been separate sagas of individual earls. *Rögnvaldsdrápa*, and *Þorfinnsdrápa*, by Arnórr jarlaskáld (partly in saga

¹ Scot. Hist. Rev. IX., 148. ² *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, London, 1899. Gudbrand Vigfússon was the first to suggest that the lays were composed in the British Isles.

and partly in Snorra Edda), written in 1046-1064.¹ *Þáttr Magnúss jarls. Hákon Pálssons drápa*, mentioned. *Vísur* about Hákon Pálsson and Magnús Erlendsson, mentioned. *Þáttr Páls jarls. Jarsteina bók. Þáttr Rögnvalds jarls*, which may also be called *Sveins saga*. *Háttalykill*, by earl Rögnvald, mentioned, but preserved in Stockholm. *Jómsvíkingadrápa* and *Málsháttakvæði*, by bishop Biarni, not mentioned in the saga, but preserved in Codex Regius of Snorra Edda (see *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*). *Magnúss saga helga* or *Magnúss saga eyja-jarls*: (1) *Magnúss saga hin lengri*, (2) *Magnúss saga hin skamma*, (3) *Legenda de sancto Magno* (six pieces).

The difference between Icelandic and Orkney saga is that the former describes personal and family feuds and litigations, whereas the latter is almost solely concerned with genuine viking life. Iceland was too detached for viking cruises, but Orkney was an ideal striking point for sea-rovers. As a matter of fact the best saga of the Orkney collection is that which treats of Svein of Gairsey, the last of the vikings. He kept a bodyguard of eighty húskarlar. Each year, after seed time, he went on a *vár*, spring, viking, and then returned for harvest, after which he went on a *haust*, autumn, viking, and returned home to spend the winter on his spoils. On one occasion he captured two English keels off Dublin, laden with English cloth. On his return journey he sewed some of the captured cloth on his sails, so that they appeared as though they were entirely made of that material, and hence this viking was called *skrúðviking*; *skrúð* is used in old Norse for finery, and, in this instance, has been translated *broadcloth* by sir George Dasent, but, in accordance with Fritzner, it should be, *þragtfuldt vikingetog*, gorgeous viking expedition.² As an instance of

¹ Arnórr was an Icclander, resident in Orkney, where he composed these poems on the two earls, and hence he was nicknamed *jarlaskáld*.

² In Goudie's translation of the saga this meaning has also been correctly given.

Svein's fine feeling and generosity may be mentioned the capture of earl Rögnvald's ships by earl Erlend and Svein, when Svein claimed, as his share of the spoil, all earl Rögnvald's treasures, which he straightway sent back to earl Rögnvald. Earl Rögnvald had only just returned from his famous pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He afterwards became one of earl Rögnvald's *hirðmenn* or bodyguard, and in the end fell, ambushed, in his last viking, in Ireland. The saga fittingly ends with the following tribute to Svein: "There now is an end of telling about Svein; and it is the talk of men that he hath been the greatest man in the western lands, both of yore and now-a-days, of those men who had no higher rank¹ than he." Svein set the splendid example of continuing one's life work to the end in harness.

At the time of the conclusion of the Orkney saga, *circa* 1206, the male line of the Norse earls, already half Scottish, came to an end, having lasted only some three centuries; and was succeeded, in the female line, by four lines of Scottish earls, the Athole, Angus, Strathearn and St. Clair families, 1206-1470.

The Norwegian crown passed through a female to a Swedish line of kings, which reigned from 1319 to 1387; and then, after the treaty of Kalmar, when Norway, Denmark and Sweden were united in one kingdom, the crown passed to a Danish line, which was reigning in 1468-9, when Orkney and Shetland were wadset or pawned to Scotland, in security for the dowry of the queen of king James III. of Scotland.

The succession of the Scottish earls in the thirteenth century, and of the Swedish and Danish kings in the fourteenth century, with their foreign influence, must account for the complete break in the insular literature, which was thereafter confined to complaints about Scottish and other interference in insular affairs.

¹ON. *tignar-nafn*, name and rank which raised one above the common *bóndi*.

The residence of the crown in Denmark, with the influx of Danish officials and place-men in Norway, very quickly established the Danish language in Norway, so that, by 1450, Norwegian as a national language came to an end,¹ and, *circa* 1530, the Norwegian laws had to be translated into Danish. In Norway this resulted in the complete disappearance of Norwegian literature, which is only represented by charters.

After the transference of Orkney and Shetland to Scotland, in 1468-9, the Scottish crown acquired the earldom (*i.e.*, the earl's rule, title, the public revenues and the earldom landed estate), from the last Norse earl, William St. Clair, and thereafter appointed its own Scottish rulers. In 1472, the bishopric of Orkney and Shetland was transferred, by Papal bull, from the metropolitan see of Trondhjem to the newly created metropolitan see of St. Andrews in Scotland. In 1486, Kirkwall was erected into a Scottish royal burgh. In 1490, the bishopric was erected into a Scottish regality, with Scottish civil courts and officers. In 1602, we have the last mention of a judicial reference to the Norse law-book of the islands,² since when Scottish law has prevailed.

The succession of the Scottish earls, with their Scottish kin and retainers, transformed the islands into a sanctuary for Scottish fugitives and adventurers. Scottish fashions, habits and language soon took a hold on Orkney, the seat of government, which was also nearer to Scotland than Shetland was.

The latest known Norse charter in Orkney is dated 1329,³ and the latest Norse document *circa* 1426,⁴ a

¹ *Norges Historie*, IV.

² Mackenzie's *Grievances of O. and S.*, 6-7.

³ D.N., ii., 144.

⁴ D.N., ii., 514. But this cannot be the Orkney dialect of the period, as its vocabulary is mixed, and probably represents a sort of court or chancery language for the three kingdoms of the Union.

complaint to the king of Denmark against a Scotsman who was then ruler of the islands. In Shetland, Norse charters occur as late as the seventeenth century, and towards the end of the sixteenth century it is related that a Shetland clergyman went to Norway to learn [or rather to perfect himself in] Norwegian, as the Shetlanders knew no other language, and he so acquired the nickname of "Norsk."¹ We have Orkney charters in Scottish in 1433² and after, and in 1438 the lawman of Orkney gave his testimony in Scottish.³

If the insular literature is mainly confined to complaints during the rule of the Scoto-Norse earls, it is still more so after the transference of the islands to Scotland, when the position became one of "out of the frying pan into the fire." This was accentuated by the strenuous efforts, made by the Scottish government, to render the redemption of the islands by Norway as difficult as possible. The outstanding document in the literature of this period is the report of the royal commission, appointed in 1576, to take evidence regarding the alleged oppressions of the Scottish ruler, lord Robert Stewart,⁴ an illegitimate son of king James V. He was, however, afterwards made earl of Orkney, contrary to the act of Scottish parliament, by which the title of earl of Orkney was annexed to the crown, not to be conferred on anyone but a legitimate son of the sovereign.

The survival of Norse words and legal terms in Orkney deeds indicates a state of corruption which renders some of them almost unrecognisable.

Norse, as the language of the earl's court in Orkney, probably terminated with the succession of the St. Clair line in 1379, if not already with the termination of the Angus line in 1320, as the last known Norse deed in Orkney, in 1329,⁵ is that of the countess of the last

¹ *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, iii., 441. ² O. S. R., I., 246. ³ *ib.* 44.

⁴ Opp. O.Z.

⁵ D.N., ii., 144.

earl of that line. As a dialect Norse, called Norn, continued in corners of the islands until the eighteenth century.

One unfortunate result of the change of language from Norse to Scottish has been the extinction of Norse ballad and music, one going with the other. A few relics have been preserved, and it has been noted that the "Arrow Lay," Gray's "Fatal Sisters," was recited in Norse in Orkney as late as the eighteenth century.¹ Norse dialect words survive by the thousand. Dr. Jakob Jakobsen has made a large collection of Shetland words, and is now engaged in rescuing what survive in Orkney; after which he will extend his researches to Caithness.

Orkney and Shetland literature of the Scottish period began in the seventeenth century, with topographical and historical descriptions of the islands. From that time to this, with perhaps one or two exceptions, the names of all the authors are of outland origin. The study of records began in the eighteenth century, when the landowners, with an eye to business, attempted to have some of their grievances remedied, and the work of hunting up and elucidating the records was done by Mr. A. Mackenzie.² In 1820, Mr. Alexander Peterkin edited a volume of rentals of the earldom and bishopric of Orkney. Amongst the names of subsequent editors of records may be mentioned those of Colonel David Balfour, of Balfour, Mr. George Petrie, Mr. Gilbert Goudie, Mr. F. J. Grant, and the venerable archdeacon J. B. Craven. The most important collection of documents is that contained in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. It now remains to fill in a few details of the foregoing very brief historical outline. At the most we can only indicate the uncertainties which remain to be cleared up when the necessary documents are found.

¹ *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, 1837, iii., 190.

² Mackenzie's *Grievances of O. and S.*

LAND-TAKE : LAND-NÁM.

The original colonisation of Orkney and Shetland may have been effected in the same way as it was later in Iceland. Chiefs and their followers would peg out their claims as they arrived. The word *hérað*, district, still survives in Orkney and Shetland. In Orkney it occurs in the name of a defined district, *Byrgishérað*. This place is now divided into two parishes, Birsa and Harra, the latter was called Hurray Brugh, and also Brugh, in 1500.¹ The O.N. term *byrgi*, an entrenchment or mound, may have been applied to this *hérað*, or district, on account of the exceptional number of mounds, covering the foundations of Pictish round towers, which are to be found in Harra; or the name of the *hérað* may have been taken from a possible name of the tidal island, now called the Brough of Birsa, **Byrgisey* (which may be represented by the modern name Birsa), and probably so-called on account of its mound-like appearance. The original *þinghár*, þing-districts, into which the islands were divided, would each be probably of the size of *Byrgishérað*. The colonists must have settled on the enclosed townships of the Picts,² whose chapels would have been utilised as *hof*, temples. That the Picts became thralls of the Norse seems probable. Dr. Jakobsen calls attention to the Shetland word *tralfangi-nn* (O.N. **þræl-fangi*), applied to a short, square-built person, as suggestive of the aboriginal race who became thralls.

The original colony in Orkney was augmented by the discontented chiefs and their followers, when Harald hárfagri formed the united kingdom of Norway. When Harald conquered Orkney and Shetland, in 872, he drove out the leading vikings, who had been making reprisals on Norway, and of course would have confiscated their landed estates as well as those of other chiefs

¹ P.R. No. 1.

² For a description of these, see *Proceeds. S.A. Scot.*, 1884, 254.

in the islands. These estates would form the *lén*¹ or fief of the earl. It is notable that the earl's landed estate lay scattered throughout the islands, which appears to confirm the above conjecture that the forfeited estates of the Orkney vikings formed the earldom estate; these were in Birsá, Orphir, Kirkwall, Burrey, South Ronaldsey, Hoy, Westrey, Sandey and Stronsey. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the earldom estate included a great part of the north isles, which would have been ideal viking stations.

Each þinghá would have had its *hof*, temple, for which a Pictish church would have done service. When Christianity was adopted, the þinghá would become the parish, and its hof the parish church. With the exception of Byrgishérað, there is no indication in the saga of the districts into which the islands were divided. That the parochial þing was the unit of government in the islands appears to be proved by the termination þing in the names of a number of Shetland parishes, e.g., Delting, Sandsting, etc., some of which are mentioned as early as 1321-1355.²

CHURCH HISTORY: KRISTNI SAGA.

The ecclesiastical history of Orkney and Shetland is particularly complicated.

The Pictish church would of course be under Iona. Adam of Bremen (1067-1076) stated that Orkney was formerly ruled by bishops appointed by the Scots (Iona) and English (York). In 605, Pope Gregory wrote to St. Augustine that, after the latter's death, there should be two primates of England, one in London and one in York. It was maintained by the archbishop of Canterbury, in 1119, that "Britanniæ,"

¹ Borrowed from mid. low German, or more probably O.E. *læn*, a lease, to account for the early use of the word, the feudal system in Norway being of foreign origin. The true O.N., *læn*, has the simpler meaning 'loan.'

² D.N., ix., 110; iii., 234.

in Gregory's letter, included Scotland and Ireland. Meanwhile Orkney was colonised by the Norse, 664-872. In 822, Rheims was made metropolitan of the North, and in 831, Bremen was made metropolitan of the three Scandinavian kingdoms¹; but there were no Christians in Norway. In 934, Hákon (son of king Harald hárfagri and fosterson of Athelstan of England, by whom he was converted) vainly attempted to Christianise Norway. He asked for bishops from England. In 961, king Harald gráfeldr, who had been baptised in England, succeeded to the Norwegian throne. In 995, king Ólaf Tryggvason, who had been converted in England, formally introduced Christianity into Norway and Orkney and Shetland, assisted by English bishops and priests. Henry, called "the fat" (the treasurer of Knút, king of England, 1014, 1016-1035, and of Norway 1028-1035), was appointed bishop of Orkney, probably by York, when Knút was king of Norway, 1028-1035. Knút appointed one other Norwegian bishop.

The early Christian kings of Norway repudiated Bremen as their metropolitan, and looked to England for bishops. It was only during the early part of the reign of Knút, when he claimed Norway, that Norway turned to Bremen rather than England.

In 1050-56, Bremen appointed a bishop of Orkney, probably at the request of Þorfinn, the earl who built the first cathedral in Orkney, after he had visited Bremen and Rome. This bishop was ousted, in 1085, by a bishop who had been appointed by York in 1073. The latter York bishop had been probably appointed on the strength of the Papal bull which assigned the primacy of Scotland to York in 1072. After this we have double bishops of Orkney, appointed by Bremen and York. These double bishops were probably run by the rival earls, each having his own prelate. The Pope upheld the York bishops. The dispute was finally

¹ D.N., xvii. B, 177, 178.

settled in 1152, when Nidaros, now Trondhjem, was made the metropolitan see of Norway, including Orkney. Hitherto the bishops had been missionary bishops without chapters, whereas now they were assigned cathedrals, with properly constituted chapters. Bishop William, the old, of Orkney (who would have been appointed by Bremen if his appointment took place in 1102, or by Lund, which was made metropolitan of Norway in 1104, if, as is thought by some, his appointment took place in 1112), was the sole bishop in possession when Nidaros was made metropolitan of Orkney. During his episcopate the cathedral was transferred from Birsa to Kirkwall. As bishop William was the first constitutional bishop of Orkney with a chapter, he is accordingly described in the saga as "the first bishop of Orkney." In 1472, the bishopric of Orkney was transferred from the see of Trondhjem to the newly erected metropolitan see of St. Andrews in Scotland.

Another cause of confusion arose during the great Papal schism in 1378-1429, when double bishops of Orkney were appointed by the Popes and anti-Popes. Norway, which was in possession of Orkney, acknowledged the Papal bishops, so that they were alone in actual possession of the bishopric. Scotland, which acknowledged the anti-Popes until 1417, had certain Scottish clergy appointed as titular bishops of Orkney, but they had permission to retain their Scottish livings, in which they resided.

The payment of tithe, *tiund*, was probably imposed on Orkney and Shetland early in the twelfth century, at the same time as it was laid on Norway, by king Sigurð jórsalafari (Jerusalem-farer or crusader), who had been earl of Orkney until his father's death in 1103.

The bishop and his retinue exercised great influence in the islands. The nature of the civil jurisdiction of the church over the clergy and over the occupiers of

church lands remains to be more fully explained. We are informed, 'in 1369,' that the bishop had jurisdiction of holy church, lay and learned, without let or hindrance from the earl's and king's representatives. In 1490, the Scottish government erected the bishopric into a regality, with civil courts and officers of its own, having civil jurisdiction over all occupiers of church land,² which probably merely confirmed the powers previously exercised by the bishop under the Norwegian government.

CODES: LÖG-BÆKR.

The early oral laws of Norway were recited by the law-speaker. On the foundation of Norway, as a united kingdom, by Harald hárfagri, in 872, new laws were framed. Further new laws were framed by king Hákon hinn góði (the good), 935-961, and by king Ólaf hinn helgi (the holy), 1015-1030, including church and canon law. During the reign of king Magnús hinn góði (the good), 1035-1047, "St. Olaf's Law" was taken down in writing in *Grágás* (Greygoose), a record which is now lost. Old Gulathing Law was taken down about 1100, and New Gulathing Law was adopted in 1275, while various amendments and ordinances were effected after that.

Undoubtedly the Orkney vikings took their Norwegian oral laws, *lög*, and law-speaker, *lögsögumaðr*, with them to the islands. In the period from the colonisation down till the enactment of New Gulathing Law, in 1275, the islands may have exercised a measure of legislative independence; although it is hard to believe that at the foundation of the earldom, in 872, Harald did not have his new laws adopted there also. Likewise the new Christian laws of St. Ólaf must also have been adopted in the islands.

Although the Norwegian parliament, *lög-þing*, had legislative power, such power was mainly confined to the adoption of new laws and amendments, framed and

¹ D.N., I., 308.

² P.R., App.

proposed by the king or his council—a nominal power, not unlike in nature to that possessed to-day by cathedral chapters in the election of bishops, in which there is no alternative but to elect the king's nominee, notwithstanding the *congé d'élire*.

The references in the saga to legislation in Orkney are as follows. It is related, in 1048, that earl Þorfinn turned his mind to ruling the people and land and to law-giving: *á laga-setning*. This was shortly after the compilation of *Grágás*, 1035-1047, and may merely refer to the amendments introduced at that time, if not to the written code itself, which may have been transmitted to the earl of Orkney for adoption by his lawthing. In 1116, earl Hákon set up new laws (*setti ný lög*) in Orkney, which pleased the *bœndr* better than those which had been before (*áðr*). This, again, coincides with the recording of Old Gulathing Law, circa 1100, which may have been sent to Orkney for adoption.

In 1137, in order to raise money for the completion of St. Magnús' cathedral, earl Rögnvald was advised *færa lög á*, to bring up [for consideration, with the ostensive object of amelioration], an existing law which was felt to be rather hard, viz., that law by which the earls had hitherto inherited all *óðul* after all *bœndr* [generation after generation], so that the heirs of these *bœndr* had [either (1)] to redeem these *óðul* [generation after generation], in order to regain possession of their ancestral *óðul*, [or otherwise (2) to continue in occupation of these *óðul* as hereditary tenants, involving the payment of land rent to the earls]. Then the earl called a þing and offered the *bœndr* to allow them to buy, *kaupa*, their *óðul*, so that there would be no need to redeem, *leysa* them, thereafter, which was agreed to.¹

¹ The translation of Orkn. renders *færa lög á*: *bring in a law*, whereas it should be *bring up an existing law* (see Fritzner s.v., *færa*, med præp. á). This clearly explains this, hitherto obscure passage. The 'existing law' must refer to that by which earl Torf-Einar acquired the *óðul* in 895 (see *ante*), which *óðul* remained, unredeemed, in the possession of the earls until 995, when earl

A mark had to be paid for every ploughland. As a plógsland is estimated by Vigfússon at one acre, and in Snorra Edda as equivalent to what four oxen could plough in a day and night, and as a markland in Orkney averages a little more than an acre,¹ it has been suggested that this may have been the origin of this land denomination.² Did the Shetlanders also have to buy their óðul?

Sigurd digri gaf upp Orkneyingum óðul sín: gave up to the Orkneyingar their óðul; which gift would thus only have been for one generation, after which the óðul would again revert to the earls. During the whole of the period, 895-995, (during which the óðul remained unredeemed in the hands of the earls) the bœndr, as hereditary tenants, must have paid rent to the earls. King Ólaf Tryggvason's account of the transaction was that king Harald hárfagri took as his own all the lands in Orkney and Shetland in consequence of the slaughter of his son, and that earl Torf-Einar paid the king sixty gold marks [as the redemption price of the lands], and so acquired all these lands [the óðul in Orkney and Shetland; the Orkney saga is explicit in only mentioning the óðul in Orkney as having been acquired by the earl] which he held as a fief from the king.

¹ *Proceed.*, S. A. Scot, 1884, 274.

² If the mark of land in the Hebrides is of the same origin as that in Orkney and Shetland, it would appear to make the above supposition improbable. Moreover, a ploughland was of uniform area, whereas the mark of land, representing its purchase value, varied considerably in extent. Fritzner explains O.N. *plógsland*: *arable land*. On the basis of the eyrisland rent-valuation (*see infra, Taxation*), $\frac{1}{3}$ eyrisland (= 6 pennylands = 1 *ertogland) \times 24 years' purchase = 1 mark. Was $\frac{1}{3}$ eyrisland the *plógsland* of the saga? It has been calculated that the pennyland in Orkney contains from 4 to 13 acres (*Proceed.* S. A. Scot., 1884, 277), so that $\frac{1}{3}$ eyrisland, or 6 pennylands, would contain from 24 to 78 acres. Can the *plógsland* of *Flateyjarbók* (in which this part of Orkn. is alone preserved) be an extension of a possible contraction *þgsland*, in the original, for **peningsland*?—a term, 'pennyland,' only known in Orkney and the west with which the *Flateyjarbók* copyist would have been unfamiliar, while *þgsland* would also be the contracted form of *plógsland*. If a mark had been paid for a pennyland ($\frac{1}{18}$ eyrisland), the price of an eyrisland would have been 18 marks, as against 3 marks, the redemption price of an eyrisland at 24 years' purchase. In the silver valuation of Orkney the pennyland was valued at from 1 to 12 and more marks,

During the union of Norway, Denmark and Sweden, 1389-1523, New Gulathing Law, together with subsequent amendments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were the principal source of law, viz., "St. Olaf's law and the good old customs," which the kings swore to maintain in Norway.¹

That the Orkney and Shetland law-book, *lög-bók*, was an edition of New Gulathing Law seems clear from the following references. In 1420 the feoffee, *lénsmaðr*, of the earldom undertook to rule Orkney according to the Norwegian law-book and old customs.² In 1425 the Orkneyingers petitioned the crown to uphold king Ólaf's law and subsequent ordinances,³ precisely as in the royal oath above quoted. In 1538, a district court, *réttr*, in Shetland gave its decision in accordance with Gulathing Law, which decision was attested as sound by the king's council in Bergen.⁴ While in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was the tradition in the islands that their laws were received from St. Ólaf.⁵ One Scottish bishop was so at sea in the matter that he explained that one Udillaus was sent by the king of Norway to divide the land in Orkney into pennylands, hence *udal land*.⁶ He had turned *Ulaus*

so that one mark, for the outright purchase of a pennyland, in 1137, would not have been exorbitant as compared with the possible recurrent redemption price of $\frac{1}{8}$ mark (*i.e.*, $\frac{1}{8}$ eyrir \times 24 years' purchase = $1\frac{1}{2}$ eyrir = $\frac{1}{8}$ mark). The redemption price would undoubtedly have been maintained on the basis of the eyrisland valuation in 895, when the lands were acquired by the earl; but, possibly at a nominal and less rate than 24 years' purchase, as otherwise each *bóndi* would have paid back the fine every time a successive generation redeemed the land, and if 1 mark was paid for each pennyland in 1137, the earl would have received back six times more than the sum for which it was originally acquired in 895.

¹ Ud. N.H., i., 69.

² D.N., ii., 489.

³ D.N., vi., 449.

⁴ O.S.R. I., 70.

⁵ Gifford's *Zetland* (reprint), 47, 48; Brand's *Description* (reprint), 41; Hibbert's *Shetland*, 193, 275; Sibbald's *Description*, 81.

⁶ P.R. No. iii., 18, 20.

into *Udillaus*, by way of folk-etymology. Moreover, the little we do know of insular law corresponds with New Gulathing Law, *e.g.*, (1) the daughter only inherited half as much as a son, whereas by Old G.L. she inherited nothing; (2) the eldest son had the first choice of the head house, whereas Old G.L. has no ordinance on the subject.

The old customs, *forn* or *gömul siðvenja*, or consuetudinary law, referred to in the royal oath, would include immemorial rights of foreshore, common pasturage, etc.; and in certain cases fishing rights, which, in some cases flowed from royal grants; these were the emoluments, *lunnendi*, of óðal deeds.

LEGISLATURE, LAWS, LAW COURT :

ÞING (*afterwards* LÖG-ÞING), LÖG, LÖGRÉTTA

The original Norwegian þing appears to have been a primary assembly of freeholders, *óðalsmenn* or *hauldar*. By the time of Old Gulathing Law the general assembly was called the law-thing, *lög-þing*, and consisted of paid representatives from the various districts, nominated by the king's deputies; the king was represented by his deputies, *lendirmenn* and *ármenn*, barons and stewards, and the church by the bishops and priests. In 1164, the compulsory presence of the priests was limited to two from each fylki, who were nominated by their bishops. The representative system arose from the enlargement of the þing-districts and the growth of the royal power.

From among these nominated men the king's deputies nominated a smaller selection, called the lögrétta, which inquired into and arranged the cases before the decision of the þing was given. These lögréttumenn were also representative of districts, and were paid.

It will thus be apparent that the Norwegian parliament of historic times was, like the contemporary Saxon

assembly,¹ purely a body of royal nominees and churchmen without a vestige of democratic election.

There is not the slightest indication that the earl of Orkney had, like the earls in Norway, lendirmenn, under him, ruling the islands. The only appearance in the saga of a local þing is a *laun-þing*, or secret meeting, held in Westrey. We can only assume that the earldom was, as in Norway, divided into districts with district assemblies, the predecessors of the bailie courts. In Shetland we find notices of parish courts and officials and also of a "varding," *várþing* a spring court.²

From evidence given below it will be seen that the Orkney lawthing remained a primary assembly. The representative nature of the persons serving in the Orkney lögrétta has been shown by Mr. J. Storer Clouston in the *Saga-Book*, VII., 100.

The references in the saga to the þing and laws are as follows. In the ninth century a fine was exacted from the whole community for the slaughter of the king's son at the instigation of the earl; land was held in óðal, with the right of redeeming alienated óðal. In the eleventh century earl Einar rangmunnr held þing in spring with the bœndr; earl Einar's slaughter was atoned for as for three lendirmenn, and his third part of the earldom was confiscated by the king of Norway, for the slaughter of the king's hirðmaðr, Eyvind úrarhorn, and afterwards given in lén to one of the other two earls. In 1106, earl Hákon killed the king's sýslumaðr, steward, who was looking after Magnús' share of the earldom. In 1116, the two ruling earls met at the þingstaðr in Hrossey (Mainland), and

¹ *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, by Professor F. Liebermann, pp. 38 seqq.

² Opp. O.Z., 71. A várþing was held in Jamtland in 1463 (D.N., iii., 627) Hitherto the Shetland 'varding' has been explained as varð-þing, but there is no such term on record, and a 'beacon-assembly' is not probable. Lögþing > lögðing in Shetland and elsewhere (D.N., i., 81 and N.G.L.), hence: várþing > várðing > varding.

came to terms and bound their agreement with oaths and handsal. Earl St. Magnús stated that it was *siðr ok lög*, custom and law, of men of old that the executioner should have the clothes of the person executed. In 1128, earl Pál is described as a man of few words, and no speaker at the þing. In 1137, Svein was outlawed and his estates forfeited for the slaughter of the earl's *hirðmaðr*, one of his bodyguard; a *launþing*, a secret þing, was held in Westrey; a þing was held in Hrossey (Mainland) at which there were present *rikismenn*, mighty men, *boendr*, *njósnar*, spies, and a skald; earl Rögnvald constantly held þing with the *boendr*, because he had to do with mighty men, *stórmenn*, who were against him; he held one þing in Kirkwall. In 1151, earl Rögnvald called a full þing in spring, in Hrossey, which was attended by all the *höfðingjar*, chiefs. In 1152, earl Erlend and Svein summoned a þing of the *boendr* in Kirkwall, to which they came from all the isles; at this þing the king's brief was read, which gave earl Erlend earl Harald's half of the earldom, to which the *boendr* promised obedience. Harald had got his half of the earldom from Rögnvald by private arrangement and not as a *lén*, fief, from the king. In 1154, earl Rögnvald held a *húsþing* (a house-thing, summoned by a trumpet, in cases of emergency; a war council), regarding the invasion by earl Erlend and Svein. A *sáttar-fundr*, peace meeting, was held between Svein and the earls, at which it was agreed that Svein should make peace by the payment of a mark of gold to each of the two earls, lose half of his lands and his good longship. In 1155, another *sáttarfundr* was held in St. Magnús' cathedral, in which had been stored the sail of Svein's forfeited longship, and at which earl Rögnvald attended with a broad-axe.¹

¹ In accordance with old Gulapingslög, a *breiðöx* was one of the weapons which had to be borne in a levy by each *ármaðr* and *lendrmaðr*—*breiðöx* or *sverð* (sword), *spjót* (spear) and *skjöldr* (shield)—while each *bóndi* had to be provided with *tvennar tylftir örva ok bogi einn*, two-twelves, i.e., 24, arrows and one bow.

In 1194, Shetland was forfeited to Norway (*skattr* and *skyld*—public taxes and the rents of the earldom landed estate), for the part the earl had in the rebellion against king Sverrir. The estates in Orkney and Shetland of the rebels who fell at Floruvœ were also forfeited, but were redeemable, within three years, by their kinsmen. Shetland was taken under the king's own control, as well as one-half of all the fines in Orkney. After this the *foguti* the king's bailiff, was appointed to Shetland.¹

From the foregoing references we find that as late as 1152, a þing of the *bœndr* was held in Orkney, to which they came from all the isles; a primary assembly, which would have had its *lögrétta*. This was fifty years after the recording of Old Gulathing Law in Norway, where the lawthing of Gulathing was attended by nominated and paid delegates. As Orkney was such a comparatively small place it seems unlikely that provision would have been made for the appointment and payment of delegates, so that the assembly would remain primary.

During 1273-1299 Shetland was in the appanage of duke Hákon, who became king in the latter year.

The next notice we have is of a *lögþing* in Shetland in 1299² (twenty-four years after the adoption of New Gulathing Law), which was attended by the *lögðingismenn*. In 1307, the lawman, eleven men and all the *lögréttumenn* of Shetland held a court [*lögrétta* of the *lögþing*?] at Tingwall, at which the decision was given by the lawman, with the special advice, *ráð*, and consent of *handgengnirmenn* [the eleven?] and *lögréttumenn*.³ The *handgengnirmenn* may have been in the service of the king or the lawman, as underfouds.

In 1379, Shetland was restored to the earl of Orkney. It has not yet been shown on what terms Shetland was handed back. In 1386, the king's steward, *dróttseti*, awarded certain lands in Shetland to the rightful

¹ Sverr. S., 156, 157; Orkn., 231, 235.

² D.N., I., 81.

³ D.N., I., 97.

owners, as they had been illegally taken possession of by Malis Sperra.¹

The earl of Orkney died in 1404, and the next earl, his grandson, was invested in 1434. During this interregnum the earldom of Orkney and lordship of Shetland were given out in *lén*, fief, to various persons. In a grant of a part of Shetland, north of Mawed, in 1412, the grantee received skatt, landskyld and wesel (wattle, O.N. *veizla*, entertainment), with all royal right except *þegnildi*, weregild of a *þegn*, thane or freeman, and *fríðkaup*, the price at which peace had to be bought from the king by one outlawed for manslaughter.²

In 1433, the burgesses of Kirkwall had to observe the statute of the country.³ In the last *lén* of the earldom in 1434,⁴ the earl, as in the *lén* of 1379, had to serve the king with one hundred men-at-arms out of Orkney, and had to be answerable for his faults to the king and council, in accordance with the law of Norway.

The first notice we have of an assembly [*lögrétta* of the lawthing?] in Orkney since sagatime, is of one held before 1438 (either in 1434-1438 or 1404 or before), in the vestry of St. Magnús' cathedral, consisting of sundry goodmen of the country.⁵ Before 1438 (1434-1438 or 1404 or earlier), a *hirðmannastefna* was held by the earl and the 'gentles' of the country regarding a land dispute which had been debated in the above-mentioned meeting [*lögrétta* of the lawthing], and which had been reported to the *hirðmannastefna*, meeting of the earl's bodyguard.

Orkney was wadset by Norway to Scotland in 1468, in the following terms:—

Damus, concedimus, impignoramus ac sub firma hypotheca et pignore imponimus atque hypothecamus omnes et singulas terras nostras insularum Orcaden-sium cum omnibus et singulis juribus, serviciis ac

¹ D.N., I., 366.

² D.N., II., 466.

³ O.S.R., I., 246.

⁴ N.G.L. (anden række), 137.

⁵ O.S.R., I., 45.

justis suis pertinentiis nobis regali jure . . . tenendas et habendas totas et integras terras nostras insularum Orcadensium prædictarum unacum omnibus et singulis customis, profiscuis, libertatibus, commoditatibus ac aliis justis suis pertinentiis, quibuscunque, tam nominatis quam innominatis. etc.¹

(Translation.)

Give, grant, wadset, and under strict hypothec and pledge do set and hypothecate all and sundry our lands of the islands of Orkney, with all and sundry rights, services, and their just pertinents, belonging to us by royal right . . . to hold and to have all and whole our lands of the islands of Orkney aforesaid, together with all and sundry customs, profits, freedoms, commodities and their other just pertinents whatsoever, as well named as not named.

The wadset was redeemable on the payment of the principal sum of 50,000 Rhenish florins (£20,833, Opp. O.Z., xii.), by the king of Norway or his successors. Shetland was wadset in the following year for 8,000 florins (Hvitfeldt, 921).

The *hirðmannastefna*, which was held by the earl before 1438, consisted of his *hirð* or bodyguard, who were appropriately described as the 'gentles' of the country. We have notice of a *hirðmannastefna* held by lord Robert Stewart in 1574, when it is described as a 'sheriffcourt called the hermanstein,' and at which lands were escheated for theft. This latter court consisted of twenty-seven members, including some Shetland landowners. Lord Robert Stewart attempted to revive all the prerogatives of the old Norse régime, and naturally would wish to have his *hirð* or bodyguard, which actually included some Shetlanders, and was therefore not an exclusively Orkney court.

Lord Robert Stewart alleged "himself to be as free lord and heritor of Orkney and Zetland as the king of

P.R. app.; Torfæus' *Orcades* (1697), 195.

Scotland is in his own realm, or the queen of England, or the king of France in France, and makes his vante, that in case he be put at by the king's majesty's authority, to give the hail countrys into the king of Denmark's hands."¹

After 1468, we have the following notices of the lawthing in Orkney and Shetland.

In 1510, a court [lögrétta of the lawthing] was held at Tingwall, which carried out the decree of the [lögrétta of the] lawthing of Orkney; the lawman at this time being lawman of both Orkney and Shetland.² In 1538, a *réttr*, (district) court, was held in Shetland by the lawman, local lawrightmen, *lögréttumenn*, and other good men, whose verdict was afterwards certified as correct by the king's court in Bergen.³ In 1576, it was reported to the royal commission, who were taking evidence as to lord Robert Stewart's oppressions in the islands, that the lawthing of Shetland was the head court of the county in which the assize [*i.e.*, lögrétta] gave decreets and the members of the lawthing were all persons having land, heritage and great *taks*, leases, from the king.⁴ The court book of Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney, 1602-1604,⁵ gives a detailed account of the circuit and head courts in Shetland. In 1538, a lawman of Shetland was appointed by Norway.⁶ There can be little doubt that Norway used every opportunity of keeping alive her right of redeeming the islands, by making concurrent appointments to those made by Scotland and by encouraging insular references to the Norwegian courts.

The exact relationship between the insular and Norwegian king's council and law courts has to be cleared up. As has also been shown, the earl of Orkney was answerable to the king's council in Norway.

¹ Opp. O.Z., 5. ² O.S.R., I., 60. ³ Ibid, 73. ⁴ Opp. O.Z., 44, 58.

⁵ Peterkin's *Notes*, app. Original MS. in the Register House, Edinburgh.

⁶ *Norske Rigsregistranter*, I., 57.

In Orkney, in 1509 and after, we have notices of several "ogangs," district courts,¹ held by the lawman, the justice and the worthiest and best of the land, "landedmen roythmen," or "roythmen and roythmen's sons"; the lawman gave the decree with the advice of the "doomsmen" and, in one instance sealed the decret on behalf of the "roythmen." The lawthing was held in 1509 and after, the members of the court being described as above. After 1519, the members of the lawthing court, *lögrétta*, are merely described as the "assize," as they were later on in Shetland.

With regard to the terms "roythmen" and "roythmen's sons," the terms "royth" and "roythman" were used in Orkney, in 1544² and after, as meaning the right of redeeming óðal, and the person who had that right.³ This is undoubtedly derived from O.N. *ráð*, rule, management, the *ráð* which the óðalsmenn exercised in alienating, as well as in redeeming, their óðul. The same meaning must be attached to the *roythmen* as members of the *lögrétta* of the lawthing, viz., a class of persons who were eligible for nomination as members of the *lögrétta* or lawthing court, in virtue of their being óðalbornir. The obvious explanation is that the members of the lawthing court or assize, *lögrétta*, were *chosen* from the landed men, roythmen and their sons,⁴ which was their property qualification; whereas their character qualification consisted in their being the worthiest, best, and good men. They had to be honest and respectable landowners or persons having the *ráð* or right to alienated estates, and their sons, who were óðalbornir. There is no indication that the term roythman was borrowed from the designation radman or raadman, O.N. *ráðmaðr*, used for a member of the *konungs ráð*, king's council, or the *bæjar ráð*, town

¹ O.S.R., I., 251.² Reg. Gt. Seal, Scot.

O.S.R., I., 259.

⁴ O.S.R., I., 254.

council of Bergen.¹ If such a use of the word had been copied from Norway, one would have expected Shetland to have also done so, considering its closer connexion with the mother country. It would be a contradiction in terms and an absurdity to require that one must be a councillor in order to be eligible for election as a councillor. Orkney may have been under *bjarkeyarréttr*, town law, and Kirkwall may have had a *bæjar ráð*, town council, of which the *ráðmenn*, town councillors, were represented in the lawthing and its lögrétta. But this would not explain the "roythman's son" designation. Technically the term *roythmen* was applicable to all óðalsmenn, and we find their sons on the assize, designated as 'younger.'²

The occurrence of the term lawrightman, *lögrétta-maðr*, in Orkney, puts *ráðmaðr*, councillor, out of court. There is one instance of the "landedmen and roythmen," in an assize, being described as "at that time," a term applied to officials, whereas the term "present at that time" was applied to unofficial persons. This instance occurs in a bungled docket on the back of a doom of the assize of the lawthing in 1516: "The dome of the best landit men in [deleted] and roythmen in Orkna at that *ty* [deleted] tyme"; in which doom it is stated that the doom was dempt before the "justice of Orkney for the time" by 20 "worthy persons" (some of whom were "younger"), who collectively, as "doomsmen," gave their "doom." The docket can have one of three possible interpretations, viz. (1) *landedmen and roythmen, in Orkney at that time, i.e., present in Orkney at that time, "in Orkney" being qualified by "at that time"*; (2) *landedmen and roythmen (in Orkney) at that time*, which would mean

¹ Mackenzie's *Grievances* (1750), reprint, app. ii., iv., and pp. 11, 12, in which the assize of lawthing = *rætmen* = *raadmen*, councillors, and hence the fictitious Orkney and Shetland *raadmen* of modern glossaries.

² *Ibid.*, 252.

that the landowners and roythmen were reckoned as officials, an explanation which would involve a number of absurdities; or (3) *landedmen and roythmen in Orkney*, [*doomsmen* or *assizemen*; or *present*] *at that time*.¹ The original document is in the Record Room, Sheriff Clerk's Office, Kirkwall. The terms "landedmen roythmen," "landedmen and roythmen," "roythmen and roythmen's sons," are all explicit definitions of the qualification of *lögréttumenn*: they had to be landowners *who were óðalsmenn or their sons, i.e., óðalsbœndr*, as opposed to *bœndr* in the possession of bought land, a distinction and qualification which disappeared, with the term *roythmen*, when the assize was packed with persons other than *óðalsmenn*.

Besides the lawthing, ogangs and retts, there were also courts of arbiters and the bailie courts; which latter may have been the continuation of the district-þing. In Shetland the parish foud and bailie were synonymous terms.² The justice of Orkney and the foud, *foguti*, of Shetland, sometimes one and the same person, represented the executive, and were similar to the *sýslumaðr* of Norway. In Shetland the foud was also the receiver of the public taxes and of the rents of the earldom lands.

There were precisely similar officers in both Orkney and Shetland: lawman, justice or foud, underfouds (or bailies) and lawrightmen. The two latter terms are seldom used in Orkney. The Shetland lawrightman, in 1576 and before, is described as an officer in every isle and parish, who was chosen by the common consent and election of the foud and commons, as their procurator and defender, to keep the weights and measures by which their taxes were paid, and to see

¹ As '*for the time*,' is the usual official, and '*present at that time*,' the usual unofficial designation, and as the docket term, '*at that time*,' is part of the latter, probably '*present*' has been omitted.

²Opp. O.Z., 58.

that the taxes were justly measured. He was also specially chosen, for his discretion and judgment, to be chancellor of the assize in all courts, where he had to settle any legal questions and show the law, use and practice thereon, and to inform the assize and to pronounce decreets. For this service he was paid by the commons.¹ This payment may have been direct, or it may have been provided for in the skatt. The greater part of the skatt in Orkney and Shetland was undefined and was paid simply as butter-, malt-skatt, etc. Although *leiðangr*, war tax, is not specifically mentioned in the Orkney skatt, it, as the fundamental skatt, must of course be included in the general term skatt. One of the taxes paid in Orkney is called "forcop," *fararkauþ*, travelling expenses, the term used in Gulathing Law for the wages paid to the levy. This term has hitherto been, incorrectly, explained as *þingfararkauþ*, the Icelandic term for the travelling expenses paid to those attending a þing; whereas the Norwegian terms are *þingfararfé* in Frostathing, and *fé* in Gulathing.

As regards the "Lawbook" of Orkney and Shetland, nothing is known of its existence after the judicial reference to it in 1602.²

It has been shown that Orkney and Shetland, so far as evidence goes, were under the same code, corresponding to New Gulathing Law, which would have made it possible for the same man to act as lawman, or expounder of the law, in both groups, which we know was the case.

In 1611, after the downfall of Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney, the Scottish privy council abrogated all

¹ Opp. O.Z., 18, 27.

² Mackenzie's *Grievances of O. and S.*, 6-7. The earl of Orkney referred to it in 1611, as "the auld Dans lawis by which they were governed." Peterkin's *Notes*, App. 86. The bishop, in 1642, remarked that óðal succession was in accordance with "the law of Norroway," P.R., III., 20.

foreign laws in Orkney and Shetland,¹ as well as certain specified laws, "whether they be established by acts and ordinances or received by custom and observation of the country,"² and declared that the islands were to be subject to the law of Scotland. A commission was issued to the bishop of Orkney and another to convocate and assemble the whole inhabitants to concur and assist them; to make, prescribe and set down acts, statutes and ordinances for keeping the inhabitants under his majesty's obedience, and to hold sheriff and justice courts.³ In 1615, the sheriffs depute held a court at which certain acts were passed by the sheriffs with advice and consent of the gentlemen suitors of court and commons, all with one advice, consent and assent.⁴

In 1623, acts were passed by the sheriffs with the advice and consent of the gentlemen and bailies of parishes and suitors of court.⁵ In 1628, acts were passed by the sheriffs depute with consent of the whole gentlemen and suitors of court and commonalty present for the time.⁶

These courts would naturally be constituted and conducted on the same lines as the lawthing, their immediate predecessor, which they replaced; a general assembly of the commons, a primary legislature, by whose consent acts were adopted, while legal decisions were given by an assize (*lögrétta*) chosen from the assembly.⁷

The office of lawrightman (*lögréttumaðr*) appears, latterly, to have been divided into two distinct offices, held by different persons, viz., that of (1) a parochial "lawrightman," who looked after the interest of the commons in his district, and (2) a member of the assize (*lögrétta*) of the lawthing, chosen at the lawthing. Probably a fresh assize was chosen for each sitting of the court, or for each case.

¹ *Peterkin's Notes*, App. 64.

² *Ibid.* 69.

³ *Ibid.* 66.

⁴ *Barry's Orkney*, reprint, 1867, 412.

⁵ *Ibid.* 421.

⁶ *Ibid.* 424.

⁷ *Ibid.* 420.

The following questions remain to be answered: Was there one manuscript lawbook for both Orkney and Shetland, or had each its own copy? Was the lawbook of 1602 in old Norse, Danish or English? If it was in old Norse, had it marginal explanations in English? The possibility of a translation having been made seems highly probable, especially in Orkney, where Norse became generally extinct at an early date. The rentals of the earldom were translated *circa* 1490, if not earlier, and several old Norse charters bear a contemporary note, "put this into Inglis."¹ As the lawrightman in Shetland had to "show the law" to his parochial assize, it seems to be self-evident that each lawrightman must have had a copy of the Lawbook, in the same way as the later bailies had each to have a copy of the Acts of Bailliary (Barry's *Orkney*, 1808, 469, 482).

TAXATION : SKATTR.

Skatt is assessed in Orkney and Shetland on the ounceland, *eyrisland*, which is subdivided into 18 pennylands, and each pennyland into 4 farthinglands. In Norway the *eyrir*, ounce, of money = 30-60 pennies = $\frac{1}{8}$ mark of silver. The English and Scottish mark = 13s. 4d., of which $\frac{1}{8}$ = 20 pence. The Orkney ounce of 18d. may be explained from the fact that a Shetland mark (paid in produce) was reckoned equal to 12 shillings, of which $\frac{1}{8}$ = 18d. The ounce, *eyrir*, in *eyrisland*, and the penny, *penningr*, in pennyland undoubtedly represent the amount of the original land rent. Skatt was only assessed on cultivated land, and it ceased so long as the land was not cultivated.

In 895, Orkney was fined 60 gold marks, as weregild for the slaughter of the king's son. It is not stated whether Shetland had to pay a share. This sum apparently represented the purchase value of the whole

¹ O.S.R., I., 57.

estates in Orkney, or in Orkney and Shetland, as otherwise the óðalsmenn would scarcely have given up their óðul as a *quid pro quo*. Sixty gold marks were equivalent to 480 silver marks = 3,840 silver aurar. A very rough estimate of the eyrislands in Orkney, in 1500-1595, gives about 170, which is probably much too little. If the eyrir in eyrisland represents the rent value in 895, then the 170 eyrir \times $22\frac{1}{2}$ years' purchase would equal the amount of the fine paid to Harald. In Denmark, *circa* 1200, land was valued at 24 years' purchase.¹ Of course it is just possible that Harald's fine did not amount to the full purchase value of the estates, so that Shetland may have been included; but it seems unlikely that Shetland would have been fined for a crime committed in Orkney by Orkneymen.

It is not known how many eyrislands there are in Shetland. In 1628, there were 13,392 marks of land²; and one pennyland, or $\frac{1}{18}$ eyrisland, was valued at 8 marks in 1299.³ On the assumption that the average value of a pennyland was four marks, as in Orkney, this would give 181 eyrislands in Shetland, or more than in Orkney. In the beginning of the 17th century the relative valuation of Orkney and Shetland was regarded as 2:1, for the purpose of assessing Scottish land tax³; in 1912 the ratio was 1.34:1; in 1881, 1.91:1; in 1861, 1.57:1.⁴ *Eyrisland* is explained in Fritzner's *Ordbog*, as land paying an eyrir of rent.

If, on the other hand, the eyrisland were a gold purchase-price valuation of Orkney and Shetland in 895, corresponding with the amount of Harald's fine, then the Orkney eyrislands \times 170 + the Shetland eyrislands \times 181 = 351, as compared with the 480 gold aurar of Harald's fine. On this supposition, and assuming that 129 eyrislands had gone astray, the difference between the gold valuation of 895 and the later sterling

¹ *Orkney and Shetland Miscellany*, I., 118.

² Goudie's *Shetland*, 177.

³ Peterkin's *Notes*, 153.

⁴ Tudor's *Orkneys*, 202. 412.

silver mark valuation,¹ is as 1 : 72; i.e., 1 gold eyrisland = 1 silver mark in 895, whereas the average value of the eyrisland in sterling silver marks, was 72 (eyrisland = 18 pennylands × average 4 marks). The lowest silver valuation was 18 marks, and the highest 360. The burnt silver mark valuation of Orkney was the English mark of 13s. 4d. (D.N. II., 146, A.D., 1329; *Proceeds. S.A.Scot.*, 1884, 273). In England, 20s. in 1329 = 66s. in present coins (see McCulloch's *Comm. Dict.*, s.v. *Coins*), so that the English mark of 1329 would be = 44s. in present coins. Dasent calculated that the Norse mark of the 10th century = 36 shillings sterling (*Burnt Njal*, II., 404), but it was probably of the same value as the English mark which was current in Orkney in 1329. Assuming that the eyrisland valuation is that of the silver-rent in 872, then the rent of an eyrisland in 872 was one eyrir, or $\frac{1}{8}$ old Norse burnt mark silver = 5s. 6d. stg., as compared with 29s. 4d. sterling in 1500, in Orkney, i.e., as 1 : 5.3, an increase which seems reasonable. The latter calculation is arrived at as follows: the eyrisland of 18d. lands was valued in 1500, on the average at 72 sterling marks silver (4 marks per d.) on which rent was charged, on the average, at the rate of 10d. Scots, and the ratio of Sterling to Scots, at that time was 1 : $3\frac{3}{8}$;² so that 72 marks × 10d. Scots = 720d. Scots = 200d. stg. = 29s. 4d. stg., in present coins, silver rent per eyrisland.

The eyrisland valuation must have been made in 872, for the assessment of the skatt which Harald imposed for the support of the government of his earl. The ounceland, or *tirung*, and pennyland of the Hebrides must be explained in the same way.

It can be proved by the rental of 1500 (P.R., I), that *kvíar*, Orkn. *quoys*, folds or enclosures, in the com-

¹ The earliest record of the mark valuation is in 1299, O.S.R., I., 38.

² *Proceeds. S. A. Scot.*, 1884, p. 255. McCulloch's *Comm. Dict.*, s.v., *coins*.

mons, which presumably had been brought under cultivation after the original eyrisland valuation had been made, were also valued and included in the skatt-roll. It is obvious that such new land would not have been let off skatt-free in the early vigour of the Norse fiscal system. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that Harald's fine amounted to the price of the taxable land in Orkney in 895, and was calculated, on the basis of the then existing eyrisland or rental valuation, at twenty-four years' purchase. This would give 160 eyrislands in Orkney, in 895, or about 10 less than in 1500, which seems a reasonable allowance for the subsequent increase of cultivated and taxable land.¹

The value of the marks of land in Orkney had evidently decreased considerably in value by 1500, when land, formerly worth a mark of 13s. 4d. stg. (the sterling mark of 1329 would be = 25s. stg. in 1500), was let for a payment of produce, worth 10d. and 12d. Scots, = 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ d. and 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ d. stg. Whereas in 1602, $\frac{1}{2}$ mark (6s. 8d. stg.) of land was sold for 43s. 4d. stg.;² and in 1603, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ marks (£4 6s. 8d.) was sold for £20 stg.³ At this time sterling to Scots money was 1 : 12, and the sterling mark of 1329 = 41s. 4d. stg., so that the land was sold for about double its mark value.

¹ Comparative value of Orkney in 895 and 1912 :—

A.D.	Rent.	Value at 24 years' purchase.
895.	£44.	£1056.
1912.	£87,920.	£2,110,080, including Kirkwall and Stromness.
1912.	£65,254.	£1,566,096, excluding Kirkwall and Stromness; Banks and Bú of Orphir 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. land.
895.	£0 2s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	£3 7s. 10d.
1906.	£85.	£2,040.

Including the towns, Orkney was about 2,000, and excluding the towns, 1,483 times more valuable in 1912 than 895; whereas the Bú of Orphir was only 601 times more valuable; but Orkney now includes a large area of new land.

² O.S.R., I., 272.

³ Ibid., 221.

The earl's acquisition of the óðul in Orkney in exchange for the fine which he paid for the óðalsmenn placed them in the same position as the óðalsmenn in Norway, where Harald appropriated all the óðul and the óðalsmenn became his vassals and tenants. In both cases the óðul were ultimately restored to the óðalsmenn, in order to gain their support. The *Heimskringla*, in one version, states that Harald himself took possession of the óðul in Orkney, and gave them to earl Einar as a *lén* or fief. Pennylands were, at a later date, valued at their purchase price in burnt silver marks of 13s. 4d. sterling each, and on this valuation land rent was charged in Orkney down till 1600. The eyrislands of Orkney are mentioned in 1263.¹ In Shetland the marks of land ceased to be used as the uniform basis of rent charge as early as the sixteenth century, when land was leased at so many pennies per mark, the penny representing the actual currency value of the rent paid in produce. This method continued in use in Shetland until the eighteenth century. The pennyland and eyrisland valuation of Shetland is now lost; there is only one record of a pennyland in Papey, in 1299, when its purchase price was valued at eight silver marks (= 1 gold mark), on which the rent was then charged, as in Orkney.²

The purchase value in marks of the pennylands in Orkney varies considerably. Land in the north isles had not increased so much in value as in the Mainland (Hrossey). This is undoubtedly accounted for by the fact that the north isles (excepting Rousey, Edey and Westrey), are flat and without heath or moorland, and

¹ Hák. S., 365-366, where *eyrisland* is translated, *geldable land and crown estate*!

² O.S.R., I., 38; *Old-Lore Miscellany*, I., 117-119. It is assumed that the mark valuation was made previous to 1299 and continued unaltered; but it is possible that it may have been amended from time to time. This valuation was only used for charging rent and for the division of óðal inheritance, except in Shetland, where it was latterly also used for tithing purposes.

consequently more easily cultivated. They would have been cultivated to their full capacity when the first valuation was made. Whereas the Mainland, with its heaths, hills, streams and alluvial soil, provided, as it still does, considerable scope for breaking in new land capable of improvement. In Sandey, as its name implies, sand drift formed a serious impediment to its cultivation. The relative value of Orphir (Mainland parish), to Sandey (north isle), is in pennylands, as 1 : 7, whereas the present rental ratio is 1 : 2. When the markland valuation was made, the average value of a pennyland in Sandey was $1\frac{1}{2}$ marks, and in Orphir 8 marks or over.

ÓÐAL LAW: ÓÐALSRÉTTR.

Five generations of continuous ownership of land converted the estate into an óðal, its owner into an óðalsmaðr, and his son óðalborinn. The óðal could not be alienated without being first offered to the nearest heir, and, when alienated, it could be redeemed again.

Before 1275, óðul were inherited equally by the sons only; but, after that date, daughters inherited one-half of a son's share, and the eldest son had the first choice of the head house, *höfuðból*, *höfuðbæli*; and this was the law in Orkney and Shetland until the sixteenth century.

On the introduction of Christianity, the church speedily got rid of the inability of the óðalsmenn to bequeath land and goods to the church, by the enactment of laws which permitted óðalsmenn to give a *höfuðtiund* and *ávaxtartiund*, a tithe of stock given once in one's lifetime (usually on the deathbed), and an annual tithe of income. Latterly the law allowed óðalsmenn to give away *tiundargjöf*, a tenth of inherited land and loose goods, and *fjórðungsgjöf*, a fourth of self-acquired land and loose goods, terms which appear in Orkney charters as "tiend penny and the ferd." These

gifts could be left to anyone, and were redeemable in the usual way.

Upon the death of an óðalsmaðr, a court was held on the seventh day afterwards, and accordingly called a *sjaund*, at which the property was divided.

As early as 1544, primogeniture crept into Orkney, fortified by crown charters,¹ and is now general.

CURRENCY: VERÐAURAR.

In 1500, we have the last relic of butter currency in Orkney, when 21d. of butter=1 spann.² In Shetland, butter and cloth currency was in use until the seventeenth century; an ell of vaðmál being = 2d.-vaðmál, and 4 marks weight of butter=1d.-butter, and 1 lispund of butter=6d.-butter.³ In 1575, 2d.-vaðmál=2s. Scots.⁴

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES: VÁG OK MÆLING.

The information on this subject is too meagre and uncertain to arrive at any safe conclusion at present. The only certainty is that the weights and measures were fixed by law in Orkney and Shetland in 1828, and they differ in amount.

The spann, butter measure, of 21d. butter, is mentioned in Orkney in 1500, as equivalent in current market value to 4 lispunds of butter; and 20 lispunds of butter as equivalent in value to a barrel of butter. The lispund, *lifspund*, *linspund*, and the setting, *séttungr*, are, contrary to Norwegian custom, each divided into 24 marks. As in Norway, 6 settings=1 meil (*mæli*).⁵

In Norway the bismarapund=24 marks; a subdivision which probably got transferred to the lispund and setting in Orkney and Shetland. But here we must leave the subject, which can only be elucidated by a

¹ Gt. Seal Reg., Scot.

² P.R., No. I.

³ MS. rental with Viking Society; Goudie's *Shetland*, 178.

⁴ Opp. O.Z., 27.

⁵ P.R., No. I.

large and systematic accumulation of facts, and by a thorough examination and study of the weights and measures of Norway and the Hebrides.

SOCIETY : FOLK.¹

Classes.—In *Gulaþingslög*, circa 1100, society was grouped into five main classes: (1) thralls, (2) freed thralls, (3) free men and freeholders, (4) noblemen; feoffees of crown lands, (5) earls and king. The last four classes were further divided into seven grades, *stig*, so far as the payment of wergild, *bót*, was concerned.

wergild
ratio:

1. unfree, *úfrjáls*: *þræll*, pl. *þrælar*, thrall.
2. freed-man: *leysingi*, pl. *leysingiar*, freed thrall:—
 - (a) *leysingi* of the first four generations, who was still dependent on the original owner. 1
 - (b) *leysingssönnr*, the fifth generation, when *þyrmsl*, dependence, on the original owner ceased. 2
3. *bóndi*, pl. *bændr*:—
 - (a) a tenant of a farm, or the owner of *kaupajörð*, bought land, as opposed to *óðalsjörð*, freehold. 3
 - (b) freeholder, franklin, *hauldr*, *höldr*, pl. *hauldar*, *óðalsmaðr*, *óðalborinn maðr*; land became *óðal* when it was inherited from five forefathers, in the sixth generation.²

¹ N.G.L., see also Seebohm's *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*.

² In Seebohm's *Tribal custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, 1903, 273, he quotes from *Gulathing Law*, 270, an incidental reference to *óðal* which is there described as land which *aþi* has left to *aþi*, and which his translator has rendered: 'grandfather has left to grandfather.' *Aþi* in this instance means ancestor (see N.G.L., V., Gloss. s.v., and Fritzner, s.v., (3)). The full definition of *óðal* is given in *Gulathing Law*, 266.

4. nobleman, *lendborinn*, *lendrmaðr*, landed-man (formerly *hersir*), one holding a *lén*, fief, of the king. 12
5. highborn man, *tignarmaðr*:—
 - (a) *jarl*, earl, holding a *lén*, fief, of the king. 24
 - (b) *konungr*, king. 48

To the titled classes the *hertogi*, duke, was added later on. The titles of *barún* and *riddari*, baron and knight were conferred, in 1277, on the lendirmen, and the *skutilsveinn* in the king's *hirð*, bodyguard, who were styled *herra*, lord. *Herra* was also applied to bishops, and *síra* to priests.

In accordance with Old Borgarthings Law these distinctions of class and grade were applied to the dead as well as to the living. The churchyard was divided into four quarters for burial. Lendirmenn were buried east and south-east of the church, under the eaves if they had taken part in the building of the church, otherwise they were buried in the *boendr's* quarter. Hauldar and their children were buried next to the lendirmenn, and the *þrælar*, thralls, next to the churchyard wall.¹

The following are the saga references to society, officials, personal appearance, etc., etc.

As regards personal appearance, special attention is always directed to dark and swarthy persons, who are sometimes described as unlucky looking, and to very fair persons with flaxen hair. The inference being that the average islander was brown-haired, and not a pure Scandinavian.

¹ In the Oxford Icelandic *Dict.*, s.v., *Höldr*, is given a description of the Norwegian graveyard, which concludes with a statement that 'the höld had right to twice as much,' etc.; in the *Dict.* after *nearest to the wall* insert sources *N.G.L.*, I., 344, 359, 368, and then commence *In cases of landnám*, i.e., *fines for illegal possession or use of land*, the *höld* had right to twice as much, etc., and correct the source to *N.G.L.*, 44.

In 880, earl Hallad got weary of the earldom, and took up his *haudds rétt*, óðal right, and went back to Norway. When he resigned his *lén*, fief, of the earldom he was only a hauldr or óðalborinn, as there was nothing else for him, unless the king gave him another lén and made him a lendrmaðr in Norway.

Earl Torf-Einar, 880-900, the famous skald (whose name was given by Snorri to a metre called *Torf-Einars-hátt*), after he had an eagle carved on the back of Hálfðán, the son of Harald hárfagri, and sacrificed him to Óðin, sung a song in which he referred to the höldar who had warned him of the danger, *hætta*, he had incurred. The Orkney óðalsmenn or böendr were therefore called hauldar.

For this crime king Harald, as already mentioned, exacted a payment, *gjald*, from the islands. Earl Torf-Einar paid the fine, in security for which the böendr gave him their óðul. The rich, *auðigr*, böendr agreed, because they thought that they would be able to redeem them, while the poor, *snauðr*, böendr had no money to pay the gjald.

We have here a clear statement that the böendr of Orkney (and Shetland?) were hauldar or óðalbornir. The designation bóndi is applied, throughout the saga, to the óðalbornir or óðalsmenn of the islands. The Scottish höfðingi, Summerled, is called a höldr, in 1157. The böendr of Shetland are called *þegnar*, thanes or freemen, in a verse.

Earl Einar took the earldom as a *lén*, or fief, from the king, and was not required to pay any skatt (as was paid by the earls in Norway), on account of the viking raids to which the islands were subject.

Throughout the existence of the Norse earldom, 872-1468, it was always held as a fief from the king of Norway, each earl being invested. The title was not strictly hereditary, as it was conferred, at will, by the king, on any member or connexion of the family, or on another family altogether. Earl Sigurð, *circa* 995,

restored the óðul to the boendr for services rendered to him in Scotland. He had a *hirð*, bodyguard, which numbered among its members, Helgi and Grím Njálssons and Kári. He had also a *sýslumaðr*, steward, in Caithness and Stroma. The *bætr*, wergild, awarded by the king for the slaughter of earl Einar, in 1026, was fixed as for three lendirmenn, instead of two as in the above list.

Earl Þorfinn, who ruled 1014-1064, was half a Scotsman, his mother being a daughter of the king of Scotland. He had the whole earldom to manage after 1028 and to own 1030-1035, the period of king Knút's reign over Norway. He had his *hirð*, bodyguard, and treated them and many other *rikismenn*, mighty men, exceptionally well, as he furnished them with meat and drink all the winter through, and not merely at Yule, as was the custom of other earls and kings, so that no man needed to go to a *skytningr*, a guild or club.

Earl Rögnvald, 1045, brought certain matters before his *vinir* and *ráðgjafar*, friends and councillors. A *ráðgjafi* was one of the council of a king or princely person.

When earl Rögnvald burnt earl Þorfinn's bú, in 1046, the women and the *úfrjáls*, unfreemen, *i.e.*, thralls, were allowed to escape, but the *hirðmenn* were burnt in the house, "as they would be no better to him alive than dead." However, the earl escaped in the dark.

Frequently a *sáttar-fundr*, peacemeeting, was held for the settlement of private disputes. During 1098-1102, Sigurð, the nine-year-old son of king Magnús, was made earl of Orkney, when the two ruling earls were banished to Norway. The king provided him with a *ráðuneyti*, council.

During king Magnús' expedition to Scotland and England, Magnús, afterwards earl and saint, acted in his *hirð* as *skutilsveinn*.

On the succession of Sigurð to the throne, the sons

of the banished earls who had since died were made earls. Both of these earls were married to Scottish-wives. Among the earl's men, in 1116, are mentioned his *merkismaðr*, standard bearer, and *steikari*, cook. The *merkismaðr* of the king ranked as a *lendrmaðr*. When earl Hákon's *merkismaðr* declined to execute St. Magnús, his *steikari* was ordered to do so. There is a distinction drawn between the *ríkismen* and *boendr* who attended a thing in 1137; the difference may have been one of wealth, as previously mentioned, *auðigr* and *snauðr*. There were *njósnaermen* (news-men), spies, in those days. The bishop, on one occasion, acted as *meðalferðarmaðr*, intercessor, between the earls. There were two *gildirmenn*, great men, in 1128, Jón vængr (wing), at Uppland in Háey, and his brother Ríkarð, at Brekka in Strjónsey.

In 1135, the earl had his *skutilsveinn* and *kertisveinn* page and torchbearer, at feasts. The *skutilsveinn* was one of the *hirð*, bodyguard.

Two earls shared the earldom in 1139, and it was arranged that one should have *ráð*, rule, and that they should have only one *hirð* between them.

Earl Rögnvald, the saint and skald, took into his *hirð*, Hall, the Icelandic skald, and they collaborated in the composition of the famous "Háttalykill hinn forni," a key to metres, and used five *vísur*, strophes, to each *hátt*, metre, but the *kvæði*, song, was thought too long, and now two are sung to each *hátt*. Other Icelandic skalds were also taken into his *hirð*. This earl had his *sýslumaðr*, steward, in Caithness, to collect his revenues.

Svein, the last of the vikings, who was latterly a *hirðmaðr* of earl Rögnvald, had in his house a *heimakona*, housemaid, and *húskarlar*, menservants, followers or bodyguard. He had also a *landseti* or *húsbóndi*, a tenant of one of his farms. The earl's and Svein's *húskarlar* may have been their *hirð*, and not merely menservants; because this term is sometimes applied

even to the king's *hirð*. When Svein and earl Erlend met unexpectedly, at a time when they happened to be at feud with each other, they endeavoured to settle their dispute on the spot. But as the earl was not accompanied by his *hirð* and *ráðuneyti*, bodyguard and council, Svein offered the services of his own *fylgð*, followers or bodyguard, and *ráðuneyti*.¹ This gives a good idea of the status of an Orkney *ríkismaðr*, *göfugr maðr* or *gœðingr*, of the period,

Other leading men, such as Þorbjörn klerk, had a *sveitungr* or *fylgðarmenn*, a following of men.

The designation *gœðingr* denotes a man of *gæði*, wealth. In 1064, the *earl's* *gœðingar* are mentioned. Earl Rögnvald had the bishop and many of *his* *gœðingar* at his Yule feast. Svein's revenues in Caithness, in 1126, are called *his* *gæði*. In 1153, the *gœðingar* went into two bands and took sides with the two earls. In 1128, it is remarked that there were many *göfugir menn*, noblemen, in Orkney, of the stock of the earls, who were all *gœðingar* of earl Pál. In 1136, earl Pál summoned the *gœðingar* and asked council. He had a great feast with *his* *gœðingar*. The *earl's* *gœðingar* came to the earl when the danger beacons were lit. There is a reference in Fms. vi., 442, to the king's *stallari* and *other* *gœðingar*, and x, 303, to the king's *borð* and *gœðingar*. The conclusion seems inevitable that the term *gœðingar* was applied in Orkney to the earl's *hirðmenn*, the "gentles" of a later period. At any rate they were the wealthy *óðalbornin*, and of the stock of the earls. A *gœðingr* was described in 1159, as of the earl's kin, and the *göfgastr maðr*, most worshipful by birth, in the earl's *lið*, troops. They are always called the *earl's* *gœðingar* and of *his* kin; possibly they had grants, during the earl's life, of portions of the earldom lands at *veizlu*, in return for which they would have to support him in battle and to entertain him when on circuit, corresponding with the king's *lendirmenn*. As

¹ The translation of Orkn. is bad here.

the earl only held the earldom for life, in fief from the king, he could only grant portions of it, *at veizlu*, during his tenure.

A Shetland *búandi* (= *bóndi*), in 1137, had a *leigu-maðr*, servant; and *man-frelsi*, giving a thrall his freedom, is mentioned.

An *ármaðr*, steward, also appears in the earl's service. A *bóndi* in Caithness was described as *göfugr*, noble.

In 1154, St. Magnús' cathedral was used as a sanctuary.

Harald Thorbjörn addressed earl Rögnvaldr as *herra* in 1139-48, a title only applied to kings and earls at that time. In 1277, knights and barons were created in Norway, to whom the title of *herra* was given.

The king's *foguti*, bailiff, appears in Shetland, when it was annexed to Norway, in 1194, and the king sent his *befalingsmen*,¹ officers, to Orkney and Shetland in 1210.

In 1273-1299, Shetland was in the appanage of *hertogi*, duke, Hákon, afterwards king of Norway.

There were no *lendirmenn* in Orkney and Shetland, as the earl was sole feoffee, but their place in society and in the government of the earldom would be taken by the rich and leading *óðals-bœndr*,—the *ríkismenn*, *gœðingar*, etc., who probably represented the earls in their respective districts.

Besides the political divisions of classes, it will have been already observed that there were then, as now, a multiplicity of social distinctions, even in one class. It has already been mentioned that, as early as 895, the *bœndr* were divided into rich and poor, as well as the earls' kin, chiefs, great men and such like. For matrimonial purposes there would, undoubtedly, have

¹ Orkn. 236: Peder Clausön Undals Danish translation (*circa* 1600) of the lost *Böglunga sögur*; at this time (1210) the term *befalingsman* does not occur in Norway. The term used in Svrr. S. is *síglumenn*.

been still further discrimination observed, having regard to family associations. The islands must have been a veritable storehouse of genealogical lore, seeing that five generations had to be traced back to claim óðal right, and four for a freed thrall family to claim to be freeborn. In Frostathinglaw, a family of thrall origin had to trace eight generations, in order to become árborinn. The law required these genealogies to be proved by witnesses in court.

As regards the óðals-boendr, they were all, rich and poor, members of their primary lawthing, and eligible for nomination as members of the lögrétta—the humble owner working his own patch of ground, and the rich owner with his estate let out to tenants—and, as such, they were indiscriminately, rich and poor, described as *góðir-menn*; good men, *i.e.*, good, honest and respectable men; whereas the rich, the well-born and leading men, or rulers, who were members of the *hirðmannastefna*, were, as such, appropriately described as the “gentles” of the country. The *hirðmannastefna*, which originally was concerned with court ceremonial, latterly, in Orkney, acted as a judicial assembly, over which the earl presided.

The inborn faculty for genealogy was maintained in Shetland until the nineteenth century, when it is told that some families had oral genealogies going back for centuries, which had been handed down from generation to generation.

Living.—In the saga we have descriptions of homesteads—*skáli*, hall; *stofa*, parlour; *bakhús*, bakehouse; *bygghús*, bigghouse, barn; *brunnr*, well; *ljóri*, an opening in the roof for light and for the escape of smoke from the *langeldar*, longfires, in the centre of the hall floor; when the fires were not burning the *ljóri* was covered with a *skjá-vindauga*, skin window, formed of a *skjá-grind*, a frame, covered with *skjall*, a membrane or skin, to admit light; walls were hung with *tjald*, tapestry, with mythological subjects.

There were *skytningar*, clubs or guilds, and Kirkwall was a *kaupstaðr*, merchant town, in 1137. The earls wore kyrtils and gilded helmets and had underclothing of *lin-klæði*, linen.

Bread-breaking was performed as a peace token. Brewing took place before Yule, when feasts were held and solemn memorial toasts drunk out of horns, *kapp-drykkja*. Evening meals, with drinking after, were the fashion.

Earl Rögnvald indulged in harp-playing and in extemporising poetry. Among games mentioned are *mann-jöfnuðr*, man-matching, comparing which is the better of two, frequently ending in bloodshed; *tafl*, draughts.

Among sports: otter (*otr*) hunting, hare (*héri*) hunting, grouse (*heiðar-hæna*) shooting, in 1154, in Orkney, and deer hunting in Caithness.

Ships.—In the mythical part of the saga we are told of a *stjórnfastskip*, a ship with the rudder fixed, a term used again in 1098, also *bakborði*, larboard, as opposed to *stjórnborði*, starboard, which is mentioned in 1152. The following notices are arranged chronologically:—

880: *stafnbúi*, forecastle men (*stafn*, stem, bow or stern—*framstafn*, the bow, *aptrstafn*, the stern). The term occurs again in 1136, with *frambyggvar*, bow-sitters. The gangway leading to the bow was called *frambyggja*.

1029: *langskip*, longship; *framan siglu*, before the mast; *sigla*, mast; *segl*, sail; *stafnlé*, a grappling hook (*lé*, a scythe); *ár*, oar; *lypting*, poop, a raised place (castle) on the poop.

1046: *bátr*, boat; *háls*, the bow or neck of a boat; *andæfa*, to paddle a boat against tide and wind to prevent drifting, modern dialect *ando*.

1047: *tvitug-sessa*, twenty-oared ship (*sessa*, a seat).

1098: *fyrirrúm*, the first cabin in the after part, next the lypting.

1136: *þiljur* (planks), the deck; *smá skip*, small ships; *sexæringr*, six-oared boat, modern Shetland *sixareen*; *veiðar-færi*, fishing tackle.

1137: *byrðingr*, a merchant ship, a ship of burden; *skúta*, a small craft, cutter.

1148: *skipstjórnarmaðr*, ship steerer, captain, skipper; *þritugt at rúma-tali*, a ship with thirty rooms, seats or divisions, for sixty rowers; *búið skip*, ornamented ship; *hálf-fertugt at rúma-tali*, a ship with thirty-five rooms, for seventy rowers, and *gulli lagt allir enni-spænir ok veðrvitar ok víða annars-staðar búið*, gilded carved heads and weather-vane and many other parts ornamented; *dreki* (a dragon), a ship of war, with a dragon's head as beak, and *höfuðin ok krókar aptir mjök gullbúið*, the head and tail or coils aft much gilded, and *hlýr-birt*, stained on the bows, and painted above the water line.

1152: *drómundr*, a warship, in the Mediterranean.

1154: *reiði*, tackle, including sails; *eptir-bátr*, after boat, a cock boat of a ship.

1158: *tjald*, a tent or awning on board ship.

Beliefs.—Torf-Einar slew a viking in the ninth century and gave him to the *troll*, trolls; he made an Orkneyman cut an *örn*, eagle, on the back of Hálfván hálegg with a *sverð*, sword, and *skera*, cut, the *rif*, ribs, all from the *hryggr*, spine, and *draga*, draw, there out the *lungu*, lungs, and *gaf*, gave, him to Óðin for his *sigr*, victory; after which he let cast Hálfván's *haugr*, how, when he sung: "The Norns have ruled it rightly." In 995 earl Sigurð digri and the Orkneyingar were asserted by Olaf Tryggvason *trúa*, to believe, in *ýmislig skurðgoð*, various idols or 'carved gods.' When the king desired *skíra*, to baptise, the earl, the latter preferred to abide by the *átrunaðr*, faith, and the *siðr*, religion, of his *frændr*, kinsmen, and *forfeðr*, forefathers (Orkn., 313, quoting *Flateyjarbók*, ch. 12). A *spámaðr*, *spæman*, *forneskjumaðr*, sorcerer, or *visindamaðr*, wizard, was consulted by earl Hákon Pálsson,

in 1090-94, about getting *hamingja*, good luck, and hearing his *forlög*, future fate, by *forneskja* or *fjölkyngi*, witchcraft. Heathen sacrifice, *blót*, is referred to.

Svein brjóstreip, a *hirðmaðr* of earl Pál, was *fornmjök*, versed in old lore or witchcraft, and had constantly *úti setið* and *sat úti um nóttina*, sat out at night as a wizard (at the cross-roads), which is described as *úbótaverk*, a crime, in N.G.L. Svein preferred witchcraft to attending midnight mass on Yule eve. The slaughter of Svein was welcomed by the bishop as *landhreinsan*, a cleansing of the land, a term used in Gulating Law for clearing the land of miscreants.

Society after Saga times.—The last Norse earls in the male line were already half Scottish in 1206; and numerous Scottish relatives and friends of theirs came to Orkney. As regards Scottish marriages, like rulers like people. After 1206, the Scottish earls ruled. From that time till 1400, and later, is more or less a blank, except certain misdeeds of the bishops, an elopement, rival claimants to the earldom, and clergy translated from Norway to Orkney and Shetland. In 1347, king Magnús Eiríksson bequeathed, to St. Magnús' cathedral, a chasuble, dalmatic tunicle and a cope.¹ The king of England complained to Norway about the bishop of Moray, the excommunicated adherent of Robert the Bruce, being harboured in Orkney²; and later on, Robert the Bruce, who, tradition says, himself took refuge in Orkney, in turn complained about one of his fugitives being received there.³ An agreement, in Norse, drawn up in 1369, between the bishop and the representative of the king of Norway, during an interregnum in the earldom, gives some insight into the social condition of the islands at that time.⁴ It was agreed that the bishop and the *rikast menn*, noblest men, in Orkney and Shetland, should be first and fore-

¹ D.N., V., 149.

² D.N., XIX., 544.

³ D.N., V., 63. See also II., 98; XIX., 594.

⁴ D.N., I., 308.

most in all ráð, councils, henceforth as regarded the king, church and people, according to the laws and *landssiðir*, customs of the country, and that the bishop should have *godirmen* (O.N. *góðir menn*), good, honest men, *inlenzkir*, born in, Orkney and Shetland, at þjóna, to serve him, as the custom was with other bishops in Norway.

The islands were evidently, at this early period, suffering from Scottish adventurers. It is significant that of the twenty-four leading men who were present at the making of that agreement, many had Scottish names, including the archdeacon of Orkney, a canon, and several clergy. Only two had Norwegian names, Gudbrand Andresson and Olave Skutt, while Sigurd of Paplay may be the only native man among the lot.

The wardrobe and belongings of a Shetland gentleman of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, sir David Sinclair, great foud of Shetland, captain of the king's castle in Bergen, etc., are set forth in his will of 1506; *inter alia*:

Drinking vessels: two silver and one "mid" stoops, with thirty stopps (flagons and cups?)

Ships: "The Carvell"; a little ship; and the Inglis (English) ship.

Jewelry: gold chain, which he wore daily; gold chain, called a "collar," given to him by the king of Denmark; great silver belt; signet.

Clothing: linen robe bought from the Flemings; blue doublet, with breast set with precious stones; hood, set with precious stones; black doublet of velvet; red hose; short red velvet coat, without sleeves; short black velvet coat; doublet of cloth of gold; grey satin gown; three ostrich feathers; black damask gown with silver buttons; grey scarlet hose; doublet of down cramese; red velvet coat, left to the high altar of St. Magnús' Cathedral; two-thirds of a black velvet coat, left to St. Magnús' church, Tingwall, and one-third to the Cross church of Dunrosnes; green cloth, etc.

Harness : three saddles, etc

Book : "The Book of Good Manners."

Another Shetland gentleman, Magnus Leslie of Ayth, had purloined from him, *circa* 1576, by the foud of Shetland, besides, food, drink, cattle, etc., the following articles :—sixteen ells of "keltar"; one pair double blankets; a bed covering; a doublet of cramese; a black cowl, which cost a crown of the sun; three crystal stones set in silver, of the Dutch fashion; copper kettle; a keg, with twelve pounds of soap; tin cans and empty stoops; honey; cruses; pigs (earthenware jars); "stalis"; cups; beakers; together with all his servants' clothing, such as cassies, breeks, doublets.¹

Person-names.—Patronymics were in use in Shetland until early in the nineteenth century, when they became stereotyped. Some names in Shetland appear to have been taken from local place-names. In Orkney the last vestiges of patronymics occur in the sixteenth century. In Orkney, Scottish settlers were rife, and it is probable that the immediate descendants of the first settlers, especially those without historic names, would conform to the prevailing fashion of patronymics, encouraged by local intermarriage; and, later, undoubtedly the Scots set the fashion, and possibly began the adoption of place- as person-names (an advantage to fugitives). With the exception of Scottish and other outland names, nearly all other Orkney person-names are now derived from local place-names. In the early stages of the adoption of place-surnames, and when the custom was in its full vigour, such Orkney place-names as may have replaced Scottish surnames would become permanent; whereas, in the final decay of the fashion in the 18th century, we find, as was to be expected, that the substituted place-surname was frequently, only of a temporary nature. We also find in Orkney, that persons readily changed their place surname for that of a new abode. Taking all this into

¹ Opp. O.Z., 72.

consideration, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to say which families are now of native Norse origin in the male line. Even Blaikie and Halcro, which have hitherto been regarded as the most important Orkney-Norse surnames, are only represented by genuine place-names in Forfarshire and Caithness. Another Forfarshire place-name, Fothringham, is also the surname of an old Orkney family.

Another factor to be considered is the changing of place-names for one or other of the following reasons: (1) the inclination to acquire a property with the same or a similar sounding name to that of the purchaser, and conforming one with the other; (2) the deliberate changing of the place-name to that of the surname of the owner, *e.g.*, the Caithness place-name *Halcro* was given to a place called Holland in South Ronaldsey, which belonged to the Halcro family, in the sixteenth century, and in recent times *Balfour* appears in Shapinsey, (3) personal association has introduced such foreign place-names as Inkerman, Balaclava, Ballarat, etc., while fables have converted Keeso into Kaesar, and Grikalty into Agricola.

Of modern English place-names may be mentioned: News = New-house, Nieland = New-land (old name Orquil, in Orphir), Glowrowra = Glower-over-all, a house on a hill-side, with a wide view.

There are known instances of the glossing of place-surnames, induced by a sensitiveness to fashion. In the ascendancy of Scottish influence, Rusland became Russell, Burgar: Burgess, etc., and conversely, in the full vigour of the Norse influence, Scottish surnames would have been conformed to Orkney forms.

Each Scottish place-man and notable settler would have been followed by a train of relatives, friends, dependents and other persons from the same district, as actually occurred in and after the sixteenth century, of which we have records.

Those persons in Orkney and Shetland who can

prove their descent from the St. Clair earls (which includes all the descendants of bishop Graham) are of viking descent.

As an illustration of the readiness with which Scotsmen became naturalised in the islands, may be mentioned the case of the Scottish-born Scotsman, Lawrence Bruce of Cultmalindie. He was the principal agent in 1575 of the oppressor, lord Robert Stewart, and in 1592 numbered himself, together with seven other persons bearing Scottish names, among the "odallers," and as such supplicated the Scottish parliament against the oppressions of Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney (the son of his erstwhile employer), and championed the "gwid subjectis, heritable possessoris of the udack (!) lands in Orkney and Zetland."¹

The bulk of the principal landowners in the islands have had Scottish names for centuries, including some leading óðal families, such as Irvine, Craigie, Cromarty, Sinclair, etc.

The ascendancy of the Scots is only natural, when we consider (1) the proximity of Orkney to Scotland, (2) the succession of the Scottish earls since 1206, (3) the acquisition of the islands by Scotland in 1468, since when the clergy, officials, and their following have been Scots, and (4) the population, especially since the adoption of the English language, has been mainly recruited from Scotland, while considerable emigration of the viking element has been constantly in progress. If the male line of the earls died out in three centuries, as early as 1206, the same is to be expected of, at least, the ruling class as well. But there can be little doubt that there are few in the islands who do not descend, through the distaff side, from the old vikings, whose spirit of adventure and colonisation they have so well maintained in all the British colonies.

¹Opp. O.Z., 101.

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TEMPLE-ADMINISTRATION AND CHIEFTAINSHIP IN PRE-CHRISTIAN NORWAY AND ICELAND.

By BERTHA S. PHILLPOTTS, M.A.

THE union of priestly functions and political power exemplified in the position of the *goðar* in pre-Christian Iceland is a matter on which all scholars agree, and it is generally admitted that, to some extent at least, the political power of this class in Iceland developed as a result of temple-administration.

It is with regard to Norway that views diverge. Were the Norwegian emigrants who came to settle in Iceland accustomed to see political and religious administration combined in one office, and, if so, who were the persons in Norway who wielded this combined power?

The older Norwegian historians, Keyser,¹ Munch,² and Sars,³ all held that the Icelandic constitution must have developed on Norwegian lines, and that the Norwegian prototypes of the *goðar* are the petty kings, jarls, and chiefs (*hersar*), who, as they maintained, must have combined priestly functions with their administrative activities. Maurer⁴ at first supported this view, but on finding that the word *goði* occurred on three Danish Runic stones, he appears to have modified his opinion,⁵ and came to the conclusion that *goðar*, and occasionally

¹ R. Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, ii., 1, pp. 6, 23.

² P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, i., 1, pp. 151 ff.

³ J. E. Sars, *Udsigt over den norske Historie*, i. 220.

⁴ K. Maurer, *Die Entstehung des isländischen Staates*, p. 98 ff.

⁵ K. Maurer, *Zur Urgeschichte der Godenwürde*, *Z.f.d. Phil.* iv. p. 127 ff.

gyðjur, priestesses, exercised priestly functions in Norway and Denmark, but in entire dependence on the chiefs or kings to whom they were attached, and on whose behalf they officiated. He also admits that private temples may have existed in Norway, and suggests that the owners of these might also have been *goðar*. V. Finsen,¹ on the other hand, fails to see any indication of a connection between the chiefs and the temple-administration in Norway, and maintains that the *goðar*, as an independent class of priests, had existed from early times among all Northern peoples, and that the survival of the title in Iceland alone is merely due to the circumstance that there alone did the priests come to play any important part in political life. Later writers² on Northern religion, including Mogk, incline to Maurer's later view, but always basing their opinion mainly on the evidence adduced by him, which Finsen, rightly enough, considered insufficient.

The present essay is due to the writer's conviction that there is room for a more detailed study of the question. The evidence vouchsafed by our sources, though meagre and scrappy in the extreme, does yet seem capable, when collected, of somewhat more exploitation than has hitherto fallen to its lot. A systematic review of all the available items of information may bring us a little nearer to certainty as regards the main question at issue, and may further throw light on some other points.

I.—NORWAY.

It will be best to begin our review of the evidence by considering all that we can glean concerning Norwegian temples and their management. If we begin with the south, the prehistoric temple at Skíringssalr

¹Om den oprindelig Ordning af nogle af den islandske Fristats Institutioner, p. 56 ff.

²Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie*; Mogk, *Mythologie* § 89 (in Paul's *Grundriss* iii., 399). Golther, *Handbuch zur germ.—Myth.* (p. 610-12) appears to hold Maurer's earlier view.

is the first to be dealt with. Skíringssalr¹ is generally considered to have comprised the modern district of Tjølling, east of Larvik, in the ancient kingdom of Vestfold, and to have taken its name from a temple (Skírings-salr) supposed to be in the immediate neighbourhood of a royal residence. Sacrifice at Skírings-salr is mentioned in the *Sögubrot af Fornkonungum*,² and in the extracts of its lost continuation as preserved by Arngrímr Jónsson.³ The former breaks off with the words: "Then sacrifices were held at Skíringssalr, to which people flocked from all the 'vík.'" Arngrímr continues the story, telling us that King Sigurd Ring, who seems to have owned lands in these regions, though he was probably of Danish origin, turned aside "in Vickiam Norvegiae provinciam ad facienda sacra ethnica in Sciringssal, quae solennia ibi erant," and there sees Álfól,⁴ the daughter of King Álfr of Vendssysel in Denmark. Skíringssalr was thus evidently of more than tribal importance as a religious as well as a mercantile centre, but all that we can glean for our purpose is that the temple was to some extent under the patronage of the Vestfold kings. However, as far Norwegian custom of that date is concerned, the Skíringssalr evidence is not really conclusive, since these Vestfold kings were not Norwegian in origin, but claimed descent from the Yngling kings of Upsala, and these were certainly regarded as the chief priests of the people. Other evidence for the connection of Norwegian royalty with temples, not so good in itself, but not open to that particular objection, is furnished by the *Fornaldar Sögur*. Thus Friðjóf's Saga tells us

¹ G. Storm, *Skíringssal og Sandefjord*, *Hist. Tidskr. Række iv.*, Bd. i., 1901, p. 214 ff. Also A. Kjær: *Hvad var Skíringssalr*, Bd. v. (1908).

² Ch. x. (*F.A.S.*, i., 363-88).

³ Printed in *Aarb. f.n. Oldk.* 1894, p. 131 ff.

⁴ A kenning containing the word *vēbraut*, and applied to Harald Fairhair, has been quoted as evidence that he was protector of the temple. But it seems that the kenning has no such significance, cp. F. Jónsson, *Heimskringla iv.*, p. 28.

of a King Beli of Sogn, who lives close to Baldrshagi, a great temple, and later on it tells us that his sons, who had succeeded to the kingdom, sacrificed there. And Herverar Saga knows of a *dísablót*, a sacrifice to the *disir*, at one King Álf's.

We can now proceed to Vors. Vors or Vǫss was the name both of a district in South Hörðaland, and of a homestead in that district. The fact that we hear of at least one *Thing*¹ held at the farm Vors suggests that it was the centre of the district, and that it had given its name to the neighbourhood. It seems likely, then, that it was the residence of the *hersir*. All we know of sacrifice at Vors is from a statement in Víga-Glúm's Saga,² where we are told of a great feast there at the winter nights, said to be a sacrifice to the *disir*, at the temple (?)³ of the *hersir* Vigfús, in about the year 950.

We next reach Gaular, a district comprising the inner part of the Dalsfjord, in the region formerly called Fjalir, in Firðafylki. From various sources⁴ we know that a certain Atli was jarl of Gaular from about 845-870. This Atli joins King Hálfðan hinn svarti, and is made jarl of Sogn by him, and by Harald after him, but it is clear that he was still jarl of Gaular.⁵ Egilssaga⁶ gives us the following information:—"Then (about 868) Atli hinn mjóvi was jarl. He lived at Gaular. . . . It was a certain autumn that there was a great gathering at Gaular for an autumn sacrifice." We further learn that Atli's daughter was present. Atli was killed about 870,⁷ and his last surviving son, Hásteinn, must have left the country shortly afterwards, so we cannot identify the host at the next great sacri-

¹ F.M.S., iv., 270 and probably also F.M.S., i., 64.

² Vgl., ch. 6 (cf. ch. 3).

³ "þar var veizla búin at vetrnóttum ok gjört dísablót . . ."

⁴ Hkr. Half. sv. ch 3, H.h. ch. 12, Fagrsk. ch. i., 2, Flat i., 562, 570, etc.

⁵ Fgrsk. 2, hans hafuð bu var a Gaulum. Hkr., Hh. 12. Atli jarl sendi þau orð í mót, at hann mun halda Sygnafylki ok svá Gaulum.

⁶ Eg. 2.

⁷ So F. Jónsson in his Hkr. ed., but cp. Vigfússon, Timatal, p. 290.

fice recorded at Gaular, in the spring of 917,¹ when we are told that great numbers from Firðafylki and Fjalir and Sogn, and most of them important persons, attended, including Þórir, *hersir* of Firðafylki. King Eiríkr Blóðöx was also present. On this occasion Egilssaga vouchsafes the further information that there was a "most splendid chief temple" (*höfuðhof*) there.

But we are fortunate in knowing something more about Gaular. Landnámabók² tells of one Þorbjörn, a powerful *hersir* in Fjalafylki, who was called "enn gaulverski," the man of Gaular. This Þorbjörn had a son Flosi, who emigrated to Iceland, after killing three of Harald's officials, but did not come to Iceland till late, as is clear from the fact that the other settlers called him Flosi *hinn norræni*,³ thus revealing that they already considered themselves Icelanders. So we may assume that he did not go to Iceland until towards 920 or 930, and therefore his father, Þorbjörn, may have lived at Gaular until nearly that date.⁴ Now Flosi's sister, Oddný, also came to Iceland with her son Loptr, and of this Loptr Landnáma relates that he went out to Norway every third summer on behalf of Flosi and himself, to sacrifice at that temple which Þorbjörn, his mother's father, had had charge of at Gaular.⁵ Finsen⁶ says (1) that nothing can be deduced from such an isolated statement, (2) that Þorbjörn may have had charge of the temple before he was *hersir*, (3) that the verb, *varðveita*, to have charge of, does not necessarily imply that he actually officiated. With regard to point (1), we must remember that it rests on Landnáma's unimpeachable testimony, and that it is exactly the

¹ Eg. 49.

² Ld. Hauksbók ch. 315, 323. Sturlubók 368. (F. Jónsson's ed. In the following pages H = Hauksbók, S = Sturlubók).

³ Ld. S., 315.

⁴ Cp. also Tímatál, p. 285.

⁵ Ld. H., 323. Loptr fór utan hit iij hvert sumar fyrir hond þeira Flosa beggia moðurbroður sins at blota at hofi því er þorbiorn moðurfaðir hans hafði þar varð veitt a Gaulum. Cp. also Ld. H., 315; S., 368.

⁶ Om den opr. Ord., p. 52.

kind of unexpected statement that bears the stamp of truth upon it, for it is obvious that it could not be invented. The second objection is only a suggestion, and an unlikely one, since it is improbable that Þorbjörn's descendants would have gone to such trouble to keep up sacrificing, if Þorbjörn had only had charge of the temple in his youth. As regards (3) we find that the verb *varðveita* is used of Icelandic *goðar*, having charge of their temple.¹ Moreover there can be little doubt that the grandson at any rate actually officiated, as the word *blóta* (to sacrifice) is used.

We are now faced by several possibilities. Is the temple at Gaular of which Þorbjörn had charge the same as the "chief temple" in Gaular mentioned in Egilssaga, and was it at this same temple that Atli held his sacrificial feast in about 868? It certainly seems probable that Þorbjörn had had charge of a chief temple, for his descendants would hardly have thought it worth while to return to sacrifice at a mere private temple. Moreover, if it had only been a private temple, there would have been no reason why Flosi or Loptr should not have removed it, or its most sacred parts, to Iceland, as we know was done with a considerable number of temples. Of course, Atli may have had another temple: the only difficulty in such a supposition is that there should be two, presumably important, temples in so small a district as Gaular. Perhaps Þorbjörn only took over the charge of the temple after the death of Atli in 870. But there is nothing inherently impossible in a jarl and a hersir sharing a temple, at any rate, if any credit can be given to Njála's statement with regard to the Guðbrandsdal temple. The fact that Loptr returns every *third* summer to sacrifice reminds us of the story in the late Friðþjóf's Saga,² in which a *hersir*, Þorbjörn of Sogn, had a third of the kingdom,

¹ Eyrb. 15. Snorri varðveitti þá hof. Vápn. 5. Steinvör var hofgyðja ok varðveitti höfuðhofit.

² Ch. 1.

and made a great feast for the King of Sygnafylki every *third* year. It is just possible that Þorbjörn (or his predecessor) and Atli, and perhaps another *hersir*, took it in turns to hold the sacrificial feasts. We know that the chiefs of the Inner Þrándheimr district took over the charge of the sacrifices in turns. However this may be, we have at least seen that a *hersir* certainly, and possibly a jarl, actually officiated in a chief temple in Gaular. We are unfortunately unable to tell whether the King Auðbjörn of Firðafylki ever played any part in this chief temple.

We now pass on to the temple in Guðbrandsdal, where a *hersir* line ruled from the time of King Hálfdan hinn svarti (or earlier) till the reign of St. Olaf. Njála¹ tells us that the *hersir* Guðbrandr of Jarl Hákon's day (up to 995) was a great friend of that ruler, that the two shared a temple together, the second largest in Norway, which Njála declares was only opened when the jarl came thither. This last is usually regarded as a more than doubtful statement. We hear of the temple again in Heimskringla.² In 1022, when St. Olaf was engaged in forcibly Christianizing the neighbouring districts, the *hersir* Guðbrandr is said to have cut up the war-arrow and summoned all the inhabitants to a small village called Hundþorp. We are told that enormous numbers of men attended. Guðbrandr then makes a speech, in which he refers to "our" temple, and to the image of Thor in it, "which has always aided us." We may discount the historical accuracy of the speech, but it is clear from Snorri's description that he regarded the temple as the main place of worship for the whole neighbourhood.³

¹ Ch. 87.

² Hkr. O.h. 112. Cp. Flat, ii., p. 189.

³ Dr. A. C. Bang, "Om Dale-Gudbrand," 1897, casts doubt on the whole story and even on the existence of Guðbrandr as being a "local legend" (en paa Lokalsagn bygget Legende), but recent researches in many districts seem to reveal a greater substratum of truth in local tradition than has been hitherto admitted. See Gomme, Folklore as a Historical Science.

So far we gain the impression that a *hersir* administers this temple also, especially as Guðbrand builds a church in the Dales after conversion. At one time he may have shared the control of it with a jarl. But the warlike gathering at Hundþorp is next addressed by a Þórðr ístrumagi, and in one good MS.¹ of the *Heimskringla* version he is called *hofgoði*, temple-priest of the Dalesmen. In the other MS. used for this passage the reading is *höfðingi*, chief, and so in all other versions of the story. One cannot help feeling that it is much more likely that *höfðingi*, a word of frequent occurrence in the Norwegian histories, should have been substituted for *hofgoði*, which is rare even in Icelandic sagas, and not again met with in *Heimskringla* (except in *Ynglingasaga*) than that the reverse error should have been made.² Moreover, *höfðingi* would need some further explanation, since it is obvious that Guðbrandr himself was "höfðingi" over the Dalesmen.

We now arrive at the largest temple in Norway,³ that at Hlaðir in Strindafylki. The first we hear of Hlaðir is that somewhere about 867 or 868 Haraldr established a "chief residence" there, and called it his home.⁴ Haraldr had made the Jarl Hákon Grjótgarðsson, of Yrjar (on the north side of the fjord), Jarl over Strindafylki about the year 866, and soon we find Hákon called *Hlaða-jarl*, and we hear of his entertaining Haraldr at Hlaðir.⁵

In 943, we find Earl Sigurðr, called *Hlaða-jarl* like his father, entertaining King Hákon to a Yule-feast (*i.e.*, sacrificial feast), and we are told that Sigurðr was

¹ Cp. Hkr. (Finnur Jónsson's ed.). Indledning. pp. xxiv.-xxvi., and xlvii. ff.

² An Icelandic scribe could the more easily have made the error, as he was in the habit of considering *goði* almost synonymous with *höfðingi*.

³ Odds O.T. 17 (F.M.S. x., 265), vj. 87.

⁴ Hkr. Hh. 9.

⁵ Fgrsk. 2.

a great sacrificer,¹ and that he kept up all sacrificial feasts in Þrándheimr on behalf of the king. If this phrase means anything, the king, if present, was expected to preside over, or perhaps officiate at, sacrificial feasts. Of course, Hákon, as a Christian, would refuse to do this in any case.

We are next told, apparently *á propós* of another feast,² that Sigurðr was the most generous of men, and did a famous deed in giving a great feast at Hlaðir and meeting all expenses himself. We must suppose that he usually provided the horses and cattle for sacrifice, but that the extra expense he incurred on this occasion was in supplying the food and drink, which we are told the worshippers usually brought with them. The third feast³ at Hlaðir mentioned in our sources was in the autumn of 952. The king comes to it, and is made to sit in the high-seat at the feast, instead of remaining apart as he had hitherto done.

The last great Norwegian temple of which we have record is that at Mæri or Mærin (now Mære), an important homestead (later on a royal demesne) in Sparbyggjafylki. The administration of this temple is unique, but we must begin by premising that there had been a jarl of the district of Sparabú⁴ in the 8th century, and that he had fled to Jamtaland before a conquering King Eysteinn, perhaps about 780. Snorri tells us that there was a king⁵ of this fylki until he fell in battle before Haraldr hárfagri in 866. Now Mæri is undoubtedly the chief place in the fylki, so we may assume that either the jarls, or Snorri's somewhat apocryphal king, had lived there.

The first we hear of a temple at Mæri is from Landnámabók, which relates as follows⁶:—"Þorhaddr the Old was temple-priest (*hofgoði*) in Þrándheimr at

¹ Hkr. H.g. 14. The Jarl is called *vés vægi-valdr* in a verse: "the protecting custodian of the sanctuary," cp. Hkr. vol. iv, p. 49.

² Hkr. H.g. 14.

³ Ch. 17.

⁴ Hkr. H.g. 12. O.h. 137.

⁵ Hkr. H.b. 7.

⁶ Ld. Hauksbók, ch. 258; Sturlubók, ch. 297.

Mæri. He wished to go to Iceland, and took the temple down first, and had with him the soil of the temple and the pillars. He landed in Stöðvarfjörð and laid the Mæri sanctity over the whole fjord, and allowed nothing to be killed there but the home cattle." This is the only *hofgoði* mentioned in Norway besides Þórðr ístrumagi in Guðbrandsdal. We note that the temple appears to be Thorhadd's private property, since he can unbuild it and remove its sacred pillars.

After thus learning that the Mæri temple had been partly demolished by a private owner, we are somewhat startled, when we next hear of it, to find that it is a "chief temple" (*höfuð hof*),¹ and that eight chiefs, who had most of the management of sacrifices in all Þrándheimr, are making preparations to entertain King Hákon there at a Yule sacrifice,² only a few months after that king had been an unwilling guest at Hlaðir (in 952). Four of these chiefs, we are told, are from Inner Þrándheimr, and four from Outer Þrándheimr. Their names are given, and we note that each is a leading landowner representing one of the eight *fylki* which compose Þrándheimr. These landowners force the luckless king to drink the toasts and eat the sacrificial meat.

We read again³ of preparations for a sacrifice at Mæri, but this was less of a triumph for the heathen chiefs "who had hitherto kept up the sacrifices⁴ at that place." In 998 Olaf Tryggvason agrees with the Þrándheimr heathens that there shall be a great midsummer sacrifice at Mæri, but shortly before it is due he invites everyone to a feast at Hlaðir, and suggests sacrificing twelve chief men. He mentions seven names, of which four⁵ are the same as those of the Inner Þrándheimr farmers mentioned above. Finally

¹ F.M.S. x., 323.

² Hkr. H.g. 18.

³ Hkr. O.T. 67, 68, 69. Flat. i., p. 319.

⁴ Flat. i., p. 319 "höfuðblótum."

⁵ In one case the son.

he enters their temple and throws down the statue of Thorr. We are not told that he destroys the temple, though it seems probable that he would do so.¹

In the reign of St. Olaf it transpires that the Inner Þrándheimr *fylki* still form a religious confederacy,² and that twelve men manage the sacrificial feasts, apparently in turn. St. Olaf surprises them *in flagrante delicto*, and there is an abrupt end to public sacrifices in Norway.

It seems as if there could be but one likely explanation of the successive administrations of this temple. We must suppose that (1) a jarl or king lived at Mæri, and administered a temple, deputing his functions to a *hofgoði*, as in the Guðbrandsdal case, (2) on the departure or death of the king or jarl the *hofgoði* continued his functions until he went to Iceland, taking parts of his temple with him, and (3) after his departure the leading men of the whole of Þrándheimr took over the temple, and confided the care of it to eight men, one from each *fylki*.

We must admit that there is very strong evidence that temple administration in Norway is very closely bound up with chieftainship. Skíringssalr in the south is under the patronage of the Vestfold kings. The great temple in the north, the largest in Norway, is situated at Hlaðir, King Harald Fairhair's self-chosen royal residence. The temple at Gaular is closely connected with a jarl and afterwards with a *hersir*; that at Guðbrandsdal with a *hersir* and traditionally with a jarl. The temple at Hlaðir is obviously kept up by a jarl, though out of originally royal estates. That at Mæri is administered by the chief men of the district.

The voice of tradition is not quite so clear as regards our second point, the exercise of priestly functions in

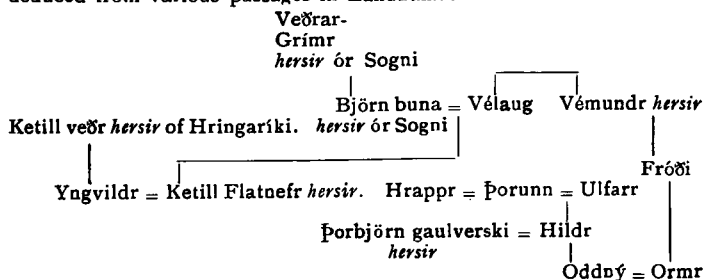
¹ When, later on, one of the leaders is charged by St. Olaf with sacrifices there, he urges that the buildings are large "hús eru stór," Hkr. O.h., 108.

² Hkr. O.h., 108, 109.

the temple. There is a very independent temple-priest at Mæri, and probably another, less independent, in Guðbrandsdal. But otherwise we find the jarl Sigurðr himself officiating at Hlaðir, and the *hersir* Þorbjörn at Gaular. One of the Fornaldar Sögur shows us kings officiating at Baldrshagi. With regard to this point, the actual exercise of priestly functions by chiefs, it may be urged that the evidence just quoted comes through Iceland, and is open to the suspicion of having been affected by Icelandic ideas, since the Icelandic historians were themselves used to the idea that priestly functions and political power went hand in hand. But, fortunately, there is some entirely independent and more or less contemporary evidence on this point. The Irish annals tell us that in 841 the Viking "king" Turges took up his abode in Armagh, the holiest place in Erin, and turned the cathedral into a heathen temple, in which he himself officiated as priest. I think this must be accepted as conclusive evidence for the priestly functions of Scandinavian chiefs. I cannot, however, accept it as conclusive evidence for the priestly functions of *kings*, as I find it difficult to credit Turges with royal blood owing to his name. Whether it represents Thorgils or Thorgestr, it is certainly compounded with Thor, and would be unique for that reason in any Scandinavian royal family.

One point is worthy of notice. From some of the genealogies¹ we observe that the jarls and *hersar* (and

¹ The following genealogy may serve as an illustration. It can be deduced from various passages in Landnáma.



to some extent the petty kings) must have formed an almost national Norwegian aristocracy, united by ties of blood. The interests of members of this aristocracy must have far outstripped the narrow limits of the petty kingdom to which the individual belonged. Now we have seen that the great sacrificial feasts were occasions for the chief connected with the temple, whether *hersir* or jarl, to entertain his friends and kinsmen. Such feasts were no doubt the cause of the rise of certain *fylki* temples to intertribal eminence. It may well be that this degree of religious union¹ preceded and fostered political union between the petty states, and made it possible to establish the common *Things* which seem to have been in existence before the time of Harald Hairfair. This must be my justification for taking up so much of your time in marshalling evidence. The connection between temple-administration and chieftainship is important not only in itself, but because, once it is established, public religious observances are indissolubly linked with an aristocracy which forms a network extending far beyond the boundaries of each little kingdom. To discuss the effect of this intertribal aristocracy in neutralizing separatist tendencies in religion lies outside the scope of this paper, but we must realize its probable effects in neutralizing separatist tendencies in politics. The fact that temple-administration was vested in chiefs may thus have been a very important factor in the unification of the kingdom.

II.—ICELAND.

The results of our examination of the Norwegian evidence will have shown us the importance of noting the ancestry of the temple builders, the founders of *goði*-families, among the settlers. The discovery that any large proportion of them were of *hersir* descent

¹ The existence of such intertribal religious unions is proved for a much earlier epoch by Tacitus' account of the common worship of Nerthus, by seven tribes, probably in Sjøælland.

would show that the identity of the temple owner and the chief was, at any rate, partially due to Norwegian tradition. We therefore proceed to adduce instances. The *hersir* Böðvarr of Vors (brother of the *hersir* Vigfús already mentioned) settles in Iceland, builds a temple, and becomes a *hofgoði*;¹ Ketill hængr,² son of an earl of Naumudal, called *ágiætr* by Landnáma, settles at Hof³ in Rangárvellir; Jörundr *goði*,⁴ son of Hrafn hinn heimski, and eighth in descent from King Haraldr hilditönn, builds a temple; Ketilbjörn⁵ of Naumudal, called *ágiætr* by Landnáma, which uses the word as equivalent to "of *hersir* (or jarl) birth,"⁶ settles at Mosfell and has a temple: Höfða-Þórðr,⁷ *ágiætr*, and said to be descended from Ragnar Loðbrók, dwells at Hof in Höfðaströnd, and is the ancestor of a line of *goðar*; Helgi bjóla,⁸ son of the *hersir* Ketill flatnefr, dwells at another Hof (apparently in spite of being a Christian in name); Eiríkr,⁹ *ágiætr*, settles at Hof in Goðdalir and is counted among the foremost settlers; Ingimundr¹⁰ hinn gamli, son of the exiled Þorsteinn, son of the *hersir* Ketill raumr, dwells at Hof in Vatnsdal and has a temple. The two sons of Asbjörn, son of the *hersir* Heyjangrs-Björn of Sogn, Véþormr¹¹ and Ozurr,¹¹ come to Iceland, and must clearly have had a temple, since Véþormr's daughter is called *hofgyðja*, and Ozurr's son *Freysgoði*. Another Icelandic *hofgyðja*, Þorlaug,¹² is descended on her mother's side, if not on her father's, from *hersar*. Then

¹ Flat. i. 249; cp. Vgl. 5, Ld. i., 338; ii., 385.

² Ld. H. 303, S. 344. (Only the main references are given.)

³ *Hof* always means "Temple" in Iceland.

⁴ Ld. H. 305, S. 346.

⁵ Ld. H. 338; S. 385; his mother was daughter of an earl.

⁶ See Cleasby and Vigfússon Dict., sub. *ágiætr*.

⁷ Ld. H. 175, etc.

⁸ Ld. H. 14; S. 14.

⁹ Ld. H. 163.

¹⁰ Ld. H. 145; Vats. 17.

¹¹ Ld. H. 276; S. 316.

¹² Ld. H. 29.

there is Þórðr skeggi,¹ son of Hrappr (called *ágiætr*), son of the famous *hersir* Björn buna. Þórðr brought his temple pillars from Norway, as did also Hrollaugr,² son of the Jarl Rögnvaldr (and half-brother of Göngu-Hrólf of Normandy). We may further note Þorgrímr goði Kjallaksson³ of Bjarnarhöfn, who is of *hersir* lineage on both sides. This is far from an exhaustive list, but in view of the difficulty of ascertaining who built temples on arriving in Iceland, and the second difficulty of discovering the genealogy of those who did, we have mentioned enough cases to show that just as *hersar* and jarls had temples in Norway, so a very large proportion of the more important temples in Iceland were built by descendants of *hersar* and jarls. On the other hand some few settlers of *hersir* rank appear not to have built temples, unless we are to suppose that their descendants lost the ownership of them. And again, other temple-builders are not stated to have been of *hersir* rank, though of course it is impossible to prove a humbler origin for them. Þórólfr mostrar-skegg,⁴ who brought his temple-pillars with him from Norway, and is supposed to have founded the first *þing*, is sometimes quoted as being of less exalted rank, but the assumption seems somewhat rash, especially as he is called the foremost man⁵ on the island of Mostr, his Norwegian home. On the whole it seems safe to assume that temple-builders, if not always of *hersir* lineage, had at any rate been men of importance in Norway. Of course we must make some allowance for opportunities of rising afforded by the conditions of life in a new country.

If we have established that the early *goðar* in Iceland came of a powerful governing class, it seems worth while to enquire whether the possession of a temple was quite such an essential factor in the acquirement of temporal power as it is usually held to have

¹ Ld. H. 14.² Ld. H. 270.³ Ld. H. 72.⁴ Ld. H. 73.⁵ Eyrb. 3

been. That the possession of a temple finally came to be a necessary qualification for a legal chieftainship we do not deny, but there seems reason to suspect that chiefs could rule *þingmenn* and hold sway over a district without it. That this was the case in the actual period of settlement there can be no doubt. For instance, Auðr djúpúðga,¹ though a Christian, exercised at least as much influence in her district as any temple-owning heathen. Of course it is true that her neighbours were mainly dependents and nominally Christians, but Ketill fíflski,² another Christian, who settled in a district entirely heathen as far as Norwegian immigrants were concerned, is yet reckoned among the foremost settlers in the East country. Another case is that of Úlfr h. skálgi,³ fourth in descent from a king. He comes to Iceland and settles in Reykjanes. With him comes out a man named Hallr, of high birth, who built a temple "because Úlfr was no sacrificer." We are then told that Hallr was a great chief, and many men then turned their allegiance to him (*i.e.*, away from Úlfr). It is thus clearly implied that Úlfr, though not a *goði*, had a chieftainship. But there are clearer instances than this. We know that Hrafnkell Freysgoði, on hearing of the destruction of his temple by Sámr, decided that it was "vanity to believe in gods," and never sacrificed again,⁴ nor had he a temple in his new surroundings, yet he gathers together *þingmenn*, and soon has a regular *þinghá* or district, and his sons take on the *mannaforráð*,⁵ chieftainship, after him. Now Sámr, the travelled atheist who destroys the temple, cannot by any possibility be supposed to have charge of one, yet even without the prestige which we may suppose Hrafnkell to have retained, he also gains *mannaforráð*. This occurs as late as about 947-953.⁶

¹ Laxd. 6, 7.

² Ld. H., 354.

³ Þorsk. i.

⁴ Hrafnk. 7.

⁵ Hrafnk. 10. The fact that Hrafnkell is said to have a *goðorð*, ch. 9, can be explained by the later meaning of the word, chieftainship.

⁶ Timatal, p. 495.

It must be remembered that *Hrafnkels Saga* is remarkably trustworthy. Unfortunately this cannot be so unreservedly stated of the next saga from which we will quote, *Vatnsdæla*, but the incident in question is so circumstantially related, and so much opposed to what the actual writer of the saga would consider probable, that it is certainly to be credited. On the death of Ingimundr¹ his sons decide that whichever of them shall make a successful plan to avenge him shall choose some valuable part of their property for himself. Þorsteinn is successful, and he chooses the homestead of Hof and the land that goes with it. The brothers then shared up the rest of their inheritance, and the *goðorð* fell to Þórir's share. But Þorsteinn became chief (*höfðingi*) over *Vatnsdal* and *Vestrhóp* and all those districts which had owned allegiance to Ingimundr, his father.² Finally, in return for good advice given by him to Þórir, Þorsteinn begs that his sons may have the *goðorð*. All this takes place between c. 935-950.³ It is here made perfectly clear that the *goðorð*, i.e., priesthood, was distinct from the chieftainship.

At last we see the reason for the constantly used combination : *goðorð ok mannaforráð*. In earlier Icelandic usage these words are not synonymous, as the dictionaries would lead one to suppose, and their history is extremely different. *Goðorð* is an ancient word : *mannaforráð* is a new word, coined in Iceland to express the type of political and administrative power exercised by Icelandic chiefs. *Goðorð* meant priesthood, and nothing more, when the Icelanders first settled in the new country : indeed, it may be doubted whether the meanings of these two words were ever merged into one until after the introduction of Christianity.

It is possible that the revised law of 965, restricting the number of *goðar*, was partly aimed against chiefs whose authority was solely temporal. Such chieftainships would have no guarantee of stability, since they

¹ Vats. ch. 24, 27.² Vats. ch. 37.³ *Tímatal*, p. 495.

would lack all tangible sign of union. Now Professor Björn Ólsen has suggested that the ready acceptance of Christianity in the year 1000 is partly to be ascribed to the agitations and discontent of *ex-goðar* or their sons, who had been dispossessed of chieftainship by the law of 965. It seems more than probable that the ranks of these "outsiders" were swelled by families who had exercised chieftainship without possessing a temple, or who had allowed their temple to descend to another branch of the family.

And this seems the place to consider such information as we can glean about *gyðjur*, priestesses. We are told of one Steinvör in the east of Iceland that she was *hofgyðja*, and had charge of the chief temple. She complained to the local chief, Broddhelgi, whose kinswoman she was, that a certain man, a Christian, had refused to pay the temple-tax. Broddhelgi said he would deal with the matter, but as a matter of fact it was allowed to drop.¹ Here we note (1) that Steinvör is a relative of Broddhelgi, and (2) therefore belongs to a distinguished family, and (3) her sphere is entirely limited to temple-jurisdiction. We know of three other well-attested *gyðjur* in Iceland,² of whom two at least are of *hersir* family. How entirely one of these, Thorlaug, daughter of Hrólfr the younger, must have been identified with the priestly office seems to follow from certain words in Landnáma which have hardly received the attention they deserve. "Hrólfir the younger married his daughter, Þorlaug *gyðja*, to Oddi Yraron. *For that reason* he moved house west to Ballará, and dwelt there a long while, and was called Hrólfr at Ballará."³ Evidently his daughter, the priestess, could not move to her husband's house, as she could not leave the temple. The other two

¹ Vápn., ch. 5.

² Þúriðr *gyðja* Solmundardóttir (Ld. H. 147); Þúriðr *hofgyðja* Véþormsdóttir (Ld. H. 276) and Þorlaug *gyðja* Hrólfsdóttir (Ld. H. 29).

³ Ld. H. 29, S. 41, þui reðzt hann vestr til Ballará.

gyðjur are Þurídr *gyðja* Sölmundardóttir and Þuríðr *hofgyðja* Veðormsdóttir. Besides this, Friðgerðr, the wife of Þórarinn fylsenni, sacrifices in a temple, at any rate during his absence, and is called *gyðja* in a verse.¹ It seems probable that in all these cases some male kinsman or the husband had *mannaforráð*, chieftainship. The case of Þórarinn fylsenni, just at the close of the tenth century, suggests that even after the revised law of 965 *mannaforráð* could still be held apart from priestly office, if the latter was in the hands of a kinswoman. We can quite understand that there would be less danger in the separation of the two offices, if the priestly functions were performed by a woman, who would be precluded from winning a real political ascendancy. The mention of four *gyðjur* in those of our sources which deal with the heathen period seems to suggest that they were a fairly large class. We are thus rendered less sceptical of the Norwegian *gyðjur* mentioned in the Fornaldarsögur, and can credit the story of Álfhildr, to whom we are introduced while she is performing a sacrifice at night. The case of Turges' wife, who acts as priestess at Clonmacnois, may also be remembered. But in considering priestesses it must be admitted to be possible, and even probable, that we must set very definite limits to their activities and prevalence at the close of heathen times. There seems to be reason for suspecting that women only performed functions as priestesses in the service of the group of divinities, Njörðr, Freyja, and Frey, and in *dísir*-worship, which may possibly be a cult of ancestors. We know of so few *gyðjur* that it is surely of importance to note what a large proportion of them are connected with these cults. To begin with the Elder Edda. Hyndluljóð mentions the *gyðja* Hlédís, the mother of that Óttarr who builds a *hörg* for Freyja and sacrifices to her. Then there is the story told in the saga of Olaf Tryggvason, in the Flateyjarbók ver-

¹ Kristni S. ch. 2.

sion, ch. 173, where Gunnarr helmingr meets the priestess of Frey in Sweden. Again, *Hervarar Saga* shows us Álfhildr reddening a *hörg* at night. Now all the references we possess to this form of sanctuary show that in Norway it was dedicated to the Vanir—to Frey or Freyja. Then we have Þuríðr *hofgyðja* in Iceland, whose maternal half-brother (and first cousin on the father's side), is called *Freysgoði*, which at any rate suggests that the family was addicted to the worship of this god. It is thus fully possible that while both men and women might be priests or priestesses of Frey or Freyja, in late heathen times women were excluded from public office in the service of Thor. We must note that the temples of two *hofgoðar* mentioned in Norway, at Mæri and at Guðbrandsdal, are both traditionally associated with Thor.¹

To sum up. There is reason to believe that besides the persons exercising combined priestly and political power, there were in Iceland three other classes of chiefs, at least until 965. (1) Persons like Hrafnkell Freysgoði, exercising political ascendancy in entire independence of a temple. (2) Persons like Þorsteinn Ingi-mundarson, who exercised political ascendancy, but in whose family the priestly office had fallen to another of the co-heirs. (3) Persons like Broddhelgi, or Hrólfr the Younger, who exercised political ascendancy, but whose temple was in the hands of a kinswoman.

In Iceland, where there was at first no other bond to attract dependents, and where at first no settled *thing*-places brought people together independently of the sacrificial feasts, the temple must have loomed large in the public eye, and we can understand that those who succeeded in consolidating their power were those who possessed and administered this central meeting-place, and who, further, did not have to delegate to others

¹Olaf. Tryggvason throws down the statue of Þórr at Mæri, Hkr. O.T. 69. In the Guðbrandsdal temple is the image of Þórr "which has always aided us." Hkr. O.h. 112.

the observances that gave their acts a religious sanction. Hence the final success of the temple-owners in the race for power. And here we must be allowed to enter a protest against the view, recently repeated both in German and English books, that the mass of the Icelandic settlers were half-Christian, wholly atheistic, or sunk in special and degrading superstitions. The incidental mention of a couple of "godless" men, or the supposition that heathendom must have been sapped by a Viking life, can weigh as nothing against the fact that the communal religious feeling in Iceland was so strong that it shaped the whole political and administrative structure. Chieftainships not connected with temples were fore-doomed to extinction.

Indeed, if one may be permitted to conclude with a generalization, one of the most remarkable things about early Scandinavian history is the constitutional importance of religion among a people so entirely lacking in a priestly caste. We understand and are ready to make allowances for the vast power wielded by the Druids among the Celtic peoples, but the absence of priestcraft among the Scandinavians ought not to blind us to the influences exerted by religion on the social structure. We have seen reason to suspect that at least twice in the history of Scandinavia religious union preceded and fostered political union, and I hope we have also had a glimpse of how the political fabric of the youngest of the Scandinavian States was slowly built up on the basis of its religious organization.

THYRA, THE WIFE OF GORM THE OLD, WHO WAS SHE, ENGLISH OR DANISH?

By CAPTAIN ERNEST RASON.

THE lecture which I am to communicate to you to-night is not by any means intended as a final settlement of the question, "Thyra, the wife of Gorm the old, who was she, English or Danish?" It is, on the contrary, merely an attempt to state the case in England, to call attention to the issues involved, and to interest, if possible, other English enquirers.

The lecture is a development of the evidence I have collected on the subject during research on another theme, "Russia as the Eldorado of Canute the Great." The question of Thyra is for me but a side issue, yet as Denmark came largely into my main work, its history had to be investigated for a certain period before Canute's reign. Whilst doing this the so-called Conquest of England by the Danes was forced upon my notice in a manner it had never been before. English boys are rarely taught their own early history, but rather that of Greece and Rome. It was with a distinct feeling of relief that I read in *Saxo Grammaticus* that Thyra was the daughter of Ethelred, King of England. If Thyra were the daughter of Ethelred, King of England, then the invasion of Svein and Canute was no foreign conquest, but merely a dynastic change brought about by Danish ships and Danish troops, and on the same principle as the Wars of the Roses, except that in the latter Welsh and French troops were employed. When I came to consider the question further I found that the most recent Danish opinion on the matter was so divided, that in the *Danmarks Riges Historie* of 1906 the question is stated as follows: "Some people say that Thyra was the daughter of an English king, but

others with more probability that she was the daughter of Klak Harald, Jarl in Holstein." This statement seemed to call for examination, certainly from an Englishman. There is every appearance on the face of it that it was written in deference to a divided opinion, although Professor Steenstrup's name is connected with this particular part of the history.

The elder Danish writers before the end of the sixteenth century either followed Saxo in his opinion, or they had some other source for their statement, except Cornelius Hamsfortii, who calls Thyra the daughter of Edward the Elder, and sister of the wife of Otto I., Emperor of Germany. This, of course, is wrong, but it points to a general idea that Thyra was the daughter of an English king.

Besides the old Danish writers, my authorities for the lecture are the *Heimskringla*, by Snorre Sturlason, the *Jomsborg Vikings Saga*, and the *Knytlinga Saga*, perhaps the best and most reliable of the Icelandic sagas dealing with this particular time. I shall take the latter part of the the question first, and consider what the sagas say about Thyra as the daughter of Klak Harald, Jarl in Holstein.

Carlyle, than whom we have no better judge, said of the *Heimskringla* of Snorre Sturlason that it ought to be reckoned amongst the great history books of the world, were it properly published with accurate maps and well edited. This saga was translated into English as long ago as 1844, and it has recently (1899) been edited and published anew by Rasmus Anderson, some time Minister for the United States at the Court of Copenhagen. For the *Jomsborg* and *Knytlinga Sagas* I have used Rafn's translation into Danish (1829).

The contention that Thyra was the daughter of Klak Harald rests almost entirely on the sagas. It was not heard about at all till towards the end of the sixteenth century, about 1594, when the sagas were translated for the first time from Icelandic. The *Heimskringla* tells

us that a certain Thorny, the wife of Sigurd Hiörtr, was the sister of Thyra Danmarkarbót, married to King Gorm the old, who at that time reigned over the Danish dominions; this Thyra was the daughter of Klak Harald. Thorny was the grandmother of Harald Fairhair, King of all Norway, and we are told that Harald was born when his mother, Ragnhild, was twenty years old. Harald Fairhair died about 930, and succeeded his father at the age of ten, about 860, so that his mother, Ragnhild, must have been born in 830, and allowing twenty years for Thorny's age when Ragnhild was born, we get 809 for the birth of Thorny, the sister, according to the saga, of Thyra. The same saga tells us that Harald Fairhair, when he was about fifteen years of age, wishing for a wife, sent a deputation to Gyda, the daughter of King Erik in Hörðaland, but she refused to come, saying that she would not wed until she found the man who could reduce all the kings of Norway as Gorm the old had done in Denmark. This settles, as far as the saga is concerned, the date when Gorm had established his paramount power in Denmark, viz., about 865. It may be observed that Thyra, the daughter of Ethelred of England, was not yet born.

The Jomsborg Saga gives a highly descriptive and detailed account of the courting of Thyra, the daughter of Klak Harald, by Gorm. Thyra is said to have been so wise and intelligent that she was already associated with her father in the government of his small kingdom, when Gorm came down from the North of Jutland to woo her. Gorm had a large party with him, and Thyra was not ready to give her love at once, nor Harald to part with her; but Gorm, in the rough and ready manner of those days, said that if her father would not give her to him for wife he would take her by force, which, it appeared, he was quite capable of doing. Under these circumstances Thyra decided to play with him by her wiles and wisdom till she was ready for him,

or perhaps to give her father time to prepare for resistance. Thyra told Gorm he must go home: there he must have a house built in the forest no larger than to hold one bed; on this bed he was to sleep alone for three nights, and if he dreamt dreams he was to send her an account of them, so that she might ascertain whether it would be a happy marriage.

Gorm went to his place in the north, and had a house constructed out in the forest only large enough to hold one small bed, in which he slept alone; but, being a wise man, he placed a guard of 300 men round the house in the forest to guard against surprise. Under these circumstances he dreamt his dreams in peace; they are somewhat curious, and have a sort of resemblance to those of Pharaoh. The first dream was that he found himself out under the open heaven looking over all the land of his kingdom. Then the sea seemed to go back from the land till all the salt water lakes and fords were dry. Presently he saw three boars come up out of the sea; they begged his pardon, and then they fed on the grass around and went back into the sea. These boars were white. The second dream was that three boars came out of the sea, but they were of a red colour, and had large tusks, and behaved just like the first three. The third dream was the same, but the boars were black, and had the largest tusks of all. When these last boars had gone he heard a mighty noise, so loud that he thought it must have been heard over all Denmark, and the sea came back on the land with awful force. Thyra interpreted these dreams—the three White Boars were three very cold winters, when there would be much snow, and all the fruits of the ground would be damaged; the three Red Boars were three winters when there would be little snow, and the three Black Boars signified wars in the land, and that they all went back into the sea proved that these troubles would not continue long. The noise of the sea when it came back on the land again meant that

mighty men would come on the land with great wars, and many of his relations would take part. If he had dreamed this the first night she would not have married him, but now there would not be so much injury, because she would give advice which would be proclaimed throughout the land.

It seems as if these dreams had been added by some one who knew the Bible account of the dreams of Pharaoh and their interpretation. They have been added by the Christian skalds in their version of the story as told in Iceland. We at least know from another account in the saga that at that time Klak Harald was a heathen, a believer in the old gods and all the superstitions attending such a belief. After Gorm and Thyra had gone back to their homes in the north, Klak Harald was invited to visit his son-in-law at Yuletide. He left for the north in time to be at the Yule-feast, but on the way he saw an apple tree, on which were small green apples. This was very remarkable for the season of the year, and on the ground were many larger apples, arousing great astonishment in Harald and his followers, so that they turned and went home again. The next year Harald went north again to the Yule-feast, invited by his son-in-law, and had almost reached the Lim-fjord, when something happened to the hounds he had with him, and this caused him to give up his visit and go home again. The third year he went north again, and reached the ferry over the Lim-fjord on the western side. When he was at the ferry it seemed as if two waves arose, one from inside the fjord and the other from outside, they met at the entrance to the fjord, and then they seemed to turn into blood; and for the third time Harald's superstitious fears were aroused, and he returned home. From the above we can judge, that as far as the circumstances of the saga are concerned, at the time of his daughter's marriage, and for three years after, Klak Harald was a heathen, with all the heathen superstitions. We also know very well

when Christianity came into his country, for it was brought by the celebrated St. Anskar in 825. He established a small church at Ribe on the west coast, and another celebrated priest became the pastor of the church, viz., Rembertus. We also learn from German history when Klak Harald was made a Christian. He was baptized at Mainz in 826.

From the above history we can calculate that Thyra must have been married to Gorm about 825, which would make her birth fall about 806 to 812, and point her out as about the same age as her sister Thorny, the wife of Sigurd Hiort.

The same saga tells us that Gorm had two sons, Canute and Harald, that Harald was much younger than Canute, and that Canute was brought up chiefly at the house of his grandfather, Klak Harald, and when old enough was given a portion of his kingdom to govern; this marks Canute down as born some time before 834, as Klak Harald died in 846, and Canute must have been twelve years old at least when he was given a kingdom to govern. This would make him at least one hundred years old when he was killed in 936. These three calculations from the side of the *Heimskringla* of the birth of Thorny, from the side of the *Jomsborg Saga* of the marriage of Gorm, and from the story of Canute's being given a portion of the kingdom to govern, give approximately the same date for the marriage of Thyra, daughter of Klak Harald, to Gorm, viz., 825, and for her birth any date from 806 to 812.

Of Canute, we hear that he was killed in England or Ireland on a Viking cruise, and he left, so far as is known, but one son, Gold-Harald, who perished in 969. What the age of Harald was we are not told, but if his father Canute was seventy when he was born, Gold-Harald must have been about sixty-six at the time he was killed, and nearly as old as Harald Bluetooth, his uncle.

Now we will consider the case of Harald Bluetooth.

We are told in the Jomsborg Saga that he was much younger than his brother, and there seem to have been some signs of enmity between them, for we find the Jomsborg Saga saying that Harald killed Canute, which cannot be right, yet we find from the Heims-kringla that even if Harald did not kill his brother, he may be almost considered as an accessory to the death of Gold-Harald. He was afraid that Gold-Harald would attempt to fight him for half the land of Denmark, and, by an arrangement with Earl Hakon, Gold-Harald was killed.

If there is one thing certain about Harald Bluetooth it is his death, which happened within a year on either side of 986. We have decided that Thyra, the daughter of Klak Harald, was born not later than 812. Can she possibly have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth? We are told in Medical Jurisprudence that sixty years is the extreme limit of a woman's powers of bearing children, though we have the account of Sarah, who bore Isaac at the age of ninety, which has been a standing wonder for centuries. We cannot suppose that Thyra was any exception to the common lot, and therefore she cannot have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth, whatever her relation to Cnut Danaast may have been.

We are told in *Danmarks Riges Historie* that Thyra knew from her birth the necessity of building a Danevirke, with which the name of Thyra is connected, and this is considered one of the side proofs that Thyra was the daughter of Klak Harald, as she was brought up near the Danevirke. But it is evident that she could not have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth, neither could she have governed the kingdom in Gorm's old age.

I think now we have come to the time when we may say that it is most probable that Thyra the daughter of Klak Harald, was not the mother of Harald Bluetooth.

We will now take the case of Thyra as the daughter of Ethelred, King of England, a fact which Saxo distinctly states in his history. Here he is in company with all the old writers of Denmark before the end of the sixteenth century, except Cornelius Hamsfortii, who says that Thyra was the daughter of Edward the Elder, and sister of the wife of Otto I., Emperor of Germany, which of course is wrong; but Thyra as the daughter of Ethelred would have been a second cousin of Editha, Otto's wife.

Thyra was, of course, a Christian, but there is a curious story in Saxo of her wishing for dreams as to the future before she would give herself up to her husband, and there is a statement that Canute and Harald went over to England to wrest the kingdom from their grandfather; but, of course, this is incorrect, as Ethelred must have been dead before Gorm even married Thyra. Yet there is no doubt that Harald and Canute were in England at different times, and they, or at least Harald, may have had some idea that he had a claim on the kingdom.

What history teaches us about the children of Ethelred is very little; we know from the will of Alfred the Great that there was a difference over their money matters between the two brothers, and it was finally agreed that all the money should go to the survivor unless the other had left a will. Ethelred died first, and somewhat suddenly, without making a will, and Alfred took all the money to himself, leaving in his will only seven small manors to his nephews, Athelmær and Ethelwold, and six manors between his daughters; but he stated that he only left to the spindle side what had belonged to him and Ethelred, and not what had been left by his father. This may be a reason why no mention is made of any daughter of Ethelred in the will. In the time of Alfred, when a younger brother was made king in consequence of the youth of his elder brother's children, as Alfred the Great was,

then it was usual for the elder brother's children, if they were grown up, to inherit the kingdom after their uncle, and not the younger brother's children. But King Alfred, having all the money and all the power, managed that his own son, Edward the Elder, should succeed him, to the detriment of Ethelred's children. Ethelwold, the youngest of the two sons of Ethelred mentioned in the will, did attempt to establish his prior right to the throne, in which he was assisted by the Normans and Danes of East Anglia and Northumberland. It must be remembered that the North of England north of Watling Street was almost entirely Danish at this time, and it was the Danes who backed Ethelwold. Gorm might even have been amongst them. Unfortunately, Ethelwold was killed, and the rising subsided.

Steenstrup, in his *Normanerne*, when referring to the building of the *Danevirke* and the Burghs in England, calls attention to the similarity of their construction, especially about the escarpment of the ditch, as being different from the German and French *burgs*, which were also being built about that time. He adds that there was another similarity; that they were built by women, and women whose husbands were ill at the time; and he adds a third resemblance, if Saxo is right, that is, that both were built by the daughters of a king. He might have added that there was no wonder that they were alike, as they were built by cousins, for Thyra, the daughter of Ethelred, was the cousin of Athelflæd, who built the burghs in England.

In another part of the same book Professor Steenstrup calls attention to the great number of treacheries which took place in England during the invasion of England by Svein and Canute, and he adds that there are not many instances in all history that a nation has been so often and so thoroughly betrayed by its own people as the Anglo-Saxons were at that time, except there had been a dynastic strife. But if Thyra was the

daughter of Ethelred, then the so-called invasion of Svein and Canute was a dynastic strife; for they had more right to the throne than Ethelred the II. They were in fact, almost in the same condition relative to Ethelred II., as the Duke of York and his son, Edward IV., were to Henry VI. at the time of the Wars of the Roses. The Duke of York was unquestionably heir general of the royal line through his mother Anne, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, son of Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., as against the reigning sovereign, Henry VI., a weak king, descended from a younger brother of Lionel. Similarly we may say that Svein was undoubtedly heir general of the royal line by his grandmother, Thyra, daughter of Ethelred I., elder brother of Alfred the Great, as compared with the weak king, Ethelred II., descended from the younger brother, Alfred the Great. The similarity in the treacheries is far too striking not to be the result of the same cause, viz., a dynastic struggle, and is strong corroborative evidence for the accuracy of Saxo's statement that Thyra was the daughter of Ethelred I.

The number of traitors in both cases was very large, and includes all sorts and conditions of men. The great traitors, Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, in the Wars of the Roses, are well represented by Ælfric and by Eadric Streona; the latter's constant changes of side and near connection to the King Ethelred II. are on a par with that of the Duke of Clarence, for the treachery of Eadric Streona has never been properly explained. It puzzled Professor Freeman, but I think, in the light of a dynastic dispute, his change of side may be accounted for.

Eadric Streona was the son of one Æthelric of Bocking, in Essex, who was accused to the king about 995 that he had said that Svein ought to be received in Essex; this accusation appears to have been kept in reserve till his will was brought to be confirmed by

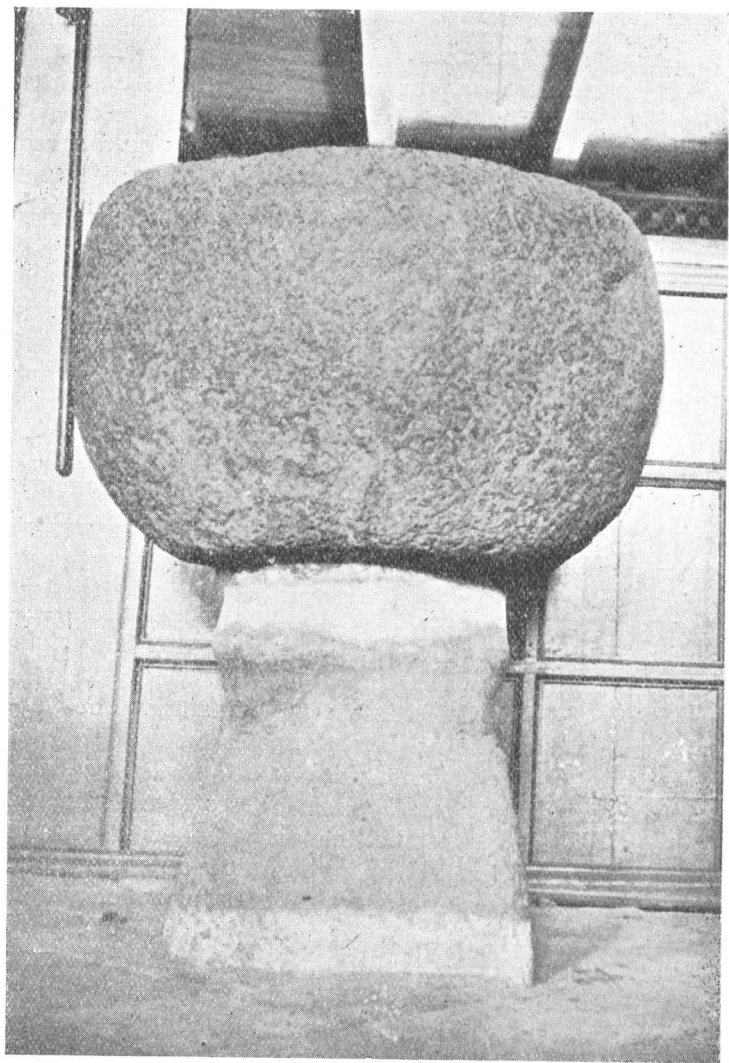
King Ethelred II.; Eadric Streona was the Thane of Oswald, at one time Bishop of Worcester, and afterwards Archbishop of York, who was a Dane, and a great friend, I think a nephew, of Archbishop Odda, who was Archbishop of Canterbury. This gave Eadric a very good start in life, and his father could not have been such an unknown person as Freeman has stated, and as we know Eadric married Ethelred's daughter. Amongst the signatures to the will of Æthelric of Bocking is the signature of Æthelmaer, immediately after those of the bishops, and at the head of the Thanes. This is most probably Æthelmaer, the great Earl of Wessex, son of the historian, Æthelweard, who claimed descent from Ethelred I., but whether from a son or another daughter is not known. These people must have known that Svein was the head of the House of Ethelred I., and may have been in league with him to restore their common ancestors' family to the throne. When Svein came south from Gainsborough we find the Wessex thanes met him at Bath to give their allegiance, and when Canute came back in 1015, after Svein's death, Æthelmaer and the Wessex thanes welcomed him, and after the defeat at Penselwood we find that Æthelmaer still clung to Canute, for he was at the Battle of Sherston near Malmsbury.

When Canute, after the death of Edmund Ironside, divided the kingdom of England into earldoms, he reserved Wessex for himself. Was it because it was the rightful property of his ancestors?

The contention that Svein and his son Canute had, like the Duke of York and his son Edward IV., a prior right to the throne of England over the then reigning king, accounts for so many difficulties in the history of that time, that it may be taken as strong corroborative evidence in favour of Saxo's account of Thyra's birth. It accounts for most of the treachery during the so-called conquest of England by Svein and Canute, it accounts for the special form of treachery of Eadric

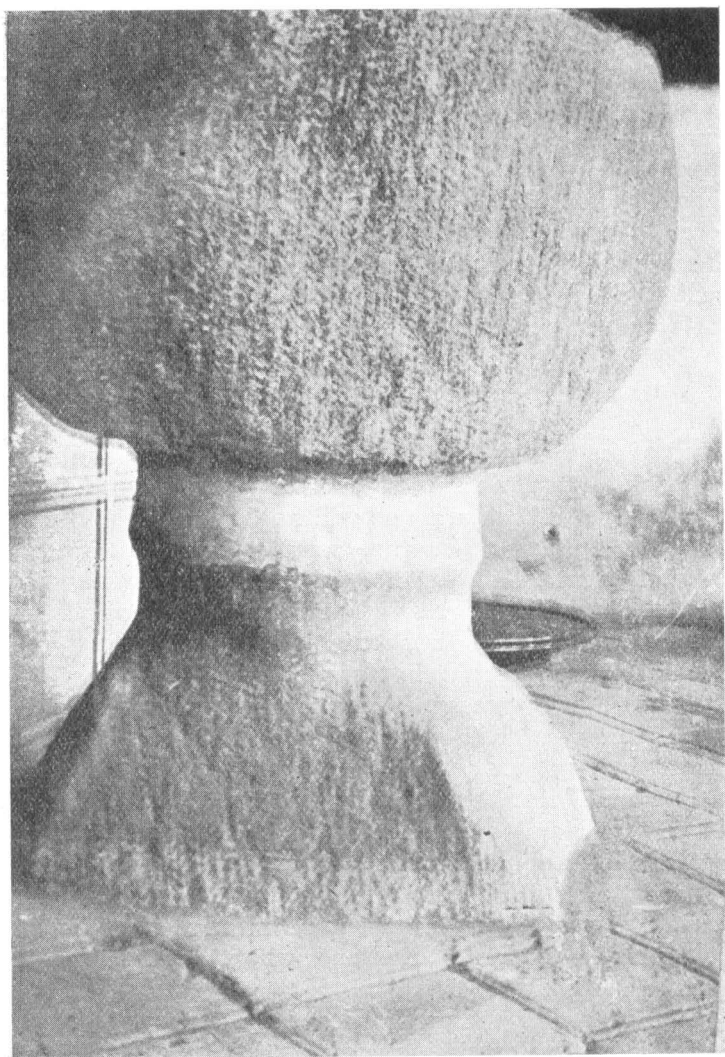
Streona, it accounts for the change back to Ethelred II. when Svein died, as being the most fitting man of the descendants of Æthelwulf left in England, bad as he was; as well as for the return to Canute when he had proved himself as fitting a man as his father. It accounts for the willingness to divide the kingdom between the two rival dynasties, and finally it accounts for the wonderful manner in which England accepted the rule of Canute, when once he had asserted his right to the throne, both by descent and conquest and by election, just in the same manner as the English people behaved towards Edward IV., when once his power was established.

Now I hope I have persuaded you that the account of Thyra's birth ought to be that some people say she was the daughter of Klak Harald, a Jarl or King in Holstein, but that it is more probable that she was the daughter of Ethelred, King of England. I have one other piece of proof, which, although it could not be brought in by itself, can at least confirm the already considerable body of evidence. About the time that, according to the sagas, Gorm and the daughter of Klak Harald were being married, viz., in 825, Christianity was first brought to Denmark by St. Anskar, and he founded a small church at Ribe, a port close to the sea on the west coast of Denmark in those days, but now somewhat inland. It is just to the south of the islands of Fanö and Manö, close to which latter is the now flourishing port of Esbjerg, which was, however, non-existent sixty years ago. At Ribe there was a Christian church built, and Rembertus was the pastor. He succeeded St. Anskar as Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen in 865, but he no doubt kept up his interest in the church of Ribe until his death in 888, for the port of Ribe was only a few hours' sail from Hamburg. Opposite Ribe, on the south part of the small island of Fanö is the village of Sönderho. Some sixty years ago, before the great changes which took place as a



THYRA'S FONT AT SÖNDERHO.—I.

consequence of the increasing trade of the port of Esbjerg, a Mr. Marryat was travelling in Denmark for archæological purposes. At Sönderho he heard a tradition that Thyra, the wife of Gorm, the daughter of an English king, had given the font to the old Sönderho church in consequence of her having been saved from drowning when she was wrecked off Manö island on her way to Ribe to marry Gorm the old. Mr. Marryat did not pay much attention, and merely remarks that the font was an unshapely mass of granite. There is no doubt that the font, looked at casually, is to-day an unshapely mass, but on examination it may be noticed that from one direction it is very graceful and symmetrical, although from others most ungainly and ugly; further examination will show that the font has been badly treated, and much of it roughly broken, especially at the sides, just like the monuments in our churches were treated at the time of the Commonwealth, and that the greater part of the rim has been chipped away. There are five other granite fonts in Jutland, one close to Sönderho at Brondon, on the mainland. These are of the twelfth century; they have four crosses on the rim and one or two on the side. We can now see why the sides of the Sönderho font were broken, viz., to get rid of the crosses on the font rim and on the side. It seems very probable that the font at Sönderho had originally some crosses on the side and on the rim, which at some time were broken away, and it takes a great deal to break away the side of a granite font; it was done purposely. There is no doubt that at one time the font was an extremely fine one and very graceful in its outline, and it was made at a time when good workers did work for Christian buildings. In comparison with the five fonts made in the twelfth century it was much more graceful in its lines. This font later fell into disrepute, was roughly treated by somebody's orders, for no amount of casual damage would equal the harm which has been done to it. Granite is



THYRA'S FONT AT SÖNDERHO.—II.

one of the hardest of stones. The font was again restored to favour, but it was used in its damaged condition, with the tradition attached to it which has already been stated. It is situated in the very place where a traveller coming from England would be wrecked. It is old enough to have been made at the time mentioned, *i.e.*, about 900. It bears evidence of having been wilfully damaged in a manner which would occur during a lapse from Christianity, such as occurred during the reign of Svein, so I think we may add this as a scintilla of additional evidence in favour of Thyra's being the daughter of Ethelred I. of England.

The *Danmarks Riges Historie* gives a choice of two solutions for the birth of Thyra, I should like to offer a third, and that is that Gorm the old had two wives, both of them named Thyra. The first was the daughter of Klak Harald, and the second the daughter of Ethelred of England. Some one will no doubt ask how did an English king's daughter come by such a Scandinavian name as Thyra; the answer is that Ethelred's mother was the daughter of the last of the princes of Möen, who were of Jutish descent.

There is no difficulty in Gorm's having two wives, in succession or even together, or even of the same name. The instance of Halfdan the Black, King of Norway, immediately recurs to memory.

We have seen that Thyra, the daughter of Klak Harald, could not for physical reasons have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth; but there is no great physical difficulty about Gorm, even at the age of over eighty, being his father when he married the young daughter of Ethelred of England, who would have been about twenty-eight years old.

In support of the suggestion I have made I may remark on the inscriptions on the two rune stones in Jellinge churchyard, a large one and a small one. The church lies between two immense tumuli. The northern one is called by tradition Thyra's grave, but by a

curious chance the smaller rune stone, which comes from the southern tumulus, is inscribed as follows: "Gorm made this monument in memory of his wife Thyra Danmarkarbót." It is generally stated that Thyra lived after Gorm, which this monument proves an error, unless there were two Thyras. The larger rune stone, which is said to have been always in the churchyard, tells us that Harald the king bade make this stone after Gorm his father and Thyra his mother, the Harald who conquered all Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christian.

It is noticeable that Thyra is not called *Danmarkarbót* on the larger stone.¹ It seems to me that there must have been two Thyras—one who helped Gorm when he was conquering all the smaller kings, and a second Thyra who was the Thyra of his old age, who built the Danework, and who outlived him, and was the mother of Harald Bluetooth.

Photographs of Thyra's Font.—Photo I. represents the general appearance of the font, shewing that, with the exception of the broken parts, it is graceful in form, much more so than the twelfth century granite fonts. The uneven line on the left upper rim is due to its damaged condition. A piece has been broken off on the right upper corner of the photograph, but the greatest damage has been done in the lower left-hand corner, which place corresponds to a cross on the twelfth century font near Skuer in Jutland. High up on the left of Photo I. is a broken piece. This is shown on Photo II. in front view, and corresponds to a Runic inscription on the twelfth century font near Skuer.

¹ It may also be noticed that on the smaller stone the name is spelt *Thurin*, while on the larger it is *Thqurin*.

INDEX.

Names of places (including churches, houses, etc.), other than territorial designations, are in dark type.

ABBREVIATIONS:—*pl. n.*, place-name; *per. n.*, person-name; *b.*, born; *m.*, married; *d.*, died; *sl.*, slain; *c.*, circa; *Ork.*, Orkney; *Shet.*, Shetland; *Caith.*, Caithness; *Nbld.*, Northumberland; *Nbria.*, Northumbria.

å, O.N., river; in *Nbld.* *pl. n.* 178.

Aberdeen; St. Olave's cult., 137, 138.

Aberdonense, *Breviarium*: St. Olave's Day, 137.

Aberdonensis, *Registrum Episcopatus*, 137 n.

Åbo Syssel, North Jutland; Åbo = river-dweller. 38.

Absalon, archbishop of Lund; active against Wends, 119, 121.

Aby, Lincs., 178.

Aachen, Rhine-province; ship symbol of Isis, 43.

Aarb. Oldk. on whale-verse, 155 n.

Aarhus, N. Jutland, 38; ship-driving custom, 42

Aarsberetning fra foreningen til fortidsmundersmerkens bevaring, communication between Orkney and Norway in Middle Ages, 140.

Adalbert, archbp. of Bremen, 127.

Adam of Bremen; *Fricco*, *i.e.*, Freyr, 35; church in Orkney, 222; on Slavs, 127.

Adzer; led Papal crusade against Baltic Slavs, 119.

Aeiríkr flæin, 183.

Æsc, son of Hengist, 46.

Æschere, *Beowulf*, 19.

Æscings, men of Kent, 46.

Æsir (Ases): southern gods, headed by Woden, made terms with Vanir (Vanes), gods of Sweden 32; taught witchcraft by Vanir, 33.

Agætr, C.N., adj.; in Icel. = of hersir or jarl birth, [*agætr maðr* in Isl. = hersir in Nor. = *gæðingr* in Ork.], 277.

Agincourt; Brigittine nunnery founded at Sion Abbey. in thanksgiving for victory, 106.

Agrippa; map of the world finished after his death, B.C. 7, 54.

Aislaby-on-Tees, co. Durham, 196.

Aix-la-Chapelle; visited by St. Bridget of Sweden, 1341, 92.

Akeld Steads, 178.

Akeld, Kirknewton, basin of Till, 178.

Alanus bleik; 13th cent., Selby Abbey, 197.

Albert of Bremen, bishop of Livonia; founded order of knights sword-bearers 1200, 120.

Albert the bear, markgrave of Brandenburg; acquired lands of Brizhany, etc., 119, 122.

Álfhildr; who sacrificed at night, 282.

Álfr, king of Vendsyssel, Den., 266; who sacrificed to *disir*, 267.

Alfred the great, king of England, 871-900; succ. brother Ethelred, 292; his earls ruled Northumbria after 885, with Bamburgh as capital, 173.

Álfsól, dau. of king Álfr, Den., 266.

Allendale, 210.

Alokiai, in Ptol. map; insular districts north of Limfjord, 65; eastern island identified with Hanherred, 66.

Alphonso, bishop of Jaen, Spain; revised Latin transl. of St. Bridget's *Revelations*, 94.

Altenglischen Namenkunde, Zur . Björkman, 177.

Alvastra, Sweden: Cistercian monastery where Ulf, St. Bridget's husband, died, 1344, and of which Peter was sub-prior, 94; Abbey Church, near which St. Bridget lived as anchoress, 1344, 93.

Amalfi; where St. Bridget visited the relics of St. Andrew, 102.

amber: trade, 1; Pytheas voyage, Teutones an a. selling tribe, 53; North Sea islands called by Romans, *Glæsia*, *i.e.*, Amber islands, 64; coast of South Jut-

- land a centre of trade, 64; Prussian coast, 73; Prussian amber coast trade route from the Danube, map, 74; Phœnician trade with Baltic, 115.
- Ambrones**; name applied to Saxons after conquest of Britain, the Ymbre of Widsith, identified also with present Amringer on island of Amrum, 81; in relation to Sigulons, 42.
- Amerston Hall**, Durh., 196.
- A Mhànnis mo rùin*; Gaelic hymn to St. Magnus, 136.
- Amotherby**, Yorks, 196.
- Amringer**; on island of Amrum, or Ambrum, west of South Jutland, identified with the Ambrones. 81.
- Amrum**, or **Ambrum**; island west of South Jutland, of which the Amringer identified with Ambrones of Ptol., 81.
- Ancyranum, Monumentum**; Roman triumphal monument in Angora. Asia Minor, on which two Jutland tribes mentioned, 55.
- Andres**, priest; at attack on Konungahella, 111.
- Andrew**, St., the apostle; his relics at Amalfi, visited by St. Bridget, 102.
- Andrews, St.**; bishopric of Orkney transferred from Trondhjem to met. see of St. A., 1472, 218, 224.
- Angel**, east coast of Jutland; inhabited by Angles; not visited by Romans, A.D. 5, 69.
- Angerton**, Wansbeck, 183.
- Angles**; main goddess, Nerthus, 29, included in Inguions group, 30, 31; inhabitants of Angel, S Jutland, 38; known to Romans, 55; in Ptol. *Geog.*, 59; not discovered by Roman navy, A.D. 5, as they are not on map of Cimbrian peninsula 69; worshipped Nerthus, 69; in Ptol. map, 77; *The Quedlinburg Annals*, A.D. 445, say: emigrated to Britain from the land of the Danes, led by their king Angling, 78; in *Tacitus Germania*, 82.
- Anglian kings**, genealogy, 41; descent from Woden, 42
- Anglo-Saxon Period, The National Assembly in the*, Liebermann, 230 n.
- Anglo-Saxon Rune-Song**; Ing first among East-Danes, 41.
- Anglo-Saxon times**; Norsemen a separate class, 142
- Angora**; Roman triumphal monument, 55.
- Angul**, king; led Angles to Britain, 445, 78.
- Angus** line of earls of Ork., 1231-1329, 217.
- Annals** of Björn of Skarðsá; on bp. Jón's raid, 166 n.
- Annibaldo Gaetani**, cardinal legate at the Roman Jubilee, 1349-1350, 101.
- Annual General Meeting**, 1912, 3; 1913, 133.
- Ansker**, St.; archbp. of Hamburg-Bremen; christianised Holstein, 825, 290; d. 865, 296.
- Anti**; conquered by Atilla, 116.
- Apulia**; Saracenic pirates infested coasts in 14th cent., 102.
- arborinn*, O.N., 8th generation of freed thrall family, 255.
- Archbishop Gray's Register*, 177.
- Ari**, the lawman, son of bp. Jón Arason; 158; in a raid, 166, 168; with his brother and father beheaded at Skalholt, 1550, 169; his last words, 170.
- Arkona**, conquered by Waldemar I., 120.
- ármaðr*, pl. *ármenn*, O.N., king's bailiff; as deputy in lawthing, 229; of earl of Ork., 254 [later called *fógeti*, and then *bailie* or *bailiff*.]
- Armagh**, Ireland; king Turges turns cathedral into heathen temple, 841, 275.
- Arne Arnorsson**; *officialis* of Skalholt diocese, captured by bp. Jón Arason who made rhymes about him, 166, 167.
- Arngrímur Jón-son**, *Sögubrot af Fornkonungum*, 266.
- Arnold-Forster**, F.; *Studies in church dedications*, 139 n.; St. Olave's churches in England, 143 and n.
- Arnór** jarlaskald, d. c. 1073; historian to the earls of Ork.—Þorfinnr Sigurðarson, 1014-1064,

- and Rognvaldr Brúsason, 1034-1045, 215, 216.
- Arras**; Ulf, husband of St. Bridget of Sweden, fell ill on return journey from Compostella, 1342, 93.
- Ásbjörn Heyjangers-Bjarnarson, 277.
- Asdis, sister of bishop Ogmund, 162.
- Askell, Asketill, Scand. per. n.; in Durh. pl. n., 196.
- Asketill, O.N. per. n.; in Nbl. pl. n., 193.
- Aslackby**, Lincs., 196.
- Aslacton**, Norfolk, 96.
- Aslacr, Scand. per. n.; in Durh. pl. n., 196.
- Assisi**; St. Bridget at, 1367, 102.
- assize; members of Orkney courts, after 1519, 236.
- Ástriðr Burízláfsdóttir; m. Sigvaldi jarl Strút-Haraldsson of Jónsborg, friend of Óláfr Tryggvason, 109, 112, 113.
- Athelmær, son of Ethelred, 292.
- Athole line of earls of Ork. 1139-1231, 217.
- Athos atlas, Ptol. *Geog.*, 57, 58, 70.
- Atilla, conquered the Veneti and Anti, 116.
- Atlas antiquus*, Perthes; Jutland in Germania, 81, 82.
- Atlas antiquus*, Spruner, 59.
- Atlas*, Erckert's; Denmark and Scandinavia as Germanic, 83.
- Atlas*, *Physikalischer*, Berghaus, 59.
- Atli jarl inn mjóvi, of Gaular, 845-870; made earl of Sogn, 267; his dau. [Solveig], 267; killed 870, 267.
- Attestatio Testarum*, Nbl. pl. n., 177.
- au O.N. > M.E. *ou*; *rauð* > *routh*; in Nbl. pl. n., 182.
- Auðbjörn, king of Firdafylki, 270.
- Auðr in djúpúðga; a christian, in Icel., 279.
- Augustine, Monastery of St.**; Grimsby, seal, 147.
- Augustinian monks of Bristol, founded Olave's Abbey, Dublin, after conquest of Ireland by Henry II, 142.
- Augustus, first Roman emperor; promoted knowledge of classical world, in statistics and geography, 54.
- Austerfield**, Yorks., 202.
- Austria**; a German mark against the Hungarians, 117.
- austr.* O.N. east; in *Ousterley*, Durh., 202.
- Autumn sacrifice; Gaular, 868, 267.
- Avignon**; Papal See transferred to, from Rome, 99.
- Avions; island, or river-dwellers, in Gottonic country, 31, 38.
- bagpipes; Slavonic, 123.
- Baikie; per. n., and pl. n., 261.
- bailie, or bailiff; synonymous with O.N., *fógeti*, Shet., 238.
- Bait Island** (now St. Mary's Island), near Monkseaton, formerly St. Helen's Baits, 195.
- Baldr; connected with Nerthus cult, 37.
- Baldershagi**; a great temple, near which king Beli of Sogn lived, 267.
- Balfour col. David; editor of Orkney records, 220.
- Ballará**, Icel. 281.
- Baltic**; features of Nerthus cult, the chariot, 41; trade centre Jónsborg and Wisby, 109; Scand. and Slavonic inhabitants, 116.
- Baltic Slavs, 114; trade in amber, 115; Pope Eugenius' crusade against them, 119.
- Bamburgh**; capital of earldom of Northumbria, 885-915, 173; place-names, 179.
- Bang. A. C., *Om Dale-Gudbrand*, 270 n.
- bankers; Lombards the first, 2.
- Barcelona**; St. Bridget of Sweden walked from, to Compostella, 1341, 92.
- Barden-Gau**, on Elbe; preserves name Langobards, 59, 64.
- Bari**; St. Bridget at, 102.
- Baring-Gould S., *Grettir the outlaw*, 28.
- Barletto**; St. Bridget at, on way to Bari, 102.
- Barnim; Slav noble, 121; prince B. founded churches in Stettin, 1237, 128; B. dux Slavorum et Cassubiæ, 128.
- Barry's *Orkney*, 240 n., 241.
- barter; in Phœnician trade, 1; in Slav commerce, 123.
- Bartholomew, St.; relics at Benevento, 102.
- Barnton-Turf**, Norwich; St. Michael's Church, rood screen,

141 n.; painting of St. Holofius (St. Olaf), 146, 147.
barin, O.N., title of *lendrmaðr*, after 1277, 249.

Baume, Mountain of St.; cavern in which St. Mary Magdalene supposed to have spent 30 years in penitence, visited by St. Bridget, 1341, 92.

Bavaria; national god, Er, 42.

Bavarians; derived from Ermin, 42; worshipped Er, 42.

Bear Park, co. Durh., 209.

beau repair, > Bear Park, co. Durh., 209.

beau trouvé, well situated. > Beautrove > Butterby, Durh., 209

-beck; in Wansbeck < Wanespic, and Fullbek, 176; Scand. suffix not in Nbl. pl. n., 194; in co. Durh pl. n., 209; in extreme west of co. Durham and in tributaries of Tees, 209.

Beckman N.; on *Vestgötalagen*, 87; progress of Irish name Bridget from Kildare to Finsta, 89.

Bede; called the Slavs, *Hunnen* 115.

Beechburn, co. Durham, 199.

Beechburn Beck, co. Durh., shows that *beck* is not original, 209.

befalingsmen, officers, 145 and n.

beit, O.N., pasturage; in Eng. pl. n., 195.

Belgium; Ptol. map, facing 76, 77.

Beli; in *Voluspá*, occurs in old Irish tales 50; king of Sogn, 267; in O.k., 50.

beliefs, in saga-time in O.k. 257

Belts The; limit of Tacitus knowledge 39.

Benedict son of St. Bridget of Sweden; died shortly after 1344, 93.

Benedict Magnusson, grandfather of St. Bridget, 86

Benedictine Abbey of Helfta, near Eisleben, 95.

Benevento; possessed the body of St. Bartholomew, visited by St. Bridget, 102.

Beorn, a Welshman of Jomsburg; on Odin, 110.

Beornec; in genealogy of Anglican kings, 41.

Beowulf and the Grettla, some points of resemblance between, by D. C. Stedman, 3, 6.

Beowulf, *Essays on questions connected with the Old English poem of*, Knut Stjerna, 1.

Beowulf; Wederas = Eudoses, 38; Danes called Ing-wine, 41.

Berezany, Slavs, 115.

Bergen; sir David Sinclair, capt. of king's castle, 259.

Berghaus' *Physikalischer Atlas*, 59.

Bernard, St.; baptised inhabitants of Wolin, 127.

Bernicia; Anglian kings' genealogy, 41.

bes, Slavonic for demon, 126.

Bessastad, Isl.; Danish government house, 159.

Bessingby, Yorks; St. Magnus Church, 139.

Biarmaland; temple of Jomala, 109.

Bjarni, bp. of Ork. 1188-1223; a skald, 132, 215; author of *Jömsvikingadrápa* & *Malshattakvæði*, 216.

Bible; translated into Swedish, by Cistercians, in 1300, 91.

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina, of the Bollandists; St. Bridget's life, 85.

Bickerton, basin of Coquet, 182.

Bielbog; Slav god, 124.

Bielbog, monastery, 128.

big buck, [Icel. *stór-bokki*], 165.

Biggin and Newbiggin, in Durh., 209.

biygin(g), Eng. dial., a building, 193.

bigginge, M.E., a building; in Nbl. pl. n., 193.

Billingham - in - Teesdale, boundary of Rognvald's lands in Durh., 209.

Bingfield, N. Tyne, 187.

Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* 177.

Birgitta (Bridget). wife of Tyrgil Knutsson, 88.

Birgir, the bright one, Swedish name, 88.

Birgir brosa; earl in Sweden. m. Bridget (Birgitta), dau. of k. Haraldr gilli 88.

Birgir I., king of Sweden; starved his brothers to death; his son Magnus decapitated, 1320, 90.

Birgir, son of St. Bridget of Sweden, 91; pilgrimage to Rome, 1369, 103.

Birgir Persson, father of St. Bridget; lawman of Tiundaland, 86, 89,

- summoned dist. for election of king 1319, 90; *d.* 1328 buried in Uppsala Cathedral, 91.
- Birgitta-Literatur*, Klemming's, 85.
- Birsa**, Orkney; 221; earldom lands, 222.
- biskopovnitsa*, Slav, bishops, 122.
- Biskupa Annálar Jóns Egilssonar*, 159 n.
- Biskupa Sögur*: St. Thorlak's miracle at King's Lynn, 1200, 147 n.; Jón Arason, 158 n.; first printer in Isl., 159 n.; *kaupa-land*, 178.
- bjarkeyarréttir*, O.N., town law, 237.
- Bjarnarhöfn**, Kjallakr of; in Icel., 278.
- Bjoerken, Lake**, Sweden, 86.
- Bjorkman: *Zur Altenglischen Namenkunde*; *Nordische Personennamen*, 177; *Scandinavian Loan-words*, 187.
- Björn Jónsson sira; son of bp Jón Arason, in a raid, 66; in a raid with his father, 168; beheaded, with his father and brother, at Skalholt 1550, 169.
- Björn buna; hersir of Sogni; geneal., 275 n.; father of Hrappr, 278.
- Björn of Skarðsa, *Annals*, 166.
- Björnson's Plays criticised, 151.
- black death in Sweden, from Norway, 1350, 99.
- Blake, Eng. per n., 197.
- Blakeston Hill**, co Durh. 197.
- Blanche of Namur, queen of king Magnus II. of Sweden, 97.
- bleikr* O.N., pale; in Durh., pl. n., 197.
- Blind, Karl; discussion with Schütte on 'Goth,' 29 n. (See *Saga-Book* III., 473, IV. 243).
- blöð-grn*, blood-eagle, sacrifice to Óðinn, 250.
- Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, 143.
- blóta*, O.N., to sacrifice 269.
- blót-gyðja* O.N., priestess, 33.
- Blyth**, basin of the; Nbild., pl. n., 184.
- boars, in dream; white b., cold winter; red b. little snow; black b., wars 288.
- boat *bátr*, in saga-time, 256.
- Bodritshy attacked by Velety and Charlemagne, 116, 121.
- Bogðvarr, hersir of Vors, Nor., settled in Icel., became *hofgoði*, 277.
- bæjar-ráð*, O.N., town council, 237.
- bætr*, O.N. wergeld; for earl Einarr, 1026, 251.
- bog*, Slavonic, god, 126.
- bogi*, bow, and 24 arrows to be borne by *bóndi* at levy, 231 n.
- Bogislas, duke of Pomerania, attacked Jarunar prince of Rügen, 120.
- Böglunga Sögur*, 254 n.
- Boldon Book* of Durham 12th cent.; social and economic history; earliest copy 14th cent. in which place-names have been changed to later forms, 157, 177.
- Boleslav the brave, Polish prince, attempted union of Slavs, c. 1000, 117, 118.
- Boleslavs of Bohemia, dream of Slav union, 118.
- Boleslav III., of Poland; mission to Pomerania, 127.
- bóndi*; arms to be borne in levy, 231 n.; in Norse law (1) tenant, or owner of bought land, (2) freeholder — *hauðr* or *óðals-maðr* 248.
- Bondi Carr**, a stretch of rock near Long Houghton, Nbild., 195.
- Boniface, the apostle of Thuringia, 724 124.
- Borany, Slavs, 115.
- Borgarthings Law. Old*; separate burial place for various social classes, 249.
- Borgundarhólmr**, pillaged by Oláfr Tryggvason, 112.
- Borrow, George; on Walter Scott and Saxon gods, 124.
- Boruchtuarii; preached to, by Ekbert, 690, 116.
- Boso, bishop of Merseberg; preached to Slavs, 127.
- Bothwid, St.; an Englishman, one of first Christian missionaries in Sweden, martyred near Stockholm, where St. Bridget of Sweden venerated his remains in 1341, 92.
- bowl, sacred; sent by Cimbrians to Augustus, 55.
- Brafforton**, Durham, < Brad-fordtuna, 186.
- Branceholm**, Yorks, 197.
- Brancepeth**, co. Durh., 197.
- Brandenburg**; stormed by Slavs, 983, 117.
- Brandiston**, Norfolk, 197.

Brandr, Scand. per. n.; in Durh., pl. n., 197.

Brand's *Description* of Ork. and Shet., 228 n.

Bransby, Lincs., 197.

Branston, Lincs., 197.

Brarup, earlier Brothærthorp, 181.

Braucedale, Yorks., 197.

Brauncewell, Lincs., 197.

bread-breaking; as peace token, 256.

Bredsdorff: on Cimbri = Himmerboer, 68.

breiðax, O.N., broad axe; carried by earl St. Rögnvaldr, 1154, at a peace meeting, 231 and n.

breiðax eða sverð ok spjót ok skjöldr, to be borne in levy by *ármaðr* and *lendrmaðr*, 231 n.

Brekka, Strjónsey 252.

Bremen, Albert of; bp. of Livonia, 120.

Bremen; made met. see of three Scand. kingdoms, 831, 223; repudiated by Norway 223; appointed a bp. of Ork., 1050-56, 223

Bremer, Otto; *Eth der german. Stämme*, 212 n

Brenkley, Ponteland, 184.

Bretforton, Worcestershire, 186.

Bretland (Wales); where Palnatoki had an earldom, 108.

brewing, b-fore Yule, in Ork., 256.

Bridekirk parish, Cumberland, 10th cent. runes, 88.

Bride's parish, St.; Cumberland, 88.

Bridget (Brigiða; Irish mistress of king Magnús berfœttr and mother of Haraldr gilli, 88.

Bridget (Brigiða) Haraldsdóttir gilla; m. (1) Magnús Heinreksson, k. of Sweden, (2) Birgir jarl brosa, and so brought this Irish name, Bridget (O.Ir. Brigit) into family of St. Bridget (Birgitta), of Sweden, 88.

Bridget (or Bride), St. of Kildare; "the Mary of the Gael," after whom the Swedish saint named, 86; her well at Husaby; prebendary founded in her honour in Skara, 87; lived 452-523; her cult in Western Islands, Scotland and Cornwall, where Breage (St. Breaca) commemorates her, 87; how this Irish name came to Sweden, 88.

Bridget's Well, St.; Husaby, Sweden, 87.

Bridget, St., of Sweden; by A. W. Taylor 85-107; a 14th cent. Catholic; authorities for her life, 85; born 1303, m. 1316, d. 1373, 86; married Ulf Gudmarsson, 89; her magnificent bed; became a tertiary of the order of St. Francis; hostel for poor at Ulfåsa, 91; her confessor, Matthias, 92; pilgrimages, 92; lived as an anchoress in a house abutting on Abbey Church of Alvastra, where she composed famous "Revelations," 1344, 94; definition of duties of a Sovereign, 97; accused of witchcraft, 98; wrote to kings of England and France to end 100 years' war, 99; visited Rome during the Jubilee, 1349-1350, 100; at Assisi, etc., 102; started a religious revival in Naples, 1367, 103; went to Jerusalem, 104, 105; death in Rome, 1373, 105; her remains carried through Italy and Germany to Sweden, 105, 106; canonised 1391, 106 nunneries founded, 106, 107.

Bridget, House of St.; Piazza Farnese, where St. Bridget went, 1353, 101.

Bridget, Memoir of St.; H. Hans Hildebrand, 86.

Brigitte Vie de Sainte, comtesse de Flavigny, 85.

Brigittine Order; abbey of Vadstene, founded by St. Bridget and her daughter, St. Catherine, 94; the Order of the Saviour, 96; abbey at Maribo Denmark 98; Rules, sanctioned as a modification of the Rule of St. Augustine, 104; nunneries in Denmark, Norway, Finland, Germany, Poland Italy, in 15th cent.; some still exist in England, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Spain and Mexico, 106; nuns mostly of noble birth, 107; Brigittine language, a mixture of Danish and Swedish, intended to unite three kingdoms, 107.

Brinkburn Cartulary, 177.

Brinkburn, basin of Coquet, 181.

Bristol, Augustinian monks founded Olave's Abbey, Dublin, 142.

Britanniae, in Pope Gregory's letter of 605, taken in 1119 to include Scotland and Ireland, and therefore Ork., under York, 222, 223.

British Museum — Charters and Rolls, 177.

Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, Rerum 141 n.

Brizhany, lands of the; acquired by Albert the bear, 119.

Broddhelgi, Isl. chief, 281; political chief with temple service by kinswoman, 283.

Brodersby, Denmark, 181.

Bróðir; Scand. per. n.; in Nbl. pl. n., 181.

Brondings: Gothic tribe (Widsith), 37.

Bronze Age; bronze axe brought by Phœnicians, 1.

Brorstrup, Denmark, 181.

Brotherstedt, Denmark, 181.

Brothertoft, Lincs., 181.

Brotherton, Yorks., 181.

Brotherwick, Bamburgh, 181.

Brough of Birsá, tidal island, Ork. *Byrgisey, 221.

Bruce, Lawrence; of Culmalindie, 1575, 262.

Bruce, Robert the; in Ork., 258

brunnr, O.W. Scand., a spring, fountain, 197.

Bruntoft, near Wynyard, Durh., 197.

Brunton, Embleton, 197.

Brunton, near Newcastle, Nbl., < Burneton, 197.

bú, homestead, in Ork., described, 255.

Bú of Orphir; valuation, 244 n., and errata.

Buckinghamshire, pl. n. in *thorp*, 210.

Bugge, prof. Alexr.; early Norse colonisation of Orkney, 211; *Vest. Inftyd. paa Nordboernes*, 211 n.

Bugge, prof. Sophus; some Edda lays composed in Britain, 215; *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, 215 n.

Bulbeck Common, above Blanchland; so called from barony of Bulbeck, which took its name from Bolbec, a Norman village, near mouth of Seine, 175.

Bulbjerg, opposite Skarreklit, 65. bull; a bronze bull, the god of Cimbrians 55.

Bull, Edvard; the cult of Norwegian saints in England and Scotland, 135.

Burdop, Oxfordshire, 206.

burg, O.E. -burg in pl. n., 182.

Burgar > Burgess; per. n. Ork., 26. Burgundians, in Ptol. *Geog.* 59.

burh, O.E., in Durh. pl. n., 198

burhs; English, similar in construction to Danavirki, different from German and French burgs, 293; built by women, 293.

Burislav, prince; offered Jóm to Palnatoki, 108; king of Wends, resided at Stargard near Jomsburg, 109.

Burislaf (Búrizláfr) k. of Wendland; joined Emperor Ótta against Danes, 112; m. Þyri Haraldsdóttir, whom she deserted and m. Óláfr Tryggvason, 113.

burn, a stream; > *brun* in Durh. pl. n., 197; name of tributaries of Tyne and Wear, 209

Burrey, Ork.; earldom lands, 222.

Burstedberg; Danish name for Stettin, 122.

Butterby, Durh., 299.

-by, Scand. suffix; one example in Nbl. pl. n., 184 124.

bygging, O.W. Sc., a building; in Nbl. pl. n., 193.

Bygholms Vejle, 65.

Byker, Tyne Valley, 185.

byrdingr, O.N., ship of burden, 257.

byrgi, O.N., entrenchment or mound; in *Byrgishærað*, Ork., 221 [there is a tidal island, Brough, attached to Birsá, and there are ruins of a Broch in Harra, from which the whole district may have taken its name].

Byrgishærað, now Birsá and Harra, Ork., 221.

Byzantium; silk shirt from, worn by k. Burislav, 189.

Cæsar; drove back Jutlanders from Gaul, B.C. 58, 53; legend of Julin or Wolin, 122.

Caithness; St. Magnus Hospital, 136.

Calendar of Charter Rolls, 177.

Calendar of Close Rolls, 177.

- Calendar Patent Rolls*, Richard II., St. Olave's, Queenhithe, 146 n.
- Cambridge Modern History*; Iceland, 152 n.
- Cambridgeshire*, *Place-names of*, Skeat, 179.
- Carlbury**, Coniscliffe, Durh., 198.
- Carlcroft**, in Alwinton, 196.
- Carlton**, co. Durh., 198.
- carr*, *-ker*, in Nfld. pl. n. 195; in co. Durh. pl. n., 209 [*carr*, Gael., a rocky shelf or projecting part of a rock—Watson's *Place-names of Cromarty*].
- Cartularium Saxonicum*; Birch, 177.
- Carvell, The; a ship, Shet., 1506, 259.
- Casimir, prince of Pomerania; founded Cistercian monastery at Dargun, 1172, 128.
- Castle Eden**; boundary of Rognvald's land, 209.
- Catherine of Siena, St.; 1347 1380; contemporary of St. Bridget of Sweden, 95.
- Catherine, St.: daughter of St. Bridget of Sweden; born 1332; married Eggard Lydersson van Kyren, 93; founded the Bridgetine Abbey of Vadstena, 94; of which she was first abbess, 106; joined her mother. St. Bridget, at Farfa, near Rome, 1350, 101.
- Catherine, sister of St. Bridget of Sweden; *m.* Magnus Gudmarson, 89.
- Cecilia, youngest daughter of St. Bridget of Sweden, 93.
- Čelakovský, Bohemian antiquary, 129.
- Celflawe**; 12th cent. form of Kelloe, co. Durham, = calf-hill, 190.
- celo*, Slav, village, 121.
- Celts; commemoration of Nerthus, 41; used term Wenden for Wends, 115; power of Druids, 284.
- ceorl*, O.E., a man; in Durh. pl. n., 198.
- Chadwick H.M.; cult of Nerthus, 29; Inguion group, 31; *The origin of the English nation*, on Gothic tribes, 37; Su-varines, 39; Ptol. Danish map, 65; Cimbri, 68.
- Chaideinoi**, in west Scandia=Hei(d)nir, in Heidmork, now Norwegian Hedemarken, "Heathwood," 75.
- chariot; in sacrificial procession of Nerthus, 41.
- Charlbury**, Oxfordshire, 198.
- Charlemagne; expedition against Elbe Slavs, 782, defeated by Saxons, followed by slaughter of Saxons; directed the efforts of his Franks and Saxons against Slavs, 116.
- Charles IV., emperor; St. Bridget besought his intercession to have her Order of the Saviour sanctioned by the Pope, 104.
- Charles, son of St. Bridget of Sweden, 91; pilgrimage to Rome, 1369, 103.
- Charlton**, near Bamburgh, 196.
- Charlton**, Tyndale, 196.
- Charudes; Suarines, 31; inhabitants on east coast of Jutland (Ptol.), invaded Gaul in Cæsar's time, 38; neighbours of Euduses, 39; sent ambassadors to Rome, 54; Cæsar's Harudes=present Harboer in Hardsyssel, the mediæval Harthæ Syssel; attack on Gaul in Cæsar's time; on east coast, later moved to west coast, name preserved in Hads Herred and mediæval Harz Hæret on east coast, 68.
- Chauks, in northern Hannoveria, 41.
- Chester**; church to St. Olave, 143.
- Chevallier, on St. Bridget, 85.
- Chichester**; St. Olave's church, 143.
- Chlumcy, Slavs 115.
- Chorvaty, related to Baltic Slavs, 115.
- Christ on the Cross; picture burnt in London, 1559, 140.
- Christian III., king of Denmark; *Reformation ordinance*, 1538, 156; *Reformation in Iceland*, 1539, 162.
- Christian; Danish Governor's deputy, to keep bp. Jón captive at Skalholt, 1550, 169; killed at Kirkjuból, 1551, in revenge for execution of bp. Jón, 170; corpse dug up and beheaded to lay his ghost, 170.
- Chronicle* of Margaret Klausdotter, 104.
- Chronicon abbatiæ S. Trudonis*, on Rhenish sacrificial procession, 41.

- Ohudleigh**, Devon; Brigittine nunnery, direct descendant of that founded at Hinton in 1407, refounded at Sion Abbey, Isleworth, in 1415, 106.
church dedications, Studies in; F. A. Forster, 139 n.
- Cimbrians, i.e. Jutlanders**, 41; raided south Europe, B.C. 101, 53; sent ambassadors to Rome 54; sacred bowl as gift to Augustus; their god a bronze bull, 55; join raid against Rome, B.C. 113-101, 81; represented by present Himmerboer in Himmerland, mediæval Himber Sysæl, different from Welsh Kymry, 67; outside Tacitus' Germania, 82.
- Cimbrian Peninsula**; Jutland and Holstein, 54; described by Mela, 64.
 circlet of gold, denoting rank, worn by king Burislav, 109.
- Cistercians; translated Bible into Swedish, 1300, 91; monastery at Dargun, 1172, 128.
- Claus van Marwitz; governor of Iceland, 159; his robberies and forgeries, 1540, 161; received life sentence, released next year, 161; searched bp. Ogmund's house, 163.
- Clausen, H. V.; Swedish place-names, 40.
- Clawson, Long**, Leicestershire, 198.
- Claxton**, Norfolk, 198.
- Claxton Grange**, co. Durh., 198.
- Clement Danes, St.**; London, 110.
- clif*, O.E., cliff; in Durh. pl. n., 198.
- Clonmacnois**; Norse priestess at, 282.
- Clouston J. Storer; representatives in Ork. *loggrætta*, 230.
- Codanonia**, island, (Scandinavia?), 39.
- Cola di Rienzi's Italian Republic overthrown, 99.
- Collin, editor Ancient Laws of Sweden, 86.
- Cologne**; visited by St. Bridget of Sweden, 1341, 92.
- Columbanus, St.; converted Germans, 7th cent., 126.
- commerce and currency. Origin of*; F. Lovett, 1.
- Compostella**, Spain: shrine of St. James the Great, 92; St. Bridget of Sweden arrived, 1342, 93.
- Conisborough**, West Riding, 198.
- Coniscliffe**, co. Durh., 198.
- Conishead**, Lancs., 198.
- Conisholme**, Lincs., 198.
- Coniston**, Lancs., 198.
- Coniston**, West Riding, 198.
- Constantine, king of Scotland; defeated by Rognvaldr at Corbridge-on-Tyne, [918], 173.
- Constantinople**; besieged by Slavs, including women warriors, 123.
- Copenhagen**, besieged by king Magnus II. of Sweden, 97.
- Copeland**, Cumberland, 178.
- Copeland House**, co. Durham, 178, 198.
- Copeland Islands**, Belfast Lough, 178.
- Coquet**, and tributaries, Nbld., pl. n., 181.
- Coquetdale**, 210.
- Corbridge-on-Tyne**; Rognvaldr defeated Eadred of Bamburgh and Constantine of Scotland [918], 173.
- coronation; in Sweden, on coronation stone, 1319, 90.
- Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, 114.
- Corvey**, Picardy; fable of monks, 126.
- Coucher Book*, of Selby Abbey, 13th cent., 197.
- Cowland**, Kirknewton, 178.
- Cowpen Bewley**, co. Durh., 199.
- Cowpen**, Horton, Blyth basin, 185.
- Craigie family Ork., 262.
- Craven, ven. archdeacon; early Christian missions to Ork., 132; historian of church in Ork., 220.
- crāwa*, O.E., a crow; in Durh. pl. n., 199.
- Crawe, a woman's name, 199.
- Crawcrook**, co. Durh., 199.
- Creting**, Suffolk; St. Olave's Church, 143, 146.
- Cromarty family Ork., [this is probably a nickname applied to an Orkneyman who went to Cromarty and returned with some local colour], 262.

- Crook**, co. Durh., 199.
Crookdean, Kirkwhelpington, Wansbeck, 184.
Crookell?, Lancs., 184.
Crookham, Ford, on banks of Till, 178.
Crookhouse, Kirknewton 179.
Cross Church, Dunrosnes, Shet.; bequest from sir David Sinclair, 1506, 259.
 cross-roads, sitting at; in witchcraft, Ork., 258.
Croston, Lancs., 184.
 crow; an Eng. nickname, 199.
 Crow; Eng. per. n., 199.
Crowland Abbey; St. Olave's Church, 140.
Crowland Bridge; stone statue of St. Olave with large loaf, hence *Holofius*, 141.
Croxby, Lincs., 184.
Croxdale, Spennymoor, Durh., 199.
Croxtheth, Lancs., 184.
Oroxton, Leicestershire, 184.
Oroxton, Norfolk, 184.
Cruden, Aberdeenshire; St. Olave's Church and Fair, 136; defeat of Danes, 1006; St. Olave's Well, song, 136.
Cumberland: Scand. place-names, 174; settlement in Durh., 209.
 currency; origin of, 1, 2; cloth and agricultural produce in Ork. and Shet., 247 [see also *Old-love Miscellany*, IX. 53].
Cuthbert, History of St., 177.
 Cuthbert, St.; bearers of his body, 880, 180; his lands, east and south portions of co. Durh., divided by Rognvaldr between his followers, Skúli and Onlaf-bald, 921, 173.
cyning, O.E., king; in Durh. pl. n., 198.
Cyprus; Eleanor of Aragon, queen of, 1372, 105.
 Cytel, O.E. per. n.; in Durh., pl. n., 202.
 Czernebog and Odin, 110.
 Daae; *Norges helgener*, 142 n.
Dacia; Baltic Slavs bordered on, 115.
 Dadi Gudmundsson; feud, with bp. Jón Arason, 165; famous black horse, 166; his house at Snóksdal; bp. Jón's raid balked, 166; excommunicated by bp. Jón, 167; captured bp. Jón at Saudafell, 1550, 168, 169.
 -dale, name for valley in Nblld. and Durh., of Anglian origin, 210.
dalers, coins of Charles XII. of Sweden, 2.
Dale-Gudbrand, Om; A. C. Bang, 270 n.
Dalmatia; Slav songs, 123.
Dalton-le-Dale; called Daltun, in Bede's *History*, and therefore *Dal-* of Anglian origin, 210.
Danavirki (now Danevirke. Dane-work); battle between emperor Ótta and Danes, 112; name of Þyri connected with it, 291; construction similar to burhs in England, 293; built by women, 293.
Danelagh; Scand. pl. n. in, compared with those of Nblld., 195; pl. n. with *Klakkr*, a man's name, 198.
 Danes; in Inguions group, 30; Ing first among East D., 41; Dauki-ðnes (Danniðnes) of Ptol., 73; Henry the fowler, 117; Schleswick a German mark against them, 117; Princess Sirit, 118; Ratibor fell in battle against them, 1402, 118; destroyed Wolin or Julin, 122; destroyed Rugievit, the Slav idol, 126; bp. Jón Arason's epigram, 1550, 170.
 Dani; preached to, by Ekbert, 690, 116.
 Danish tongue, old Norse language, 161 and n.
Danmarks Riges Historie, on Þyri 285, 300.
 Dannebrog order, 120.
Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift, 141, 143.
Danske Stednavnes Bygning, Indledende Studier over de ældste, Steenstrup, 187 n.
Dantsic; built by Waldemar the great, 120; in possession of Order of Knights Sword-bearers, 120.
Dargun; Cistercian monastery founded 1172, 128.
 Dasent, sir G. W.; *The Vikings of the Baltic*, 109.

- Daukiðnes** (read *Daneidnes* or *Daniðnes*), Ptol. map; in south Scandia = Danes, 73.
- deer-hunting** in Caith., in Saga-time, 256.
- deill**, O.W. Scand., a share; in *Croxdale*, Durh., 199.
- Delting**, Shetland, 222
- Dena**, O.E., of the Danes, in pl. n., 181.
- Denmark**; a map 1900 years old: by G Schütte, 4, 53; Nerthus cult, chariot and images, 41; Ptol. *Geog.*, 53; Roman naval Expedition, A.D. 5, 54; Ptol. maps, 53-84, 61, 71; outside Germania, in Athos atlas, 84; oldest kingdom in Europe, from Skjoldung kings of Beowulf down to present, 1500 years uninterrupted existence, 84; Jömsborg passed to 109; Roman emperor Otta's Christian expedition, 112; king Sveinn Haraldsson captured, 113; Rügen a tributary, 1169. 120; deteriorating influence on Iceland and Norway, 149; Reformation, 1538, 156; Reformation tactics in Iceland, 161.
- denu**, O.E., a valley; in pl. n., 181.
- Denwick** Bambergh, 181.
- Derby**, the *Red Book of*, 1061; votive mass to St. Olave, 141.
- Derwent Valley**, pl. n., 191.
- Detlefsen**; on Avions, 38; Ptol. map of Jutland, 68; Sieglin's *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, 69.
- Deutsche Altertumskunde**; on Ptol-emy, 57.
- Didrik van Minden**; Icel. Reformation, 159; led attack on Videy monastery, 1539, 160; killed at Skalholt, 161.
- Dingstag**, Dienstag; German name of Tuesday, after Mars Thingsus, 43.
- Dioscures**, cult of; among Vandales, 30.
- Dipl. Íslandicum**; Protestant ordinance, 1538, 164.
- Dipl. Norveg.**; communication between Norway and England, 141 n.; St. Olave's Fleet, King's Lynn, 147; 218 n.; 263.
- disablót**; sacrifice to *disir*, at king Álfs, 267.
- disir*; sacrifice to, at Vors, at winter nights, 267.
- disir*-worship; cult of ancestors, served by priestesses, 282.
- Dittmar**, bishop of Merseburg, 976-1018, 125.
- divination**: among Slavs, with horses, ashes, toss-up, 125.
- Dixin**, counsellor (*forráða-maðr*) of Geira, queen of Wendland, 112.
- Djursland** peninsula, Jutland, 66.
- Dobrovsky**, Bohemian antiquary, 129.
- Dolency**, Slavs, 115.
- dollar**, coin, in Iceland, 1540, 162.
- Dom Arnold**, abbot of Farfa, Rome; rebuked by St Bridget, 1350, 101.
- Domesday Book**; Northumberland and Durham not mentioned, 175; 177.
- doomsmen**, members of Ork. court, 236.
- Dorsetshire**; St. Magnus Church, 139.
- Dot**, or **Dotus**, per. n. in Domesday, 192.
- Dota**, O.Sw. and O.Dan. woman's name, 192.
- Dotabotha**, O Sw. pl. n., 192.
- dote**, Norwegian dial., a dull-witted person, 192.
- Dotland**, Hexhamshire, 192.
- Dóttá**, Scand. woman's name, in Nbl. pl. n., 192.
- dragon-ship**, 257.
- draughts**, game, in Ork., 256.
- Drazhko**, prince of Bodritshy, 116.
- dress** in Saga-time in Ork., 256.
- Drevliany**, Slavs 115.
- drömundr**, warship in Mediterranean, 257.
- drop** < þorp, in pl. n., 206.
- dropi**, O.W.Scand., a drop; Norw. dial., drop, dripping, in *Stain-drop*, Durh., 207.
- dróttinn**, O.N. lord; applied by Swedes to Njörðr, 33.
- drótsete**, governor, Sweden, 89.
- dróttseti**, king's steward, in land-ward, Shet., 1386, 232.
- Druids**; power among Celts, 284.
- Dublin**; Henry de Loundres, arch-bishop, 1220, 87; Olave's Abbey, founded by Augustinian monks from Bristol, 142; Scandinavian kingdom of, and Nbl., 173; Sveinn Ásleifarson captured two English ships laden with cloth, 1158-71, 216.

- Dublin, A History of the City of*, J. T. Gilbert, 142.
- Duignan, *Worcestershire Place-names*, 186; *Staffordshire Place-names*; 186.
- dūn*, O.E., a hill; in Durham, 200.
- Dunelmensis, Feodarium Prioratus*, 177.
- Dunelmense, Registrum Palatinum*, 177.
- Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, Historiæ*, 177.
- Dunimiz, nephew of king Rettibur, 111.
- Dunthorp**, Oxfordshire, deriv., 182.
- Durham**; *place-names*; 172-210, 196-210; deriv., 199; pl. n. compared with those in Nfld., more Scand. names. 208, in *-by*, *-ing*, *-toft*, *-holm*, *crook*, 208; coast names, 209; settlements from Cumberland, 209; distribution of *beck* and *burn*, 209; *thorps* and *dales*, 210, divided among vikings, 228, 173; *Palatinate bi-hopric*, 175; *Boldon Book*, 175.
- Durh. Acct. Rolls*, 177.
- Durham Priory**; records, 176.
- dý*, O.N., a bog; in *Dyance*, 200.
- Dyance**, co. Durh., 200.
- Dymín**, a Slav town, 121.
- Eadred, of Bamburgh; defeated at Corbridge, [918], 173.
- Eadric strjóna streona; (traitorous ealdorman of Mercia, 1007, d. 1017). 294; m. Ethelred's dau., 295.
- East Anglia**; and Northern Mercia portioned among viking settlers, 173; many pl. n. in *thorp*, 210.
- Edda*; poetic and prose, 44-52; poetic E. taken down in writing in 12th cent., 214; some lays composed in Britain. 215; priestesses in poetic E., 282.
- ēðel Gotena*, O.E. = Got-pjóð, O.N., the Gottonic group, 29.
- Eddic Poems, The Home of the*, Sophus Bugge 215 n.
- Editha; dau. of Edward the elder, and wife of emperor Otto I., 292.
- Edward the elder, king [900-924]; Norse invasion of Northumbria from Ireland. 912, 173; his daughters Pyri, and Editha the wife of emperor Otto I., 286, 292, 293.
- Edmund Ironside; after his death [1016] Knútr divided England into earldoms, 295.
- Edmund, St.; portrait at Barton Turf, 147.
- Edward the confessor, St.; [1042-1066], 144; portrait at Barton Turf, 147.
- Edward I. [1272-1307]; Olaf's church, London, 145.
- Efterladte Skrifter*, Norw. hist., 264 n.
- Eggard Lydersson van Kyren, married St. Catherine, daughter of St. Pridget of Sweden. 93.
- Egil Einarsson, Iceland; alive 1593, aged 70, 159, 160 n., 162.
- Egilssaga*; Atli jarl of Sogn, 267.
- et*, O.N., > *ay*, *ai*; in Eng pl. n., 182.
- Einarr, síra, priest; friend of bp. Jón Arason, 159; father of Egil, 162.
- Einarr rangmunnr; earl of Ork.; held þing; his slaughter and vergeld, 230. 1026, 251.
- Eiríkr, king of Hörðaland, father of Gyða, 287.
- Eiríkr, ágætr; settled at Hlof, Icel., 277.
- Eiríkr blóðox (Eric blood-axe); king of Northumbria, expelled 954, 173; at sacrifice, 917. 268.
- Eiríkr ei-góðr; invaded Slav-lands, 1093, 118.
- Eiríkr Hákonsson, earl d. 1014; in plot against k. Óláfr Tryggvason, 113.
- Ekbart, a priest, went to Germany to preach, in 690, to the Fressones, etc., 116.
- eke-names*:—
- Aðalsteinsfóstri (O.N., foster-son of Athelstan)—Hákon.
- balli (O.N., *ballr*, bold)—Óláfr.
- bear, the—Albert.
- berfoettr (O.N., bare-leg, he wore a kilt)—Magnús.
- bjólá, bjólá-n (occurs in a pl. n. in Icel.; and as a per. n., apparently of Norsemen in Ireland—Beollán *armann* and *litill*, from O.N. *ármaðr* and *litill*; meaning uncertain, but it may be a Norse form of Gael. *bedlach*, a hero)—Helgi.

blátönn (O.N., blue-tooth)—Haraldr.
 b'eiki (O.N., pale, white hair)—Alanus.
 blóðöx (O.N., bloody axe)—Eiríkr.
 brjóstreip (O.N., breast-rope)—Sveinn.
 brosa (O.N., the smiling one)—Birgir.
 buna (O.N., applied to a purling stream; the babbler?)—Björn. *cf.* Bunu-, or Hvinu-Pétr (Ork. Saga), *i.e.*, Peter of Hvin, in Norway, a pl. n., prob. deriv. from *hvina*, to give a whizzing sound as of birds' wings, or of a gust of wind; *Buna*- may have been used as an eke-name for a person from Hvin.
 confessor, the—Edward.
 Danaást (O.N., Danes' darling)—Knútr.
 Danmarkarbót, Danabót (O.N., Denmark's improvement or adornment)—Þyri.
 digri (O.N., thick)—Sigurðr.
 djúpúðga, hin (O.N., the profound)—Finnur Jónsson points out that the variant *djúpaúðga*, deeply wealthy is founded on an adj *djúpaúðgr* which has never existed, and that *djúpr*, deep, is never used in connexion with property)—Auðr.
 ei-góðr (O.N., ever-good)—Eiríkr.
 enska (O.N., English)—Gyða.
 fat, the—Henry.
 ffílski (O.N., foolish)—Ketill.
 flatnefr (O.N., flat nose)—Ketill.
 fleinn (O.N., pike, arrow, fluke of anchor)—Aeiríkr.
 fowling, the Henry.
 Freysgoði (O.N., priest of Freyr)—Þórðr, *s.v.* Þuriðr, Hrafnkell.
 frið- (O.N., peace)—Frið-Fróði.
 fylsenni (O.N., colt's brow)—Þórarinn.
 gamli (O.N., old)—Vémundr Þorhaddr. Kjallakr, Ingimundr, Knútr.
 gaulverski (O.N. adj. of Gaulardalr, Nor.)—Þorbjörn.
 gilli (O.N. from Irish *gille*, servant)—Magnús.
 goði (O.N., priest)—Þorgrímr, Jörundr.
 góði (O.N., good)—Magnús; Hákon.

göngu- (O.N., walking)—Hrólfr.
 gráfeldr (O.N., grey-cloak)—Haraldr.
 great, the—Otto, Gertrude, Alfred.
 Grœningarrjúpa (O.N., ptarmigan of Grœning?)—Þorunn.
 gull- (O.N., gold)—Gullharaldr.
 gyðja (O.N., priestess)—Þorlaug, Þuriðr.
 hængr (O.N., a male salmon)—Ketill.
 hafsrþjó (O.N., buck's thigh)—Þórir.
 haltí (O.N., halt)—Heinrekr, *s.v.* Magnús Heinreksson.
 harðráði (O.N., forceful counsel)—Haraldr.
 hárfagri (O.N., hair-fair)—Haraldr.
 heimski, hinn (O.N., foolish, or stay-at-home)—Hrafn.
 helmingr (O.N., half, for *hálftit klæði*, cloth of different colours on each side)—Gunnarr.
 Heyjangers- (from the place Heyjanger, a branch-ford of Sogn)—Björn.
 hilditönn (O.N., war-tooth; *cf.* O.E. *hilde tusc.* in Beowulf, war tusk, sword)—Haraldr.
 hjörtir (O.N., a hart)—Sigurðr.
 Hlaðajarl (from Hlaðir, the chief homestead of)—Hákon, Sigurðr.
 Hofða- (O.N. adj. of the place Hofði Icel.)—Þóðr.
 hofgyðja (O.N., temple priestess)—Þuriðr.
 hringr (O.N. ring)—Sigurðr.
 ironside (O.E. *irensid*, valorous, O.N. *járnsíða*)—Edmund.
 istrumagi (O.N., paunch)—Þórðr.
 jarlaskald (O.N., earls' skald—*i.e.* to the two earls of Ork.—Þorfinnr and his nephew Rognvaldr)—Arnórr.
 jórsalafari (O.N. Jerusalem-farer, crusader)—Sigurðr.
 kali (first name of Rognvaldr Kolsson, before he took his new name Rognvaldr, and which afterwards became his eke-name)—Rognvaldr.
 klakk- (O.N. *klakkr*, one of the two upper ends of the *klyfber* (Ork. *clibber*), pack-saddle, on which the burden was hung; also in pl. n. for a peak)—Haraldr.

klerkr (O.N., clerk—not a priest)
þorbjörn.
kvaran (Irish, brogue, sock)—
Ólafr.
lávarðr (O.N. lord) - Knútr.
lion, the—Henry.
loðbrók (O.N., fleecy breeches)—
Ragnarr.
mjóvi, hinn (O.N., small, thin,
slender — slender - waisted) —
Atli.
mostrarskegg (O.N. Mostr, a Nor.
island, the owner of which
had a big *skegg*, beard)—
Þórólfr.
norœeni, hinn (O.N., The Norse-
man)—Flosi.
norsk (Norwegian) - Magnus, *s.v.*
Norsk.
rangmunnr (O.N., wry-mouth)—
Einarr.
raumr (O.N., of the place Rams-
dalr)—Ketill, *s.v.* Þorsteinn.
ríki, hinn (O.N., the mighty)—
Hákon, Knútr, Þorfinnr.
skautkonungr (O.N. *skaut*, the
skirt of a garment; Ork. *scutt*,
a bag formed by holding up
the end of the skirt; in O.N.
law used in the adoption of a
child)—Óláfr scenski.
skeggi (O.N., beard—big b.) —
Þórðr.
skjálgi (O.N., squinting) — Úlfr,
Þórólfr.
scenske (O.N., The Swede)—Óláfr.
stórráða (O.N. of great under-
takings—and who knew how
to carry them out)—Sigríðr.
strjóna, streona (O.E. *streón*, gain,
profit; the profiteer?)—Eadric,
a traitor.
strút- (O.N., *strútr*, top, conical
point, *e.g.* of a hat)—Strut-
Haraldr, he had a hat on
which there was a *strútr*
which was of pure gold.
úngi, hinn (O.N. the young)—
Hrólf.
úrarhorn (O.N., ur-ox horn)—
Eyvindr.
vængr (O.N., wing)—Jón.
veðr- (O.N., wether)—Grimr.
veðr (O.N., a wether)—Ketill.
Elbe; Roman army at mouth of,
A.D., 5, 54; Tiberius camped
near its mouth, 64.

Elbing; in possession of Order of
Knights Sword-bearers, 120.
Eleanor of Aragon, queen of Cyprus;
received St. Bridget on her way
to Jerusalem, 1372, 105.
Elfric (traitorous ealdorman of Hamp-
shire and Berkshire, 992), 294.
Elijah; succeeded Perun among
Christian Variags and Russians,
125.
Ellemandsbjerget, the elf-
mountain, Hælgænæs, 40.
Elphinstone, bishop; *Breviarium*
Aberdonense, printed 1509, 137.
embroidery; in Sweden, in 14th
cent., 89.
eng, O.N., grassland; in pl. n., 193;
in *Felling*, 200; in *Skirningham*,
Durh., 206.
England; Christian missions to
Sweden, St. Sigfrid, 88; St.
Bothwid, 92; St. Bridget of
Sweden wrote to king of, to end
100 years' war, 99; Cultus of
Norwegian saints, 131, 135;
Scand. influence on pl. n., 133,
172; Cultus of St. Olaf and St.
Magnus, church dedications,
138; Norse influence on church
in 12th and 13th cents., 143;
sea communication with Nor-
way, 11th cent., 144; Eng. cloth
captured by Ork. viking off Dub-
lin, 1058 71, 216; king of Norway
asked for bishops, 934, 223; Eng.
bishops assisted Óláfr Tryggva-
son in conversion of Norway,
Orkney and Shetland, 223; in-
vasion by Sveinn and Knútr, a
dynastic strife, 294.
England, The foundations of, Ram-
say, 118.
Engles, L'estorie des: St. Olaf, 141.
English Association, *Essays and*
Studies, pl. n., 182.
English Dialect Dictionary; place
names, 177.
English nation. The origin of the,
H. M. Chadwick; on Ptol.
Danish map, 65.
English place-name study, 172.
Eoves, Gothic tribe (Widsith), 37.
Eowan, island-, or river-dwellers, 38.
eponymous names and heroes, Got-
tonic laws, 40.
Er, national god of Saxons; also
worshipped by Bavarians, his
symbol Irmin-sûl, 42.

- Erckert's *Atlas*; Denmark and Scandinavia as Germanic, 83.
- Eric, duke, Sweden; starved to death by his brother, king Birgir I., 1317, 90.
- Eric of Pomerania, king; founded Briggittine Abbey at Maribo, Denmark, 98.
- Ermin, or Armen, by conjecture derived from Armenia, ancestor of Bavarians, 42.
- Ermes group, to which Swebians belong, included Saxons, 42.
- Ertag = Tuesday, from Bavarian god, Er, 42.
- Eshells**, Hexhamshire, 192.
- eski*, O.N., ash-tree, in pl. n., 193.
- Eskin, O. Dan. per. n., 193 n.
- Esper Shields**, Derwent Valley, 191.
- Esperd, per. n.; in Nfld. pl. n., 191.
- Esperley**, co. Durham, 191.
- Espervik**, Norway, 191.
- Esthonia**; Waldemar's expedition against, 120.
- Esthonians; a Finnish-ugrian people; their Tara = Thor, 52.
- Ethelfled (dau. of king Alfred, Lady of Mercia, 911-918); built burhs (in Mercia), 293.
- Ethelmaer, wit. will of Ethelric of Bocking, 295; prob. earl of Wessex, son of Ethelward, descendant of Ethelred I., 295.
- Ethelred, king of England [866-871, b. bef. 848], 285 *et. seq.*; his daughters, 292; father of Ætla wife of Gormr hinn Gamli, 285 *et. seq.*; [his younger bro. Alfred m. 868, so Ethelred possibly m. then or earlier, aged 20, his children would, therefore, be b. 869-871].
- Ethelred II., will of Ethelric of Bocking 294, 295.
- Ethelric, of Bocking, Kent; father of Eadric stædæna, 294.
- Ethelward, historian; descendant of Ethelred I., 295.
- Ethelwold, son of Ethelred (d. 905); 292; rebelled against his cousin Edward the elder, in which he was supported by Danes of Northumbria, 293.
- Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*, Otto Bremer, colonisation of Shet., 620, 212 n.
- Eudoses; in Gottonic country, 31; like the Eudosioid of Ptol., corrupted into Fundusioi, invaded Gaul in Cæsar's time, 38; Eudosioid, Jutlandic tribe, southwest of Charudes, west end of Limfjord, attacked Cæsar in Gaul with Angles and Varines, worshipped Nerthus, 69.
- Europe, Historical Geography of*; Freeman, 116.
- Euthones (Nuithones), 31.
- Euthungi, often called Vithungi, 38.
- Exchequer, Red Book of the*; place-names, 177.
- execution customs in Ork., 231.
- Exeter**; St. Olave's Church, 143.
- Eymundr; Norse per. n.; in Durh. pl. n., 196.
- Eyrbyggja Saga*; varðveita of temple priest, 269 n.
- eyrisland*, O.N., a hide of 120 ac. of arable land in Ork. and Shet. (= *tirung*, in Hebrides) which paid an *eyrir*, ounce (Gael. *unga*) of gold in rent = a mark of 8 aurar, or ounces, of silver = the Ork. payment of malt- and butter-skatt in 1500, of which *leiðangr* or *fararkaup*, the true skatt, 1/18th, as compared with 1/16th in Norway in war time. The *eyrir* or *unga* of gold represented an old valued rent = 9/10ths silver mk. in the heavier coinage or 216d Norse in 12th cent. This old rent was charged as skatt in addition to the true skatt, *leiðangr*, 227 n., 241-246.
- Eysteinn, archbp. of Trondheim: Passio et miracula beati Olavi, 143.
- Eyvindr úrarhorn; king's *hirdmaðr*, slain in Ork., 230.
- Faderstrup**, Denmark, 190.
- Fadhir, O.Sw., per. n., 190.
- Faðir, O.N., per. n., of fictitious origin, 190.
- fair; St. Magnus, in Caith., 136; St. Olave, in Cruden, 136; St. Olave's, Herringfleet, Norwich, 1226 146.
- Falkmann; *Ortnamnen i Skåne*, 185 n.
- Famagusta**; visited by St. Bridget on her way to Jerusalem, 1372, 105.

fararkaup, O.N., war tax; Ork. dial, *forcop*; see *leiðangr*, 239.

Farfa; Benedictine Abbey, north of Rome, visited by St. Bridget, 1350, 101.

Faroës; lucky 'whale-verse' at fishing, 155 and n.; settled by Norse (870-933), 214.

Fatal Sisters, Gray's; in Orkney, 220.

Fatherstorp, Den., 190.

Fathir, O.Dan., per. n., 190.

Fauonai (read Souionai), in east Scandia = Suiones (Tacitus), now Swedes in Svearike, 74.

Feader; huscarl of Harthacnut sl. Worcester, 1014; in Staffs. pl.n., 190.

Featherstall, Lancs., 190.

Featherstone, S. Tyne, 189.

Featherstone, Staffs., 189.

Featherstone, Yorks., 189.

Fehmern, an island; Danish name of Imbræ, 81.

fell, in Nblid. pl. n., 196; in co. Durh. pl. n., 209.

Felling, co. Durh., 200.

fertility, Nerthus deity of, 30

Feudal Aids; place names, 177.

Feudal Antiquities, Hartshorne, 177.

Finchale Cartulary, 177.

Finmark, Finland; land of Ptol. Finnoi, in north Scandia, 75.

Finnaithæ, of Jordanis; inhabitants of Finnheidr, now Finvedin in Småland, 74.

Finnheidr (Finnish heath), Finvedin 74.

Finnoi, in north Scandia = Finns, in Finmarken and Finland, 75.

Finns; = Ptol. Finnoi, in north Scandia, 75; in Tacitus' Germania, 82; deity, Jomala, 108; used Wenden for Wends, 115; u ed Wennalaiset for Russia, 115.

Finnur Jónsson; on *vébraut* in a kenning, 266 n.

Finsen, V., *Om den oprindelig Ordning af nogle af den islandske Fristats Institutioner*, 265 n.

Finsta, Castle of, Sweden; residence of St. Bridget's father, 86; progress of Irish name Bridget from Kildare to, 89.

Finvedin, in Småland, perhaps Ptol. Firaisoi, 74.

Firaisoi, in east Scandia = Finnaithæ of Jordanis, inhabitants of Finnheidr, present Finvedin in Småland, 74.

Firðafylki; people of, at sacrifice, 268; hersir of, 268.

fire signal among Wends 124.

Fischer, J.; on Ptolemy's *Geography*, 57 n.

Fiselby, Wansbeck, 184.

Fitz Osbert, Roger; founded monastery of St. Olave, Herringfleet, 1216, 142.

Fjalafylki; hersir in, 917, 268.

Fjalir, Firðafylki, afterwards Gaular, 268; folks at sacrifice, 917, 268.

fjall, O.N., mountain; in *Felling*, 200.

Fjon; Palnatoki earl of 108

fjörðungsgjöf, in Ork. and Shet., a fourth of self-acquired land and movables which an óðalsmaðr was allowed to bequeath, introduced by the church, 246 (see *tiend-penny and the ferd*).

fleinn, O.N., pike, arrow, fluke of anchor, = O.E., *flān*; in Northumb. pl. n., 182.

Fleinn, O.N. per. n.; 9th cent. skald; in Nblid. pl. n., 183.

Flenstad, Norse pl. n., 183.

Flóruvágur; naval battle, 1194, in which Orkney-men took part against king Sverrir. 232.

Flosi inn norrœni Þorbjarnarson ins, Gaulsverska; his father Þorbjörn was hersir of Fjalafylki. 917, 268.

fóguti, *fógt*, king's bailiff; in Shet. after 1194, 232, 254; see *ármaðr*.

Folklore as a Historical Science, Gomme 270

Folklore of Scottish lochs and springs, Mackinlay, 135.

Folkungs, royal family of; Sweden, 86.

Follingsby, co. Durh., 200.

font; of granite in Jutland, 12th cent.; one at Sönderho more graceful, made c. 900, 300.

Formae orbis antiqui, H. Kiepert, 58.

Fornaldar Sögur; royal priests, 266; Nor. gyðjur, 282.

Fornsvenk Bibliografi, Geete's; St. Bridget. 85

forráðamaðr, O.N., counsellor, 112.

- Forsete; national god of Frisians, 43; adopted into Norse mythology, but no trace of real worship on Scand. ground, 43.
- Fosetlesland**, or Helgoland; where Forsete was worshipped, 43.
- Fotheringham; Scot. per. n. in Ork., 261.
- foud*, O.N. *fóguti*, bailie or bailiff of a parish; Shet., 238.
- Fountains Abbey**; MS. of *Passio et miracula beati Olavi*, 143.
- France**; St. Bridget of Sweden wrote king of, to end hundred years' war, 99.
- Francis, St.; preached to St Bridget at Assisi, 102; St. Bridget of Sweden admitted as a tertiary of the Order of, 91.
- Franco, a bearer of St. Cuthbert's body, 880, 180.
- Frankfort**; Slav deputies in parliament, 822, 117.
- Franks; ruined reign of Varines in 595, 38; sons of Istio, 43.
- Frederick Barbarossa; attacked prince of Rügen, 120.
- freed-man, in Norse law, 248.
- Freeman; on Eadric streóna, 294, 295; *Historical Geography of Europe*, on Scand. and Slavonic inhabitants of the Baltic, 116; *Norman Conquest*, campaign against Wends, 118.
- Fressones; preached to, by Ekbert, 690 116.
- Freyja, dau. of Njörðr, 29; continued sacrifices after Njörð's death the last of the gods, 34; served by priestesses, 282; *høgr ded.* in Nor., 283.
- Freyr, Yngvi-Freyr, son of Njörðr: 29; also called Fricco, the spender of sacred peace, reappears as Swedish king Frø and Danish king Frið-Fróði, also called Yngvi-Freyr or Ingun-ár freyr, i.e., "lord of Inguions" the fertility spending lord of Inguions, 30; phallic rites; succeeded Njörðr as king of Sweden, when Frode-peace began; his wife Gerð, his son Fiolnir died, and buried in mound secretly, 33; Olaf Trygvason's Saga on, 34; in Baltic districts, 42; served by priestesses, 282; *høgr ded.* in Nor., 283.
- Freysgoði*, priest of Freyr; Icel., 277, 283.
- Fricco = Freyr, q.v. 30.
- Frið Fródi, Danish king, or Frode Fredegod, the spender of the fróða-friðr, sacred peace, 30.
- Friðgerðr, gyðja; wife of Þórarinn fylsenni, Icel., 282.
- fríð-góði, O.N., the peace-good; Freyr, 36.
- fríðkaup, O.N., fine paid by outlaw; Shet., 1412, 233.
- Frisians; national god, Forsete, 43.
- Frithiof and Ingebjørg, 50.
- Friðþjófs Saga*, royal priests, 266.
- Fritwell**, Oxfordshire: St. Olave's church, in Norman style, 144; St. Olave's church, the only one not near sea, 12th cent., 147; pre-Norman, 148; collection for St. Olave's, York, 148; festival of St. Olave still kept, Old Style as in 18th century, 149.
- Frø, Swedish king = Freyr or Fricco, 30; Saxo, on, 36; his sons, 36.
- fróða-friðr, O.N., sacred peace, 30; began when Freyr was king of Sweden, 33.
- Frode Fredegod, the Danish king Frið-Fróði; the spender of the fróða-friðr, sacred peace, 30; Saxo, on, 36; gored to death by a witch in form of a sea-sow, 37; corpse embalmed, later buried near Værebro in Sealand, 37.
- Fróði Vémundsson; geneal., 275 n.
- Fullbek**, in *Newminster Cartulary*, 176.
- Fulletby**, Lincs., 200.
- full-liða*, O.N., fully able; as nickname *fullði, in Follingsby, 200, 201.
- Fulthorpe**, co. Durh., 201.
- Fundinn Noregr*; in *Orkneyinga Saga*, 215.
- Fundusioi; corruption of Eudoses, 38; of Ptol. = Eudosioid, 68.
- Funen**; Nærth-øwæ, "Nerthus' Hills" on, 30; rune-stone mentions *Nora gopi*, or *Nura kupa*, "priest of the Nerthus worshippers," 40.
- fylki* temples, Norway; origin of 276.

Gaimar, G.; *L'estorie des Engles*, 1135-1147, 141.

gair, Nbl. dial., triangular land, O.N. *geir*; in Nbl. pl. n., 196.

Gair Shiel, Hexhamshire, 196.

games in saga-time; man-matching in Ork, 256,

gard, Slav, city, 121.

-garth, Scand. suffix; not in Nbl. pl. n., 194; in co. Durh. pl. n., 209.

Gatcombe, Isle of Wight; St. Olave's Church, 143.

Gateshead Fell, co. Durh., 209.

Gaul; invaded by Eudoses and Charudes in Cæsar's time, 38; attacked by Jutlanders, B.C. 58, 53; north G. in Ptol. map, 76.

Gaular, Dalsfjord sacrifice at, 267; temple, 269.

Gefjon; connected with Nerthus-cult, 37; the plough of, in Baltic districts, 42.

Geira Búrizláfsdóttir; queen of Vindland, m. Óláfr Tryggvason, 109, 112.

Generatio regum and gentium, 6th century, 43.

gentles of Ork.; members of *hirð-mannastefna*, earl's bodyguard, a court c 1438, 233; = *gæðingar*, 253; corresponding with *beztirmenn*, best man (as opposed to *göðirmenn*, goodmen, the ordinary *bændr*), 255.

Geographie, Quellen u. Forschungen zur alten . . ., 38.

Gerðr Gymisdóttir, wife of Freyr, 33.

Germanen, Goths, 29 n.

Germania, by Tacitus; on cult of Nerthus, 31.

Germania; including classical Denmark, or at least Jutland, 81; Wolff's map includes Denmark, 82; of Tacitus—Germans, Scandinavians, Gottonic tribes, Lithuanians and some Finns, Swabians and Angles, 82; of Pliny—Scandinavians, 82; of Ptol.—same as Pliny, 82, 83.

Germaniæ, *secretiora*—less-known parts of Gottonic country, 31.

Germany: Western, Tuesday called Dinstag after Mars Thingsus, 43; Pytheas voyage to N.W. coast in search of

amber, 53; N.W. subjugated by Romans up to mouth of Elbe, at beginning of Christian era, 54; Roman dominion collapsed, A.D. 9, 56; N.W. Ptol. map, 77; Ptol. map, 79, 80; *marks* or *marches*—Schleswig, Meisen, Austria, Salgwedel (Brandenburg), 117.

germ.-Myth., Handbuch zur, Golther, 265 n.

Gertrude the great, St.; abbess of Helita, near Eisleben (1256-1302), 95.

Gesch. d. deutsch, Kögel; Rhenish sacrificial procession, 41.

ghosts; laying, Iceland, 1551, 170.

Gibson's Tynemouth, 177.

Gifford's Zetland, 228 n.

Gilbert, J. T.; *A History of the City of Dublin*, 142 n.

gill, in co. Durh. pl. n., 209.

Gizur Einarsson, bishop of Skalholt, 156, 159; first Protestant bp. in Iceland; his character; as bp. elect, went to Denmark, 1539, 160; evil counsel against Gudmund, 161, 162; returned, 1541, in a man-of-war, 162; letter to Danish Commissioner about bishop Ogmund, 163; translated Prot. ordinance of 1538, 164; died 1548, 165.

gjald, O.N., wergeld, 250.

Glam, in *Grettla*, compared with Grendel of Beowulf; evil ghost of a murdered shepherd, 6; attack on Thorhall stead, 8.

Glaumbæ, Icel.; Teit of, 1523, 165.

Glen, basin of Till, 178.

Glendale, 210.

Glowrowra, Ork., 261.

Godeskalk; a Slav prince, son of a Danish princess, m. Sirit a Danish princess, 118.

goði; in Norway and Iceland, 264; *goði* families in Icel. of Nor. hersir descent, 276.

göðirmenn, O.N., goodmen; in Ork., members of *logréttu*, 233, 255; see *gentles*, *beztirmenn*, best men, members of earl's *hirð*, bodyguard.

Godofrid, Danish king; destroyed Rarog, 808, 117.

goðorð priesthood; distinct from chieftainship, Icel., 280.

- Godwin, earl; campaign against Wends, 118.
- gœðingar*; feofees of the earl of Ork. = *lendirmenn* of the king in Nor., 253; [see also *Old-lore Miscell* VII., 132].
- Golther, *Handbuch zur germ.-Myth.*, 265 n.
- Gomme, *Folklore as a Historical Science.*, 270 n.
- Göngu-Hrólfr Rognvaldsson; outlawed by k. Haraldr hárfagri, 111.
- gontina*, Slav, temple, 125.
- goodmen of Orkney in lawthing, 1438, 233; see *göðirmenn*.
- Gormr hinn gamli, king of Denmark, [d. c. 940, having 'ruled' 100 years]; conquest in Jutland, 112; campaign against Wends, 112; his wife, 134, 285 *et seq.*; paramount power in Denmark, 865, 287; courtship of Þyri Klakk-Haraldsdóttir, 287; his dream, 288; *m.* Þyri, dau. of Ethelred after 871, 292; suggested *m.* (1) Þyri, dau. of Klakk-Harald, and (2) Þyri, dau. of Ethelred, 300.
- Gostiraditch**, founded by Gostirad 121.
- Götar; Goutai of Plol., 73.
- Got-þjóð*, O.N. = *ēðel Gotena*, A.S., the Gottonic group, 29.
- Gothland, West**; laws, *Vest-götalagen 1230-1290*, 86.
- Goths Gottons: O.N. *Gotþjóð*, A.S. *ēðel Gotena*, Gottonic group—Teutons Germanen, Guttones, Gothones—cult of Nerthus, 29 and n; Tacitus tribes, 31; S. Goths republicans; Prussian Goths, royalists; Swedes, royal absolutists, 32; tribes (Widsith), 37; laws of nomenclature, 40; tribes in Tacitus *Germania*, 82.
- Götland**; Siklings emigrated from, to Sealand, 41.
- Gottskalk, bishop of Hólar, d 1520, 157; father of Odd, 160.
- Goudie, Gilbert; trans *Orkneyinga Saga*, 216 n.; Shet. antiquary, 220.
- Goutai, in south Scandia = Gautoi (Procopius), the present Götar in Götland, 73.
- Grágás*; written code of Norse laws, 214; St. Olaf's law, written down, 1035-1047, 225.
- Graham, George; bp. of Ork., of viking descent, 262.
- grain*; in Nblid. pl. n., 196; in co. Durh. pl. n., 209.
- Grant, F. J.; Shetland genealogist, 220.
- grave-ale (*erfi*). funeral feast; king Sveinn, 111.
- Gregorian calendar introduced in England, 1752, 149.
- Grendel, in *Beowulf*, resemblance to Glam in *Grettla*, of the kin of Cain, 6, 8.
- Grettla*, or *Gretti's Saga*; some points of resemblance to Beowulf, 3, 6.
- Grikaity** > Agricola, Ork., 261.
- Grimm, *Mythologie*; Rhenish sacrificial procession, 41.
- Grimr Njálsson, in Ork, 251.
- Grimsby**; St. Augustine's monastery, seal found in Norway bearing saint-king and axe—St. Olaf, 147.
- grouse shooting in Ork. in saga-time 256.
- Grundriss*, Paul's, 265 n.
- Guðbrandr, hersir of Guðbrandsdal, 270; built a church after conversion, 271.
- Gudbrand Andresson, in Ork., 1369, 259.
- Guðbrandsdal**; temple, 269, 270; *hofgoði* associated with Þórr, 283.
- Gudenaar**; a river in N. Jutland, formerly called Rand, 37.
- Gudmar Magnusson; his sons Ulf and Magnus married St. Bridget of Sweden and her sister Catherine, 89.
- Gudmar, son of St. Bridget of Sweden, died young, 93.
- Gudmund, bishop; his life, 150; a dramatic conflict of high church zeal with steady respectable worldly tradition, 153.
- Guðrøðr - Knútr (Guthred - Cnut); Scand. k. of Nbria. [884-894], 172, 173; see also Vol. VII.
- guilds; St. Olave's, Norwich, 1501, 143.
- Gulathing law, written down 1100; New Gulathing law adopted 1275, 225.
- Gullharaldr Knúttsson, d. 969, 290.
- Gunn; on rood screen, Barton Turf, 141 n., 147 n.

- Gunnarr, Norse per. n.; in Nbl. pl. n., 188.
- Gunnarr helmingr; impersonates the god Freyr, 34; meets Freys priestess, 283.
- Gunnerton**, N. Tyne, 188.
- Gunnhildr Búrizláfssdóttir; m. Sveinn Haraldsson of Denmark, 108, 113.
- Gunnvarðr; Norse per. n.; in Nbl. pl. n., 188.
- Gunnvör, Norse per. n.; in Nbl. pl. n., 188.
- Guttones, Gothones, see Goths, 29 n.
- Gyða, in Enska; dau. (not sister) of Óláfr kvaran, king of Dublin; m. Óláfr Tryggvason, 113.
- Gyða Eiríkssdóttir; wife of Haraldr hárfagri, 287.
- gyðja, pl. gyðjur O.N. priestess; in Nor. and Den., 265, 281.
- Gymir; father of Gerð the wife of Freyr, 33.
- h., loss of initial; in Eng. pl. n., 179.
- Haavik**, Norway, 180.
- Hackeborn, Gertrude of; abbess of Benedictine abbey of Helfta, 95.
- Haddingjar, tveir; Tacitus on cult of the dioscures among Vandales, 30.
- Hads Herred**; mediæval Harz Hæret = Ptol. Charudes, 68.
- hæðenes, O.E., heathen's; in Nbl. pl. n., 189.
- hæft-mece, A.S. = *hefti-sax*, O.N. (hafted short sword). 16.
- hæghn, O.Sw., *hågn*, Swed., enclosure, 187.
- hægnæth, O. Dan., legal term for enclosed, as opp. to common, land 187 n.
- Hælgænæs**, Aabo Syssel; Nerthus cult, 40.
- Haf-liði, O.N., per. n. = sailor, 205.
- hain, M.E., enclosure, park; in Nbl. pl. n., 186.
- haining, Nbl. dial., fenced grass for cattle. 187.
- Haining**, co. Durh., 201.
- Haining**, Redesdale, N. Tyne, 186.
- Haki and Starkad slay Hugleth, 36.
- Hákon góði Aðalsteinsfóstri; king of Norway, 934-961; ravaged Sealand and Wendland, 111, 112; attempted to convert Norway, 934-223; framed laws, 225; at heathen feast, 943, 271, 272, and in 952, 273.
- Hákon V., of Norway; succeeded by Magnus, king of Sweden, 90.
- Hákon Sigurðarson Hlaðajarl hinn ríki; ruler of Norway, 975-995; repulsed emperor Ótla, 112; 995, 270; plotted death of Gullharaldr. 291; attacked by earl Sigvaldi of Jömsborg, 110; "foe of Wendland men," 111.
- Hákon Grjótgarðsson; earl of Yrjar, made earl of Strindafylki. c. 866, and called Hlaðajarl, 271.
- Hákon Ívarson jarl; commander of king Svein's defence against Wendland, 111.
- Hákon Pálsson, earl of Orkney; set up new laws, 226; killed the king's sýslumaðr in Ork., 230; consulted a wizard, 257.
- Hákonar Saga*, 263.
- Hákon Pálsson's drápa; earl of Orkney, 1106-1126, 216.
- Halcro, per. n. Ork., and pl. n. Caith., 261.
- Hálfðan svartí Guðrøðarson k., 267, 270.
- Hálfðan Haraldsson hálegg; sl. in Ork., 257.
- Hálfðan (Healfdene); invaded Northumbria, 875, sailed up Tyne, devastated northern Northumbria, and divided it among his followers, slain 877, 172, 173.
- Halkirk**, Caithness; St. Magnus Fair, 136.
- Hall, dr. John R. Clark; on suggested Beowulf-Grettla resemblances, 6; translation of Stjerna's *Essays on Beowulf*, 1.
- Hallaðr Rognvaldsson jarl, Ork., 880, 250.
- Halland, South**; Sigvið Ribbing, governor, 93.
- Hallr, a great chief and sacrificer, in Icel., 279.
- Hallr, Icelandic skald; in Ork., 252.
- Hallstadt Period; Nerthus cult, 41.
- Hallvarðr, St.; martyr, his day, May 15th; in English psalter of king Henry III., 143.
- Hamburg**; stormed by Slavs, 983, 117.
- hammer, holy; Burislaw's daughters married under, 110.

Hamsfortii, Cornelius; Þyri dau. of Edward the elder, 286.

handgengnirmenn; in Shetland *loggrétta*, 1307, 232.

handsal; agreement bound by, Ork. 1116, 231.

Hanherred, Jutland. 66.

Hannoveria, Chaulks in northern, 41.

hár, hór, O.N., high; in Nbl. pl. n., 180.

Haraldr Magnússon gilli (called Gillikristir in Ireland); k of Nor. 1130-1136; son of Magnús berfoettr and his Irish mistress, Bridget; had a dau. Bridget, who md. (1) Magnús Heinreks-son, king of Sweden, and (2) earl Birgir brosa, 88.

Haraldr Gormsson blátönn; k. of Den., 940-986; much younger than brother Knútr, 290; plotted death of nephew Gullharaldr, 291; defeated at Danavirki, 112; slain by Pálnatóki, 108. See s.v. Þyri, dau. of Ethelred

Haraldr Eiríksson gráfeldr; Christian k. of Nor., 961-975, 223.

Haraldr Hálfðanarson hárfagri; k of Nor., 860-933; outlawed *Gongu-Brólfr*, 111; at Orkney, c 895, 210; union of Norway. 860-933, 213; framed new laws, 225; *vé-braut* in kenning applied to him, 266 n.; made Atli earl of Sogn, 267; chief residence in Hlaðir, 868. 217; son of Ragnhildr, 287; proposed marriage when 15 287; his future wife, Gyða, 287.

Haraldr Sigurðarson harðráði; k. of Nor., 1045-1066; fought against Wends, 111; 144.

Haraldr hilditönn; k. of Denmark, ancestor of Jörundr, 277.

Haraldr Maddaðarson; earl of Ork., 1139-1206, 231

Hard Syssel; west coast of Jutland, 39.

Hardboer (Charudes); 31, 39; or Hasselboer in Hardsyssel = Charudes of Ptol., 68

hare hunting in saga-time, Ork., 256.

Harra, Orkney, 221.

Hartshorne's *Feudal Antiquities*, 177.

Harudes (Cæsar's) = Charudes, now Hardboer; attacked Cæsar in Gaul, 68.

Harz Hæret; now Hads Herred, 39.

Hasteinn, son of Atli jarl, 267.

Hatfields Survey, Bishop; 177.

Hattalykill hinn forni; key to metres, by earl St. Rognvaldr and Hallr the Icel. skald, 216, 252.

Haukadal, Iceland: bishop Ogmund's house, 163.

haust-viking; autumn viking cruise, after harvest, 216.

Havelberg; stormed by Slavs, 983, 117; bishopric founded by Otto the great, 117.

Hawick, Wansbeck, 184.

heath, O.E., corner of land; in Nbl. pl. n., 189.

Hebrides; Norse and Celtic place-names, 213; ceded by Nor. to Scotland, 1266, 212.

Hedemarken, Norway; inhabited by Ptolomy's Chaideinoi tribe in west Scandia, 75.

Heðinn; Norse per. n. in Nbl. pl. n., 189.

hegn, Dan. enclosure, 187.

hegna, O.W. Sc., to hedge; in Nbl. pl. n., 187.

Hegneden, Den., 187 n.

Hegningen, Den., 187 n.

Heidnir, in Heidmork = Ptol. Chaideinoi in west Scandia, now Hedemarken, 75.

heimr, O.N., home; in *Skirningham*, Durh., 206.

Heimskringla; Þyri, 286; St. Olave's, London, 144 n.

Heined, Den., 187 n.

Helningen, Den., 187 n.

Heklu-tjall (Hecla Fell); intimations of deaths, 168.

Helfta, near Eisleben; Benedictine Abbey, 95.

Helga, wife of bishop Jón Arason, 157, 168.

Helgi bjóla, son of Ketill flatnefr; at Hof, Icel., 277.

Helgi Njálsson in Ork., 251.

Helgoland, or Fosetlesland, identical with Saxon islands, 43, 64; Forseti worshipped, 43; survivals of sacrificial sexual rites in 17th cent., 41.

- Helmold; *Chronicon Slavorum*, 128;
on Albert the bear, 119; on
destruction of Wolin, 122.
- Henderson; *Norse Influence on Celtic
Scotland*, 136 n.
- Hengist, father of Æsc, 46.
- Henry II.; Slavs refused Christianity
and tribute, 117.
- Henry IV.; incited Liutitshy against
Saxons, 118.
- Henry I., k. of Eng., 1100-1135;
communication with Norway,
141.
- Henry II., k. of Eng., 1154-1189;
conquest of Ireland, 142.
- Henry III., k. of Eng., 1216-1272;
psalter with Norse saints' days,
143.
- Henry V., k. of Eng., 1413-1422;
refounded Brigittine nunnery at
Sion Abbey, Isleworth, 106.
- Henry VI k. of Eng., 1422-1461, d.
1472; portrait at Barton Turf,
147; licenced drink for Iceland,
154.
- Henry VII., k. of Eng., 1485-1509;
attempted canonisation of
Henry VI., 147.
- Henry VIII., k. of Eng., 1509-1547;
abolished Olave's Abbey, Dublin,
142.
- Henry the fat; treasurer of Knútr,
k. of England; made bp. of
Ork., 1028-1035, 223.
- Henry the fowler; decline of Slav
power, his hand felt by Danes,
117; presented relic of St. Vitus
to "good king Wenceslas," 126.
- Henry Godeskalkovitch, slew Krut,
d. c. 1119, 118.
- Henry the lion; defeated prince
Niklot, 1160, 119.
- Henry de Loundres; archbp. of
Dublin, 1220; extinguished per-
petual fire at Kildare, 87.
- Hensall**, Yorks., 189
- Henshaw**, Haltwhistle, S. Tyne,
189.
- Heorot**, Beowulf, 6.
- hérað*, O.N., a district; in Ork. 221.
- Herold, bishop of Oldenburg, 128.
- herra*, lord; applied to *barin*, *riddari*
and bishop, 1277, 249; used in
addressing earl Rognvaldr. 1139-
46 [and earl Haraldr, 1171], 254.
- herring fishery, in Baltic, 123.
- Herringfleet**, Suffolk; monas-
tery of St. Olave, 142, 146; fleet
of Sveinn forkbeard passed, 146;
St. Olave's Bridge and fair,
1226, 146; St. Olaf's cult re-
introduced from literary sources,
148.
- Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie*,
265 n.
- hersir*; petty ruler, Norway, 26 n.
- hertogi*, O.N., duke, 249.
- Hervarar Saga*; sacrifice to *disir*,
267; *hgrgr* sacrifice at night,
283.
- Hervington**, Worcestershire,
186.
- herzog* or *voivode*, Slav, duke, 122.
- Hexham*, *Black Book of*, 177.
- Hexham Priory*, 177.
- Hexhamshire**, once a regality
under archbp. of York early
records scarce, 175; pl. n., 192.
- Heyjangers-Björn: *hersir* of Sogn,
277.
- Heythrop**, Oxfordshire, 182.
- Hibbert's *Shetland*, 228 n.
- hiccup, an omen; came on Dadi
when bp. Jón excommunicated
him, 167.
- Hild, Scand. woman's name; in
pl. n. 179.
- Hildr Ulfarsdóttir, Icel., 275 n.
- Hilderclay**, Suffolk, 179.
- Himmerboer, in Himmerland;
mediaeval Himber Sysæl = Ptol.
Cimbri, 67.
- Hinderwell**, Yorks., 179.
- Hildr, wife of Þorbjörn gaulverski,
geneal., 275 n.
- Hinton**, England; Brigittine nun-
nery founded 1407, 106
- hirð*, bodyguard of earl of Ork., 217.
- hirðmannastefna*; held by earl of
Ork. and 'gentles,' regarding a
land dispute before 1438, 233;
held by lord Robert Stewart,
1574, 234.
- Historical Memorials, Ecclesiastical
and Civil*, Strype, 145.
- Historisk Tidsskrift*; St. Magnus'
Day, 139.
- Hjalli**, Icel.; residence of bp.
Ogmund's sister, the mother of
bp. Sigmund, 160 n., 162.
- Hlaðir**, in Strindafylki; largest
temple in Norway, 271; Harald's
residence there in 868, 271;
Hlaða-járl, 271; feast in 952,
272.

Hlaða-jarl; Hákon Grjotgarðsson, 866. 271; Sigurðr Hákonsson, 271.

hlæw, O.E., hill, > -ley in N.E.; in *Stingley*, Durh., 206.

Hlédís, gyðja; in *Hyndluljóð*, 282.

hleðrar, O.N., tents; Nerthus goddess of h., 30.

Hleðrar, Sealand; residence of goddess, 30.

Hlyrskog; Wends defeated, 111.

Hoby, Lincs., 201

Hodgson's Northumberland, 177

hof, O.N., temples; in Orkney, Pictish churches probably used as temples by Norse [and so preserved names (dedications)]; in same way as in Sweden, where heathen temples used as churches and heathen names carried on; consequently there are no pl. n. in *hof* in Ork. and Shet.], 221, 222.

Hof; residence of Helgi bjóla, Icel., 277.

Hof, Goðdalir, Icel.; settled by Eiríkr ágætr, 277.

Hof, Höfðaströnd, Icel.; residence of Höfða-Þórðr, 277.

Hof, Rangárvellir, Icel.; settled by Ketill hæng, 277.

Hof, Vatnsdalr, Icel.; residence of Ingimundr hinn gamli, 277.

Hofða-Þórðr, ágætr; settled in Icel., 277.

höfðingi, O.N., chief; distinct from *goðorð*, priesthood; Icel., 271, 280.

hofgoði, temple priest; 271, 272, 274; at Mörr and Guðbrandsdalr, 283.

hofgyðja, temple priestess, Icel., 277.

höfuðból, O.N., head house, manor of óðal; in Ork. and Shet., after 1275 went to eldest son, in accordance with New Gulathing Law, 246.

höfuðbær, principal manor; in Hlaðir, of Haraldr hárfagri, 271.

höfuðhof, chief temple; Nor., 917, 268. at Mörr, 273.

höfuðtiund and ávaxtartiund; in Ork. and Shet., a tithe of stock and income which an óðalsmaðr was allowed to bequeath, introduced by the church, 246.

hōh, O.E., *ho(we)*, M.E., a promontory, 180; a heel in Eng., pl. n., 201.

Hólar, Icel., bp. Jón Arason, 149-171; diocese, 164; bp. Gottskalk, d. 1520, 157; Jón Arason elected bp., 1522, 157; bp. Jón's remembrance of the poor, at his execution, 1550, 170: *Brev. Nid.* printed there, 1534, for bp. Jón Arason, 171 n.

hóldr, in Norse law, freeholder, 248.

hólen, M.E., holly; in *Holmside*, 209.

höfðingjar, chiefs; of Ork. attend *þing*, 1151, 231.

Holland; Tuesday called Dingstag after Mars Thingsus, 43; emigrants to Slav lands, 122.

Holland, now Halcro, in South Ronaldsey, 261.

Holle, frau; perhaps German name of Isis, a counterpart of Nerthus, 43.

holme, M.E., an island, peninsula, in Durh. pl. n., 201.

Holme, Nbl., 195.

Holme Hill, co Durh., 201.

-holmr, Scand. suffix; not in Nbl. pl. n., 194; in co. Durh., pl. n., 200, 209.

hólmanga; O.N., wager of battle; between champions of bishops Jón Arason and Ogmund, 158 n.

Holmside, co. Durh., 209.

Holofius (Óláfr), St.; a stone statue of St. Olave with a loaf, on Crowland Bridge, 141; portrait at Barton Turf along with Eng. saint-kings, 147.

Holstein (Holsetaland): Klakk-Haraldr, earl, 286 *et seq.*; Christianity introduced, 825, 290; ruled by Krut, 1402, 118; east coast inhabited by Angles, 38; west H. the opposite bank of Elbe was under Roman dominion 5 to 9 A.D., 63; connected with Saxon islands, 64; explored by Romans A.D. 5, 64.

Holy Apostles, Church of the, Rome; destroyed, 99.

Holyness, N. Jutland, 30.

hór, hár, O.W. Scand., high; in *Hutton*, 201.

Hörðaknútr (Harthacnut); his husband Feader, sl. 1014, 190; d. 1042, 144.

hórgr [open-air stone altar]; built by Hlédís, 282; in Nor. ded. to Vanir—Freyr or Freyja, 283.

Hority, Slavs, 115.
horse divination among Slavs, 125.
hospital, cons. to St. Magnus, in
Caith., 136.

Hostrup, Den., 182.

Houghton-le-Spring, co.
Durh., 201.

Howick, Bamburg, 180.

Hoy (Há-ey); earldom lands, Ork.,
222, 252.

Hrafn hinn heimski; father of
Jörundr, 277.

Hrafnkell Freysgoði; temple des-
troyed by Sámr, Icel., 279;
political chief independent of
temple, representing an Icel.
class, 283.

Hrafnkels Saga, 279 n., 280.

Hrappr, m. Þorunn, geneal., 275 n

Hrappr, ágætr; son of Björn buna,
278.

Hreiði O.W. Scand. per. n. < Hrei-
ðulfr or Hreiðarr; in *Raceby*,
Durh., 203.

hreinn, O.N. [a reindeer], as a
patronymic; in pl. n. *Rainton*,
Durh., 203.

Hreppólar, Iceland; parson
Jón, 1600, 159.

Hröða, O.E. man's name; in Nbl.
pl. n., 183.

Hrólf hinn úngi; Icel., 281;
political chief with temple
service performed by kins-
woman, 283.

Hrólf Rognvaldsson (Göngu-Hrólf);
outlawed by Haraldr hárfagri,
111.

Hrólfs Saga Kraka: resemblance to
Beowulf, 23.

Hrollaugr Rognvaldsson, in Icel.,
278.

Hrómundr, O.N., per. n.; in pl. n.
Rumby, Durh., 204.

Hrossey, now Mainland, Orkney;
where þing held, 1116, 230.

Hrothgar; *Beowulf*, 6.

Hugleth; an Irish king slain by
Starkad and Haki, 36.

Hulda; perhaps German name of
Isis, a counterpart of Nerthus,
43.

Humber; no pre-Conquest
charters for north of the H.,
175.

Hundred Year's War: St. Bridget of
Sweden wrote kings of England
and France to end the war, 99.

Hundjorpi; meeting. 1022, 270.

Hungary, Andrew of; first husband
of queen Joanna I., of Naples,
103.

Huby, Lincol., 201.

Hugh de Beaufort, cardinal; brother
of Pope Clement VI.; St. Bridget
lodged in his palace in Rome,
1350, 100.

Huni: preached to, by Ekbert, 690,
116.

Hunnen; Bede's name for Slavs, 115.
hunting in 12th cent.; in Ork. for
ottar, hare and grouse; in Caith.
for deer, 256.

Hurray Brugh, or Brugh,
Orkney; 1500, now Harra, 221.

Husaby, Sweden: Peter of, bishop
of Skara, 87; Olaf Skotkonung
baptised at St. Bridget's well in
1008, 87.

husþing house meeting; held by earl
St. Rognvaldr, 1154, 231.

Huttoft, Lincs., 201.

Hutton Henry, co Durh., 201;
[cf. Houton, Orkney, *há-tún*,
high farm].

Hvamm, Iceland, 168.

hvammr, O.N., a valley surrounded on
three sides by high ground; in
Nbl. pl. n. 191.

hvirfill, O.N., circle, ring, top. sum-
mit; in Nbl. pl. n. 185.

Hvitfeldt, Christopher; Danish Com-
missioner, Iceland, 159, 163;
letter from bp. Jón Arason, 164.

Hvitserkr Ragnarsson; possessed
Reiðgotaland, 112.

Hynduljóð; priestesses, 282.

Ibsen's *The Pretenders*; translated
by Jón Stefánsson, 4.

Iceland; pre-Norse inhabitants,
cave-dwellers and Papas, 181;
its glory lost at Sturla's death,
the art of Snorri and Sturla dis-
appeared at union of Iceland and
Norway; the failure of the great
historic school; but it never lost
its distinctive character, and
maintained its language; altered
for worse by relations with Den-
mark, 149; the Reformation, a
drama of persons, 150; church
and bishops, 153; only milk and
water to drink, 154; Swedish
bishop drowned in a sack, 154;
church compared with that of

England, 155; protestant bishops called superintendents, 156; *siðaskipti*, change of fashion—Reformation, 157; first printer, 159; Reformation began, 1539, by Danish spoliation of monastery, Videy, 160; Danish spoilers of Videy outlawed by Althing, 160, 161, and one, Didrik, slain, 1539, 161; king addressed as of Norway, not of Denmark, Norwegian laws acknowledged, 1540, 161 n.; coins—dollars nobles, Rhenish guildens, lubecks, 162; Althing, 163; lawman held a court at Saudafell at which Dadi captured bp. Jón, 169; printing press at Hólar, 1534, 171 n.; settled by Norse during Harald's reign (870-933), 214; writing began, 1118, 214; skalds in Orkney 12th cent., 215; skalds in Ork., 132, 252; temple-administration, 134, 264; settlers of hersir descent, 276; goðorð and mannaforráð, 280; revised law, 965, 280; temple tax, 281; classes of chiefs, 283; temples centres of power, 283; early settlers not half christians, 284; communal religious feeling shaped whole political structure, 284; *bishops*, Jón Arason, 149-171; Gudmund, 150, 153; mostly foreigners in 15th cent., including one Englishman, 153. *Reformation*—150, 151, 153. *Church*—153, 154.

Icelandic-English Dict., 263.

idols; in Ork., 257; Þórr, 270.

Ilberton, basin of Till, 179.

images and chariot of Nerthus, 41.

Imbræ; Danish name for island Fehmern, 81.

ing, Mod. Eng. dial., grassland, 200.

Ing, first among East-Danes, 41.

Ingeborg, mother of St. Bridget, 86.

Ingeborg, daughter of St. Bridget of Sweden; entered Cistercian nunnery of Riseberga, 1341 93.

Ingimundr Þórsteinsson hinn gamli; settled in Icel., 277; his sons Þorsteinn and Þórir, 280.

Inglis = English; in Ork., 241.

Inglis ship, Shet., 1506, 259.

Ingram, basin of Till, 179.

Ingrid (sister of Ingeborg the mother of St. Bridget of Sweden) married Knut Jonsson, 89.

Ing-úi, in genealogy of Anglian kings; Skjoldungs = Ing-wine, *i.e.*, friends of Inguo, 41.

Inguions; an ethical group—Angles, Jutes, Danes, and (later?) Swedes, direct continuation of group seems to be Denmark, 30; other views, 31; Nerthus worshippers, inhabitants of Sævo (Norway), 40; co-ordinate with Ermines, 42; not a southern type, 43.

Ingun-ár-freyr; see Freyr, 30; one of Vanir, 41.

Inguo, ancestral hero in Nerthus cult, 40

Ing-wine. *i.e.*, friends of Inguo, = Skjoldungs of Beowulf, 41.

Inquisitiones ad quod damnum, 177.

Inquisitions post mortem Calendar of, Nbl. pl. n., 177.

Ireland; wife of Olaf Skotkonung an Irishwoman; he spent some time there, 88; Norse invasion of Northumberland from I., 915, 173; included in Britannia, 605 and 1119, 222, 223; literature and Norse mythology, 52.

Irishmen; in service of Icelandic bishop 154

Irmin-söl, "the enormous column," symbol of god Er, worshipped by Saxons, 42.

Irvine family Ork., 262.

Isis; a goddess worshipped by Swabians in likeness of a ship, 42, 43.

isländischen Staates, Die Entstehung des; K. Maurer, 264 n.

islandske Fristats Institutioner, Om den oprindelig Ordning af nogle af den; V. Finsen, 265 n.

Istio, sons of; the Franks, 43.

Istiones, or Istvæones, near the Rhine, 43.

Italian republic under Cola di Rienzi overthrown, 99.

Jacqueline Acciaioli, a noble lady at Naples, with whom St. Bridget lodged, 102.

Jaen, Spain; Alphonso bishop of, 94

Jaffa; visited by St. Bridget on her way to Jerusalem, 1372, 105.

Jagellon, of Poland; defeated Sword-bearers, 1410, 128

- Jakobsen, dr. Jakob; early colonisation of Ork. and Shet., 211, 214; research work in Ork. and Shet., 220; works, 263.
- James, St.; belief in his burial at Compostella an article of faith in Middle Ages; pilgrims wore a mussel shell on left side of cloak in token of their visit, 93.
- James II., king of Majorca; husband of queen Joanna I., of Naples, 1367, 103.
- James III., king of Scotland; *m.* princess of Norway, and got Ork. and Shet. in security for payment of dowry, 1468, 217.
- James, Church of St.;** Stettin, 1237, 128.
- James the Great, St.; Compostella, Spain; St. Bridget of Sweden pilgrimage to shrine of, 1341, 92.
- Jammer-Bugt,** 65.
- Jarla-sögur*; story of earls Þorfinnr Sigurðsson and Rognvaldr Brúason, 1014 1064, probably composed by their historian Arnórr Jarla-skald, 215.
- Jarovit, Slav god of war, 124; victorious shield in his temple, 126.
- Jarteina bók*; earl St. Magnús' miracle book, 216.
- Jarumr, prince of Rügen; attacked by Bogislas, 120.
- Jellinge**; rune-stones, (1) to Thurui (Þyri) Danmarkarbót, made by Gormr. and (2) made by Haraldr to Gormr and Thǫrui (Þyri) his father and mother, 301 and n.
- Jensen, R.; editor of Faroese 'whale-verse,' 155 n.
- Jerusalem**; visited by St. Bridget, 1372, 105.
- Joanna I., queen of Naples, 1367, when St. Bridget there, 103.
- John, St.; picture burnt in London, 1559, 140.
- John, bishop of Mecklenburg; executed by Slavs, 127.
- John Kuppalo*; a joint christian-pagan Slav name for Midsummer Day, 126.
- Johnston, A. W.; pre-Norse inhabitants of Orkney, Shetland and Iceland, 131; Orkney and Shetland historical notes, 133, 211.
- Jom**, a *fylki* or *riki*; offered by Burislav to Palnatoki, 108.
- Jomala; deity of Lapps and Finns, 108, temple in Biarmaland plundered; Jomala or Jumala, otherwise Ukko (the old man) god of heaven and cloud-compeller, 109.
- Jómsborg**; vikings, laws, celibates, 108, 103.
- Jómsvíkinga-drápa*; by bishop Bjarni, 114, 216.
- Jómsvíkinga Saga*; Þyri, 286, etc.
- Jón Arason, W. P. Ker, 133 149-171.
- Jón Arason, born 1484, 133, 149; bishop of Hólar, Iceland, *passim*, 150-171; led to execution, 151; in his life the Reformation exhibited as a dramatic opposition of characters, 153; in Reformation, 154; a poet, 154; his poetry, 155; "whale-verse," popular in Faroes, 155; early life, 157; *md.* Helga, 157; voyages to Norway, 157; elected bp. of Hólar, 1522, 157; at Althing with retinue of fighting men, 158; Latin life, 1600, 158; patron of first printer in Iceland, 159; Protestant ordinance, 164; appealed to Norway, 164; summoned to Copenhagen, declined, appointed proctors who swore to ordinance, but Jón refused to be bound thereby, 164; his character, 165; feud with Dadi Gudmundsson, 165; raid on Skalholt, 166; outlawed by king Christian on Monday after Scholastica, 1549, viz., Feb. 11th, 167; clergy told to choose another bishop, Jan. 28th, 1550, 168; letter from Palladius, 168; his raids, 168; captured at Saudafell, 1550, 168, 169; he and sons beheaded at Skalholt, Nov. 7th, 1550, 169; his last words, an epigram and remembrance of poor at Hólar, 170; case against him by Christian, 171; records of his heroic character by Lutherans, not Catholics, 171.
- Jón Arnason, Þjóðsögur 165.
- Jón Egilsson, síra; on *hólmganga* of bishops, 158 n; parson of Hrepphólar, 1600, 159; *Biskupa Annálar*, arrest of bp. Ogmund 160 n; heard account of Didrek's slaughter, in 1539, from the

- slayer, 161; memoirs of, about Arne Arnorsson, 167.
- Jón Mathíasson, síra; a Swede: MS. of *Brev Nid.*, 171 n; first printer in Iceland 159.
- Jón Sigurdsson; ed *Biskupa Annálar Jóns Egilssonar*, 159 n.
- Jón vængr; at Uppland in Háey, Ork., 1128, 252.
- Jordanis; Liothida tribe perhaps Ptol. Leuônoi, 73; Finnaitthæ, likely Ptol. Firaisoi, 74.
- Jörundr goði; descent, settled in Icel., 277.
- Julin; Danish name of Wolin, 122.
- Justinian, took name of Anti, or Slav, as one of his titles, 116.
- Jutæ, called Vitæ, 38.
- Jutes; in Inguions group, 30; Euthones, 31; original tribe connected with Eudoses, 69.
- Jutland; Aarhus, ship-driving custom, 42; North J., 30; South J. islands, 38; do. explored by Romans A.D. 5, 64; centre of amber trade 64; kings derived from Woden, 42; in Germania, 81, 82; conquest by Gormr hinn gamli, 112.
- Jutlanders; Cimbrians and Teutons, 41; attacked Gaul, B.C. 58, 53.
- Kalevala; transl. by W. F. Kirby, 109.
- Kalmanstunga, Iceland; bp. Jón Arason at, 1541, 164.
- Kamen; a Slav town called Steinborg by Danes, 122.
- Kampen; Perthes' *Atlas antiquus*, Jutland as Germanic, 81, 82.
- Kári Solmundarson in Ork., 251.
- karl, O.N., a man = ceorl, O.E., 198.
- Karlskrona; limit of Roman discovery, 70.
- Kasuby; Slavs in Pomerania and West Prussia, 128.
- Kattegat; from Skaw to Øresund, discovered by Romans, 65.
- Kattrin, dau. of Sigmund (bp. Gudmund's sister's son), wife of Egil Einarsson, mother of síra Jón, writer of *Bishops' Annals*, 160 n.
- kaupa-land = O.N. *kaupa-jörð*, bought land (as opp. to *óðalsjörð*, inherited land) in Nblid. pl. n., 178.
- Keeso > Kaesar, O., 261.
- Kelbrook, Yorks., 190.
- Kelby, Lincs., 190.
- keld, kell, a well; in mod. northern Eng. dial., 190.
- Keld, Swaledale, Yorks 178.
- kelda, O.N., a well; in Nblid. pl. n., 178; in Yorks. pl. n., 190.
- kelda, a marshy place; Nblid. dial., 178.
- Kellah, S. Tyne, 190.
- Kellaw, Register of bishop; place-names, 177.
- Kelling, Norfolk, 190.
- Kelloe, co. Durham, 190 n.
- Kelsale, Suffolk, 190.
- Kelsdale, Lincs., 190.
- Kelsey, Lincs., 190.
- keltar; 16 ells of, Shet., 1576 (Gael. *cealtar*, broad-cloth, Ir. *cealtair*, clothes, E. Ir. *celtar*, *celt*, raiment; cf. *kelt*, frieze cloth, gen. made of native black wool, E.D.D.), 260.
- Ker, W. P.; Bishop Jón Arason, 133 149.
- ker, M.E., a marshy place; in Nblid. pl. n., 179.
- ker, Scand. suffix in Nblid. pl. n., 194.
- kertisveinn, O.N., torchbearer; of earl of Ork., 252.
- Ketilbjörn inn gamli Ketilsson, ágætr, of Naumudalr, Nor., settled in Icel., 277.
- Ketill, O.N. < Cytel, O.E., per. n.; in Durh. pl. n., 202. in Nblid. pl. n., 190.
- Ketill inn fífelski; a christian, in Icel., 279.
- Ketill flatnefr Bjarnarson bunu; hersir, geneal., 275 n.; father of Helgi bjóla 277.
- Ketill hængur; ágætr, son of earl of Naumudalr, settled in Icel., 277.
- Ketill raumr, hersir, 277.
- Ketill veðr, hersir of Hringaríki, geneal., 275 n.
- Keyser; on Cimbri, 68; Norwegian historian, 264 and n.
- kiarr, O.N., ground of a swampy nature overgrown with brushwood; in pl. n. 179.
- Kiepert, H.: Ptolemy's *geography*; *Formæ orbis antiqui*, 58.
- Kildare, Ireland; St. Bridget of; prebendary in her honour in Skara Cathedral, Sweden, 87.
- Killerby, co. Durh., 202.
- Killerby, Yorks., 202.
- Kilverstone, Norfolk, 202.

Kilwardby, Lincs., 202.

Kimbrík Chersonêsos; Ptol. map
Jutland, 67.

king, election of; in Sweden, 1319,
90.

King's Lynn, on the Wash;
English port with greatest
traffic with Norway, 13th and
14th cents., has a place called
St. Olave's Fleet, 147; St.
Thorlak's miracle, 1200, 147.

kip, Nbl'd. dial., a large overgrown
calf; in pl. n., 195.

Kiphill, Nbl'd., 195.

Kiplaw, Nbl'd., 195.

Kirkjubær; cloister, Iceland,
161

Kirkjuból, Rosmhvalanes; Danish
deputy governor, Christian, slain,
1551, 170.

Kirkwall; made a Scot. royal
burgh, 1486, 218; earldom lands,
222; *ping* held by earl St.
Rognvaldr, 231; another held
by earl Erlendr, 1152, 231;
burgesses, 1433 233; a *kaup-
staðr*, market town, 1137, 256.

Kjær, A.; *Hvad var Skiringssalr*,
266 n.

Kjallakr hinn gamli; father of
Þorgrímr, Icel., 278.

kjarr, O.N., copsewood, esp. on
swampy ground; in Nbl'd. pl. n.,
185.

Klakkr, Scand. per. n.; in Durh.,
pl. n. 198.

Klakk-Haraldr, earl in Holstein;
father of Þyri, 286; visited
Gormr hinn gamli, 289; baptised
826, 290; d. 846, 290.

Klemming, M. G. E.; edited St.
Bridget's *Revelations*, 94.

Knar, Knaresdale, Nbl'd., 191.

Knarberg, Norway, 191.

Knar Burn, Knaresdale, Nbl'd.,
190, 191.

Knardal, Norway, 191.

Knaresdale, S. Tyne, 190.

Knarlag, Norway, 191.

Knarredalen, Norway, 191.

Knarvik, Norway, 191.

knias, Slav, prince; a sacrificing
priest, 121.

Knights Sword-bearers, Order of;
formed 1200, 120

Knights Hospitallers; German, 13th
cent., 128.

knörr, O.N., a large ship; of land or
hill of that shape, in pl. n., 191;
[cf. Knarrar-staðir, Orkney 12th
cent., now Knarston; in Orkney
staðir > stath > sta > ston in
16th cent. through Scottish
influence.]

Knútr Danaást; son of Gormr hinn
gamli; brought up by his grand-
father Klakk-Haraldr (?); killed
while swimming 936, 290 [see
s.v. Þyri, dau. of Ethelred.]

Knútr hinn ríki; k. of Den. 1014-
1035, Eng. 1014, 1016-1035, and
Norway, 1028-1035; appointed
Sveinn governor of Jónsborg,
109; campaign against Wends,
118, 223; Russia as his Eldorado,
285; invasion of Eng., dynastic
strife, son of Sveinn Tjúguskegg
and so gt. gd. son of Þyri dau.
of Ethelred, 293.

Knútr VI.; king of the Slavs or
Vandals, 120.

Knut Algotsson; 2nd husband of
Martha, daughter of St. Bridget,
98.

Knut Folkesson; threw water over
St. Bridget, 99.

Knut Jonsson; husband of Ingrid,
aunt of St. Bridget of Sweden,
lawman of Östergötland, 89; his
daughter Ingeborg with St.
Bridget, 91.

Knútr lávarör (d. 1131); made
claims on Slav lands, 119.

Knýtlinga Saga; on Waldemar, 120;
Þyri, 286.

Kögel; *Gesch. d. deutsch*; Rhenish
sacrificial procession, 41; on ship
procession, 42.

Koloberg; Slav town, 121.

Konungahella; attacked by
Rettibur, 111.

konungr, O.N., king; influence on
O.E. *cýning*; in Eng. pl. n.,
198.

Kossinna; on Inguion group, 31.

Krajincy, Slavs, 115.

Kristianopel, limit of Roman
discovery, 70.

Kristoffer Trondsson; a great sea-
captain, enabled the escape of
archbp. Olaf Engelbrektsson of
Nidaros, in 1537; sent to Iceland
to bring bp. Jón Arason to
Denmark, but arrived after his
execution, 1550, 170.

- Krókr.** Norseman's name; in Nblđ. pl. n., 184; in pl. n. *Crozdale*, Durh., 199.
- krókr.** O.N., a winding; in Nblđ. place-names, 178; in Durh. pl. n., 199.
- Krut.** Rane prince; succeeded Ratibor, 1042, 118; sl. by Henry Gode-skalkovitch, 118.
- Kullen**, cape of; Scandia, 70
- Kunik.** Russian scholar; on Ptolemy, 58,
- Kunst og Kultur*, 142 n.
- Kvænes** = Sitons, q.v., 32.
- kviar**, O.N., folds, enclosures; Ork. dial. *quoys*, 243.
- Kymry**, Welsh, *Combroges*, com-patriots, comrades, 67, 68.
- Ladykirk**, South Ronaldsay; St. Magnus tradition, 135.
- Lagnus**, a neighbouring gulf to Skaw, 67.
- Lancashire**; Scand. place-names 174; prof. Wyld's *Place-names of L.*, 174, 177; Scand. emigration to Durh., 209.
- landed men; members of Ork court, 16th cent., 236, 237.
- Landnámabók* on Lopt, 268; temple at Moerr, 272.
- Langley Beck**, co. Durh., 207.
- Langlois, French scholar; reproduced MS of Ptolemy's *Geography*, 58.
- Langobards; in Ptol *Geog.*; lived in present Barden-Gau, which preserves name: subjugated by Tiberius, A.D. 5, 63, 64; in Gottonic country, 31; in Ptol. *Geog.*, 59.
- Lapland**; worship of Þórr, 1674, 52.
- Lapps; deity, Jomala, 108.
- Laugaland**, near Akreyri; Jón Arason, steward, 157.
- laun-ping*, O.N., secret meeting, Ork., 230.
- Lausitz**; Slav songs, 123.
- lausn*, O.N., pre-emption of óðul, 211.
- lawman; Sweden, 86, 88, 89; see also *logmaðr*.
- Lawrence Day, St.; Augt. 10th, 1539; Didrek, the Danish Reformer in Icel., slain, 161.
- Lawrence, prebendary of Vidhem in Skara cathedral; wrote supple-ment to *Vestgötatalagen*, in 1325, 87.
- laws; Swedish, 86.
- Laxdale**, Iceland, 169.
- Lazarus; supposed visit to Provence and Burgundy, 92.
- Leger, L.; *La Mythologie Slave*, 129.
- leiðangr*, O.N., war tax [Shetland dial., *leanger*. Orkney dial. *forcop*, both 1stth of the old valued rent; **leiðangrsfarar-kaup*, board wages of the levy], 239.
- lén*, O.N., fief; Ork. and Shet. granted in fief to the earls, 222.
- lendrmaðr*, O.N., baron; king's deputy in logging, 229; arms borne at levy, 231 n.; in Norse law, 249.
- Leofric Missal*, 141 n.
- Leslie, Magnus; of Ayth, Shet.; household goods, 1576, 260.
- Letts, converted by Sword-bearers, 128.
- Leuônoi, in central Scandia; perhaps = Liothida mentioned by Jordanis, 73.
- Liakhy, related to Baltic Slavs, 115.
- Liber census Danie*, 37 n.
- Liber Custumarum*; Olaf churches, 145.
- Liebermann, prof. F.; *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, 230 n.
- Limfjord**; identified as the large bay in Ptol. map, west of Cimbrian headland, 65; omen of waves, 28.
- Lincolnshire**; pl. n. in *deill*, 199.
- Lindkvist, dr.: *M.E. Place-names of Scand. origin*, 174, 177.
- Linköping**; Nicholas Hermanson, bishop of, 1391, 91; Matthias, canon of, 92.
- Lithuanians; in Tacitus *Germania*, 82; used *Wenden* for *Wends*, 115.
- Liutitshy or Viltsey; Baltic Slavs, 114; in Holland and Friesland, 114; with Viltsey cf. Wiltshire, 115; their god in alliance with Saxon St. Maurice, 126.
- Livonia**; Albert, bishop of, 120.
- ló*, O.N., sandpiper; in Nblđ. pl. n., 179.
- Lobkovitch**, founded by Lobko, 121.

- log-bók*, law-book; of Ork. and Shet., similar to New Gulathing Law, 228.
- logmaðr*; of Ork. and Shet., 1510, 235; of Shet. appointed by Norway, 1538, 235; of Shet., 1307, 232.
- logrétta* of the *logging*; 229; at Tingwall. Shet., 1510, carried out decree of *logrétta* of Ork., 235; constitution. 1576, 235; Ork. members, 255.
- logrétumaðr*, O.N., lawrightman; duties in Shetland, 238.
- logging*, O.N., parliament; powers, 225, 226; in Shet., 1299, 232.
- Lom**; Norse pl. n. [*< Lóar*], dat. pl. of *ló* 209. [*ló*, gen. and pl. *lóar*, low-lying meadow-flats alongside of water; *lár*, gen *lár*, line of shallow water along the shore edged by the surf.]
- London**; order of Briggittine monks recently revived, 106; St. Magnus' Church, 139; L. Bridge. St. Magnus and St. Olave's churches, 115; four churches ded. to St. Olave, 143; St. Olave's ch., 1047-66, 144; Mile End, St. Olave's ch. built from funds of old ch. in Hart Street, 144 n.; Stoke Newington, St. Olave's ch., 144 n.; St. Nicholas ch. united with St. Olave's, Queenhithe, 145; Old Jewry, Olave's ch. temp. Edward I., 145; Hart Street, St. Olave's, 145; Southwark, St. Olave's in Tooley Street, 145; Silver Street, St. Olave's, where his festival was held, 1557, 145; Queenhithe, St. Olave's, temp. Edward I., 145.
- Londoniensis*, *Munimenta Gildhallæ*; St. Olave's, Queenhithe, 146 n.
- longfires; O.N., *langeldar*, 255.
- longship, in saga-time, 256.
- Loom**, Durh., 209.
- Loptr, son of Oddný; went to Icel., returned to Nor. every 3rd year to sacrifice, 268.
- Lorenzo in Panisperna, Church of**; St. Bridget's body deposited, 1373 105.
- Lorenzo in Damaso, Church of St.**; where St. Bridget spent four years, till about 1353, 100, 101.
- Louis, Charemagne's successor; settled claims of Slav princes, 117.
- Low Fell**, co. Durh., 209.
- Lubeck**; fell into hands of Knútr VI., 120; a Slav town, 121.
- lúbeck*, coin; in Iceland, 1540, 162.
- Lucia's Day, St.; transl. of Magnus, 139.
- Lucker**, Bamburgh, 179.
- Luczany, Slavs, 115.
- Lumley**, co. Durh., 202.
- Lund**; archbishopric; included Wendland, 119; made met. see of Norway, 1104, 224.
- Lüneburg**; Slav songs, 123.
- lunnendi*, O.N., appurtenances; of Ork. and Shet. charters, 229.
- Lusatians, or Serbs, of Lusatia 114.
- Lusatian Wends of Prussia and Saxony, 129.
- Lützow, count; *History of Bohemia*, 116.
- Luzhitschany, Lusatian Wends, 129.
- Luzitsy, Slavs, 115.
- Lye, Church of**, Gothland; altar piece, Passion of Christ, as seen by St. Bridget, 105.
- Lyons**; Council of, on new Rules, 104.
- Lyschander; identified Cimbri and Himmerboer, 68.
- MacAlpine John; see Machabeus, 166.
- McCulloch's *Comml. Dict.*; coins, 243 n.
- Machabeus, dr. Hans; i.e. John MacAlpine, formerly prior in Perth, prof. of theology. Denmark, 1549, 166.
- Machyn. H. London; diary 1550-63, 140; St. Olave's Day held, 145.
- Mackenzie's *Grievances* (Orkney); 218 n., 220 n.
- Mackinlay; folklore of Scottish lochs, 135 n.; Scottish place-names, 136 n.
- Mærin, Sparbyggvafylki; temple, 272; do. taken down and re-moved to Icel., 273; Yule feast, 952, 273; Óláfr Tryggvason's feast, 998, he threw down statue of Þórr in the temple, 273, 274; *hofgöði*, associated with Þórr, 283.
- Magdeburg**; archbishopric founded, 117.

- Magno**, *Legenda de sancto*; earl St. Magnús, 1106-1116, 216.
- Magnús**, son of king Birgir I., of Sweden; decapitated, 1320, 90.
- Magnús Eiríksson**, k. of Nor. and Sweden, *d.* 1374; proclaimed heir to throne of Sweden, 1318; elected and enthroned king, 1319; inherited Nor. throne from maternal grandfather, Hákon V., 90; bequest to St. Magnus cathedral, 1347, 258; visited by St. Bridget, 97; his queen, Blanche, disliked rebukes of St. Bridget, 98.
- Magnús Erlendsson helgi** (St.); earl of Ork 1106-1116; in *hirð* of k. Magnús Ólafsson berfœttr, *c.* 1100, as *skutilsveinn*, 251; his *sýslumaðr* killed by earl Hákon Pálsson, 1106, 230; veneration and traditions, 135; stone-boat and whale tradition, 135; hospital in Caith., 136; St. M. Fair, Tuesday before Decr. 26th—St. M. Day, Decr. 13th, 136; Gaelic hymn, 136; festival, 138; church dedications in England, 138; altar in Trondhjem, 139; festival kept at Voss, 139; runic inscription, 139; picture burnt in London, 1559, 140; St. M. church near London Bridge, 140; English psalter, 143.
- Magnus Cathedral, St.**; peace meeting held, 1155, between Sveinn and earls, 231; lawthing held *c.* 1438, 233; bequest from k. Magnús Eiríksson, 1347, 258; bequest from sir David Sinclair, 1506, 259.
- Magnus Church, St.**—Ting-wall; bequest from sir David Sinclair, 1506, 259.
- Magnus' Day**, St.; April 16th, 133.
- Magnúss saga helga** or **Magnúss saga eyja-jarls**; life of St. Magnús, 1106-1116, 216.
- Magnúss saga hin lengri**; the long saga of earl St. Magnús, 1106-1116, 216.
- Magnúss saga hin skamma**; the short saga of earl St. Magnús, 1106-1116, 216.
- Magnúss jarls, Þáttur**; St. Magnús, earl of Orkney, 1106-1116, 216.
- Magnus Gudmarsson**; bethrothed to Catharine sister of St. Bridget of Sweden, 89.
- Magnus Heinreksson halta**, k. of Sweden, 1160-1161; *m.* Bridget, dau. of k. Haraldr Magnússon gilli, 88.
- Magnús Ólafsson berfœttr**, k. of Nor. 1093-1103; raid on Ireland, 1102, where he had a mistress called Bridget, mother of Haraldr gilli, 88.
- Magnús Ólafsson góði**, k. of Nor. 1035-1047. St. Olaf's law written down in *Grágás*, 225; destroyed Jónsborg, 1044, 109; advanced against Wends, 111, 144.
- Magnus of Saxony**; invaded Slav lands, 1093, 118.
- Mainland**, Orkney; formerly called Hrossey, 230.
- Mainz**; Klakk-Haraldr bap. 826, 290.
- Manasses' prayer**; in Danish, 168.
- Manfredonia**; St. Bridget at, 102.
- man-frelsi**, O.N., giving a thrall freedom; in Shet., 1137, 254.
- man-matching**; a pastime in Ork., 256.
- mannaforráð** O.N., chieftainship; Icel., 279; a new word, 280; held apart from *goðorð*, 282.
- Manners, the Book of Good**, 260.
- Manö**; Þyri, dau. of Ethelred, wrecked on way to Ribe to marry Gormr, 298.
- Marchant, F. P.**; *The Vikings and the Wends*, 108.
- Margaret**, queen of Denmark, Norway and Sweden in 1397, *b.* 1353; greatly influenced by the Brigittines, 98.
- Margaret Klausdotter**; abbess of Vadstena, *Chronicle*, 104.
- Maribo**, in Laaland Denmark; Brigittine Abbey founded by King Eric of Pomerania, 98; which survived till 1628, 107.
- Marienborg**; capital of Order of Knights Sword-bearers, 120.
- Marinus**; predecessor of Ptolemy, 57.
- mark of land**, Ork. and Shet.; land of the purchase value of a Norse silver mark of 240 Norse pennies, of which the rent was 10d. Norse. or $\frac{1}{24}$ th the purchase price, 241-246; where 10d. rent is

- wrongly treated as Scots money, and the mark as 13s. 4d. stg., consequently the 10d. and 12d. rent quoted p. 244, l. 18, shews that the original value of mark of land was maintained and increased. This valuation was made in 1136 by earl Rognvaldr, when he sold the óðul back to the óðulsmenn at one mark per plógaland of which the normal eyrisland contained 72, so as to raise funds for the completion of St. Magnus cathedral. Tithe was introduced at this time and charged on the marks of land at the rate of 2d. per mark = $\frac{1}{12}$ th rent of 10d., which = $\frac{1}{12}$ th of mark.
- Marryat, mr.**; font of Þyri at Sönderho, 298.
- Mars Thingsus**; worshipped by Tuiantes, after whom Tuesday is named Dingstag in Germany, 43.
- Marseilles**; St. Bridget of Sweden embarked for Barcelona, 1341, 92.
- Martha**, sister of Lazarus; supposed visit to Provence and Burgundy, 92.
- Martha**, eldest daughter of St. Bridget of Sweden, b. 1310; m. (1) Sigvid Ribbing, governor of Southern Halland "the robber," 93; m. (2) Knut Algotsson, and was mistress of the robes to queen Margaret, 98.
- Martin**, brother-in-law of Dadi; superintendent of Skalholt, 1549, his character, a painter, 165; taken prisoner by bp. Jón, 166; bp. of Skalholt, 169.
- Martyrs**, stories of the; in Sweden, 91.
- Marius**, the Roman general; defeated Teutones. B.C. 101, 53.
- Mary, St.**; picture burnt in London, 1559, 140.
- Mary's Abbey, St.**; York, 140.
- Mary Magdalene, St.**; supposed visit to Provence and Burgundy, 92.
- Mary**, sister of Lazarus; supposed visit to province and Burgundy, 192.
- Mary, queen**; revived old Catholic festivals, 145.
- Matthew Ketilmundsson**; enthroned Magnus, son of duke Eric, king of Sweden, 1319; Matthew ruled till Magnus of age in 1332, 90.
- Matthias**, canon of Linköping; confessor of St. Bridget of Sweden, 92.
- Maurer, K.**; *Die Entstehung des isländischen Staates*, 264 n.
- Maurice, St.**; in alliance with Sav god, 126.
- Mawed**, Shetland, 1412, 233.
- Mawer, Allan**; Scandinavian influence in the place-names of Northumberland and Durham, 133, 172.
- Mayingen**; where St. Bridget of Sweden stopped on her way to Rome, 1349, 99.
- Mazovshany**, related to Baltic Slavs, 115.
- Mechthildis of Magdeburg, St.** (1212-1277); inmate of Ben. abbey of Helfta, 80 years béguine before she entered abbey in 1265, 95.
- Mechlenburg**; the Varini of Ptol. in, 38; Slav settlers, 38; Slav town, 121, 122.
- meðalferðarmaðr*, O.N., intercessor; bp. of Ork., 252.
- Meissen**; bishopric founded, 117; a German mark against the Moravians 117.
- Mela**; placed Varines in Codanonia, 39; description of Cimbrian peninsula, 64.
- memorial toasts, *kapp-drykkja*; in Ork., 256.
- M.E. Place-names of Scandinavian origin*; Lindkvist, 174, 177.
- Mercia, Northern**; many pl. n. in *thorp*, 210.
- merkismaðr*, O.N., standard-bearer; of earl of Ork., 1116, 252.
- Merseburg**; bishopric founded, 117.
- Metcalfe**; *Passio et Miracula beati Olavi*, 137 n., 146 n.
- Michael the Archangel**, the sanctuary of; at Monte Gargano, visited by St. Bridget, 102.
- Michael's Church, St.**; Barton Turf, portrait of St. Olaf, 146, 147.
- Midsummer Day**, called "John Kuppalo" by the Slavs, 126.
- Mieczeslav**, father of Burislav, 109.

Milan; St. Bridget spent a long time, on her way to Rome, 1349, 99.

Miltshany, Lusatian Wends, 129.

-mire, in co. Durh. pl. n., 209.

Mittau; in possession of Order of Knights Sword-bearers, 120.

Mittwoch, Ger. Wednesday, because Woden unknown, 42.

Mjerdevid; formerly Njærdevi, Sweden, Nerthus cult, 40.

Mogk; *Mythologie*, 265 n.

Monasticon Anglicanum, 140.

Monte Gargano; sanctuary of St. Michael the Archangel, 102.

Moorman; *Place-names of the West Riding*, 174, 177.

Mora, near Upsala; election of Magnus, son of duke Eric, as king of Sweden, 1319, 90.

Moray, bp. of; in Ork., 258.

Morfill, W. R.; *Early Slavonic Literature*, 129.

Morlany, Slavs, 115.

Morsø in Limfjord, 66.

Moses, a paraphrase of the books of; by Matthias, canon of Linköping, Sweden, 92.

Mosfell, Icel.; settled by Ketilbjörn, 277.

Mostr, Norway; home of Þorólfr mostrarskegg, 278.

mound burial; Freyr 33

Much, on Ptol. map of Jutland, 68.

Müllenhoff; on cult of Nerthus, 29; quoted by Chadwick, 37; *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, on Ptol., 57; on Cimbri, 68.

Müller, Carl; critical ed. Ptol. *Geog.*, and reconstructed atlas, 58; ed. of Ptol. map criticised 67.

Müller, Sophus; on Nerthus procession in Steiermark, 41.

Munch, P. A., Norwegian historian, 264 and n.

music in saga-time; harp-playing, Ork., 256.

mussel shell worn on left side of cloak in token of one having made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James the Great, in Compostella, Spain, 93.

Mythologie; Grimm, Rhenish, sacrificial procession, 41.

Mythologie, Mogk, 265 n.

Nadfartone, Domesday form of Nafferton, Yorks., 186.

Næraa, Funen, = Nærthwæ, 40.

Nærbjerg, on Holyness, N. Jutland; sanctuary of Nerthus, 30; = Nerthus-barrow? 40.

Nærild, in Varvith Syssel, W. Jutland, = Nerthus-hill? 40.

Nærth-øwæ (Nerthus-hills); on Funen, 30; now N. and S. Næraa, Funen = Nerthus-hill, 40.

Naffentorp, Skåne; early form Natfaræthorp, 186.

Nafferton, Yorks., 186.

Nafferton, Tyne valley, 186.

Nafferton, co. Durh., 209.

Nafford, Worcestershire; Domesday, Nadford, 186.

name-taking; Gottonic laws, 40.

Naples; visited by St. Bridget, 102.

Närlunda, near Helsingborg in Scania = Nerthus-grove, 40.

Näta, O.E., man's name; in Worcestershire pl. n., 186.

Nathan Chytræus; Helgoland sexual rites, 41.

Nat. Hist., Pliny; Roman factories on amber coast, 73.

Nattfaravik, Sweden, 186.

nattfari, O.W. Scand., night-traveller; in Nfld. pl. n., 186.

nature worship among Baltic Slavs, 124.

Naumudalr, Nor.; earl of, 277.

Nennius; the Welsh called Saxons, Ambrones, 81.

Nericia, Sweden; Ulf Gudmarsson, lawman, 1330, 89.

Nerthus; cult, 3, 29; N. i.e. mother earth, main goddess of Angles = Njærth or Njorðr, main god of some Scand. tribes, who m. his own sister and had son Freyr and dau. Freyja, 29; symbol of fertility and peace; sanctuary, chariot, feast; goddess of *hleifar*, tents; ritual differentiation according to sex, 30; community—Angles, Varines and Euduses, also S.W. Jutland, 39; "island in the ocean" = Sealand, 39; Swedish pl. n., 40; ancestral hero Ingus, 40; genealogies, 41; sacrificial procession, 41; sexual rites, local features, 41, 42; non-Inguionic tribes, 42; goddess of Lejre, 42; = Germ. Hulda, frau Holle, 43; worshipped by Eudo-

- ses, Angles and Varines, 69 ; worship in Sjælland, 276.
- newbiggin* ; numerous in Nbl. pl. n., 194.
- Newbiggin by Blanchland**, Nbl., 193.
- Newbiggin Hall**, Kenton, Nbl., 193.
- Newbiggin** in Hexhamshire, 193.
- Newbiggin by Norham**, Nbl., 193.
- Newbiggin by the Sea**, Nbl., 193.
- New English Dictionary* ; place-names, 177.
- Newminster Cartulary*, Fullbek, 176, 177.
- News**, i.e. New house, Ork., 261.
- Niærdholm**, near Skane ; residence of Njorðr in Noa-tún, 30 ; unknown island, Scania, 40.
- Niartherum** ; residence of goddess on Sealand, 30.
- Nicholas, sanctuary of St.** ; at Bari, visited by St. Bridget, 102.
- Nicholas Church, St.** ; Aberdeen, missal printed in Rouen, 1506, 137.
- Nicolas' missal, St. ; St. Magnus' Day, 138 n.
- Nicholas Hermansson, St. ; bishop of Linköping, 1391, last Swede canonised before Reformation, formerly tutor to sons of St. Bridget of Sweden, 91 ; welcomed remains of St. Bridget at Söderköping, 106.
- Nidaros** ; breviary, 137 ; chapter appealed to. from Icel., 1541, 164, archbp. Engelbrektsson's escape, 1537 170 ; made met. see of Nor. including Ork., 1152, 224.
- Nidrosiense*, *Breviarium* ; printed at Hólar, 1534, for bp. Jón Arason, 171 n.
- Nieland**, i.e. New land, Ork., 261.
- Nielsen ; *Old-danske Personnavne*, 181.
- Niklot, nephew of prince Pribislav ; defeated by Knútr lávarðr ; repulsed German and Danish crusade ; d. 1160, 119
- Nizeny, Slavs, 115.
- Njærdevi**, now Mjerdevid, Sweden ; Nerthus cult, 40.
- Njære** ; vicarage in Aabo Syssel, near Randers = Niarthar-vi 'Nerthus-sanctuary,' 40.
- Njåla**, Guðbrandsdal temple, 269, 270.
- Njarðey**, now Nærø, Norway, = Nærøfjord ; in Nerthus cult, 40.
- Njorðr** ; god of some Scand. tribes, m sister, had son Freyr and dau. Freyja ; same as Nerthus, goddess of Angles, 29, 33 ; took over rule of Swedes, by whom called *dróttinn* ; marked himself to Óðinn, and died of sickness, and burned, 33 ; served by priestesses, 282.
- Njorðr-Freyr** ; called Yngvi, Yngvi-Freyr, or Ingunar-Freyr, 41.
- njósnar-menn*, spies ; in Ork., 231.
- Noa-tún**, 'naval town' ; Niærdholm near Skane, 30.
- noble coin ; in Iceland, 1540, 162.
- Nordische Mythologie* ; Hermann 265 n.
- Nordische Personennamen* ; Björkman, 177.
- Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok och Biblioteksväsen*, part of *Breviarium Nidrosiense*, 171 n.
- Norfolk** ; centre of St. Olaf worship, 146.
- Norfolk Broads** ; navigation to Norwich, 146.
- Norfolk, History of*, Blomefield, 143 n.
- Norges gamle love*, 263.
- Norges hylgener* ; Daae, 142 n.
- Norges Historie*, 218 n.
- Norhamshire**, Durham ; early records scarce, 175.
- Norman Conquest ; St. Olave's churches in England founded during succeeding 150 years, by direct influence from Norway 144.
- Norman Conquest*, Freeman ; campaign against Wends, 118.
- Norman place-names in England Bulbeck from Bolbec, 176.
- Normannerne*, Steenstrup ; on Danavirki, 293.
- Norn**, name of Norse dialect in Orkney and Shetland, 220.
- Norns, in Torf-Einars song, 257.
- Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*, Henderson, 136 n.
- Norsemen ; a separate class in Eng. in A.S. times, 142 ; first in Eng.

787, west of Scot. and Irel., 795, 212.

Norse place-names; Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne, gamle Personnavne i Norske Gaardnavne*, 177.

Norsk; nickname of Magnus, a Shetlander, who went to Norway to perfect himself in Norse, which was then getting corrupt in Shetland through Scottish influence, 219.

Norske Folks Historie, Det.; P. A. Munch, 264 n.

Norsk Historie, Udsigt over den, J. E. Sars, 264 n.

Norske rets historie, Udsigt over den, Taranger, 263

Norske Rigsregistranter; appointment of Shetland lawman, 235 n.

Norske sprog, Ordbog over det gamle, Fritzner, 263.

Norsk-isländska Dopnamn, 177.

North Oxfordshire Archæological Society; St. Olave's Church Fritwell, p. 147 n.

Northumberland; Scandinavian influence in place-names, 172; viking attacks began close of 8th cent., and N fell under their power middle 9th cent., 172; first Viking settlement south of Tyne, but Hålfðan in 875, devastated northern part, 172.

Norse Kings: Hålfðan, 875-877, 172; Guthred-Cnut, 884; Siefred and Sitric, connected with Scand. kingdom of Dublin; authority centred in York; after 885, that part covered by present county once more under English earls of Alfred with Bamburgh as capital, 173; fresh Norse invasion from Ireland, 915, under Ragnall, 173; succession of Norse kings until Eric blood-axe expelled, 952 or 954 173.

Norse Kingdom: in 875 divided among Hålfðan's followers, 173; Ragnall, after 928, divided among his followers St. Cuthbert's lands—east and south parts of Durham—which suggests that northern Northumbria (Northumberland and Durham) had not been settled in same way as N. south of Tees, 173, which is

supported by place-names, viz., Scand. place-names in Yorks., Lancs., Cumberland and Westmoreland, in abundance, 174, but very few in Northumberland and Durham, 178 *et seq.*

place-names: 171-210; sources of old forms 177; intensely Scand. character of p. n. in southern part—Yorks., Lancs., Cumberland and Westmoreland—as compared with Northern part—Northumberland and Durham, 174; dialect words, 178; few Scand. place-names, 194; Scand. settlements confined to river-valleys and coast, 194, 195; thorps and dales, 210.

Northumberland, Assize Rolls for; place-names, 177.

Northumberland; Hodgson, 177.

Norway; = Sævo (Pliny), 40; pl. n. commemorating Nerthus cult, 40; Forseti adopted into mythology, 43; mythology, *Völuspá*, 44; Irish literature, 52; worship of Thor in Lapland in 1674, identified with Tara of the Esthonians, 52; k. Hákon V. succ. by Magnus k. of Sweden, 90; oral tradition and literature, 132; cultus of N. saints in Eng and Scot., 131, 135; influence on Scot. missals, 137; influence on Eng. church in 12th and 13th cents., 143; sea communication with Eng. 11th cent., 144; decadence manifest when there were no more kings' lives written by Icelanders in the common language; later degradation and disuse of native tongue; altered for worse by relations with Denmark, 149; Reformation, 156; literature, runes, writing began, 1050, 214; Swedish line of kings, 1319-1387; treaty of Kalmar, Nor., Den and Sweden united, 1389-1523 under Danish line of kings, 217, 228; language replaced by Danish c. 1450, 218; early laws, 225; temple administration, 264; historians, 264; temples 265; aristocracy, 275, 276; fylki temples, 276.

Norwich; 2 churches to St. Olave, 143; St. Olave's Guild at one of

- these, 1501, 143, 146; fleet of Sveinn forkbeard, 146; St. Olave's Bridge and railway junction, 146, St. Olave's fair licensed 1226, 146.
- Nuithones (Euthiones, i.e., Jutes); 31; may be Teutones or Euthiones, 39.
- Nunstainton**, co. Durh., 207.
- Nyköping**; dukes Eric and Valdemar starved to death, 1317, 90.
- oak and spring near Stettin, venerated, 126.
- Oakington**, Cambs.; formerly Hockington, 179.
- Obotrites, or Bodritshy; Baltic Slavs, 114.
- Oda, archbp. of Canterbury [*d.* 961], 295.
- óðal, pl. óðul, O.N., freehold entailed estate; in Ork. and Shet., 211-262. [For the confiscation of the Ork. óðul by Haraldr hárfagri, see *Old-love Miscellany*, VIII., 47.]
- ódal law of Orkney, 211, 246 [in addition to this, see *Old-love Miscellany*, VIII., 47].
- óðalsmaðr, in Norse law, freeholder, 248.
- Odd Gottskalksson, the translator; under influence of Luther, 160.
- Oddi Yraron, Icel., 281.
- Oddný Þorbjarnardóttir ens Gaulverska; went to Icel. with her son Loptr Ormsson, 268; her husband, Ormr Fróðason, geneal., 275 n.
- Óðinn; headed the Æsir; succ. by Njörðr as k. of Sweden, 33; marked to himself, 33; worship, 110; adopted as god of Slavs, 124; images preserved by Mecklenburg Wends, 125.
- ogang, Scots, overgang; a court of perambulation for fixing boundaries; Ork., 236.
- Ogmund, bp. of Skalholt, 1522; relations with bp. Jón Arason, 157; successor, 159, 160; arrested by Danish Reformers, at Hjalli, in 1541, 160 n.
- Okrajincy, Slavs, 115.
- Óláfr balli (Onlafbald); receives St. Cuthbert's lands, in Durham, from Rognvaldr, 921, 173, 209.
- Óláfr Eiríksson scenski (also called *skautkonungr*); k. of Sweden, *d.* 1024; first Christian k. of Sweden, baptised at Husaby, 1006, 87; brought cult of St. Bride of Kildare to Sweden; his Irish wife; visited Ireland and Scilly Isles, 88; in plot against Óláfr Tryggvason, 113.
- Olaf Engelbrektsson, Catholic archbp. of Norway; Reformation loathsome, so left Norway, 1537, 156; his escape effected by Kristoffer Trondsson, 170.
- Óláfr Haraldsson helgi (St. Olaf); k. of Nor. 1015-1030; plundered temple of Jomala in Bjarmaland, 109; traditions in Scotland - church dedication, well, his Day March 30th instead of July 29th, 137; festival, 138; altar in St. Andrews, 138 n; popular in England—15 church dedications, 140; Crowland Bridge statue, 141; votive mass, 141, abbey, Dublin, relics preserved, 142 and n.; Herringfleet monastery, 142; dedication in A.S. times 142; churches in England near coast, 142, and in large towns, 143; his Day in English psalter, 13th cent., 143; list of churches in England—London (4), Norwich (2), Chester, Exeter, Chichester, Ruckland, Creting, Gatcombe, Ponghill, 143; not regarded in Denmark as saint before 1042, 144; his worship in England, 144; no church in England older than Norman conq., period of cultus, 144; church at Fritwell, 144; recent churches, 144; stage play on his festival in London, 1557, 145; church at Queenhithe, 145; Grimsby monastic seal, 147; King's Lynn, St. Olave's Fleet, 147; portrait at Barton Turf, 147; Fritwell, St. Olave's church, festival on Old Style date, image of saint on surplice, 149; Christian laws, 214, 215, 225; Guðbrandsdal ruled by hersir, 270; forcible conversion of Nor. 1022; 270; stops heathen feasts at Þrandheimr, 274; St. Bridget made a pilgrimage to his shrine at Þrandheimr, 1336, 92.

- Ólaf Hjaltason, sir, 168.
 Óláfr kvaran, king of Dublin; *d.* 980; father (not brother) of Gyða, who *m.* Óláfr Tryggvason, 113.
 Óláfr Tryggvason; k. of Nor. 995-1000; his court bp. St. Sigfried, 88; pillaged Borgundarhólmr, sailed to Wendland, *m.* Geira Búrislafsdóttir, joined emperor tta and defeated Danes, 112; offered Saxland, 112; *m.* Þyri Harraaldsdóttir, having previously *m.* Gyða enska, 113; expedition to Wendland, battle of Svoldr, 113; introduced Christianity, 223; feast at Mœri, 998, 273; feast at Hlaðir, 273.
Ólaf Tryggvasons Saga; on Freyr, 84; transl. by J. Sephton, 112; Svoldr, 113; burning of Þorólfr, 114; priestess, 282, 283, 263.
Olave's Abbey, Dublin; founded by monks of Bristol, after conquest of Ireland by Henry II., 142.
Olave's Bridge, St.; Norwich, 146.
Olave's Church, St.; Exeter, before 1066, 141; Marygate, York, built by earl Siward, 1055, given to St. Mary's Abbey, 1098, 140; see also *s.v.* Óláfr Haraldsson.
 Olave's Fair, St.; Herringfleet, Norwich, 1226, 146.
Olave's Fleet, St.; King's Lynn, 147.
 Olave's Guild, St.; Norwich 1501, 143.
 Olave Skutt; Ork., 1369, 259.
Olavi, Passio et Miracula beati; Metcalfe, 137 n.; copy at Fountains Abbey, 143.
Old-danske Personnavne; Nielsen, 181.
Oldenburg; bishopric founded by Otto the great, 117; the god-judge Prove, 124.
Olof Skotkonung. Hvem har döpt, 87.
 Olsen, prof. Björn; on conversion of Icel. 1000, 281.
 Olsen, Magnus; on Funen runestone, 40; St. Magnus in runes, 139.
 Olrik, Axel; on cult of Nerthus, 29.
 Ombrones; in Ptol. *Geog.*, 59; Ptol. map, 79, 80; accompanied Cimbrians and Teutons in raid against Rome, 113-101, B.C., 81.
 Opol, Slavs, 115.
Øresund; countries west of, 43; Kattegat, 65.
Orkney and Shetland; Scottish eccl. customs, 135; little sea communication with England in 12th cent., 139; active intercourse with Sogn in Middle Ages, 140; pre-Norse inhabitants, the Picts, Christianised c. 565; St. Ninian's, St. Kentigern's and St. Columba's missions; Pictish place-names and eccl. remains and dedications 131-132, 212; Norwegian peaceful settlement, c. 700, among Picts; Norse converted 995, first cathedral built c. 1050; Icelandic skalds; earl Rognvaldr and bishop Bjarni, skalds, 132, 212; early history and colonisation, 211; pl. n. shew settlers came from western Norway, 211; earldom founded 872 (should be 880), 212; place-names, 211, 213; 2nd Norse settlement. 860-933, 213; a viking haunt before Harald's time, 214; literary centre 12th cent., 215; sagas, 215, 216; [add *Torf-Einars Saga*, mentioned in *Landnámabók* and *Þorfinns sona fra-sagnir* mentioned in *Heimskringla*]; an ideal Viking station, 216, families of Scottish earls, 217; pawned to Scotland, 1468 217; result of Scottish rule, 218; bishopric transferred from met. see of Trondhjem to St. Andrews, 1472, 218; bishopric made a Scottish regality, 1490, 218, 223; law-book, 1602, 218; Scottish county government, 218; Norse language replaced by English, 218; complaints against Scottish rulers, 1426, 1576, 218, 219; Norse language, 219; end of Norse ballad, music and folklore, 220; Jakobsen's researches, 220; literature of Scottish period, 220; original Norse settlement, 221; earl's estate, 222; early Celtic church, 222; bishops, met. see, 223; double bishops of York and Bremen, 223; placed under Nidaros, 1152, 224; cathedral transferred from Birsa to Kirkwall, 1136, 224;

- double bishops during Papal Schism, 1378-1429, 224; tithe imposed 12th cent., 224; laws, 225, 226; land-laws amended, óðul bought back from earls, 226; laws, 228; 100 men-at-arms to serve king of Norway, 1434, 233; wadset to Scotland, 1468, 233, 234; courts, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238; foreign laws abrogated, 1611, 240; acts of sheriffs court and bailiary, 240, 241; taxes 241; relative value of land in Mainland and North Isles, 245, 246; óðal law, 246; currency, 247; weights, 247; society, 248; bóendr were hauldar, 250; earldom a *lén* or fief, 250; living in saga-time, 255; rulers in 1369, 258.
- Orkney and Shetland historical notes*, by A. W. Johnston, 133, 211-263; general, 211; land-take, 221; church, 222; laws, 225; legislature, 229; taxes, 241; óðal law, 246; currency, 247; weights and measures, 247; society, 248; authorities, 263. [For results of latest research, see *Old-lore Miscellany*, IX., 53.]
- Orkney and Shetland records*, 263.
- Orkney and Zetland. Oppressions of the 16th Cent. in the islands of*; David Balfour, 263.
- Orkneyinga Saga*; composite literary work, including: (1) *Fundinn Noregr*, (2) summary of lost sagas of earls 880-1014, of which *Torf-Einars Saga* is mentioned in *Látnámabók*, (3) *Jarla Sögur*, Þorfinnr and Rögnvaldr, (4) summary of sagas of earls, 1064-1136, of which *Magnúss Saga* preserved, (5) *Rögnvalds Saga*, 1136-1158, continued to death of Sveinn Ásleifarson, 1171, 215; Goudie's translation, 216 n; Dasent's translation, 216; society, officials, personal appearance of earls, etc., 249; 263.
- Orkney. Rentals of the earldom and bishopric of*; Peterkin, 263.
- Orkney, Shetland, Unst**; etymological notes, by John Marshall, 3.
- Ormr Fróðason; m. Oddný, geneal., 275 n.
- Ormr Sturluson; lawman of Iceland, convened court at Saudafell, 1550, at which bp. Jón captured by Dadi, 169.
- Ormrinn langi (the long serpent); war-ship of k. Óláfr Tryggvason, in battle of Svoldr, 113.
- Orphir**; earldom lands, 222.
- Orquil**, Orphir, 261.
- Ortono**; remains of St. Thomas, visited by St. Bridget, 102.
- Oslac, O.E. per. n., 196.
- osp, gen. *aspar*, pl. *aspir*, O.N., aspen-tree; in Nbl. pl. n., 191.
- Östergötland**; Knut Jonsson lawman, 89.
- Ostia**; St. Bridget proceeded to, by ship from Milan, on her way to Rome, 1349, 99.
- Oswald, a Dane, bp. of Worcester, afterwards archbp. of York [d. 992]; his thane Eadric steóna, 295.
- Oswulf, Eng. per. n.; in Leicestershire pl. n., 189.
- Óttarr, son of Hlédis gyðja, 282.
- otter hunting, Ork., 256.
- Otto I., emperor of Germany; founded bishoprics, 117; m. dau. of Edward the elder, 286, 292.
- Otto II., Roman emperor, 973-983; expedition to Christianise Denmark, 112; conversion of Buri-slav, 110; Slavs struggle for freedom, 117; destroyed Slav idols, 126.
- Otto III.; truce with Slavs, 117.
- Otto, duke, of Brunswick; advanced against Wends, 111.
- Otto, bishop of Bamberg; apostle of Pomerania, mission to Slavs, 1125, 127.
- Oulston**, Yorks, 189.
- Ousterley Field**, co. Durh., 202.
- Ouston**, co. Durham, 185, 202.
- Ouston**, Leicestershire, 189.
- Ouston**, Stamfordham, 185, 202.
- Ouston**, Whitfield S. Tyne, 189.
- outlawry in Orkney for manslaughter, 231.
- outlaws, óbótamenn; Iceland, 1539, 161.
- Oxará**, Iceland; *hólmganga* of bishops, 158 n.
- Oxford Icel. Dict.*; correction, 249 n.
- Oxon.**, pl. n. in *thorp*, 210.
- Ozerey, Slavs, 115.

Ozurr, son of Asbjörn, settled in Icel., 277.

Palacky, F.; Bohemian historian, 116.

Páll Hákonarson, earl of Ork., 1128; no speaker in parliament, 231.

Palladius; cons. Martin, superintendent of Skalholt, 1549, 166; letter to bp Jón Arason, 168.

Pálmatóki; founder of viking settlement at Jónsborg, slew Harald Blaatand, was earl of Fjón, had an earldom in Bretland (Wales), invaded Wendland, 108.

Páls járls Páttir: Páll Hákonarson, earl of Orkney, 1126-1136, 216.

Panzer; on Beowulf-Grettla resemblances, 6.

Papal Schism, 1378-1429 double bishops of Orkney, 224.

Papal See transferred from Rome to Avignon, 1309, 99.

Papas, in Iceland, 131.

Papey, Shetland; pennyland, 245.

Paris; Matthias, canon of Linköping, Sweden, studied at, 92.

'Passion of Christ, altar piece, as seen by St. Bridget, 105.

Patent Rolls, *Calendar of*; place-names, 177.

Paul, conversion of St.; Jan. 25th—the Tuesday after, in 1550 = Jan. 28th, 168.

Paul's Cathedral, St.; chantry united with St. Olave's church, Queenhithe, 1391, 145.

Paul's Church, St.; outside the walls of Rome, destroyed, 99.

peace, Nerthus deity of, 30.

Peace-Frode, in Baltic districts, 42.

pennyland of Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and Hebrides: 18 in an eyrisland, or tirung; as there was no coinage in Norway until 11th cent., probably these pennies and the Iceland *skatt-pening* were the A.S. *sceatt*. The Norse *eyrir* contained only 3 double solidi = 18d., as compared with the O.E. ounce of 3½ double solidi = 20d., 241 *et seq.*

Penselwood; Knútr defeated at, 295.

Pentland Firth; stone boat legend, 135.

Pepin; had Slav allies in his contests with Saxons, 748, 116.

Percy Cartulary, 177.

Peregrinus and Theodora, dialogue of; concerning the Mirror of Virgins, read in Sweden, 91.

person-names in Ork. and Shet., 260.

Perthes' *Atlas Antiquus*; Jutland in Germania, 81, 82.

Perun; worship by Wends, 110; Slavonic Thor, 124; succeeded by Elijah among Christian Variag and Russians, 125.

Perwolf, Josef; on Baltic Slavs, 129.

Peter, St.; and ðinn, 110.

Peter's Cathedral, St.; Prague, 126.

Peter's Church, St.; Stettin, 1237, 128.

Peter, sub-prior of Alvastra; c. 1344, 94; wrote down St. Bridget's *Revelations*, 96, and translated them into Latin, 94; wrote St. Bridget at Rome, 1349-1350, during the Jubilee, 100.

Peter of Husaby; bishop of Skara, Sweden, 1322-1336, 87.

Peter Roger de Beaufort, cardinal; and St. Bridget, 104.

Peterkin, Alex.; editor of *Orkney Rentals*, 220; *Notes on Ork.*, 235 n.

peth, path; in Brancepeth, Durh., 197.

Petrie, Geo.; editor of Orkney records, 220.

phallic rites; in cult of Freyr, 31.

Phillpotts, Bertha S., *Temple-Administration and Chieftainship in pre-Christian Norway and Iceland*, 134, 264.

Phoenicians; brought bronze axes, traded by barter, 1; trade in amber with Baltic Slavs, 115.

Piazza Farnese; House of St. Bridget in the, 101.

Picts of Orkney: eccl. monuments, 212; Norse settled among them, 212; place-names, 212; enclosed lands settled by Norse, 221; churches used as Norse temples, and dedication names carried over, which accounts for no pl. n. in *hof*, in Ork. and Shet., 221, 222.

Pipe Rolls; place-names, 177.

place-names preserving Nerthus cult, 39.

Placita quo Warranto; place-names, 177.

Placitorum abbreviatio; Nfld. pl. n. 177.

Plainfield, basin of Coquet, 182.
Pliny; on Inguions, 40; Swebians, 42; Istiones near the Rhine, 43; Baltic Slavs, 115; description of Skaw, 66, 67; Germanic tribes, 82, 83; *Nat. Hist.*, Roman factories on amber coast, 73.

plögsland, O.N., ploughland; in Ork. and Shet., sold back to the óðalsmenn for one mark of silver, now called 'a mark of land,' 227.

plough, Gefion's, 42.

pluga, German, plough, 123.

Plutarch; Cimbrians' bronze bull, 55.

Polabes, Slavs 114.

Polany, Slavs, 115.

Poles, derivation, 115.

Pomeranians, deriv., 114.

Pomorcy, Slavs, 115.

Pontanus; on Ptolemy map of Jutland, 68.

Pontoppidan; Cimbri = Himmerboer, 68.

Ponzio Perotti, Pope's vicar, bishop of Orvieto; opened the Jubilee in Rome, 1349, 100.

Poor Clares; their church of San Lorenzo in Panisperna, 105.

Popes; Alexander VI. (1492-1502), canonisation of k. Henry VI., 147; Clement VI. (1342-1352), attacked by St. Bridget for his worldliness. 99; Eugenius III. (1145-1153), crusade against Baltic Slavs, 119; Gregory, wrote 605, that after St. Augustine's death there were to be two primates in England—York and Canterbury, 222; Gregory XI. (1371-1378), Peter Roger de Beaufort, 104; Innocent III. (1198-1216), crusade against northern pagans, 120; Paul III. (1534-1549), d. Nov. 10th, 1549, 168; Urban V. (1362-1370), entry into Rome, 1367, 103.

Portiuncula Indulgence gained by St. Bridget at Assisi, 1367, 102.

Potthast; on St. Bridget, 85.

Poughill, near Bude, N. Cornwall; St. Olave's Church, 143.

Pretenders, The; Ibsen, transl. by Jón Stefánsson, 4.

Priapos; Adam of Bremen on Fricco, 36.

Pribislav, prince; defeated by Knútr lávarðr, 119; submitted to duke of Saxony, 119; Slav chief, 1154, 128.

priestesses; see *gyðja*, *hofgyðja*; in service of Njörðr, Freyja, Freyr, and in *disir*-worship, 282.

Primorcy, Slavs, 115.

procession, sacrificial; Nerthus cult, 41.

Procopius; Gautoi, 73.

Prove, Proven; a god-judge at Oldenburg, 124.

Provence; supposed visit of Lazarus and his sisters Mary and Martha, and of St. Mary Magdalene, a legend dating from 1150, universally believed in 14th cent., 92.

Prussia; outcome of German mark, 117.

Prussians, old; converted in 13th cent., 128.

Ptolemy's *Geography*; Denmark, 38, 53-84; best atlas, Cod. Urbinus 82 in Rome, 57; only one MS. reproduced from Vatopedion monastery; critical ed. by Müller; MS. atlas, 58; analysis of various maps. 60; superior topography of maps, not from lat. and long. of *Geog.*, 63, due to Roman occupation, and knowledge of places, 64; misplacement of names, 76, e.g., Angles, 78; Germanic tribes, 83.

Pypin and Spassovitch, *History of Slavonic Literatures*, 129.

Pytheas of Marseilles; voyage to north 325. B.C., 53.

Quedlinburg Annals, A.D. 445, on Angles, 78.

Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte, 69.

rá, O.W. Scand., a roe; in Eng. pl. n., 202.

rá, O.W. Scand., landmark; in *Raby*, Durh., 202.

rab, Slav, serf; prisoner of war, 122.

Raby, co. Durh., 202.

Raceby, co. Durh., 203.

ráð, O.N., rule; of earldom of Ork., 252.

Radegost, Slav god, 124 127.

- ráðgjafi*, O.N., counsellor; of earl of Ork., 251.
- ráðmaðr*, O.N., member of king's council, or of town council
bæjar ráð of Bergen, 236, 237.
cf. *roythman*.
- ráðuneyti*, O.N., council; of earl of Ork., 251.
- Ragnarr loðbrók*; slew king Frø of Sweden, 30; his descendant,
Hofða-Pórðr, in Icel., 277.
- Ragnhildr Sigurðardóttir*; b. 830.
mother of Haraldr hárfagri, 287.
- Rainhill**, Lancs., 203.
- Rainton**, co. Durh., 203.
- Rainton**, Yorks., 203.
- Raithby**, Lincs., 203.
- ralo*, Slav. plough, 123.
- Ramsay*, sir James, *The Foundations of England*, 118.
- Rand**, former name of Gudena, river, 37.
- Randers**, Randar-ós, town at mouth of Gudena, 37; N. Jutland, 38.
- Randsfjord**, near Fredericia, 38.
- Rane* (Rügen), prince of; became Danish vassal, 119.
- Raskelf**, Yorks., 202.
- Rason*, capt. E., *Thyra, the wife of Gorm the old, who was she, English or Danish?* 134, 285.
- Ratibor*; fell in battle against Danes, 1042, 118.
- rauðr*, O.W. Sc., red; in Northumb. pl. n., 181, 182.
- Raydale**, Yorks., 202.
- rebecs*: Slav musical instrument, 123.
- Redesdale**, 210.
- Reformation*: in Iceland, 150, 151, 153, 154, 1539-1541, 159; in Denmark, 1538, bishop replaced by superintendent, 156.
- Reiðgotaland**, possessed by Hvitserkr, 112.
- rein*, O.W. Scand. strip of land; in Eng. pl. n. [corresponds to Celtic *raon*], in Norwegian dial. a long bank of earth on gravel, 203.
- Reining*, patronymic from Regin or Rein, short form of Regenweald or Røgenald Anglicised form of O.N. Rognvaldr, 180.
- Rembertus* priest of Ribe c. 825, 290; afterwards archbp. of Hamburg-Bremen, 865, d. 888, 296.
- Rendings* (Reudigni), in Gottonic country, 31.
- Rennington**, Bamburgh, 180, 203.
- Rerik**, Danish name of Mecklenburg, 122.
- Rettibur*, king of Wendland, 111.
- réttr*, O.N., a district court; in Shetland, 1538, 228; verdict certified by king's court, Bergen, 235.
- Reudigni* (Tacitus) = *Rendingi* or *Randingi* = the *Rendings* of Widsith, 37.
- Reval**, founded by Waldemar, 120.
- Revelations* of St. Bridget of Sweden, composed 1344, 94.
- Reykjanes**, Icel.; settled by Ulfr hinn skálgi, 279.
- Rheims**; made met. see of the North, 822, 223.
- Rhenish* golden coin; in Iceland, 1540, 162.
- Rhetra**, a Slav temple, 125.
- Rhine**; sacrificial procession in 1123, 41; ship-procession, 42; ship symbol near Aachen, 43; Romans at its mouth, A.D. 7, 54.
- Ribe**; church founded by St. Anskar 290; seaport on west coast of Denmark near Esbjerg, church founded by St. Anskar, of which Rembertus was priest, 296.
- riddari* O.N., knight; title of *skutil-sveinn* after 1277, 249.
- Rikarðr*, at Brekka, Strjónsey, Ork., 1128, 252.
- ríkismenn*; O.N., mighty men; Ork., 231, 251, 253.
- Riksarkivet*, Christiania; Grimsby monastic seal, 147 n.
- Ridgeway*, *Essays and Studies presented to William*; Scand. place-names in Northumberland, by Allen Mawer, 172 n.
- Riding**, originally a ridding or clearing, 187.
- Rieger*, on Inguion group, 31.
- Riseberga**, Sweden; Cistercian nunnery, 1341, 93.
- Rodulf*, *Chronicon abbatie S. Trudonis*, 41.
- Rognvaldr* (Ragnall, Rægeneald); led Norse invasion of Nbrja. from Ireland, 915, 173; divided lands in Durh. among Skúli and Óláfr balli, 208, 209.

- Rognvaldr** (Reingualdi); father of Franco, 880, after whom Rennington took its name, 180.
- Rugnvaldr** Brúason, earl of Ork.: burnt earl Þorfinn's bú, 251.
- Rognvaldr** Eysteinnsson Mœrajarl; his son Hrollaugr in Icel., 278.
- Rognvaldr** Kolsson kali (St. Ronald); earl of Ork. 1136-1158; a skald, 132; literary work, 215; pilgrimage to Jerusalem, returned with relics which were captured by Sveinn who returned them, 217; his *hirð*, bodyguard, 217; amended Ork. land-laws, 1137, 226.
- Rognvaldr** Loðinsson, of Ærvík; burns Þórólfr skjalg in his house, 114.
- Rognvaldsdrápa**, by Arnórr Jarla-skald; on earl Rognvaldr Brúason, 1034-1045, 215.
- Rognvalds jarls** Þátr; earl St. Rognvaldr, 1136-1158, 216.
- Roman** factories established, under Nero, on Prussian amber coast, 73.
- Rome**, Augustus, 1st emperor; naval expedition to north; ambassadors from Jutland, 54; raided by Cimbrians, Teutons and Ambrones, B.C., 113-101, 81; Papal see transferred to Avignon, 99; Pope Clement VI. proclaimed a Jubilee 1350, which St. Bridget attended, 99; solemn entry of Pope Urban V., 1367, welcomed by St. Bridget, 103; arrival of Swedish pilgrims, 1369, 103; St. Bridget returned from Jerusalem in 1373, when she died, 105.
- Ronaldsey, South**; earldom lands, 222.
- Rondings** Gothic tribe (Widsith), 37; lived near Randers, 38.
- Rothbury**, basin of Coquet, 181.
- Rothley**, basin of Coquet, 183.
- Rotuli Cartarum**, place-names, 177.
- Rotuli Hundredorum**, place names, 177.
- Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum**, St. Olave's fair, 146 n.
- Rotulorum originalium abbreviatio**, 177.
- royth** Ork. dial.; right of pre-emption of óðul, *roythman*, one having that right, 236.
- roythmen**, Ork. dial. (O.N. *ráðmaðr*), applied to members of court and to those having pre-emption of óðul, 236.
- Ruckland**, Lincs., St. Olave's Church, 143.
- Rügen**; besieged by Eiríkr ei-góðr, 1093, 118; Jarunar, prince of, 120; annexed to diocese of Sealand, 1169, and tributary to Denmark, 120; principality, 122; chief priest maintained 300 mounted warriors, 125.
- Rugievit** and **Porevit**, Slav idols, destroyed by Danes, 126.
- Rugini**; preached to, by Ekbert, 690, 116.
- Rumby Hill**, co. Durh., 204.
- runes**; Bridekirk, Cumberland, font with runic inscription, 88; in witchcraft, 110; Urnes in Sogn, 139; earliest Norse literature, 214; rune-stones preserving Nerthus cult, 39.
- Rune-Song**, Anglo-Saxon, 41.
- Rushe**, J. P.; *A Second Thebaid*, 142 n.
- Russia**, called Wennalaiset by Finns, 115.
- Rusland** > **Russell**, per. n. O., 261.
- Ruysbroek**, the Blessed; contemporary of St. Bridget of Sweden, 95.
- Ryaa**, a streamlet running from Jammer-Bugt into Limfjord, 65.
- Rygh**; see Norse place-names, 177.
- Sabalingiol**, **Sabalingioi** = present Sallingboer in Saling sysæl, 68, 70.
- sacrifice**; at Skiringssalr, Nor., 266.
- sacrificial** procession in Nerthus cult; on Rhenish ground in 1123, on Celtic ground in Steiermark, on Danish ground near Trundholm, Helgoland 41.
- sacrificial** sexual rites; Helgoland, 41.
- sáð**, O.N., seed; as a nickname, in pl. n., 204.
- Sadberge**, co. Durh., 204; the only place north of Tees with a wapentake, 204.
- sā-lida**, O.E. pirate, 205.
- * **Sæ-liði** O.N., per. n. = *Haf-liði*, sea-goer, sailor; in *Selaby*, Durh., 205.
- Saevo** = Norway (Pliny), 40.

Šafařík; on Wiltsy and Wiltshire, Wends, 115; *Slovenské Starozitnosti*, 129.

Safn til Sögu Íslands; 159 n.; bp. Gizur's letter, 163 n.

Saint—person and place-names in 'St.' are indexed under their respective names.

Sallingboer, in Saling Sysæl = Ptol. Sabalingioi, 68.

Salvator's College, St.; St. Andrews, altar ded. to St. Olave, 138 n.

Salzwedel (Brandenburg); a German mark against the Wends, 117.

Samo; dream of Slav union, 118.

Šamr; destroyed Hrafnkell's temple, Ícel, 279.

sanctuary; St. Magnús Cathedral, 1154, 254.

Sarmatia, Ptol. map, 79. 80.

Sandey, earldom lands, 222.

Sandsting Shet. 222.

Saracenic pirates infested coasts of Apulia, c. 1367 102.

Sars, J. E.; Norw. historian, 264.

Sarum, liturgy, of; influence in Scotland, 137.

sáta, O.N., a haystack, in *Satley*, Durh., 204.

Satley, co. Durh., 204.

sáttar-fundr O.N., peace meeting; between Sveinn and earls of Ork., 231, 251.

Saudafell, Iceland; bp Jón Arason captured, 1550, 168, 169; once the house of Sturla Sighvatsson, which was raided, 1229, 168; court convened, bp. Jón captured by Dadi 1550, 169.

Saviour, the Order of the, i.e., the Brigittine Order, 96.

Saxland; offered to Óláfr Tryggvason by emperor Ótta, 112.

Saxnôt, ancestor of East-Saxon kings in England, 42.

Saxo Grammaticus; kings Frø and Fredegod, 36; Siklings, 41; Angles, 78; Slav worship, 125; Pyri dau. of Ethelred, 285.

Saxones antiqui; preached to, by Ekbert, 690, 116.

Saxon Islands; connected with inhabitants of Holstein, identical with Helgoland and adjacent isles, visited by Roman merchants, 64.

Saxons; national symbol Saxnôt, ancestor of East-Saxon kings in England, whereas Jutic and Anglian kings from Woden; national god Er, therefore they appear to belong to Ermines, 42; in western Holstein and Saxon islands in North Sea, visited by Romans, 55; insignificant tribe known through trade with Romans, which after Roman downfall remained unknown till A.D. 280, 64; after conquest of Britain, often called Ambrones by Welsh (Nennius) Ymbre in Widsith, 81; worshipped three-headed idol at Brandenburg in 1153, 126.

Saxony, duke of; overcame Pribislav Niklotovitch, 119.

Scandia; greater S., peninsula of Scania, south part of Scandinavia, 70; Ptol. *Geog.*, map, 72; outside Germania proper but within 'wider Germania,' 81.

Scandian islands; east Danish regions, in Ptol. map, 70.

Scandinavia: Scandinavia = island of Scandia, 66; in O.N., islands of Scade; in Norse mythology the goddess Skade a personification of Scade's island, 70; an island on Roman map and its peninsular form not known until medieval times, 70; Ptol. map, 73; Pliny says inhabitants regard their country as an *alter orbis terrarum*, 73; Slavonic linguistic differences, 110; influence on Eng. pl. n., 133, 172; early history, a remarkable feature is the constitutional importance of religion among people lacking a priestly cast, 284.

Scandinavian influence in the place-names of Northumberland and Durham, by Alen Mawer, 133, 172-210.

Scandinavian Loan-words; Björkman, 187.

Scandinavians, in Tacitus Germania, 82.

Scania; ravaged by Hakon the good, 111.

Scar; in Long Scar, on Durh. coast, 209.

Scarning, Norfolk, 206.

- sceaga*, O.E., a wood (O N. *skógr*); in *Ushaw*, Durh., 208.
- Scheffer, *History of Lapland*; on Thor, 52.
- Scheitbar**; see Zutibure, 125.
- Schleswig**; a German mark against the Danes, 117.
- Schlyter, editor of Swedish law-code, 86.
- Scholastica, St.; Day, Feb. 10th; Monday after S. in 1549 = Feb. 11th, as the Day fell on Sunday in that year (see *Universal Calendar* in *Whitaker*), 167.
- Schønning; Cimbri = Himmerboer, 68.
- School Aycliffe**, co. Durh., 205.
- Schütte, Gudmund; discussion with Karl Blind on Goth, 29 n. (see *Saga-Book*, III. 473. IV. 243).
- Scilly Isles**; Olaf Skotkonung's visit, prophesied he would become a Christian 88.
- Scotland**; cultus of Norwegian saints, 131, 135; included in *Britanniæ*, 605, 1119, 222, 223; primacy assigned to York by Papal bull, 1072, 223.
- Scot., *Proceeds*. S.A.; 136 n.; Pictish lands in Ork, 221 n.
- Scoticanae*, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, 219 n.
- Scott sir Walter; on Saxon god Tshernobog, 124.
- Scott, *Memoirs of the life of sir Walter*; lay of *Fatal Sisters* in Orkney dial., 220 and n.
- Scottish place-names*, Mackinlay, 136.
- Scottish Historical Review*; Edda words as sea-names in Shetland, 215 n.
- Scoulton**, Norfolk, 205.
- Scythia**; Ptol. map. 79, 80.
- sea-cow, a witch in form of; gored king Frode to death, 37.
- Sealand**; Hleiðrar and Njartherum, residences of goddesses, 30; Værebro, where Frode buried, close to Ud-Løjre, 37; sacred 'island in the ocean' of Nerthus cult, 39; Siklings emigrated to, from Götland, 41; sun-chariot, 42; ravaged by Hákon góði, 111.
- Sedbergh**, Yorks, 204.
- seið*, O.N., witchcraft; which Freyja of the Vanir taught the Æsir, 33.
- seiðmenn*, O.N., sorcerers; among k. Huggleik's people at Upsala 36.
- Seine**; Bolbec, a village near mouth of S., from which named Bulbeck in Northumbria, 176.
- Selaby**, co. Durh., 205.
- Selby Abbey**, *Coucher Book*, 13th cent., 197.
- Selio**, Sanctorum in; (St. Sunnita, and companions in Selja—Day, July 8th, in Eng. psalter, 143.
- Semnon; in Gottonic country, 31.
- Sephton, J.; transl. *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*, 112.
- Serbs (Sorbs); 115; Lusatian Wends, 129.
- set-berg*, O.N., a seat formed hill top; in *Sadberge*, 204.
- sete, sata*, Norse dial, flat place on hill top, 204, 205.
- Seulthorpe**, Norfolk, 205.
- Sewastionow; Russian scholar, reproduced MS. of Ptolemy's *Geography*, 58.
- sexual rites, sacrificial; Nerthus cult, Helgoland, 41.
- Sherston**, near Malmsbury; battle of, 295.
- shiels*, Northumbrian shelters, shed for summer pasturage, 192.
- Shetland** (see also Ork. & Shet.) etymological notes, by John Marshall, 3; pre-Norse inhabitants, 131; tabu-names found in *Snorra Edda*, 132; English replaced Norse language, 132; colonised by Norse 620, 212 n.; poetic words as sea-names, 215; Norse language, 218, 219; parish ping, 222; forfeited to Norway, 1194, 232; in appenage of duke Hakon, 1273-1299, 232, 254; restored to earldom of Ork., 1379, 232; court book, 1602-1604, 235; tithe *g.v.*; household goods, 1575, 260.
- ships; in saga-time in Ork., 256.
- ship-lore; goddess Isis in likeness of a ship, in Swabia, 42; ship-procession on Rhenish ground and in Tyrol, 42; ship-driving custom in Aarhus, Jutland, preferred by south Teutonic region, 42; ship symbol of Isis in Aachen and Tyrol, 43.
- Sibbald's *Description*, Ork. & Shet., 228 n.

- Þaskipti**, O.N., change of fashion—the Reformation in Iceland, 157.
- Þövenja**, O.N., *forn* or *gömul*. consuetudinary law; in Ork. & Shet., 229.
- Sieglin**; *Geographie*, 38; *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, 69.
- Sigfrid**, St.; bishop of Skara, Sweden, baptised Olaf Skotkonung, 1008, 87; court bishop to king Olaf Tryggvason, brought cultus of St. Bridget of Kildare to Sweden, native of north of England, 88.
- Sigfröðr** (Siefred); king of Northumbria, 173.
- Siggs**, of Widsith, 42.
- Sighvat Sturluson**, 158.
- Sigmund**, sister's son of bp. Ogmund, *d.* 1537, 159, 160.
- Sigríðr Þóstadóttir** in *stórráða*; *m.* k. Sveinn tjúguskegg, plotted against k. Óláfr Tryggvason, 113.
- Sigtrygg** (Sitric); k. of Nbría, 173.
- Sigulones**; inhabitants of coast behind the Saxon islands as known to Romans; reappear in Widsith as Syegas, 64; in relation to Inguions, 42.
- Sigurd Arason**, 168.
- Sigurd Jónsson**, canon of Nidaros, 1542 proctor for his father bp. Jón Arason, 164.
- Sigurd**, of Papley in Holm par. Ork., 1369, 259. (Sigurðr jarlsmágr, *c.* 1100, lived in Papuli in Fjörðr, now Finstown.)
- Sigurðr Hákonarson Hlaðajarl**; a great sacrificer, entertained k. Hákon, 943, 271.
- Sigurðr Helgason hjörtr**; his wife Þórný or Þyrni Haraldsdóttir, 287.
- Sigurðr Hloðvisson digri**; earl of Ork. *c.* 980-1014; restored *óðul* to *bændr*, 995, 250; baptised, 995, 132; belief in paganism, 257.
- Sigurðr hringr**; sees Álfól, 266.
- Sigurðr Magnússon jórsalafari**; k. of Nor. 1103-1130; earl of Ork., 1098-1103, 251.
- Sigvaldi jarl Strút-Haraldsson**; ruler of Jónsborg, after whom it passed to Denmark, 109; captured Sveinn tjúguskegg, 109; *m.* Ástriðr dau. of Burisláfr k. of Wendland 112; expedition against Hákon Sigurðarson Hlaðajarl, 110, 111.
- Sigvid Ribbing**; governor of South Halland, married Martha, daughter, of St. Bridget of Sweden, 93.
- sike**; in Nbl. pl. n., 196; in co. Durh. pl. n., 209.
- Siklings**; descended from Ungvin = Ingvin, emigrated from Götland to Sealand, 41.
- Sillwray**, near Langley, 195, 196.
- Simeon of Durham**; place-names, 177; deriv. Rennington, 180.
- Sinclair** (St. Clair) family in Ork.; earls of Ork., 1379-1470, 217, 262.
- Sinclair**, sir David; wardrobe, Shet., 1506, 259.
- Sinclair**, William; last Norse earl of Ork., 1470, 218.
- Ston Abbey**, Isleworth; Brigitine nunnery from Hinton refounded by Henry V., 1415, in thanksgiving for victory of Agincourt, 106; community went abroad at Reformation and did not return till beginning of 19th cent. preserving unbroken continuity from 1407, when founded at Hinton, 106.
- sira**, O.N. *sir*; applied to priests in Norway, 249.
- Siret**; Danish princess, *m.* Godeskalk, 118.
- sister's share of *óðal* in Ork. and Shet., after 1275, one-half of a brother's share, with right of pre-emption by brother in accordance with New Gulathing Law, 246.
- Sitons** = Kvænes, North Swedes; ruled by queen, 32.
- Siward**, a Norse k., conquered by k. Frø of Sweden, 36.
- Siward**, earl of Northumbria; 1055, built St. Olave's church, York, in which he was buried, 140.
- Sjælland**; Nerthus worship, 276 n.
- sjaund**, O.N., a court held the 7th day after a death for the division of inheritance; in Ork. and Shet., 247.
- Skade**, Norse goddess; of Finnic origin fond of hunting and skiing—*racing*—the Diana of the North, evidently the personification of 'Scade's island,' Scandia, 70.

Skaith; a level stretch by coast at Warworth, 195.

Skalholt, Iceland; bishop, wanted drink, 153; bp. Gizur, protestant superintendent, 156; bp. Ogmund, 1522, relations with bp. Jón Arason, 157, 159. bp. Sigmund, *d* 1537. 159, 160; Gizur Einarsson first protestant bp. 1539, 160; Didrek, Danish Reformer, killed 1539, 161; protestant clergy fairly strong in diocese, 1549, 166; Christian kept bp. Jón captive, 1550, 169; bp. Jón and sons beheaded, 1550, 169.

skáli, O.N., (1) a hut; -scales in pl. n., 192; (2) a hall, 255.

Skåne; the Wends by the coast of, 112.

Skåne, Ortnamnen i, Falkmann, 185 n.

Skarör (ear of Scania), cape of, 70.

Skara, Sweden; cathedral; bishops—Peter of Husaby, Sigfrid, 87.

Skara Cathedral, Sweden, deacon Lawrence, 87.

Skara, Chronicles of the bishops of, 87.

Skarsá; Björn of, Icel., 166 n.

Skarreklit, Jammer-Bugt, 65.

skattr, O.N. tax; in Orkney, 232, 241 [see *Old-lore Miscellany*, IX., 53].

Skaw; Kattegat, 65; Jutland, shape known to Pliny, 66.

Skeat; in *Journal of Philology*, as to bear resemblance of Grendel in *Beowulf*, 6; *Place-names of Cambridgeshire*, 179.

skeið, O.N.; in Eng. pl. n., 195 [cf. *Skae*, in Orkney, from O.N. *skeið*, a (horse) race-course].

Skelder Vik; limit of Roman discovery 70.

Skerne, co. Durham, 205.

Skerne, Yorks, 205.

skerrs (O.N. *sker*), on Nfld. coast, 195.

Skilfings, or Ynglings, kings of Sweden, 41.

skin-window, in Ork., 255.

Skirnasal og Sandefjord, G. Storm, 266 n.

Skiringssalr, Nor.; prehistoric temple, 265, 266.

Skiringssalr, Hvad var, a Kjaer, 266 n.

Skirna, river near Trondhjem, 205.

Skirningham, co. Durh., 205.

Skirnismál, on Frey's love of Gerð, 35.

skirr, O.N., clear, bright, *skirna*, to clear up; in *Skerne*, Dur., 205.

Skjálf; one of Vanir, 41.

Skjern, Denmark, 206.

Skjern, Norway, 205.

Skjerninge, Denmark, 206.

Skjöldr konungr; connected with Nerthus cult, 37.

Skjöldungs; in *Beowulf* called Ingwine, 41.

skrúð, O.N., finery, in *s.viking*, 216. *skrúð-viking*; applied to Svein's cruise to Dublin, in which he sewed captured English cloth on his sails, 216.

Skúli, Norse per. n., in *School*, Durh., 205, 173.

Skúli (Scula); gets St. Cuthbert's lands, Durham, from Rognvald, 921, 173, 208, 209.

skyld, rent of land; Ork., 232.

skytníng, O.N., gild; in Ork., 251, 256.

slave, Slav prisoner sold as serf, 122.

Slave, La Mythologie, L. Leger, 129.

Slavian-ko, *pravo* or *jus*; Slavonic law, 122.

Slaviboritch, founded by Slavibor, 121.

Slavomir, prince of Bodritshy, 116.

Slavonic Literatures, History of, 129.

Slavorum Chronicon, Helmold, 128.

Slavs; in Mecklenburg, 38; called *Sklaboi*, 115; called Wendi, Vindi, and their country Wendland etc., 115; names of tribes, 115; called Hunnen by Bede, 115, traditions of giants, 116; preached to by Ekbert, 690 116; Charlemagne's expedition, 116; struggle for freedom under Otto II., 117; Christianised by Otto III., but Christianity refused under Henry II., 117; Baltic Slavs, settlements by families, gave way to community, 121; legend of creation, 121; tithes, taxes, laws, 122; commerce in barter, 123; musical instruments, songs, dances and games,

- 123; known to Greeks and Romans for tenacity and courage, 123; women warriors, 123; nature worship 124; priests, 125; divination, festivals, 125; natural objects venerated, 126; excluded Christians from trade, 127.
- sleng*, Norw. dial., a growing youth, idler; in nickname *Sløngr, 206.
- Slingley Hall**, co. Durh., 206.
- Slingsby**, Yorks, 206
- *Sløngr, *Slengi, Norse nickname; in *Slingley*, Durh. 206.
- Slovenské Starozitnosti*, Safarik, 129.
- Slovenski. Slovenish; language of the Slavs, 115, 129.
- Slovines, Pomeranians, 114.
- Slovintsy, Slavs, 128.
- Smyge Huk**, cape of; Scandia, 70.
- snemy*, or *seimy*, Slav popular assembly, 122.
- Snetterton**, Norfolk, 182.
- Snitter**, Rothbury, basin of Coquet, 182.
- Snitterby**, Lincs., 182.
- Snitterfield**, Warwickshire, 182.
- Snitterley**, Norfolk, 182.
- Snitterton**, Derbyshire, 182.
- Snóksdal**, Iceland; Dadi's house, 166, 167; near Saudafell, 169.
- Snorra Edda*; poetic names as tabu-words in Shetland, 132.
- Snorri*; *Ynglinga Saga*, 32; *Heimskringla*, 110, 144 n; his art disappeared with the union of Iceland and Norway, 149.
- society; in Ork. and Shet. under Norse law, 248.
- Söderköping**; remains of St. Bridget arrived by sea, 106.
- Sogn**; folk at sacrifice, 917, 268; Beli k of, 267.
- Sögubrot af Fornkonungum* 266.
- [*Solveig*] dóttir Atla jarls, 267.
- Somerleyton**, Suffolk, 200.
- Somersby**, Lincs., 200.
- Sönderho**, Fanö, opposite Ribe; Þyri's font, illus., 296, 297, 298, 299, 301.
- Souldrop**, Beds., 206.
- spaeman*, sorcerer, 257.
- spann*, O.N., a measure; butter measure and weight in Ork., Shet. and Caith., 247 [36 of these spanns = 7 Norse skip-punds, D.N. VII.; 137].
- Sparabú**, Norway, 272.
- Sparbyggvafylki**; king of; fell before Haraldr, 866, 272.
- Sperra Malis; in land dispute, Shet., 1379, 233.
- Spruner's *Atlas antiquus*, 59.
- Stadarstad**, south of Snaefell promontory, Iceland; house of Martin, superintendent of Skalholt, 166.
- Staffordshire Place-names*, Duignan, 186.
- Staindrop**; co. Durh., 206.
- Stainton, Great and Little**, co. Durh., 207.
- Stainton-le-Street**, co. Durh., 207.
- stän*, O.E., a stone, > *stain*, *stajn*, deriv. from O.N. *steinn*, in M.E. period; in Nfld. pl. n., 188, 189, 206.
- standard; as goddess in Svantovit, 125.
- Stargard**; residence of Burislav k. of Wends, 109; a Slav town, 121.
- Starkad, the champion; with king Frø's sons in Sweden, 36.
- starosta*, Slav, elder or mayor, 121.
- Statua Generalia*, of Scot. church, 135.
- Steenstrup; *Indledende Studier over de ældste Danske Stednavnes Bygning*, 187 n.; on Þyri, 286.
- Steiermark**; chariot and images in sacrificial procession of Nerthus, 41.
- steikari*, O.N., cook; of earl of Ork., executed St. Magnús, 252.
- Steinborg**, Danish name for Kamen, 122.
- steinn*, O.N. a stone; in Nfld. pl. n., 188; in *staindrop*, Durh., 206.
- steinn-tún*, O.N., stone enclosure; in *Stainton*, Durh., 207.
- Steinvör hofgyðja, Icel., 281.
- Stettin**; Slav town, 121; Barnim of, 121.
- Stewart, Patrick; earl of Orkney, 1611, 239, 262.
- Stewart, lord Robert; governor of Ork., complaint against his rule, 1576, 219; held courts in Ork., 1574, 234; earl of Ork., 262.
- stockfish; Martin bp. of Skalholt set to beat s. when in captivity, 167.

- Stockholm**; Magnus son of king Birgir I., decapitated, 1320, 90.
- Stodoriane**; acquired by Albert the bear, 119.
- Stöðvarfjörðr**, Iceland; temple of Mærin re-erected, 273.
- Stone Age; commencement of commerce 1
- stone boat of St. Magnus, 135.
- Stonecroft House**, Newburgh, S. Tyne, 188.
- Storm, G.; *Skiringssal og Sandefjord*, 266 n.
- stórmenn*, O.N., mighty men; in Ork., 231.
- Strabo; on Pytheas, 53; on Cimbrians, 55. 56.
- Stralsund**; passed through by St. Bridget of Sweden on her way to Rome, 1349, 99.
- strandgut*, Slav, wreckage, 123.
- Stratherne line earls of Ork., 1329-50, 217.
- Strielov** (Stralsund), Rügen, 122.
- Strindafylki**; Hákon jarl of, 866 271.
- Strjóney** (Stronsey), Ork.; Ríkarðr at Brekka, 252; earldom lands, 222.
- Strút-Haraldr; father of earl Sigvaldi of Jónsborg 109.
- Strypa, *Historical Memorials*, 145 n.
- Sturla Þórðarson, the historian; the glory of Iceland lost at his death, 149.
- Sturla Sighvatsson; his house, Saudafell, raided, 1229, 168.
- Sturlunga*; feuds, 165; raid on Saudafell, 1229, 168.
- Suabia, Northern**; passed through by St. Bridget of Sweden on her way to Rome, 1349, 99.
- Suarines or Suardones, in Schwerin, Micklenburg, 39.
- Subsidy Rolls*, place-names, 177.
- Sudetan mountains**, in Ptol. *Geog.* 58.
- Suffolk**; centre of St. Olaf worship, 146.
- Suffolk, The Victoria History of*, 142 n.
- Suarines or Suardones (charudes, i.e. Hardboer), 31.
- Suiones (Tacitus) = Fauonai (Ptol.), now Swedes, 74.
- Sumerled, O.N. Sumarliði, per. n., in *Somersby*, etc., 200.
- sun; cult of the, Trundholm, Sea-land, 41; sun-chariot from Sea-land, 42; regions of the rising s., Roman expedition from mouth of Rhine, A.D. 7, 54.
- Sunnifa, St.; her Day—Sanctorum in Selio—July 8th, in English psalter, 13th cent., 143.
- superintendent*, replaced *bishop*, in Reformation in Denmark and Iceland 156.
- Surtees Society, publications; Northumberland place-names, 177.
- Suso; contemporary of St. Bridget of Sweden, 95.
- suttee; among Wends, 124.
- Svatopluk of Moravia; dream of Slav union, 118.
- Svantovit, at Arkona, Rügen; worship by Wends, 110; temple destroyed by Waldemar I., 125.
- Svarog (heaven); supreme god of Slavs, 124.
- Svarozhitsh, or Svantovit; Slav god, 124.
- Sveinki, (Sveinn), 151.
- Sveinn, O.N. per. n.; in *Swainston*, Durh., 207.
- Sveinn, sir; and bishop Jón Arason, 151.
- Sveinn Alfifuson; k. of Nor. 1030-1035; son of Knútr Sveinsson inn ríki, or Gamli-Knútr; governor of Jónsborg, which he abandoned, 109, 111.
- Sveinn Ásleifarson (son of Hrólfr and Ásleifr, until his father's death called Hrólfs-son); his life, in Ork. saga, 216, 217; in bodyguard of earl St. Rognvaldr, 217; slain in Ireland, 1171, 217; outlawed for manslaughter, 1137, 231; household, 252.
- Sveinn brjóstreip; Ork., 258
- Sveinn Eiríksson, k. of Den. 1147-1157; sent cup to idol at Svantovit, 125.
- Sveinn Haraldsson tjúguskegg, k. of Den. 986-1011; demanded tribute from Mieczeslav, father of Burislav; captured by earl Sigvaldi, 109; grave-ale, 111; m. Gunnhildr Burisláfsdóttir, 113; his death told in Gaimar's poem, 141; his fleet passed Herringfleet on way to Norwich, 146; invasion of England a dynastic strife through his grand-

- mother Pyri, dau. of Ethelred, 293.
- Sverrissaga**, 263.
- Svoldr**; battle of, 1000, k. Óláfr Tryggvason defeated, 113.
- Swabia**; goddess Isis worshipped in likeness of a ship, 42.
- Swainston**, co. Durh., 207.
- Swainston**, I. of W., 207.
- Swanland**, Yorks., 207.
- Swebians; of Ermines group, 42; of Tacitus' Germania, including Angles, Swedes, Lithuanians, and some Finns, 82.
- Sweden**: Tacitus on customs, royal absolutism, respect for wealth, 32; Snorra *Ynglinga Saga*, 32; ruled by Njörðr, of Nóatún, after Woden's death, 33; king Frø and sons, 36; pl. n. commemorating Nerthus cult, 40; Ynglings or Skilfings, 41; St. Bridget, 85-107; Upland, code of laws, 14th cent.; West Gothland, code of laws; ancient laws; list of kings, 86; bishops of Skara, 87; St. Bride of Kildare cultus, 88; lawman, 86, 88, 89; governor, 89; election of king Magnus, 1319, 90; bishop of Linköping, 91; English missionaries, 92; much of Swedish literature of the 15th cent. proceeded from Brigittine houses of Vadstena in Östergöthland and of Nådendal in Finland, 107.
- Swedes; in Inguion group, 30; in Svearíke; Ptol. Fauonai, Tacitus Suiones, 74; embraced in Swebians in Tacitus Germania, 82.
- Swedish Academy, *Transactions*, St. Bridget, 86.
- Swedish Early Texts' Society, 94.
- Swedish pilgrims arrived in Rome, 1369, 103.
- Swenung, Dom; a Cistercian monk, confessor to St. Bridget of Sweden on her pilgrimage to Spain, 1341, afterwards abbot of Warnhem, 92.
- Swinburn Charters* (Hodgson's Northumberland), 177.
- Swineshurst**, Lancs., 207.
- Swinford**, Leicestershire, 207.
- Swinnerton**, Staffs., 186.
- Sword-bearers; conversion of Letts; defeated by Jagellon, 1410, 128.
- Syccas, in Widsith; same as Sigulones, the inhabitants of coast of Cimbrian Peninsula behind Saxon islands, 64.
- Sygnafylki**, king of; sacrifices, 270.
- sýslumaðr*, O.N., steward; king's s. killed in Ork. by earl Hákon, 1106, 230; judge and revenue officer of earl of Ork. in Caith., 251.
- t*, O.N., > *d*, common practice of A.N. scribes, 186.
- tabu names in Shetland, Old Norse poetic words, 215.
- Tacitus; on cult of dioscures among Vandales, 30; idealising Gottones, on cult of Nerthus, his *Germania*, 31; geog. knowledge, did not extend beyond the Belts, 39; goddess Isis, 42; worship of Isis symbolised as a ship, 43; Anglian tribes, 56; *Germania* on Nerthus, 69; Suiones = Ptol. Fauonai, Swedes, 74; Germanic tribes, 82; Baltic Slavs, 115; Nerthus worship in Sjølland, 276 n.
- tapestry; in Ork. 12th cent., 255.
- Tara, of the Esthonians, = Thor, 52.
- Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, place-names, 177.
- Taylor, A. W.; *St. Bridget of Sweden*, 85.
- Taylor, miss Eliz.; Faroese 'whale-verse,' 155 n.
- Tees**; south of the T. settled by vikings, 173; tributaries called *beck*, 209.
- Teesdale**; pl. n. on high ground largely Scand., 209, 210.
- Teit, of Glaumbæ, Iceland; law feud, 1523, *et. seq.*, 165.
- Templars, placed under rule of the Order of Knights Sword-bearers, 120.
- Temple-administration and chieftainship in pre-Christian Norway and Iceland*, by Bertha S. Phillips, 134, 264.
- temple-administration in Nor. closely bound up with chieftainship, 274; in Icel. priestly function and political power hand in hand, 275; temple tax, Icel., 281.
- Testa de Noville*, place-names, 177.

Teutoburgian forest; Romans defeated and retired from Germany, 56.

Teutons; Goths, 29 n.; neighbours of Varines (Ptol.), in Codanonia (Mela), 39; Jutlanders, 41; amber-selling tribe in Jutland, B.C. 325; raids on S. Europe, B.C. 101, and Gaul, B.C. 58, 53; join raid against Rome, B.C. 113-101, 81.

Thastris, or Chartris, native name of Skaw, 67.

Thebaid, A Second; J. P. Rushe, 142 n.

þegnar, O.N., thanes, freemen; applied to Shetland bændr. 250.

þegnigild, O.N., wergeld of a thane; Shet. 1412, 238.

þing, O.N., meeting, district of a meeting place; parishes in Shet. 222; afterwards log-þing of Ork. and Shet., 229; before Harald's time, 276.

þingfararfé, fé, O.N., travelling expenses of delegates to Norw. þing, 239.

þingfarar kaup, O.N., travelling expenses of delegates to Icelandic þing, 238.

þinghá, O.N., thing district, Icel., 279; Ork., 221.

Þingstaðr, Hrossey (now Tingwall, Mainland), Ork., 1116, 230.

Þjóðsögur, Jón Arnason, 165.

Thomas, St.; relics, Ortona, 102.

Thomas à Kempis; contemporary of St. Bridget of Sweden, 95.

Thomas of Malstad, bishop of Vexjö, fell off his horse at Manfredonia, with St. Bridget, 102.

Þórarinn Þórðarson fylsenni, Icel., 282.

Þorbjörn, hersir of Sogn; sacrifice every 3d. year, 269.

Þorbjörn Ormarson inn Gaulverski; hersir in Fjalafylki, 917, 268; geneal., 275 n.

Þorbjörn Þorsteinsson klerkr, 1139-1148, 254.

Þórðr Hrapppsson skeggi; in Icel., 278.

Þórðr istrumagi; hofgoði of the Dalesmen, 271.

Þorgrímr Kjallaksson goði; Bjarnarhofn, Icel. 278.

Þorbáddr, hinn gamli; hofgoði at Marín, 272, 273.

Þorfinnr Sigurðarson inn ríki jarl; earl of Ork., 1014-1064; visited Bremen and Rome, 223; law-giving. 226, 251.

Þorfinnsdrápa, by Arnórr Jarlaskald; on earl Þorfinnr Sigurðarson, 1014-1064, 215, 216.

Þorfinns sona frá-sagnir, stories of earl Þorfinn's sons earls Arnfinnr, Hávarðr, Hloðvir, Ljótr and Skúli, who ruled Orkney in 10th cent., *Heimskringla* c. 96, s.v., *Jarlasaga*.

Þórhallsstaðir, Icel., attacked by Glamr, 8.

Þórir, Scand. per. n.; in *Throston*, Durh., 207.

Þórir hafrsþjó Ingimundarson gamla, Icel., 280.

Þórir Hróaldsson hersir í Firðafylki, 917, 268.

Þorlákr Þorhallsson inn helgi (St. Thorlak); miracle at King's Lynn, 1200, 147.

Þorlang Hrólfssdóttir gyðja; *hofgyðja*, temple priestess, Icel., descended from *hersar*, 277, 281 and n.

Thorn; in possession of Order of Knights Sword-bearer, 120.

Þórný, or Þyrni, Klakk-Haralds-dóttir, 287; grandmother of Haraldr hárfágr, 287; b. c. 809, 287.

Þórólfr Ögmundarson skjálgr; burnt in his house by Rognvaldr Loðinsson, of Ærvík, Norway, 114.

Þórólfr Ornolfsson mostrarskegg; founded first þing in Icel., 278.

þorp, O.N., and O.E., > *throp*, in pl. n., 182; > *drop*, in pl. n., Durh., 206.

thorps; in pl. n. in Bucks. Oxon., etc., outside Danish sphere, 210; but plentiful in East Anglia, E. Mercia and Yorks., where Scand. influence strongest, 210; in Nfld. and Durham, in Scand settlements, 210; where probably of Scand. origin, 210.

Thorpe Bulmer, co. Durh., 207.

Thorpe by Easington, co. Durh., 207.

Thorp Thewles, co. Durh., 207.

Þórr, (Thor); worshipped in Lapland 1674-52; identified with Tar of Esthonians, 52; worship 110; image in temple, 1022, 270.

statue in Möerr temple thrown down, 998, 274, 293 and n.; image in Guðbrandsdalr temple, 283 and n.; women excluded from service, 283.

Þorsteinn, Scand. per. n.; in *Thrislington*, Durh., 207.

Þorsteinn Ingimundarson; Icel., 280; political chief, but temple service in a co-heir, 283.

Þorsteinn Ketilsson raums; exiled from Nor, 277.

Thorun; dau. of bp. Jón Arason; instigated vengeance for her father's execution, 170.

Þorunn grœningarrjúpa; wife of Ulfarr or Ormarr, geneal., 275 n.

Thorvald's sons raided Saudafell, Sturla Sighvatsson's house, 1550, 168.

thrall (O.N. *þræll*); under Norse law, 248; 8 generations before the family of freed thrall became *arborunn*, or entirely free, 255.

Þrándheimr, sacrifices, 270.

Thrislington Hall, co. Durh., 207.

Throp Hill, Mitford, 181, 183.

Thropton, Rothbury, basin of Coquet, 182.

Throston, co. Durh., 207.

Thruxington, Leic., 207.

Thruxton, Norfolk, 207.

Þúriðr Solmundardóttir gyðja, Icel., 281 n.

Þúriðr Vépormsdóttir hofgyðja; sister of Þórðr Fréysgoði, Icel., 281 n., 283.

Thurstaston, Cheshire, 207.

Thurston End, Suffolk, 207.

þveit, O.N., thwaite; Scand. suffix not in Nblld., pl. n., 194.

Þykkvaboer, cloister, Icel., 161.

Þyri, the wife of Gormr hinn gamli, who was she, English or Danish, by Capt. E. Rason, 194, 285.

Þyri Danmarkarbót Klakk-Haraldsdóttir; 285 *et seq.*; m. Gormr inn gamli c. 825 [he d. 940?], b.c. 806-812, 290; could not be mother of Haraldr blá-tonn, 291; rune-stone at Jellinge, 301.

Þyri; dau. of Ethelred king of England; wife of Gormr hinn gamli, 134, 285; 292; dau. of Edward the elder, 286, 292; [b. 869-871, (see Ethelred), m. c. 890, Gormr; 292, 293, 297, and so

45 years old when killed swimming in the sea, 936; her son Haraldr was much younger, say b. 900, when she was 30 years old, and he 86 when he d. 986], her font at Sönderho, 298, 299; her gd. mother [Osburga] of Jutish descent, and hence Danish name Þyri, 300; her grave, 300; survived Gormr, 301.

Þyri Haraldsdóttir; dau. of Harald Gormsson, king of Denmark, md. king Burislaf, but left him and md. Óláfr Tryggvason, 113.

Tiberius; subjugated Langobards, A.D., 5, 63-4: camped on Elbe, 64.

tiend-penny and the ferd, of Ork. and Shet. charters, 246.

tignarmaðr, earl and king, in Norse law, 249.

Till, basin of the, 178.

Tingwall, Shetland; *logrétta* held 1307, 232.

tirung, Gael., ounce-land in Hebrides; corresponding to Ork.; *eyrisland*, and also divided into 18 pennylands, 243.

tithe of Ork. and Shet.; tithe was charged at 2d. Norse per "mark of land," *q.v.* = $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the rent of 10d., which was $\frac{1}{24}$ th of the purchase value of one mark of 240d., 245 n. 2.

tiund, O.N., tithe; imposed on Orkney, 12th cent., 224.

Tiundaland, Upland, Sweden; Birger Persson, lawman, 14th cent., 86.

Tjølling, Nor.; site of Skiringssalr, 266.

toft, *topt*, O.W. Scand. messuage, homestead, place marked out for a house; in Nblld. pl. n., one instance, 187, 194; in co. Durh. pl. n. 209.

Toft House, Rochester, N. Tyne, 187.

Tooley Street, (St Olaf Street), London, 145 and n.

Toolog, Irish form of St. Olaf, 145 n. Torf-Einarr Rognvaldsson; earl of Ork., a skald, 250.

Torf-Einars-hútr, a metre called after the skald-earl, 250.

Torf Einars Saga, quoted by Ari in *Landnámabók* (IV. 14. 2), now lost. see *Orkneyinga Saga*.

tralfanginn, Shetland dial., short, square-built person, deriv., 221.

Tranwell, Wansbeck, 183.

Trebetov, monastery, 128.

Trevelyan, sir George; transl. Thucydides into the terms of Stirlingshire and Clackmannan, 152 n.

Triglav; Slav three-headed god, 124; at Brandenburg, worshipped by Slavs and Saxons, 1153, 126.

Trinity Abbey, Dublin; relics of St. Olave, 142 n.

Trollope, *The Warden*, 151, 152.

Trondhem; cathedral, altar-piece to St. Magnus, 139; met. see of Nor. including Ork.; bishopric of Ork. transferred to met. see of St. Andrews, 1472, 218, 224.

Trundholm, Sealand; chariot and images in Nerthus cult, 41.

Tshernobog, Slav evil god, 124.

Tudor's *Orkney and Shetland*, 242 n.

Tuantes, inhabitants of Twenthe, south of West Frisia, worshipped Mars Thingsus, 43.

tún, O.N. and O.E., enclosure; in Nbl. pl. n., 179 *passim*.

Turges (Þorgils or Þorgestr), the viking king; took up his abode in Armagh, the holiest place in Erin, 841, and turned cathedral into heathen temple, in which he officiated, 275; his wife priestess at Clonmacnois, 282.

Twenthe, south of West Frisia; inhabited by Tuantes, 43.

twenty-oared ship, 256.

Ty, anciently Thiod; between Limfjord and North Sea, 66.

Tyboer, inhabitants of Ty; kinsmen of Teutones, 66.

Tyndale, 210.

Tyne; first vikings settled to the south 172; N. Tyne, pl. n., 186; valley of S. Tyne, pl. n., 188; tributaries called *burn*, 209.

Tynemouth, Gibson, 177.

Tynemouth Cartulary, 177.

Tyne Valley, pl. n., 185.

Tyrol; ship-procession, 42; ship symbol of Isis, 43.

Udillaus; sent to Orkney to divide the udal land, 228.

Ud-Lejre, near Væresbro, Sealand, 37.

Ukko = Jomala, 109.

Ulf Gudmarsson; husband of St. Bridget of Sweden, lawman at Nericia, 89; d. in Cistercian Monastery of Alvastra, 1344, 93 96.

Ulfarr, husband of Þorunn, geneal. 275 n.

Ulfåsa, near Lake Borèn; home of Ulf Gudmarsson and St. Bridget of Sweden, 90.

Úlfheðinn, O.N. per. n.; in *Ulnaby* Durh., 208.

Úlfkell, O.N. per. n. < Úlfketill, *Æ* Nbl. pl. n. 185.

Úlfr, O.N., per. n.; in *Ushaw*, Durh., 208; = O.E. Wulf, in Nbl. pl. n., 189.

Úlfr Hægnason inn skjálgi; settled Reykjanæs, Icel., 'no sacrificer,' 279.

Ulfuen, contraction of Úlfheðinn, 1411; in *Ulnaby*, Durh., 208.

Ulnaby Hall, co. Durb., 208.

Ungwin = Ing-vin, ancestor of Siklings, 41.

Unibur, friend of Dunimiz, 111.

Unst, etymological notes, by John Marshall, 3.

Upland, Sweden; Tiundaland district, code of laws 14th cent., 86.

Uppland in Häaby, Ork., 252.

Upsala; Frey's temple, crown-land, 33; temple to gods, 35; king Frø and sons, 36; cathedral, 91.

Urnes, Sogn; St. Magnus' name in runes, 139.

Urgesch Europas, Sophus Müller, Nerthus cult, 41.

Ushaw, co. Durh., 208.

Vaclav, St.; Bohemian martyred prince, "Good king Wenceslas," founded St. Vitus' Cathedral, Prague, 126; church named after him in Wolin, 127.

vaðmál, O.N., homespun; Shet. currency, 2d. Norse per ell [of 18" × 36"], 247.

Vadstena, Bridgetine Abbey of; founded by St. Bridget and her dau. St. Catherine, 94; abbess, dau. of Martha dau. of St. Bridget, 98; remains of St. Bridget deposited, 106; nunnery survived till 1592, 107.

- Værebros**, in Sealand, where Frode buried, close to Ud-Lejre, 37.
- Valdemar**, duke; Sweden, starved to death by his brother, king Birgir I., 1317, 90.
- Valerian**; brought mounted Slavs into Italy, 536, 116.
- Valkyries**; none in the Wends, 110.
- Valikárta**, Skåne; cf. Walker, Nblid., 185 n.
- Vamdrup**, Den., 182.
- Vana**, one of Vanir, 41.
- Vandales**; cult of dioscures among, 30; and Wends, 115.
- Vanir**; gods of Sweden, made terms with southern gods. Æsir, headed by Woden 32, 33; gods of Ynglings, 41; Freyr, Freyja, to whom horgir dedicated in Nor., 283.
- Vanlandi**, one of Vanir, 41.
- varðveita**, O.N., to have charge of (a temple), 262, 269
- Variag Vikings**; Slav towns as principalities under, in 9th and 10th cents., in Russia and southern Baltic shore; they included—north Germans, Swedes, Angles, Norwegians and Gothlanders; for trade and piracy, not conquest, 123; Elijah succeeded Perun, 125.
- Variashskoe more**, Variag Sea, 123.
- Varnabi**; Slav settlers near the Warnow river, 38; may have inherited name Varines, 69.
- Varines**; in Gottonic country. 31; near Angel = promontory Varinorum? 37 n.; Varini, Wærnes, of Ptol., in Mecklenburg, their reign ruined by Franks in 595, 38; Su-varines in Schwerin, 39; in Mecklenburg name preserved in river Warnow, 69; worshipped Nerthus, 69.
- vár-viking**, O.N., spring viking cruise, after seed-time, 216.
- várþing**, O.N., spring court; held in Shet., 230.
- Västgötalagarnes historia**, *Studier till*, 87.
- Vatnsdæla Saga**, 280.
- Vatnsdalr**, Icel., 280.
- Vatopedion**, monastery of; Mount Athos, Greece, MS. Ptolemy's *Geography*, 58
- vébraut**, in a kenning applied to Harald fairhair, 266 n.
- Veðrar-Grímr Ásason**, hersir ór Sogni, 275 n.
- Vélaug**, wife of Björn buna, 275 n.
- Velety**, submitted to Charlemagne, 116.
- Vémundr inn gamli son Vikings** Skáneyjar-skelmis; hersir, general., 275 n.
- Vendsyssel**, Den; king Álf, 266.
- Veneti**; the classical, to be distinguished from those on Adriatic and Vandals, 115; conquered by Atila, 116.
- Vesterlandenes Inflydelse paa Nord-boernes**, A. Bugge, 210 n.
- Vestfold**, kingdom of; Nor., 266.
- Vestgötalagen**, laws of West Gothland, 1230-1290, 87.
- Vestrhóp**, Icel., 280.
- vís vægi-valdr**, the protecting custodian of the sanctuary; applied to the earl of Hlaðir, 272 n.
- Vépormr**, son of Asbjörn, settled in Icel., 277.
- vetrnótt**, winter night, sacrifice, 267 n.
- Vexjö**; Thomas of Malstad, bishop of, 102.
- Vicelin**, bishop of Oldenburg, 128.
- Videy**, Reykjavík; Danish spoliation of monastery, 1539, commencement of Reformation, 160.
- Vidhem**, Sweden; deacon Lawrence prebendary of, 1325, 87.
- Vienna**, Viden, 115.
- Viga-Glúms Saga**, sacrifice at Vors, 267.
- Viger Spa**; heathen poet and first lawman of Upland, Sweden, author of *Vigers flokkar*, 86.
- Vigers flokkar*; scattered verses attributed to Viger Spa, heathen poet and first lawman of Upland, Sweden, 86.
- Vigfús**, hersir of Vors, 950, 267, 277.
- vík**, O.N., creek, inlet, in Nblid. pl. n., 180; sometimes applied to bend of a river, i.e., curve, angle, in Nblid. pl. n., 184.
- Vík**, Norway, 266.
- vikingabæli**, O.N. viking lair; Ork. before Harald's time, 214.
- vikings**; settlement at Jónsborg near Wolin, founded by Palnatoki, 108; in Nblid. and Durh. g.v., 172; East Anglia and Northern Mercia, 173; life in Ork., 216, 255.

Vikings and Wends; by P.F. Marchant, 5, 108

Vikings of the Baltic, Dasent, 109.

Vildmose, Cimbrian Peninsula, 65.

Vineta, Saxon name of Wolin, 122.

Vistula; Baltic Slavs lived near, 115.

visur, about Hákon Pálsson, earl of Orkney, 1106-1126, and Magnús Erlendsson, earl of Orkney, 1106-1116, 216.

Vitæ = Jutæ, 38.

Vithungi, called Euthungi, 38.

Vitus, St.; Rügen, 126.

vrá, O.N., a corner; in Nfld. pl. n., 196; in Eng. pl. n., 203

Vratislav, prince of Pomerania, 127.

Vojtech (Adalbert), Bohemian saint, after whom church named in Wolin, 127.

Völuspá, the sybil's lay in the *Edda of Sæmund*; by W. F. Kirby, 4, 44; Vigfusson and York Powell, 45; Christian allusions, 44-52.

Vors or **Voss**, South Hordaland; ping held, 267; St. Magnus' festival kept, 139.

Wærnes; Gothic tribe (Widsith) 37.

Waldemar I; last notice of Jomsborg; the Slavs 119; conquered Arkona, built Dantzic, 120; destroyed temple at Svantovit, 125.

Waldemar II.; expedition against Esthonia 120.

Wales; Bretland, 108.

Walker, Tyne Valley, 185.

Wallsend, terminus of Roman wall, 185.

Wansbeck < Wanespic, 176; river basin pl. n., 183.

wapentake, at Sadberge, co. Durh., 204

war-arrow, summons, 1022, 270.

Wark, *Iter de* (Hartshorne's *Feudal Antiquities*), 177.

Warnemünde, Mecklenburg, 38.

Warnhem; Dom Swenung abbot of, after 134?, 92.

Warnow, river, Mecklenburg; Slav settlers, 38; preserves name, Varines, 69.

Waskerley, co. Durh., 209.

Waskerley, Shotley, Derwent Valley, 192.

Wealththeow, earl; son of earl Siward; donations to Crowland Abbey, 140.

weapons, ritually locked up during feast to goddess Nerthus, 30.

Wear, tributaries called *burn*, 209. -*weard*, common Eng. suffix: in *Gunnweardus*, 188.

Weardale, pl. n. on high ground, largely Scand., 209, 210.

Wederas, in Beowulf, may be Ptolemy's Euduses, 38.

weights and measures, Ork. and Shet., 247 [see also *Old-lore Miscell.*, IX., 53].

wells; St. Olave's, Cruden, 136

Welsh, call the Saxon conquerors of Britain, Ambrones, 81.

Wencelas, prince of Rügen, 120.

Wenceslas, good king; St. Vaclav of Bohemia, 126.

Wendland; invaded by Pálnatóki, 108; ravaged by Hakon the good, 111; possessed by Hvítserkr, 112; Óláfr Tryggvason raids to, 112; included in archbishopric of Lund, 119.

Wends, Vikings and; by F. P. Marchant, 5, 108.

Wends; Burislav king, 109; subjected by Aðalsteinfóstri, 112; Gorm's campaign, 112; tribute to Den., 112; nothing in sagas about their history, politics or religion, 114; historians, 114; deriv., 115; Knút's campaign, 118; fought with dagger and sword and shouting, 123; customs, 124; images of Óðinn 125.

Wendsyssel, Jutland, 111.

wergeld; in Ork., 230.

Werlauff, Cimbri = Himmerboer, 68.

wesel, in a grant of land, Shetland, 1412, = O.N. *veizla*, entertainment, quartering, 233.

Wessex, earldom of; reserved by Knútr, 295.

Westmoreland; Scand. place-names, 174; Scand. settlement in Durh., 209.

Westrey; earldom lands, 222; secret meeting held, 1136, 230.

West Riding, Place-names of the; Moorman, 177.

whale; carried St. Magnus across Pentland Firth, 135.

whale-verse, *hvalvers*; applied to a poem by bp. Jón Arason, and

used as a lucky song at the fishing in Faroes; *kvölum*, pains (qualms) of Hell being equated with *hvölum* (pronounced *kvölum*), whales, 155.

Wham, co. Durh., 208.

Whitwham, Karesdale, S. Tyne, 191.

Whorlton, Tyne Valley, 185.

wick, wic, O.E., dwelling-place, in Nfld. pl. n., 184.

Wickham Skaith, Suffolk, 195.

Wickwane's Register, Abp., 177.

Widsith; *éðal* Gotena, 29; list of Gothic tribes, 37; Siggs and Ymbres, 42; Sycgas = Sigulones, 64; Rondings, Wærne, Eowan and Yte, identical with Nerthus worshippers — Aviones, Varini, Uithones, 69; Ymbre = Ambriones, the Saxons, 81.

William Rufus, king; 1098, gave St. Olave's Church, York, to St. Mary's Abbey, 140.

William the old, bishop of Orkney, when Nidaros made met. see, 1152, 224.

winter nights, sacrifice at Vors, 950, 267.

Wisby, Gothland; succeeded Jomsborg as Baltic trade centre, 109.

witchcraft, in Ork., 257, 258.

-with, Scand. suffix, not in Nfld. pl. n., 194.

Woden; in genealogy of Anglian kings, 41; ancestor of Anglian and Jutic kings, 42; unknown to Bavarians, 42.

Wolff, K.; map of Germania includes all Denmark, 82.

Wolin; near Jomsborg, 108; besieged by Eiríkr ei-góðr, 1093, 118; "Slavonic Amsterdam," destroyed by Danes, 122; inhabitants baptised, 127.

Worcestershire Place-names, Duignan, 186.

Worsaae; *Minder om danske og norske i England*, 140 n.

Wyld, prof.; *Place-names of Lancashire*, 174, 177.

Wyrtegeorn, king of the Wends; m. sister of Knútr, 118.

Yggdrasil; as the "rood," 45.

Ymbres; of Widsith, 42; apparently = Ambriones, the name applied by the Welsh to Saxons after the conquest of Britain, 81.

Ynglinga Saga, 32.

Ynglings; kinsmen of Yngi-Freyr, 33; or Skilfings, kings of Sweden, geneal., 41; kings of Upsala, chief priests, 266.

Yngvi, Yngvi-Freyr, see Freyr, 30; one of Vanir, 41.

Yngvildr Ketilsdóttir, geneal., 275 n.

York; St. Olave's church, 140; Sveinn tjúguskegg buried, 141; taken by Rognvaldr [918], 173; centre of Scand. kingdom of Nfld., 173; met. see appointed bps. to Ork., 222; met see erected after Augustine's death, 222; appointed bp. to Ork., 1073, 223.

Yorkshire; Scand. place-names, 174; Moorman's *Place-names of West Riding*, 174; pl. n. in *deill*, 199.

Ytes, Gothic tribe (Widsith), 37.

Yule-feast, sacrificial feast, 943, 271.

Zeit; bishopric founded, 117.

zhupan Slav, district chief, 121.

Zutibure (Svantibor); a Slav sacred wood, now Schkeitbar, 125.

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CONTRIBUTORS.

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- Ker, W. P.; Bishop Jón Arason, 133, 149.
- Kirby, W. F.; The Völuspá, the Sybil's Lay in the Edda of Sæmund, 4, 44.
- Lovett, Edward; the origin of Commerce and Currency, 1.
- Marchant, Francis, P.; The Vikings and the Wends, 5, 108.
- Marshall, John; Etymological notes on Orkney, Shetland, Unst. (See *O.-L. Miscellany*, V., 105).
- Mawer, Allen; Scandinavian influence in English place-names, 133, 172.
- Phillpotts, Bertha; Temple administration and Chieftainship in pre-Christian Norway and Iceland, 134, 264.
- Rason, Ernest; Thyra, wife of Gorm the old, was she English or Danish? (*Illustrated*) 134, 285.
- Schütte, Gudmund; The Cult of Nerthus, 3, 29. A map of Denmark, 1900 years old (*Illustrated*), 4, 53.
- Stedman, Douglas C.; Some points of resemblance between Beowulf and Grettis Saga, 3, 6.
- Stefánsson, Jón; translation of Ibsen's "The Pretenders," read by members, 4.
- Taylor, A. W.; St. Bridget of Sweden, 5, 85.

ERRATA.

- p. 31, l. 6, read *Njorðr* for *Nogrðr*.
- p. 38, 8 l. from foot, read *Euduses*.
- p. 139, l. 24, read (*April 16th*).
- p. 182, l. 15, read *infra*, p. 210.
- p. 185, at foot, read *hvirfill*,
- p. 199, l. 3, read *supra* p. 185.

- p. 217, ll. 17-22, the Norse male line ended with earl Erlendr, slain 1154, having lasted 274 years; earl Rognvaldr, a Norwegian, succeeded through female line, 1136-1158; the following Celtic families succeeded through females: Athole, 1139-1231; Angus, 1231-1329; Strathearne, 1329-1350; interrugnum, 1350-1379; Sinclair, 1379-1470, when earldom sold to Scottish crown.
- p. 221, l. 4 from foot, for 872 read c. 880. [A considerable period elapsed between the naval battle of Hafrsfjörðr, 872, and Harald's exp. to Orkney, when earl Rognvald's son Ívarr, then about 16, was killed; and also meanwhile Haraldr sent Ketill flatnef (d. c. 880) to subdue Western vikings, prob. in 872; he, however made himself ruler there, and Haraldr confiscated his óðal in Norway].
- p. 222, l. 8 up, Iona. Note: It has now been indicated that St. Columba's mission never reached Orkney, and that it was under the Pictish church and its clerics Ninian, Kentigern and Colum of Buchan, to which latter are ascribed the numerous dedications to St. Colme in Ork. and Shet.
- p. 226, n. Note: All the óðul, freeholds, were confiscated by Haraldr (as in Norway) and granted in fief to the earls; the former owners became tenants *in capite*, or feudal vassals, and on their death a fine had to be paid on the entry of the heirs. These lands in Ork. and Shetland were bought back at 24 years' purchase. See *Old-lore Miscellany*, IX., 53.
- p. 227, l. 7. Note: The eyrislands in Shetland have now been ascertained, and they are all valued in marks as in Orkney, so that Shetland had also to buy back the óðul. See *Old-lore Miscellany*, IX., 53.
- p. 227, delete n. 2. Note: The plógsland represents the modern mark of land in Ork. and Shet. of varying extent. The eyrisland paid an eyrir of gold = 1 mark of silver in skatt. The mark of land in Hebrides represents the Scottish Old Extent rent valuation. For a full account see *Old-lore Miscellany*, IX., 53.
- p. 230, delete ll. 3-5, and insert: The earls of Orkney had *gæðingar* under them corresponding to the *lendirmenn* of the king of Norway (*Old-lore Miscellany*, VII., 132).
- p. 241, skattr: see latest explanation, *Old-lore Miscellany*, IX. 53.
- p. 241, l. 2 up, Shetland paid a share.
- p. 242, l. 16; it has now been ascertained that there were 232 eyrislands in Shetland as compared with 201 in Orkney, a total of 433 aurar of gold = 433 marks of silver, as compared with Harald's fine of 480 silver marks, or one year's rental.
- p. 243, l. 6, burnt silver mark of Orkney land valuation was the Norse mark of 215.8 grammes as compared with the sterling mark of 233.276 grammes (Tower weight), and it contained 240 d. Norse and not 13s. 4d. stg
- p. 243, ll. 5-7 up. for *The . . . earl*, read *The eyrisland gold rent-valuation must have been made in the 8th cent. by the early settlers for the assessment of leiðangr, or war tax.*

- p. 243, l. 15 to end of par. delete, and substitute *s.v. eyrisland*.
- p. 244, n. 1 (as the *eyrir* valuation was in gold, and not silver, and as there were about 200 eyrislands, not 160), for £44, £1,056, read £360, £8,640, and add rent in 1136-1500, £1,080; for *Banks, etc.*, read £0 18s. 6½d., £22 5s. 6d., and add rent in 1116-1500, £2 9s. 6d. For the last 4 ll. read: excluding the towns Orkney was about 181 and 65 times more valuable in 1912 than in 895 and 1136-1500; whereas the *Bú* of Orphir was only 91 and 35 times more valuable in 1912 than in 895 and 1136-1500. Further, as the 895 rent continued after 1136 both should be added giving 1136-1500 rent £1,440 for Orkney and £3 8s. for the *Bú*; so that Orkney was about 45 and the *Bú* 25 times more valuable, in silver, in 1912 than in 1136-1500, including a large area of new land; the cultivated area of land in the *Bú* has been more than doubled.
- p. 245, n. 2, for correction of Shetland tithe see *tithe*.
- p. 254, l. 12, delete *Harald*.
- p. 254, ll. 8-13, up [the *gæðingar* were the feoffees of the earl of O, corresponding to the *lëndirmenn* of the king of Norway. see *gæðingr*.]
- p. 261, l. 3, read *Baikie*.

