

Saga=Book

OF THE

Viking Society

FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH

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OR VIKING CLUB

VOL. X.

PROCEEDINGS

1919—1927

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

TWENTY-SEVENTH SESSION, 1919.

MEETING, JANUARY 11TH, 1919.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

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

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Mr. Herbert Wright, M.A., Mr. J. H. Helweg, and Miss A. A. Coath.

Dr. Jón Stefánsson read a paper on "Jón Sigurðsson and the Commonwealth of Iceland," illustrated by maps, drawings, and a large photograph of Jón Sigurðsson.

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Sir Henry Howorth, Mr. F. P. Marchant, and Mrs. Bannon took part.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 1ST, 1919.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

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

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced: Rev. Aksel Broström.

Mr. James Gray, M.A., Vice-President, read a paper on "The Jarls and the Freskyns in Sutherland." (This paper, considerably amplified and revised, has been published under the title: *Sutherland and Caithness in Saga-Time; or, the Jarls and the Freskyns*. 1922, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.)

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Sir Henry Howorth and Mr. Stewart Boyie took part.

Saga-Book of the Viking Society.

MEETING, MARCH 1ST, 1919.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

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

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Mr. John Fea and Lieut. Kenneth H. Ledward.

The Rev. A. O. T. Hellerström read a paper on "The First Swedes who came to England."

A discussion followed, in which Sir Henry Howorth and Dr. Jón Stefánsson took part.

MEETING, APRIL 5TH, 1919.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

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

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced: Mr. Percy G. Brebner.

Mr. A. W. Johnston read his Presidential address on "Norse Wergeld."

A discussion followed, in which Sir Henry Howorth, Dr. Jón Stefánsson and Mr. James Gray took part.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING, MAY 31ST, 1919.HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

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

The Annual Report of the Council and Balance Sheet for 1918 were presented to the meeting, and, on the motion of Sir Henry Howorth, seconded by Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe, were unanimously adopted.

Mrs. A. W. Johnston, Honorary Secretary, read a paper on "Women in Iceland in the Viking Age," Part II. The lecturer wore the national dress of Ice-

land, and exhibited models of antiquities and silver ornaments. Mr. Eggert Stefánsson, the Icelandic tenor, contributed Icelandic songs.

On the motion of Sir Henry Howorth, seconded by Dr. Jón Stefánsson, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer and to Mr. Eggert Stefánsson.

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was announced, when the new President, Sir Henry Howorth, took the chair, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the retiring President, Mr. A. W. Johnston.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 8TH, 1919.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Mrs. Charles Hancock and Mr. W. J. Gardon (a *Founder of Old-Lore*).

The Chairman read his Presidential Address on "The Sons and Grandsons of Harald Fairhair."

A vote of thanks was accorded to the President for his address.

MEETING, DECEMBER 6TH, 1919.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON (Vice-President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "Queen Ása's Sculptors: Wood-carvings from the Oseberg Ship, Norway," by Dr. Haakon Shetelig, illustrated by lantern slides. Printed p. 12.

A discussion followed, in which His Excellency the Norwegian Minister, M. Vogt, Mr. Albany F. Major, Mr. James Gray, and Mrs. Bannon took part.

The Norwegian Minister moved a vote of thanks to the Author, and to Mrs. A. W. Johnston for reading the paper, which was seconded by Mr. Albany F. Major, and carried unanimously.

TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1920.

MEETING, JANUARY 10TH, 1920.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Professor W. Baldwin-Brown and Mr. Illit Gröndahl.

Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe, Honorary Treasurer, read a paper on "The Collection of Scandinavian Antiquities in the Hertford County Museum." Some of the antiquities were exhibited by the kind permission of the owner, Captain Bell, and of the Curator of the Museum, Mr. Bullen.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 7TH, 1920.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced: Mr. G. H. H. Bölling.

Mr. Albany F. Major, O.B.E., Vice-President, read a paper on "London, Surrey, and the Anglo-Saxon Conquest." Printed in 'Surrey, London and the Saxon Conquest,' Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. James Gray, Mr. F. P. Marchant, and the Chairman took part.

MEETING, MARCH 6TH, 1920.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

The Rev. A. O. T. Hellerström read a paper on "Swedish Music," illustrated by folk- and Bellman songs, rendered by Mr. Sven Lagergren.

On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer and to Mr. Sven Lagergren.

MEETING, APRIL 17TH, 1920.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY (Vice-President), in the Chair.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, Vice-President, read a translation of a paper in *Danske Studier* on the "History and Language of Orkney, with special reference to the Norse Colonisation of Orkney and Shetland long before that of Iceland and Faroe," by the late Dr. Jakob Jakobsen.

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

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING, MAY 8TH, 1920.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Mrs. George Sinclair and Mr. E. L. L. Foakes.

The Annual Report of the Council and Balance Sheet for 1919, were presented to the meeting, and, on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. James Gray, were unanimously adopted.

The election by ballot of officers for the ensuing year was announced.

It was resolved that a letter of condolence should be sent to H.M. The King of Sweden and to H.R.H. The Crown Prince, on the death of H.R.H. The Crown Princess of Sweden.

Professor Herbert Wright, M.A., read a paper on "George Borrow and Scandinavia."

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

MEETING, NOVEMBER 18TH, 1920.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President). in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Lord Leverhulme, Sir Gregory Foster, Provost of University College, Mrs. Spencer, Miss Smilton, Captain E. D. Preston, Miss Margaret Ashdown, Colonel George Waters, Captain John Craigie.

A paper was read on "The North, the Cradle of the Nations," by Dr. Gudmund Schütte.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. A. W. Johnston and the Chairman took part.

MEETING, DECEMBER 20TH, 1920.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President). in the Chair.

Professor Herbert Wright, M.A., read a paper on "The Plays of Johann Sigurjónsson."

In the discussion which followed, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Professor Allen Mawer and the Chairman took part.

TWENTY-NINTH SESSION, 1921.

MEETING, JANUARY 20TH, 1921.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

On the motion of Mr. A. W. Johnston, Vice-President, seconded by Mr. James Gray, Vice-President, a vote of thanks was accorded to the President, Sir Henry H. Howorth, for his generous presentation to the Society of Part I. of Volume IX. of the SAGA-BOOK, containing his paper on Harald Fairhair.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, Litt.D., D.D., read a paper on "The Swastika."

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

MEETING, FEBRUARY 17TH, 1921.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

Dr. Alexander Bugge read a paper on "Norse Influence on British History and Institutions."

His Excellency the Norwegian Minister, M. Vogt, proposed, Mr. A. W. Johnston seconded, and Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe and Mr. James Gray supported a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was carried unanimously.

MEETING, MARCH 17TH, 1921.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

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

The Rev. A. O. T. Hellerström read a paper on "Early Swedish Historians."

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Jón Stefánsson and the Chairman took part.

THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING, APRIL 19TH, 1921.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (Vice-President), in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet for 1920 were presented to the meeting, and, on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Dr. J. M. Laughton, were adopted unanimously.

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was announced.

The election of Mr. Frederick Macody Lund as an *Honorary Life Member* was announced.

Lieut. Kenneth Ledward, R.G.A., gave a lantern lecture on "A Historical Tour in Denmark."

A vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by His Excellency the Danish Minister, Count Gravenkop-Castenskiold, and supported by Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe.

MEETING, MAY 24TH, 1921.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON (Vice-President), in the Chair.

On the motion of the Chairman, it was resolved that the condolences of the Society be conveyed to the President, Sir Henry H. Howorth, on the death of his wife, Lady Howorth.

A paper was read by the Chairman on "The Columban Clergy of North Britain and their harrying by the Norsemen," by Sir Henry Howorth.

On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the author.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 15TH, 1921.
HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Sir Karl F. Krudsen, K.B.E., Mr. Leif Andreas Olsen, Miss M. Hudson, Rev. Edgar Rogers, Mr. M. M. Mjelde, O.B.E., Dr. Oskar Lundberg, Rev. John Anderson, and Major J. A. Chisholm.

Sir Henry H. Howorth gave an address on "The Irish Monks and the Norsemen."

A discussion followed, in which Miss Eleanor Hull, Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe, Mr. A. W. Johnston, and Mr. James Gray took part

MEETING, DECEMBER 20TH, 1921,
HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Mr. Ernest Woolley, Mr. Arthur T. Law, M.A., LL.B., and Mrs. J. P. Fraser.

Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe, Honorary Treasurer, read a paper on "The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin."

A vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer for his paper.

THIRTIETH SESSION, 1922.

MEETING, JANUARY 24TH, 1922.
HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, Vice-President, read a paper on "Early Viking Colonisation of Orkney and Shetland." In the discussion which followed Dr. Jón Stefánsson, Mr. James Gray, Mr. Edward Owen, and the Chairman took part.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 28TH, 1922.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Colonel W. A. Lee, Mr. N. O. M. Cameron, Mr. Andrew Carlyle Fraser Tait, Miss Eleanor Hull, and the Toronto Reference Library.

Dr. Jón Stefánsson read a paper on "Ynglinga Saga, verified by the Excavations of Royal Grave-mounds."

In the discussion which followed, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. James Gray, Mr. A. W. Johnston and the Chairman took part.

MEETING, MARCH 28TH, 1922.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Mr. W. R.-L. LOWE (Vice-President), in the Chair.

It was announced that Mr. M. M. Mjelde had been elected a member of Council.

Mr. A. Johnston, Vice-President, read a paper on "Fiscal Antiquities of Orkney and Shetland." Printed in the *Old-lore Miscellany*, Vol. IX.

In the discussion which followed, Miss Eleanor Hull, Dr. Jón Stefánsson, Mr. M. M. Mjelde, Mr. John Marshall and the Chairman took part.

THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING, APRIL 25TH, 1922.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (Vice-President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced: Dr. John Leask.

The Thirty-first Annual Report of the Council and

Balance Sheet for 1921 were presented to the meeting, and on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Percy J. Brebner, were unanimously adopted.

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was announced, Mr. Ernest Payne and Mr. Percy J. Brebner acted as scrutineers of the ballot.

Dr. Jón Stefánsson, Vice-President, read a paper on "The First and Last Earl of Iceland."

A vote of thanks was moved by Mr. A. W. Johnston, seconded by the Chairman, and carried by acclamation.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 18TH, 1922.

HELD IN THE IRON AGE GALLERIES OF THE BRITISH
MUSEUM.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., Trustee of the British Museum (President), opened the Proceedings.

Mr. Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A., of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities, gave an address on "The Curle Collection from the Baltic."

On the motion of the President, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Reginald A. Smith.

MEETING, DECEMBER 5TH, 1922.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Mr. R. J. Serjeantson and Mr. Walter G. Klein, F.S.A.

Mr. M. M. Mjelde, O.B.E., member of Council, read a paper on "The Norse Discoveries in Wineland; a study of the Eyktarstad problem, proving that Leif Eriksson was much further South on the American coast than was generally believed." Printed p. 57.

On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION, 1923.

MEETING, JANUARY 9TH, 1923.**HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.**

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

Dr. A. W. Brøgger, of the University of Christiania, read a paper on "The Oseberg Discoveries," illustrated by lantern slides. Printed p. 1.

A vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by the Norwegian Minister, M. Vogt, supported by Lord Salvesen and Mr. James Gray.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 6TH, 1923.**HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.**

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

Mr. G. Ainslie Hight, M.A., read a paper on "The Early Settlements in Iceland, with some notes on the Sagas." A section of this paper, "Psychology of the Icelandic Sagas," is printed p. 69.

A vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer, on the motion of the Danish Minister, Count Ahlfeldt-Lourvig, seconded by the Norwegian Naval Attaché, Captain Scott-Hansen, supported by Mr. James Gray.

MEETING, MARCH 6TH, 1923.**HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.**

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (Vice-President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Mrs. Humphrey Baker and Mr. Amos Beardsley.

A paper was read on "The Irish Monks and the Norsemen," by Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., President. (Printed in the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society, 1880).

A discussion followed, in which Miss Eleanor Hull, Mr. James Gray and Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe took part.

THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

ST. MAGNUS' DAY, APRIL 16TH, 1923.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

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

The Thirty-first Annual Report of the Council, and Balance Sheet for 1922, were presented to the meeting, and on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Ernest Payne, were unanimously adopted.

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was then announced, Mr. Ernest Payne acting as scrutineer.

Mr. George Ainslie Hight, B.Litt., President, then took the chair, and read a paper on "Icelandic Literature," dealing with the "Eddic Poetry."

The President was accorded a vote of thanks, on the motion of Professor Allen Mawer, seconded by Miss Eleanor Hull.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 6TH, 1923.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Mr. G. AINSLIE HIGHT, B.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Mr. Donald C. Gray, Mr. V. Stefánsson, Professor Oluf Kolsrud, Mr. G. Colin Robertson, Mrs. Janet Robertson, Mr. Frank Warriner, Mr. H. M. Paton, Mr. Hugh Warwick, and Mr. E. V. Gordon.

Mr. G. Ainslie Hight, B.Litt., President, read his Inaugural Address on "Some Remarks on the Chronology of the Sagas."

A vote of thanks was accorded to the President, on the motion of Mr. A. W. Johnston.

MEETING, DECEMBER 4TH, 1923.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

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

It was announced that the Council, on behalf of the Society, had sent a letter of congratulation to The Lady Louise Alexandra Marie Irene Mountbatten, on the occasion of her betrothal to H.R.H. The Crown Prince of Sweden, and that a reply had been received from H.R.H. the Crown Prince. (Both letters are printed in the *Year-Book*.)

Miss Eleanor Hull read a paper on "The Norsemen in Ireland after Clontarf," incorporated in her book, "A History of Ireland." 1926, Harrap.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. A. F. Major, Mrs. Charles Hancock and the Chairman took part.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE LADY LOUISE MOUNTBATTEN AND
H.R.H. THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.

The following letters were read at the meeting held on December 4th, 1923:—

"To The Lady Louise Alexandra Marie Irene Mountbatten:—

May it please your Ladyship to accept from the Viking Society for Northern Research, the membership of which includes Scandinavians and the descendants of Scandinavians who settled in the British Isles in bygone ages, the expression of good wishes on the occasion of your betrothal to H.R.H. The Crown Prince of Sweden. The members of the Viking Society unfeignedly trust that your marriage may be for the welfare and happiness of yourself and The Crown Prince who is to be your husband, and that the links in the chain of kinship and friendship which unite the people of your native land with those of Sweden may be strengthened.

That your Ladyship may attain a long life of happiness is the earnest prayer of

Your Ladyship's most humble servants,

G. AINSLIE HIGHT, *President.*

AMY JOHNSTON, *Honorary Secretary.*"

Reply from H.R.H. The Crown Prince of Sweden.

"Swedish Legation in London,

27, Portland Place, W.

9th November, 1923.

Dear Mr. Hight,

I am desired by H.R.H. The Crown Prince of Sweden to express to you and to ask you to convey to the Members of the Viking Society for Northern Research their Royal Highnesses' most heartfelt thanks for the Society's kind message of congratulation on the occasion of their marriage, which message their Royal Highnesses have much appreciated.

Yours truly,

A. DE BAHR..

A.D.C. to H.R.H. The Crown Prince

Geo. Ainslie Hight, Esq.

of Sweden."

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION, 1924.

MEETING, JANUARY 8TH, 1924.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Mr. GEO. AINSLIE HIGHT, B.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

Miss Margaret Ashdown, M.A., read a paper on "The attitude of the Anglo-Saxons towards their Scandinavian Invaders." Printed p. 75.

A vote of thanks was proposed by H.E. the Danish Minister, seconded by the Chairman, and carried unanimously.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 5th, 1924.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Mr. GEO. AINSLIE HIGHT, B.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

Professor R. W. Chambers, M.A., D.Litt., read a paper on "Beowulf in the light of Archæology," illustrated by lantern slides.

A discussion followed, in which Lord Salvesen, Miss Bertha S. Phillpotts, Mr. Albany F. Major and the Chairman took part.

MEETING, MARCH 4TH, 1924.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Mr. GEO. AINSLIE HIGHT, B.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

His Excellency the Estonian Minister, Dr. Oskar Ph. Kallas, read a paper on "Scandinavian Elements in Estonian Folklore." Printed p. 100.

A discussion followed in which H.E. the Latvian Minister, Dr. Gaster, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni and the Chairman took part.

THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING.

ST. MAGNUS' DAY, APRIL 16TH, 1924.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Mr. GEO. AINSLIE HIGHT, B.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council and Balance Sheet for 1923 were presented to the meeting, and, on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Ernest Payne, were unanimously adopted.

Professor Birger Nerman read a paper on "The Foundation of the Swedish Kingdom." Printed p. 113.

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman and Professor R. W. Chambers took part.

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was announced, when the new President, Professor R. W. Chambers, M.A., D.Litt., took the chair, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the retiring President, Mr. Geo. Ainslie Hight, B.Litt.

MEETING, MAY 6TH, 1924.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Litt. (President), in the Chair.
Elections announced:—

Member of Council: Mr. N. O. M. Cameron.

Subscribing Members: Miss Sophy Edmonds, Mr. E. V. Gordon, and Miss Edith C. Batho.

Professor R. W. Chambers, M.A., D.Litt., read his Inaugural Address on "The Saga of Offa in Denmark and England," illustrated by lantern slides showing 13th century pictures of Offa, his father, wife and dog.

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

MEETING, DECEMBER 2ND, 1924.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

LORD SALVESEN in the Chair.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., read a paper on "Arthur and Æthelstan." Printed p. 132.

A vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. A. F. Major, seconded by Mr. Ernest Woolley, and carried unanimously.

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, 1925.

MEETING, JANUARY 6th, 1925.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Litt. (President). in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Miss Helen McMillan Buckhurst, M.A., Miss Helene Fenger, Prussian State Library, Berlin, and München Bayerische Statsbibliothek.

Professor Alexander Bugge read a paper on "Celtic Tribes in Jutland? A Celtic Divinity among the Scandinavian Gods?" Printed in *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. IX., p. 355.

A discussion followed, in which Sir Israel Gollancz, Miss Eleanor Hull, Mr. A. W. Johnston, Mr. W. W. Skeat, Mr. F. P. Marchant and the Chairman took part.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 3RD, 1925.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. Helgi H. Zoëga gave a lecture on Iceland, illustrated by lantern slides.

A vote of thanks was proposed by H.E. the Danish Minister, seconded by the Chairman, and carried unanimously.

MEETING, MARCH 17TH, 1925.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

Miss Edith C. Batho, M.A., read a paper on "Icelandic Ballads." Printed p. 165.

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman and others took part.

THE THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING, APRIL 21ST, 1925.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council and Balance Sheet for 1924, were presented to the meeting, and, on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Dr. J. M. Laughton, were unanimously adopted.

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was announced.

Professor Birger Nerman, Ph.D., read a paper on "The Poetical Edda in the Light of Archæology." It is intended to issue this paper as a separate publication.

A discussion took place, and a vote of thanks was unanimously accorded Professor Nerman.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 10TH, 1925.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

Election of Members announced:—

Honorary Life Members: Sir Paul Vinogradoff. Professor Magnus Olsen, and Dr. Haakon Shetelig.

Subscribing Members: Mr. J. Jorgenson, Dr. Hans Holst, Mr. E. W. Lynam, and Professor Birger Nerman.

The Chairman announced with deep regret the death of Mrs. A. Wintle Johnston (Amy Johnston), Honorary Secretary, who joined the Society in 1894, became Honorary Convenor in 1901, Honorary Secretary in 1904, and until her death on August 23rd, 1925, Honorary Editor of the *Saga-Book* and *Year-Book*,

1914-1925, and joint Honorary Editor, with her husband, of the *Old-Lore* Series, 1907-1925. The President and H.E. the Norwegian Minister paid a high tribute to her indefatigable and life-long service to the Society.

A letter was read from Mr. W. G. Collingwood in acknowledging the receipt of the Memorial card issued by the President and Council enumerating Mrs. Johnston's services, in which he stated: "It is a noble record of long continued labour and endurance in a cause which brings little popular recognition, and none of the fame that plenty of people get for trifling services. But all who are at all interested in Northern study can't fail to remember Mrs. Johnston and the work that she has done."

Mr. I. C. Gröndahl, M.A., gave a lecture on "The Fells and Dales of Norway," illustrated by lantern slides.

A vote of thanks was moved by the Chairman and carried unanimously.

MEETING, DECEMBER 15TH, 1925.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

The election of Mr. A. H. Smith, M.A., as Honorary District Secretary for Yorkshire was announced.

Mr. A. H. Smith, M.A., read a paper on "Danes and Norwegians in Yorkshire." Printed p. 188.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. F. W. Dowson, Colonel W. A. Lee and the Chairman took part.

Miss Frances Knowles-Foster gave an interesting account of her Viking Cruise across the North Sea and in the Baltic, in a steam yacht navigated by herself with the sole assistance of her uncle, Commander Simmonds.

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1926.

MEETING, JANUARY 19TH, 1926.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

The election of Mr. F. W. Dowson as a *Subscribing Member* was announced.

Professor E. V. Gordon, of Leeds University, read a paper on "The Earliest Runes."

On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 16TH, 1926.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

The election of the following *Subscribing Members* was announced: Professor J. G. Robertson, Mr. P. A. Jamieson, and Mr. E. R. Eddison.

Miss Helen McMillan Buckhurst, M.A., read a paper on "Icelandic Folklore." Printed p. 216.

On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

MEETING, MARCH 16TH, 1926.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Litt. (President), in the Chair.

The election of Miss M. Roseby, as a *Subscribing Member* was announced.

Professor J. G. Robertson, M.A., Ph.D., read a paper on "Some Aspects of the Eighteenth Century's Interest in the North."

On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING, APRIL 27TH, 1926.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Professor R. W. CHAMBERS, M.A., D.Litt. (President), in the Chair.
Elections announced:—

Honorary Members, ex-officio: Their Excellencies the Ministers in London for Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Sweden and Estonia, and the Presidents of the Norwegian and Swedish Chambers of Commerce in London.

Honorary District Secretary: Mr. P. A. Jamieson. Lerwick.

Subscribing Member: Mr. Karl W. Hiersemann.

The Annual Report of the Council and Balance Sheet for 1925 were presented to the meeting, and, on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. A. W. Johnston, were unanimously adopted.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. A. W. Johnston, it was unanimously resolved: "That laws Nos. 51, 52 and 53 be amended to read as follows:—Funds. 51.—The Council may form Funds for Special Purposes. 52.—Such Funds as the Council may wish to invest must be invested in the names of the Trustees, in Government or other approved stock. Works Guarantee Funds. 53.—The Council shall have power to draw upon the Funds of the Society to pay for researches, etc., required to be made in the preparation of works in advance of their publication, and for such works as are not fully subscribed for at the time of their publication. All such advances shall be refunded out of additional subscriptions and donations received towards such works and from the first proceeds of the sale of surplus stock of same."

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was announced, when the new President, Miss N.

Smith-Dampier, F.R.G.S., took the chair, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the retiring President.

Professor George T. Flom, A.M., Ph.D., of Illinois University, read a paper on "The Transition from Norse to Lowland Scotch in Shetland, 1660-1850. A Study in the Decay of one Language, and its Influence upon the Language that supplanted it." Printed p. 145.

On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the author.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 9TH, 1926.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Miss N. SMITH-DAMPIER, F.R.G.S. (President), in the Chair.

Elections announced:—

Honorary Members, ex-officio: Their Excellencies the Ministers, in London, for Latvia and Finland.

Subscribing Members: Mr. Walter Oliver, Mr. A. A. Chisholm, Mr. Erling Monsen, Mr. Adam Cormack, Messrs. Sandbergs Bokhandel, Stockholm, Colonel N. T. Belaiew and Miss Kelchner.

Miss Arna Heni gave recitations and readings of translations of Norwegian Poetry, preceded by introductory notes by Mr. I. C. Gröndahl.

On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to Miss Heni and Mr. Gröndahl.

MEETING, DECEMBER 7TH, 1926.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Miss N. SMITH-DAMPIER, F.R.G.S. (President), in the Chair.

Election of the following *Subscribing Members* was announced: Mrs. R. L. Fulford and Mr. James Joyce; and the exchange of *Proceedings* arranged with the

Royal Academy of Literature, History and Antiquities of Stockholm.

Dr. Gudmund Schütte read a paper on "The Scape-goat in Northern Religion."

On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the author.

THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1927.

MEETING, JANUARY 4TH, 1927.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

MISS N. SMITH-DAMPIER, F.R.G.S. (President), in the Chair.

The election of the following *Subscribing Members* was announced: Miss Vera Smith, Miss Phyllis Hobbs and Mr. R. Farquharson Sharp.

Mr. Claude Morley read a note on "A Norse Camp at Brandon, Suffolk." Printed p. 264.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Ernest Woolley and Colonel W. A. Lee took part.

Miss N. Smith-Dampier, F.R.G.S., President, gave her Inaugural Address on "Danish Ballads."

On the motion of Miss Bertha S. Phillpotts, supported by Mr. Ernest Woolley and others, a vote of thanks was accorded to the President.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 1ST, 1927.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

MISS N. SMITH-DAMPIER, F.R.G.S. (President), in the Chair.

The election of the following *Subscribing Members* was announced: Mrs. D. E. Martin Clarke and Mrs. Barrington Eady.

Miss M. E. Seaton, M.A., read a paper on "Scandinavian Myth in 17th Century England."

A discussion took place, in which Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. A. C. Tait and Mr. Ernest Payne took part.

MEETING, MARCH 1ST, 1927.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Miss N. SMITH-DAMPIER, F.R.G.S. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. J. H. Helweg, M.A., Queen Alexandra Lecturer in Danish, University College, read a paper on "Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales in Relation to Scandinavian Folklore."

A discussion took place, in which Lady Gomme, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni and Mrs. Shealock took part.

MEETING, MARCH 29TH, 1927.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Miss N. SMITH-DAMPIER, F.R.G.S. (President), in the Chair.

The election of Mr. C. V. Deane, as a *Subscribing Member*, was announced.

Colonel N. T. Belaiew, C.B., read a paper on "Rorik of Jutland and Rurik of the Russian Chronicles." Printed p. 267.

A discussion took place, in which H.E. the Estonian Minister, Dr. Oscar Kallas, and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 8TH, 1927.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Miss N. SMITH-DAMPIER, F.R.G.S. (President), in the Chair.

The following elections were announced:—

Honorary Corresponding Member: Dr. Just Bing.

Life Member and Founder of Old-Lore: Mr. Simon R. Oman.

Subscribing Members: Mr. H. Landstad, Mr. A. Probsthain, Miss Kathleen I. Dodds, and Mrs. Murray Buttrose.

Member of Council and Assistant Honorary Secretary: Miss Kathleen I. Dodds.

Mr. W. W. Grantham, K.C., gave "A Chat on Iceland," illustrated by lantern slides.

On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, DECEMBER 6TH, 1927.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
BURLINGTON HOUSE.

Miss N. SMITH-DAMPIER, F.R.G.S. (President), in the Chair.

The election was announced of Mr. Gisli Karlsson and Mr. B. Jónsson as Honorary Members during their stay in London.

The Annual Report of the Council and Balance Sheet for 1926 were presented to the meeting, and, on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. A. W. Johnston, were unanimously adopted.

The election, by ballot, of the officers for the ensuing year was announced.

Lord Salvesen read a paper on "Scandinavian Influence on the Scot and the Scottish Dialect."

A discussion took place, in which Miss K. M. Buck, Mr. F. W. Dowson, Mr. W. W. Grantham, Mr. E. W. Lynam, Mr. Dancy and Sir Neville Jodrell took part.

THE OSEBERG SHIP.

BY PROFESSOR ANTON WILHELM BRØGGER.

(Read January 9th, 1923).

[THE ships of the Viking Age discovered in Norway count among the few national productions of antiquity that have attained world-wide celebrity. And justly so for they not only give remarkable evidence of a unique heathen burial custom, but they also bear witness to a very high culture which cannot fail to be of interest to the outside world. The Oseberg discoveries, the most remarkable and abundant antiquarian find in Norway, contain a profusion of art, wealth of objects and phenomena, coming from a people who just at that time, the ninth century, began to come into contact with one-half of Europe. It was a great period, and it has given us great monuments. We have long been acquainted with its literature. Such a superb production as Egil Skallargrimson's *Yngva-torrek*, which is one hundred years later than the Oseberg material, is a worthy companion to it.

The Oseberg ship was dug out of the earth and caused the greatest astonishment even among Norwegians. Who could know that on that spot, an out of the way barrow on the farm of Oseberg in the parish of Hagan, a little to the north of Tönsberg, there would be excavated the finest and most abundant antiquarian discoveries of Norway. It was in the summer of the year 1903 that a farmer at Oseberg began to dig the barrow. He struck some woodwork and stopped digging. A journey to Christiania brought him in touch

with Professor G. Gustafson, at that time director of the Museum of Antiquities, to whom he made known his discovery. Gustafson at once went to the spot, and made a small trial excavation, which after a day or so convinced him that the barrow contained a Viking ship, as large as the Gokstad ship excavated near Sandefjord in 1880. On that hypothesis he was able to plan his excavations, which took place throughout the summer of 1904, and were not concluded until late in the autumn. The task was long and difficult, but the result was a complete romance. That such an achievement was made, and that the Oseberg discoveries obtained so great historical importance, are very largely due to the enormous care and energy displayed by Professor Gustafson. He did not live to see the completion of the work of preparing the material discovered, dying in the midst of his labours in April, 1915.

The barrow in which the discovery was made was situated close to an ancient river bed, five kilometers from the sea. During the Viking Age the river was navigable for a vessel of the size of the Oseberg ship. The barrow was at one time one of the largest in Norway, but in the course of centuries had been completely destroyed. It was built of huge masses of peat, and formed a completely airtight covering over the whole of the interior, and in conjunction with the foundation of clay in which all the objects lay, it resulted in the excellent state of preservation which characterizes the material excavated. All the wooden objects were preserved, although broken by mechanical means, through the great pressure of the masses of earth above.

The ship lay in the barrow pointing north to south, with the prow towards the south.¹ Behind the mast there was a sepulchral chamber of timber, in which lay the dead. Stones were thrown over the whole of the ship, and above them the barrow was erected. At the very

¹ See *Saga-Book*, iv., p. 60.

commencement of the excavations, those engaged found proofs that the barrow had been broken into in ancient times, and the course of the thieves could be distinctly traced. From the southern side of the mound they penetrated to the middle by means of an open passage some three or four meters in breadth, with the sole object of reaching the sepulchral chamber. It was evident that they had succeeded in doing so, for the chamber bore very distinct traces of their work. They chopped out a large opening in the tent-shaped roof, and took away a considerable quantity of the valuables which must undoubtedly have been in the chamber. This compartment contained the bodies of two women, the Oseberg Queen and her bond-woman. We can see how the robbers desecrated the corpses by chopping off arms and hands, which presumably bore gold rings. Traces of the robbers were found all over the passages along which they had forced an entrance. Here and there lay broken remains of objects which had lain in the sepulchral chamber.

From the level of the thieves' entrance an investigation was by degrees made of the sepulchral chamber. There had lain the two dead women, presumably each in a separate bed, surrounded by coverlets, pillows and clothes. One of the women, perhaps the Queen herself, must have been about thirty years of age, the other about fifty. The sepulchral chamber in the ship was made their resting-place, and with them were placed a number of articles of a more personal character. We must content ourselves by mentioning the most important. There was a beautiful oak chest containing both fruit and grain, viz., wild apples (crab-apples) and wheat. Wild apples were found in other parts of the ship, and in all we have now about fifty of them. We may here mention that the vegetable remains from the Oseberg ship are in such considerable quantities, that they prove with certainty that, assuming the year to

have been a normal one from the point of view of vegetation, the burial of the Oseberg Queen must have taken place at the end of August or during the first week of September.

Two other chests were found in the chamber, both of oak. One of them was quite entire, and contained two iron lamps with long rods, a wooden box for cotton, an awl, a spindle, iron scissors, horseshoe nails, etc. In general the sepulchral chamber contained a collection of domestic implements. We may mention a winder for yarn, and also two looms, both of very important and interesting types. In this connection we may also mention the most remarkable contents of the sepulchral chamber, the numerous remnants of woven picture tapestries which lay there. At the present time a scientific assistant to the Editorial Committee is working at this material, and it may be said, *inter alia*, that these tapestries must to a large extent have been made in Norway.

In another part of the sepulchral chamber was found a collection of buckets and pails.¹ Two of these belong to the most beautiful objects in the entire collection, one having four handles and a wealth of brass fittings, the unique form of which has given rise to the incorrect name "Buddha" pail, whereas the workmanship is Western, and most probably English, belonging to the early Viking Period.

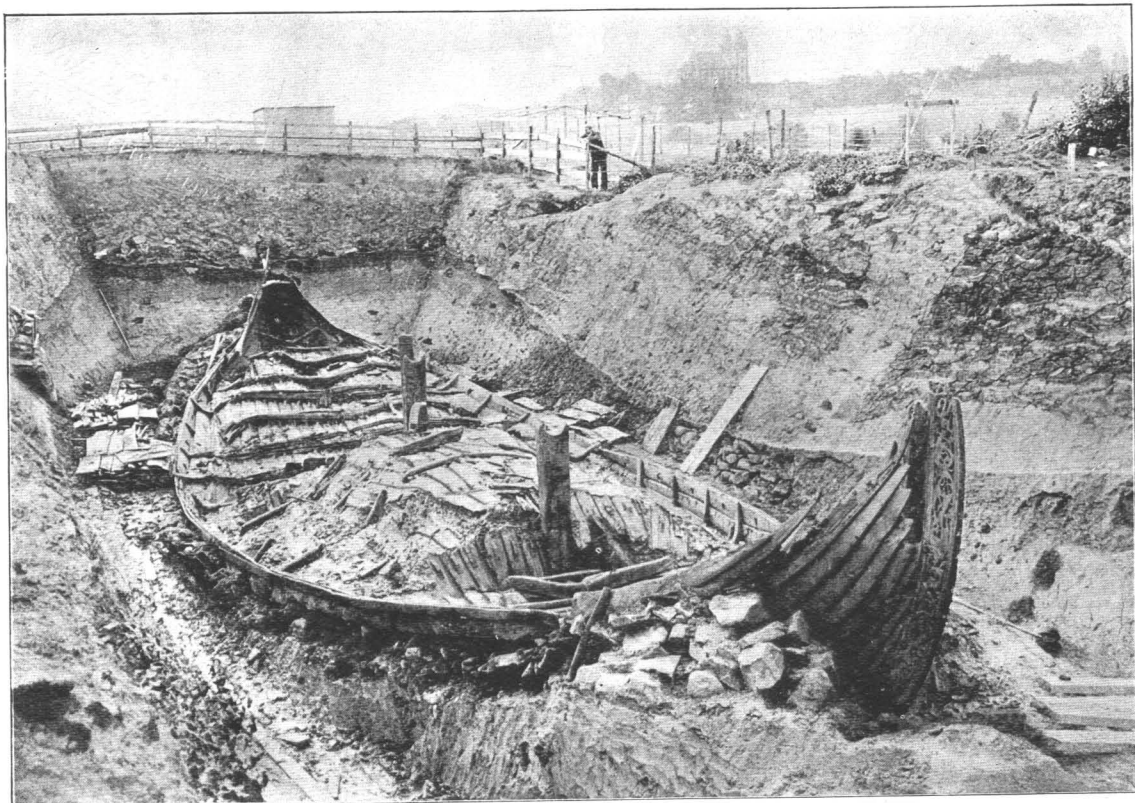
It should also be mentioned that the sepulchral chamber once contained two beds, a large quantity of rope for tents and sails, a considerable quantity of down and feathers for pillows and coverlets, a number of unique and beautifully carved wooden poles representing the heads of animals, and further, a quantity of large and small objects of various kinds.

When the investigation of the sepulchral chamber was completed, it was possible to proceed with the stern

¹ See *Saga-Book*, v., p. 297.

of the ship. The space was small, but nevertheless it contained a number of the objects belonging to a tidy and well-appointed kitchen, such as an iron pot with a three-legged stand, a chain for a hanging pot, a number of small dishes and troughs of wood, frying-pans, kit-boxes, knives, a hand-mill for corn, a kitchen stool with four legs, and a great many other articles. In the stern there was also a small ox. It was placed between two oak planks and was wonderfully well preserved.

That which was found in the sepulchral chamber and in the stern, however, was nothing in comparison with that found in the fore part of the ship. It is only possible to enumerate here the most important of the objects discovered. As regards ship's equipment, here were found a number of oars, a gangway plank, two water barrels, booms and gaffs for spreading sails, bailing scoops, anchors and anchor stocks, in addition to a number of indeterminate objects which undoubtedly belong to the equipment of a ship. Among the burial equipment may be mentioned, first and foremost, the beautiful four-wheeled wagon, which is one of the most remarkable objects in the Oseberg collection. As will be seen, it was intended to be drawn by two horses, and is of a most curious construction, there being a loose wagon body made of oak. On the sides of the latter we find some very interesting and remarkable carvings in the oak. As regards other vehicles, there were four sledges, three of which are very beautiful and luxurious, with richly carved bodies. These too, were intended for two horses. There were also discovered three beds, the framework for two tents, one framework for a very large tent, a chair, a trough containing rye flour, several wooden dishes, a box or basket made of bast, two buckets, one of which contained combs, balls of thread, wax, buckles, mountings, and in addition seeds of the woad plant which was used for dyeing, and also flax seeds and wild apples. There



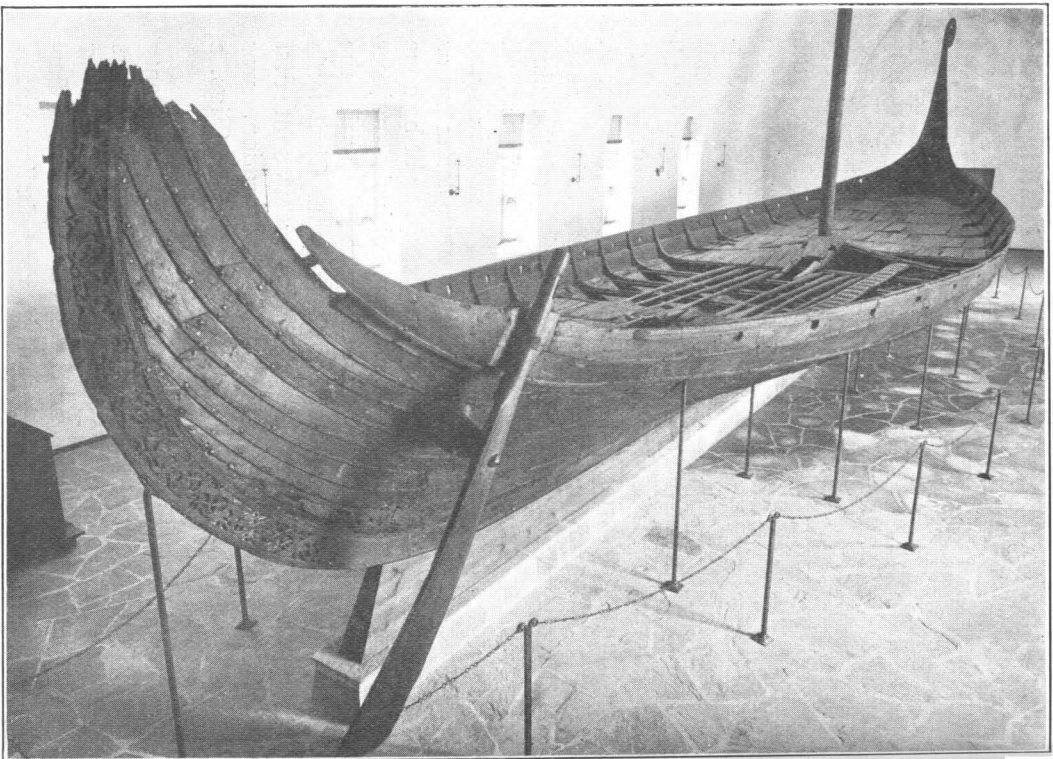
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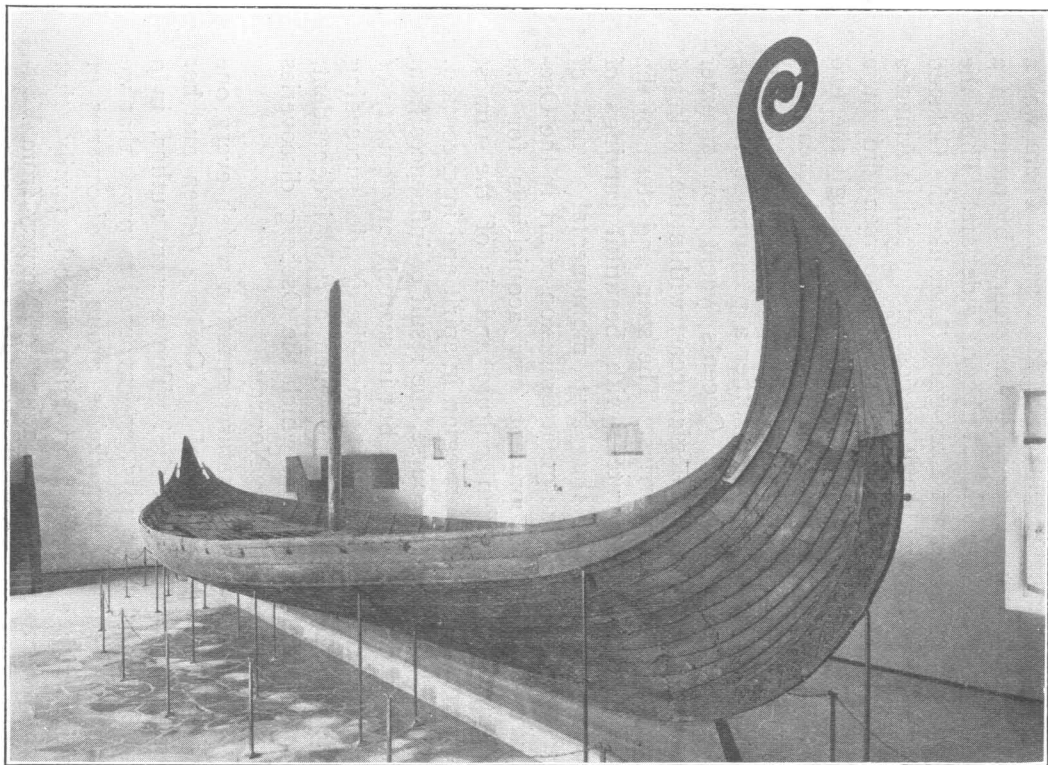
were further a litter or stretcher, a number of spades, three pairs of shoes, a ribbon loom, a beautifully carved pole representing an animal's head, three sledge poles, harness for horses and chains for dogs. Finally, in addition to all the above, there were the remains of fourteen horses, three dogs and an ox. It was certainly not a cheap funeral.

In the forepart of the vessel oars had been stuck out through openings in the ship's side ready for the voyage. In other words, it was intended that the *Queen* should be able to use the ship just as she had done during her lifetime.

It was not until the end of September, 1904, that all the different objects had been excavated, and for the first time since its burial the Oseberg ship lay uncovered. (Fig. 1). It was not a pleasing sight, twisted as it was by the masses of earth, the bottom of the ship pushed up by the underlying clay, broken, warped, all the boards crushed and loosened, the ribs sundered and partly destroyed. The ship required to be taken out as quickly as possible, but that could of course not be done except piece by piece. An expert ships' engineer supervised the work, which proceeded until the Oseberg ship, in about 2,000 pieces, reached Christiania at the end of December, 1904. There it was at first stored, and then, after a lengthy restoration, was re-erected on the spot where it stands to-day. (Figs. 2 and 3).

The Oseberg ship itself is a large, open boat, twenty meters long on her keel, and about twenty-four meters from stem to stern. The breadth is very great, being more than five meters, and the vessel is quite flat-bottomed, being intended to sail in very shallow water. The height above the water-line is quite inappreciable. She has seventeen ribs and holds (or intermediate spaces), all the important parts being made of oak, and there are fifteen holes for oars on each side, so that





From Photograph, copyright of]

[Universitets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.

Fig. 3.—Oseberg ship, partly restored, starboard side, looking backward from the prow to the stern,

thirty men were required to row the ship. But in addition, she has a pine-mast for a sail. There was a deck or flooring. The ship was steered by means of a rudder placed on the starboard side aft. Thus the Oseberg ship was not a sea-going boat like the Gokstad ship, so that it would not be possible to sail to America in the Oseberg ship, as Magnus Andersen did in a replica of the Gokstad ship in 1893, although the two vessels are almost of the same size. But the reason is that the purpose of the two vessels was different. One was a sea-going ship, the other a pleasure boat. The Oseberg ship was the Queen's yacht for summer cruises along the Norwegian coast within the sheltered waters inside the skerries. The stem and stern of the ship are richly decorated, with beautiful carvings of animals. This is the first monumental work of Norwegian art. The great profusion of art in the Oseberg discoveries represent new acquisitions for the history of Norwegian culture and is of the utmost importance. It is Norwegian in spirit and in execution. The subjects are, of course, the result of influences from various parts of Europe, but in scarcely any county of Europe can we find at that time—the decades succeeding the death of Charlemagne—such a rich, independent, and fruitful art as that which the Oseberg discoveries have revealed to us in Norway.

There is one very natural question which every one will ask when reading of the Oseberg Queen and her treasures. Who was she? The present author, in a work published in 1915, endeavoured to prove that we can connect this remarkable group of discoveries of ships with a special Norwegian princely family, that which commenced the conquest of Norway from Vestfold. By means of detailed investigations, which space does not permit us to refer to here, the author has tried to show that the Oseberg Queen must be a certain Queen Ása, who was the mother of King Halfdan the

Black, and also the grandmother of King Harald the Fair-haired. She was married to King Godröd in Vestfold, but against her will. The year after Halfdan was born she caused her husband to be killed in revenge for his having taken away and killed her father and brother. It is on account of this fearful deed that her name is preserved in our history. But she was a remarkable woman, loved and feared. She brought up her son Halfdan the Black, and gave him lofty ideals regarding his vocation. Her figure stands out in history as fully worthy of the picture we obtain of her by means of the Oseberg discoveries.

QUEEN ÁSA'S SCULPTORS.

WOOD CARVINGS FOUND IN THE OSEBERG-SHIP, NORWAY.

By DR. HAAKON SHETELIG.

(Read December 6th, 1919).

FEW museums can boast of more impressive exhibits than the collection of early 9th century wood-carvings to be seen in the University Museum of National Antiquities at Oslo. These most remarkable objects were all found through the exploration of a queen's grave at Oseberg, Slagen parish (not far from the town of Tonsberg), as has already been reported to this Society in 1904.¹ It will be remembered that the grave was arranged in a Viking ship, covered by a very large tumulus and loaded with innumerable objects (four sledges, a large carriage, several large beds, embroidered and woven fabrics, etc.), all of which are naturally of priceless value as documents in the study of Norse civilisation at that time. The excavation was carried out by Professor *G. Gustafson* in a manner which is beyond praise, and in later years he devoted himself exclusively to the still more difficult task of preserving all these fragile and perishable objects. Professor Gustafson had to find out for himself how to do it, no reliable methods being then known of how to preserve wood in such a condition and in such quantities, and by and by he solved the problems in a most splendid way. It is to his honour that the wood-carvings of Oseberg are now preserved in the Museum at Oslo as the most precious and unique of Norwegian antiquities.

¹ *Saga-Book*, vol. IV., part I., pp. 54 ss.

These preparatory works, however, prevented Professor Gustafson from carrying out his plan of publishing a complete account of the grave and its contents. The Storting had already granted the money necessary for the book, for which plans and illustrations were in preparation, but Professor Gustafson had not properly begun to write the text at the time of his death in April, 1915. Later a Committee was appointed by the University of Oslo to have the publication worked out under the superintendence of Professor A. W. Brøgger, Gustafson's successor, and the first volume of the work appeared in 1917.¹ The third volume is now nearly completed, and the second, fourth and fifth will follow. The following remarks are a *resumé* of the results described in Volume III., and are given by the kind permission of the Committee. The blocks for illustrations are lent by the courtesy of Messrs. John Greig, Forlag, Bergen, publishers of the review "Kunst og Kultur."

For information about the grave itself I must refer readers to the above mentioned paper in the *Saga-Book* Vol. IV., but it is of great importance to our present purpose to state who she was, this queen honoured at her death by a burial of such fantastic magnitude. Professor A. W. Brøgger has succeeded in making it evident, that the woman buried in the Oseberg ship was none other than Queen Ása, the mother of Halfdan Svarti and grandmother of Harald Harfagri, who conquered all this country and established the united kingdom of Norway. Her history is told in a few words by Snorri, and is most dramatic. Her father Harald, king of Agder, refused to give her in marriage to King Gudroed of Vestfold, who then went himself unexpectedly with his fleet in great force,

¹ Osebergfundet. Utgit av den norske Stat under redaktion av A. W. Brøgger, Hj., Falk og Haakon Shetelig Bind I., Kristiania, 1917, Bind II., 1928, Bind III., 1920, Distribueret ved Universitetets Oldsaksamling.

killed King Harald and his son, and brought with him Ása as his wife. The year after her son Halfdan was born she succeeded in assassinating her husband in revenge for her slain father and brother. She then retired to her home in Agder, where she reigned as queen till her son Halfdan was 19 years of age. She got him established in his father's kingdom, and after that Ása is scarcely mentioned in history. But her influence is still visible when the eldest son of Halfdan Svarti was named after her father, Harald, and not after her husband. She died towards 850, having then lived for many years as the widow queen and the king's mother in the neighbourhood of the royal residence at Borre.

The grave at Oseberg has in a surprising way told us what were the occupations and the interests of Queen Ása in the quiet period of her life after she had her son firmly established as the successor of her father and her husband. She was a passionate collector of works of art. The ship selected for her burial is exquisitely decorated with carvings on a large scale, the carriage and the sledges are carved all over with fantastic ornaments, and so are a series of wooden posts of doubtful purpose, terminating in animals' heads, but certainly the most refined masterpieces of decorative art. The exceedingly luxurious offerings in this grave are far above what was then considered necessary, or even magnificent, at a royal burial. The king, at Gokstad, for instance, belonging to the same dynasty, was buried in a good ship properly equipped, the body costily dressed and accompanied by his horses, his dogs, etc., but without a touch of the exorbitant luxury displayed by the queen of Oseberg. All those decorated posts, the sledges and numbers of other carved objects, all the gobelin fabrics woven in many colours with mythical representations, which were stored in the grave-chamber—all these had been offered in the grave, not as objects

of practical use for the deceased in the after-life, but as the property which had been most dearly loved by the queen in this world. Several details in the arrangement of the grave lead to the suspicion that the aged queen had been, perhaps, more feared than beloved. But whether it was fear or affection that dictated the rich offerings in her grave, all this wealth of decorative art can be interpreted only in one way. The queen did love these powerful monsters carved on wooden posts, the wild and flourishing ornamentation on her ship and her sledges and the endless coloured friezes woven in gobelin fabric. She was a collector. And at that time the only way of founding a collection of works of art was to engage the artists and set them to work at her court. Certainly the studios of the wood sculptors were a prominent feature at the queen's residence at Oseberg, as were also the women's work-rooms where the maids were busy at the looms. So we may imagine the daily life of Queen Ása, going to and fro, rejoicing at every fresh work created by the artists and enriching her collection.

From various indications it is clear that only a part, and probably the smaller part of the queen's collection, was buried in her grave, and certainly the objects now preserved have been selected by mere accident. They are sufficient, however, to give an impression of the quality of the collection as a whole, and to distinguish the hands of different artists, partly of different generations, and each of them with his individual character. It is evident at first sight that the collection comprises a good number of works of very high quality, works that are distinguished equally by their refined execution and by the eminent artistic conception. May be it is decorative art with rather restricted possibilities, but within these limits it attains the highest possible artistic quality.

The art of a distant past is always unfamiliar, and a

modern student necessarily is first impressed by the general character of the period, so essentially different from modern art. Long and intimate studies are required to understand what it was to the contemporary public. In Norway we have special difficulties in appreciating the carvings from Oseberg, difficulties which might in some degree be felt also in Ireland in a similar case, but I think not in England. We have been too much tired by insipid imitations of our ancient wood-carvings during the 19th century. Of course the only way to understand the antique works before us is to avoid all reminiscences of lifeless modern production. We have to make the effort to look upon the Oseberg carvings as if we had never before been acquainted with this branch of decoration. We shall soon discover that Queen Ása's style is no thoughtless ornamentation, but real art, living and growing, stamped by the individual genius of sculptors who strove for the solution of artistic problems.

I am going here to introduce the principal masters from Oseberg through a selection of their works, beginning with the stern Academicist who is characterised by the purest and soundest style of them all. His principal work is a wooden post terminating in an animal's head, figured here (Fig. 1). The head is boldly modelled, the nose is short, and the mouth open. The surface of the face is slightly fretted with a chess-board pattern, while the rest of the head is more deeply carved in a picturesque animal pattern. The post itself is plain, only the base of it being decorated with a pure geometric pattern. The form as a whole is masterly, the curve of the post being exquisitely proportioned to the bold carriage of the head. It is most surprising to find, in a Norwegian sculptor of the early 9th century, this mastery of conception in avoiding all excess of ornament, to find an artist knowing how to produce the effect by contrasts of plain surfaces and rich carvings, and who has, besides,



Fig. 1.—Animal-headed wooden post.

understood the secret of balancing his vivacious animal motives against regular geometric patterns. As a piece of conscious and well calculated art this work is no doubt the most perfect of all that is left of Queen Asa's collection. It gives a certain impression of cool composure and of self-command which is closely related to the effect of the classical works of Greek art.

Of course this is no accidental resemblance. In reviewing the other masters from Oseberg we shall have ample evidence that the Norwegian art of that period was working with the intention of assimilating forms and motives and general artistic ideas which had been inherited from Greek and Roman art, and which were much cultivated in Western Europe during the early part of the Viking Period. But of the queen's sculptors at Oseberg no one else has, in such a degree, got hold of the stern and fixed principles of classical decoration, nor has any other of them in this way grasped the importance of geometrical motives as a means to counteract the more animated ornaments. His form is so classical that it is permissible to ask whether he was a Norwegian artist or a foreigner. The question may be decided with certainty; he must have been a Norseman. The post is a purely native type, and the same sculptor has also decorated a sledge, mentioned below, which is by its very nature a production of home industry. Our sculptor, consequently, was working at Oseberg. The separate motives of his compositions give evidence in the same direction. He does not know the picturesque acanthus or the vine motive which flourished at that time in Byzantine and Carolingian decoration; animal forms only are the motives of his ornaments; or, by closer inspection, all his decorations are composed of birds designed so as to form very intricate patterns. The bird itself may have been inspired by classical models, probably it is meant as an eagle seen from the side with the wing raised, but in all

details the figure is executed in accordance with the native Northern style. This style was the one he mastered as his own, in spite of all influences from abroad, his native language as an artist.

Another work decorated by the same hand is a sledge which, during the excavation, was named "Gustafson's sledge." It is a sledge of simple and sound construction, in contrast to the following sledges which are developed as objects of pure luxury, and the decoration on it is restricted to geometrical patterns only on the supports and the frames of the deck. This sledge has two thills; the one is slender with a plain decoration of incised lines, while the other has a broad triangular termination providing space for richer decoration. The central part of the triangle is filled with an intricate composition consisting of three decorative birds; the borders are worked out as different geometrical patterns. A section of the ornament is illustrated here. (Fig. 2.)

This is the *Academist* of the school of Vestfold, which name I have proposed for the whole group of sculptors represented in the royal graves at Oseberg and Gokstad. The name is that of the ancient kingdom Vestfold, the realm where reigned Queen Ása's husband and where she installed her son when he came of age. Our *Academist* is restrained and confident, appropriate in the choice of motives, and inflexible in his stern symmetrical composition. He is the learned artist of all those at Oseberg. The separate motives and the details of his animal patterns all belong to the typical Scandinavian style of the 8th century, the later Vendel style,¹ which had developed the animal motives as a wealth of elegant linear designs. But at the same time, our *Academist* was intimately acquainted with classical art. From that source he developed his preference for geometrical patterns and, in fact, he really

¹ I propose the name Vendel style, early and late to substitute the styles II and III, established by Bernhard Salin in his well-known work "*Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*," Stockholm, 1904.



Fig. 2.—Part of ornament on "Gustafson's sledge."

understood something of that which is the essence of classical art, the self-command and the restraint in every single work of art.

His style is the most antique in the school, and certainly he was, himself, the most conservative among the masters at Oseberg. His reputation was great, as is shown by the fact that his style was imitated by a less prominent sculptor, in an animal head of the same type as the one figured here, which is, however, far from reaching the delicate decoration of the original. One specimen alone of the whole find approaches to the classical style of the Academist, though certainly executed by another artist. It is a carved frame found attached to one of the sledges (commonly called "Shetelig's sledge").

All the sledges from Oseberg were provided with separate frames. The frame is built like a low square box without bottom and with the sides overhanging outwards. The frame was not permanently attached to the sledge; only when in use the sledge had the frame placed on the deck of it fastened by thin ropes. When found in the grave all the sledges had their respective frames mixed up; the frame found in position on "Gustafson's sledge" was carved to match "Shetelig's sledge," and the other frames and sledges were unmatched, their proper belongings being certainly left at home among what still remained of the queen's collection. Such mistakes are easily explained, as all arrangements for the burial seem to have been made in a hurry, and the event took place in August or September, consequently at a season when the sledges were stored away and not ready for use. It may be mentioned parenthetically that the season of the burial is decided by remains of plants and flowers found in the the grave.¹

¹ See the special chapter written on this subject by Professor *Jens Holmboe*, *Osebergfundet*, vol. I., pp. 204 ss.

The frame of "Shetelig's sledge" is a very curious departure in the history of decorative art. Like the other similar frames in the find it is of square construction, the sides being planks which are joined together at the corners by solid upright posts terminating in carved animals heads. As seen from the illustration here (Fig. 3), from a drawing by the painter Mr. O. Geelmuyden, these decorations are meant to be lions' heads, no doubt the usual classical form of this motive and imitated as well as might be expected from a Norwegian wood-carver when working after a Greek model. The sides are decorated with a system of rails, carved in high relief, and forming a rather complicated pattern, as shown in the illustration (Fig. 4). First of all, this decoration recalls certain motives in the Dutch and Northern Renaissance of the 16th and 17th centuries, and our sledge, as well, might be called a work of Renaissance art, though its date is the late 8th century. We have here a most interesting proof how the Carolingian Renaissance of Western Europe influenced the decorative style of Norway in a more direct and effective way than was ever suspected.

Also the construction of the frame, consisting of four panels joined by corner-posts, was a common form of different kinds of furniture during the early Middle Ages. As the decoration of the frame is certainly borrowed from classical art—the lions' heads and the rail-patterns being very common in Byzantine and Italian art of the period—so it may well be supposed that the construction and shape of it as well was inspired by productions of foreign industry. No contemporary furniture is preserved in Western or Southern Europe, but we may safely imagine a Byzantine treasure-chest or a Carolingian chair of state being built in the same fashion and with similar decoration. Of course, the frame of this sledge was made in Norway, though much influenced by foreign furniture; and as a background to the

rail-pattern of the panels there is carved in very low relief a rich and fantastic animal composition, which in all respects belongs to the native style of decoration.

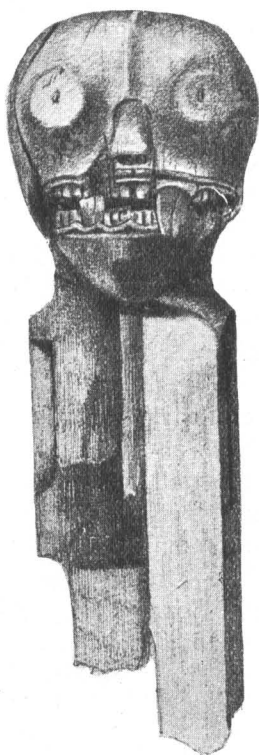


Fig. 3.—Upright post of "Shetelig's Sledge" with lion's head.

From a drawing by O. Geelmuyden.



Fig. 4.—Part of side of "Shetelig's Sledge."

In the pure ornaments the artist chooses the Norse form, the late Vendel style of the 8th cent., as he preferred talking his native tongue. We admire how masterly he succeeded in combining these native animal ornaments with a composition borrowed from foreign models. As already mentioned, the frame of Shetelig's sledge cannot be ascribed to the Academicist; there is too much difference both in the treatment of details and in the conception of the work as a whole. But the character of the style is identical in all these carvings; the animal-headed post first mentioned, Gustafson's sledge with its thills, and the frame of Shetelig's sledge. They have in common a certain calm and prudent way of appropriating the classical forms, with somewhat the same discretion which is characteristic of the Renaissance in its early stage. It is also interesting to note that the oldest carvings from Oseberg bear witness to the most conscious and trained artists of the school. Skilled in the traditions of four centuries of Northern decorative art, they are able to touch the classical motives nearly on equal terms. Unfortunately we have a very incomplete knowledge of the older Norse school in decoration which formed the starting point to the early masters at Oseberg, as no wood-carvings have been preserved older than the Queen's collection. But the small metal ornaments which are found in great numbers in the graves¹ may be taken as a reflection of the monumental carvings, now lost, from the preceding centuries. During the 7th and 8th centuries the decorative art of Scandinavia had turned its attention entirely to the linear design of the ornaments. The decoration is always flat, strictly following the surface of the object, and modelling in relief is never used as a means of producing a bolder effect. In the early Vendel style (Salin's "Style II.," in time, corresponding to the 7th cent.), the animal motives are

¹ Readers are referred to Bernhard Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, where such objects are amply illustrated.

brought into the shape of ribbons and plaited patterns, and in the late Vendel style (Salin's "Style III.," corresponding chiefly to the 8th cent.) richer and more fantastic details are introduced, with an effect not much unlike the classical foliage ornaments. During these changes we always feel the influences from general European fashions—the plaited patterns of the 7th and the Carolingian acanthus foliage of the 8th cent.—but Northern art never gave up its preference for animal figures as the principal motive in all ornaments.

At last the Northern school of the 8th century introduced also the classical rail-patterns and the classical medallion frame-work in combination with flowing and picturesque animal ornaments. The Academist at Oseberg marks the culmination of this period. In all his work he is faultless, restrained and sure, but he does not avoid the drawbacks inherent in an old and academical school of art. He never tries experiments which are not acknowledged by the school, always proceeding on the paths where he is sure to succeed, while already a new movement has begun among his younger contemporaries. They now took up fresh problems, which they did not master, and thus opened up the sources from which sprang a new period in the history of art in Norway.

The breaking up of the old artistic rules is first inaugurated by the master who carved the Oseberg ship. The ship is the largest of the works of decorative art preserved in this grave, a worthy parallel to the carvings of the doors in the medieval wood-churches of Norway. The stems are carved as broad friezes of animal figures, the pattern being composed on a large scale and executed in high relief. But the ornamentation itself forms a flat plane, level with the borders of the stem, so that the ornaments do not interfere with the impression of solid thickness in the stem pieces. Of course these principal constructive parts of the ship



Fig. 5.—Part of stem.



Fig. 6.—Part of stem.

must not appear to be weakened by the carvings. The decoration has a certain rhythmic movement, somewhat recalling the effect of a classical vine border, which is brought about by the regular repetition of animal figures, the one above the other, all of a common type, but every detail always different from the others. All the animals' feet are turned outwards touching the plain edge-border of the stem, and thus securing the impression of an unbroken surface, and the figures are provided with long tails and similar narrow projections (attached to different parts of each figure) which are arranged so as to produce a regular interlaced pattern. The two illustrations given here will afford a clear impression of the work (figs. 5 and 6).

The decorated stems of the ship are essentially of the same style as that of the Academist and of Shetelig's sledge-frame. It is the flat patterns of the late Vendel style, though with a somewhat broader and more energetic touch, as required by the monumental character of the decoration in a ship, and also with a more free and popular form. The Master of the Ship—and his work in all respects qualifies him to be called a master—is not a refined and exclusive artist as the Academist; his work is rather akin to the peasant art. And still more striking is the likeness to peasant art when we inspect the decoration at the inner side of the stem. The steep part of the gunwales meet the stem in a very narrow angle which is covered by a piece of wood, of corresponding triangular shape, called the *tingl*. In the Oseberg ship the *tingl* is carved all over in high relief, and the composition exclusively consists of grotesque and clumsy animal-figures. The figures are an unusual kind of animals, broad and heavy, though rather naturalistic in form, with broad round faces turned straight forward from the back-ground. The form in itself is of no decorative effect at all, without any trace of the graceful curves and the fine interlaced

patterns so highly developed in the late Vendel style. To produce in some measure a coherent composition the artist has made his figures grasp with all their feet at the surrounding animals or at the border of the panel.



Fig. 7.—Tingl at junction of stem and gunwales.

A look at the illustration (fig. 7) will dispense with further description. It is quite a new style which is introduced here, a very strange decoration, surprisingly

uncontrolled and barbarous as compared to the sure and conscious art of the Academist or to the ornamentation of the stems. And in spite of all, it is certain that one man carved both the stems and the *tingl*.

The conclusion is that the master of the ship (and other contemporary artists) must have been conscious of the special effect produced by the contrast of the two different styles in the ornamentation. They excel in the use of the rich and elegant forms of the late Vendel style in which their school had been trained for ages; and as opposed to these refined and easy patterns they introduced a heavy and clumsy form by which they set new and difficult problems. To begin with, they were not successful in their attempts to pass the limits of the ruling style; but the intention is clearly expressed as a new principle in decorative art, in opposition to the uniform and flat patterns of the Vendel style, the effect of the new style being based exclusively on a bold modelling of the figures and used as a contrast to the picturesque interlaced designs.

Here again our artists were inspired by the old classical forms. In the Byzantine and Carolingian decorations of the period we often find animal representations modelled in high relief, *e.g.*, lions or griffons, or animals fighting each other, as in a well-known motive of bulls attacked by lions. The figures generally are set in panels surrounded by borders of rich foliage. Our wood-carvers must have seen such things, and were trying to obtain a similar effect, making the experiment of modelling figures in high relief. The first results were not happy, as illustrated by the Oseberg ship (fig. 7); but this first and rough attempt at a more plastic manner in ornament had very far-reaching consequences in Northern art. Here problems were introduced which brought with them a revolution in the development of the style through the 9th cent. The new form of ornaments illustrated by the *tingl* is gener-

ally called the Northern-Carlovingian style of ornamentation, as first proposed by *Dr. Sophus Müller*.¹

Naturally, it takes a good time before the consequences of the new style are clearly seen. At first the Vendel style is enriched by single details borrowed from the new modelled figures. Another part of the ship, a piece of oak fastened across the inner side of the stem, is decorated with two animal figures which in all respects belong to the Vendel style, the heads being only broad round faces of the Carlovingian type. We thus see just one detail of the new style introduced without changing the character or the effect of the ornament as a whole. An exquisite little work by the same hand as the ship are some small ornaments on a peculiar wooden frame, usually called the bedstaff. The decoration is confined to four small triangular panels, and one of them is figured here (fig. 8). They are carved in very low relief, two of them with figures of birds and one with an animal figure, all the three being designed in the pure Vendel style in every detail corresponding to the carvings of the ship's stems. But the fourth panel is a composition of three animals belonging to the Northern-Carlovingian style. In the same manner as in the ship the artist here introduces the new form as a foreign element in contrast to the usual decoration. In mentioning the bedstaff we ought to notice the artist's capacity for a broad and monumental design even in a work of very small dimensions. His compositions are never of the intricate miniature kind which prevail in contemporary metal-work, while the Academicist is under some influence from the goldsmiths' style. The master of the ship is unstrained, clear and simple, he is the grand popular sculptor among the artist of the queen Asa.

At his side we distinguish a younger member of the

¹ Dyreornamentiken i Norden Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyrdighed. Kjøbenhavn, 1880.

same generation, an artist of less energy, but of much individualistic life, and with a special grace in the design of the decoration. He is the master of the fourth sledge. All the carvings of this sledge are executed in very low and smooth relief, the design is rich in varying animal motives combined with a system



Fig. 8.—One of four small triangular panels on the bedstaff.

of round and oval frame-work. The total effect of the work is that of the late Vendel style, but on closer inspection several details prove to

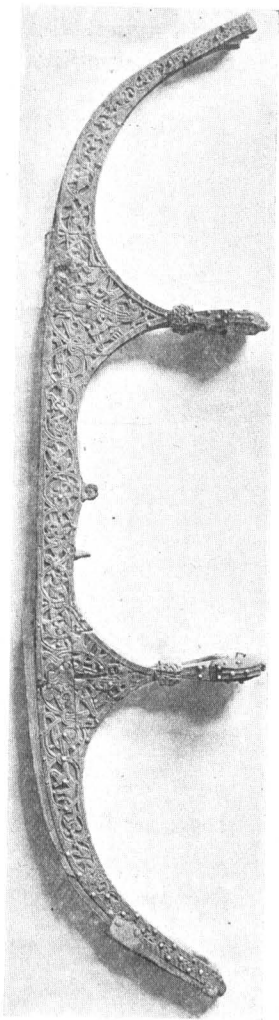


Fig. 9.—One of the runners
of the fourth sledge.

be borrowed from the new form, the Northern-Carlovingian style. The ample and rich impression is chiefly obtained by the gracefully curved and swaying wings attached to all the figures and giving an effect not unlike a foliage pattern. This resemblance is not accidental. Certainly our sculptors were acquainted with

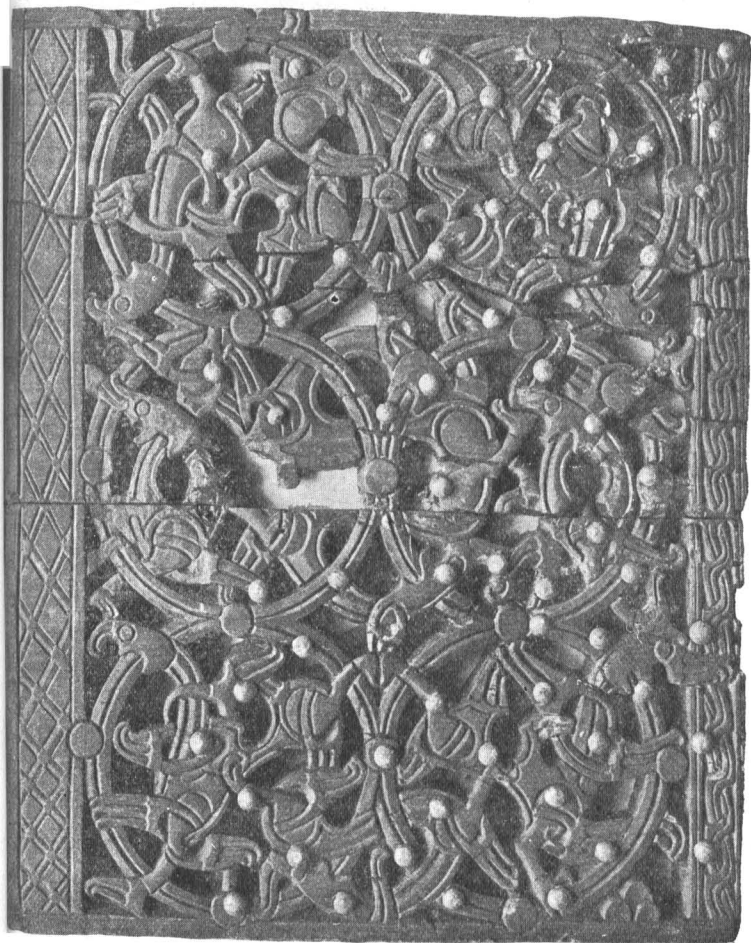


Fig. 10.—Back part of the deck of the fourth sledge.

the acanthus ornaments in the French art of that period, and were inspired by such works, though they always clung to the native animal motives in their own productions. The 4th sledge is a thoroughly excellent bit of work, which does great credit to its master. The ornamentation is original and animated, sure and tasteful. In spite of many fresh inventions no blunders are found in the design, and for the first time the oval and round medallions of frame-work are combined with Northern animal patterns in the same manner as a system of rails was introduced in the decoration of Shetelig's sledge. We figure here (fig. 9) one of the runners of the sledge, and special attention is called to the back part of the deck, also illustrated (fig. 10), which is a most exquisite piece of wood-carving.

But the master of the fourth sledge, in spite of his mirth and good taste as a decorator, is not an innovator of the style. To him the new forms of Northern-Carolingian animals are only a resource for enriching the Vendel style by fresh details, and so is also the remembrance of classical foliage. He never tries a more striking modelling of the ornament. All the carvings of the sledge are in a very low relief, and the artist has been exclusively occupied by the drawing of the ornaments, not by the modelling. As a striking contrast to this discreet work, we next have to examine a wooden post terminated in an animal head, of the type already described. The animal head is slender and graceful, and the post forming its neck is carved all over with a system of circular medallions consisting of narrow frames and crowded with animal figures. Part of the post is illustrated here (fig. 11), showing the decoration carved in rather high relief. The figures are treated as if they had the full roundness of living beings in a manner very different from the Vendel style, where the animals are always flat and side-face, as if cut out of a cardboard. In the animal-headed post here

before us, all the figures have the back upwards and are stretching out the head and legs in different directions. Apparently the animals are designed to give the impres-



Fig. 11.—Decoration on an animal-headed post.

sion of swift movements, as they are passing between the frames from one medallion panel to another and grasping at each other with all their feet. As a whole

the composition was certainly inspired by classical models, as might be illustrated by a Carlovingian ivory carving of bulls and lions; the artist must have had some work of that kind hovering in his mind when he planned his composition. Of course he had no training in the classical manner of rendering the figures, but he understood and he tried to express the purely decorative effect of the lively agitated groups and of the bold modelling of the figures. We clearly feel the effort of the artist to create a new impulse in decorative art, to improve on the experiments of Northern-Carlovingian form as it was tried already by the master of the ship. His work marks a good step forward in the mastering of the new form, and the artist is sympathetic in his bold attack on problems which must have been very difficult for him. He did not attain the perfect and harmonious form of the new style, and, from a technical point of view, this work is not among the best in the queen's collection. It is not the work of a leading artist, though it is of much interest as a necessary phase in the evolution of the style. The special form of the decoration we have seen here, largely contributed to clearing the way for the achievement of the new grand style towards the middle of the 9th century.

A fresh generation of wood-carvers was then starting, and first among them we meet a sculptor of uncommon genius and energy who is usually named the Baroque Master of Oseberg. Four of his works are preserved among the objects found in the queen's grave, *viz.*, two thills for sledges and two wooden posts terminating in animal heads. They all have a common character of design and execution, artistically of the highest individual quality, but minor differences show that they probably were made at somewhat different stages in the artist's career. He was a pupil of the other masters at Oseberg, his technique of carving being exactly the same as that of his nearest predecessors and all the

single forms and motives he disposes of being borrowed from their style. He does not seem to have been influenced by classical taste in the same direct way as was the Academist, nor does he imitate distinctly classical compositions. All he knew he had learned at Oseberg, where he found before him both the refined and noble form of the late Vendel style and the first rude attempts of a more plastic decoration after Carolingian models. He had that rare gift of combining these different elements into a new and personal style. He is much more of a sculptor than a draughtsman, giving the decorative effect exclusively by a very strong modelling of the ornaments. But at the same time he rejects none of the current motives of the school, and he is very careful about a most correct composition of the design. In every respect he is distinguished as the skilled master of his art.

The earliest work preserved from his hand is a carved wooden post terminating in an animal head, which is illustrated here (fig. 12). The work has not the perfect sureness of composition, and also in other respects it indicates the young artist who has not yet attained his full development. But the bold modelling is prominent. The decoration is composed of conventional animals and birds, all of them very fantastic and arranged in curiously distorted positions. The carving is executed in very high relief, each motive giving the impression of a figure modelled in full roundness and only attached to the panel. The illustration here will give an idea of the general character of the work, though details are not very clear in the photograph, as the ornaments are painted black, and the effect is not improved by the lavish application of small silver rivets. These rivets are placed without any regard to the carvings, and often a rivet covers delicate details of the ornamental figures. Apparently the wood sculptor had nothing to do with this part of the decoration.

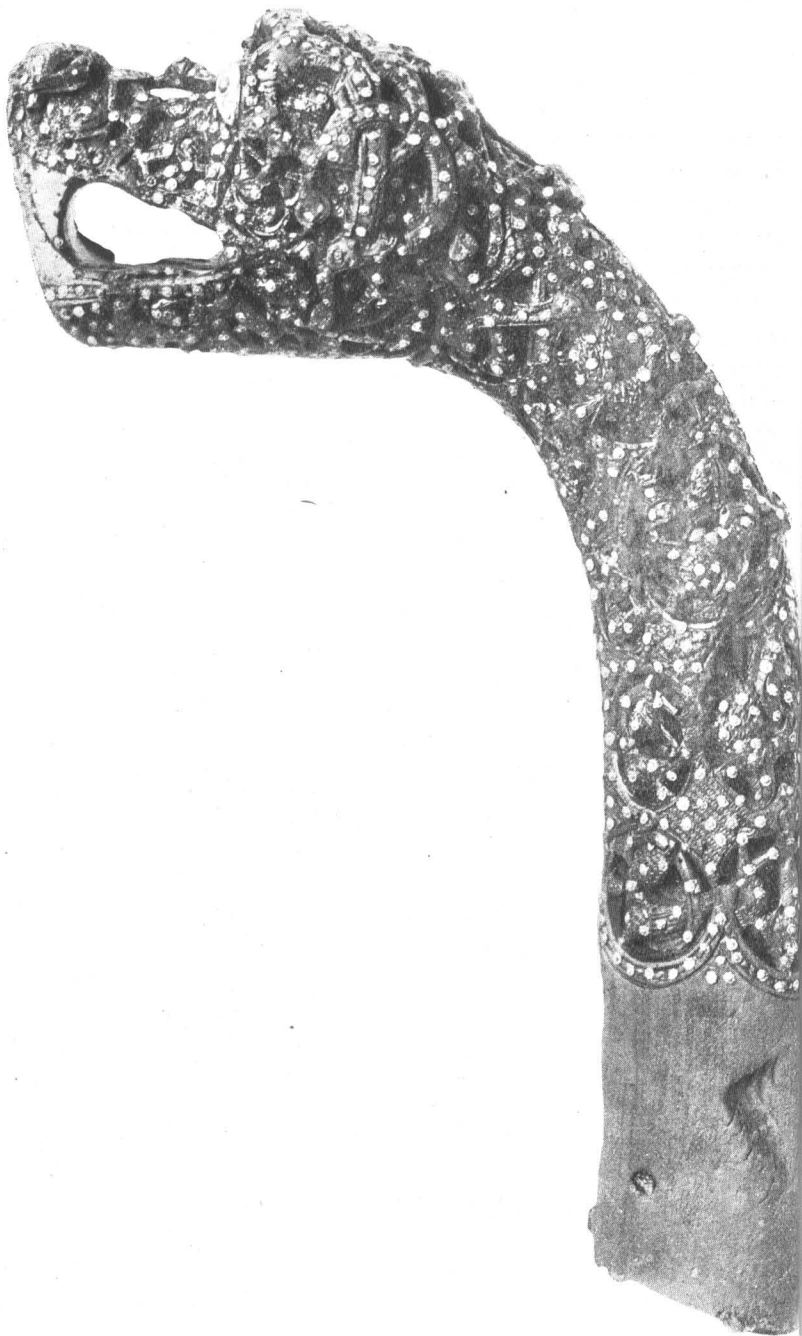


Fig. 12. -Animal-headed post.

In the thills for the sledges we see the Baroque Master at his highest perfection. The thill itself has been changed into a more artistic form as compared with an earlier specimen carved by the Acadamist. The bifurcating part of the thill which was attached to the sledge is much more elongated, of slender and rounded shape, and the thill is elegantly curved, rising from the sledge. The photograph illustrated here (fig. 13) represents about half of the thill, the lower part being thicker and sculptured all over with very rich decorations, while the slender part of it is plain with only an elevated central rib along the ridge and small isolated ornaments at regular intervals. In a masterly way the decoration is designed and modelled so as to form an organic and inseparable part of the object. The work as a whole gives the impression of self-command and moderation, in spite of its exorbitant richness and energy.

Every detail is consciously subservient to the whole composition, though the details as well may claim our attention. In both the thills the execution of the carvings is fully equal to the design, and the work is carried out with the most minute exactness. The ornament is composed of animal figures arranged in oval medallion frames, a motive used already by the older artists of the school, but inspired with new life by the Baroque Master. As is seen in the photograph (fig. 14) showing a small section of the second thill, which is more fragmentary than the one first illustrated, the oval frames are lower than the animal figures, and these are modelled as a rounded boss filling the space within the medallion. The head and the legs of each figure are extended outwards over the frame in opposite directions, the heads from both sides of the thill being arranged in pairs along the central rib and united by small decorative loops over the ridge. A peculiar tension of the ornament is obtained by the straight neck and limbs of each figure stretching out diagonally from the panel.

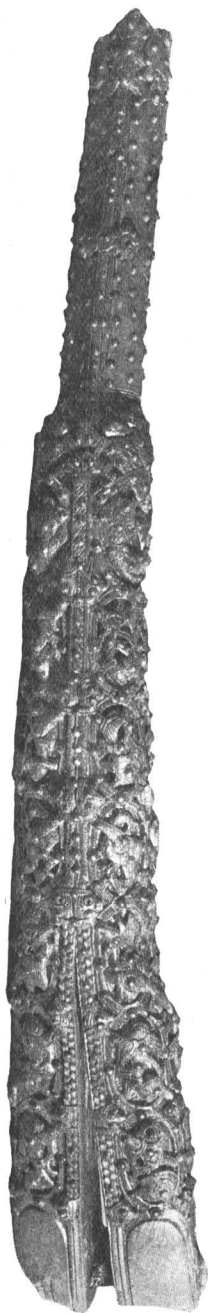


Fig. 13.—One half of the
thill of a sledge.



Fig. 14.—Small section of
another thill of a sledge.

The interlaced animal figure has thus the appearance of being strained and swelling like a tightened knot. The more we study these remarkable carvings, the more they are felt as composed of living elastic forms. They are essentially sculpturesque works of art.

Certainly this master was a most highly gifted artist, one of those rare men of genius who possess the power of creating their own style. He was trained in all forms of decoration as used by the preceding generation at Oseberg, familiar with their experiments of assimilating motives borrowed from classical art, and it is evident that he had also some personal knowledge of the contemporary style of Western Europe. In some places he introduces animal figures which are clearly meant to represent griffons and well designed too, being the very first appearance of this form in Scandinavian ornamentation. But the artistic effect of his work is remarkably free from the direct influence of predecessors or foreign models. Maybe he got impulses from several parts, from the curious and grotesque forms of the Northern-Carlovingian style, from the perfect and life-like modelling of classical reliefs, or from the attempts of a bolder modelling which we have found already in some earlier works from Oseberg, *e.g.* in the decoration of the ship. He might learn from others every single form of which he composed his decorations, and the first attempts at inventing a new style had been made before him, but he was the one eminent individual capable of concentrating all the separate elements of decoration as the means to create a new and perfect style. It is not likely that many artists of such uncommon talents were living at that same time in the Northern countries. We have very good reason to believe that the Baroque Master of Oseberg was the original creator of the new style which begun towards the middle of the 9th century.

The last work of the Baroque Master is a wooden post

terminating in an animal head, unfortunately much damaged. It had been broken and repaired before it was placed in the grave, and the restoration of it is specially difficult owing to the deep and delicate carvings. The illustration (fig. 15) showing part of the post, is photographed from a copy in wood carved under the



Fig. 15.—Part of an animal-headed post. From a wood model made under the direction of Professor Gustafson.

personal control of Professor Gustafson. It is the richest and finest piece of wood-carving we possess of all the queen's collection. The post is covered all over with the most florid ornamentation, the pattern being perhaps designed in rather too minute proportions, and the details are not as perfectly correct as in the other works of this artist. But the total effect is splendid. On the

animal head the relief is dense, and does not even interfere with the impression of the large modelled form, though the decoration fills every inch of the surface from the neck to the nose-tip. The surface of the post itself is divided into oval panels, the frames of which are carved in very high relief, and each of them composed of two slender animal figures. The back-ground under the panels is treated as an independent interlaced pattern of small animal figures. Here is seen also a quite unique refinement of the art of wood-carving. Small openings are cut at the base of the larger oval figures so as to let the light through in places and thus giving unexpected glimpses of the deepest part of the ornaments. The high oval figures then look as if they were freely attached to the post only, and not carved out of the same piece of wood. The master here shows himself as a virtuoso of his art, perhaps a little too much so.

But the same sure hand is felt here as in the preceding works by the Baroque Master. Every detail is designed after conscious deliberation, and executed with the utmost attention. This is the place to mention a peculiarity common to all the wood-carvings of Oseberg which is best understood now that we are acquainted with a number of different works of this school. As seen in the photograph here, the surfaces of the ornamental figures are carved with miniature patterns of cuts and lines slightly incised. It may be remarked, by the way, that an ordinary knife was the only tool used in making all the carvings, and the said small patterns are all very simple and purely technical, though they show considerable variation and contribute, in a high degree, to the rich effect of the decoration. In the wood-carving this technique played the same part as the chiseling and punching of metal ornaments. The wood-carvers of Oseberg were very careful about this part of their work, and the special treatment of the surfaces is often carried out with high taste. Among the older artists the

Academist is, also in this respect, the most particular and minute carver; the Master of the Ship shows less variety and does not possess that unfailing exactness in every detail. A somewhat inferior artist, who made the animal-headed post with Northern-Carlovigian ornaments, treats the surfaces much coarser and in a rather careless manner. In his early works the Baroque Master works much on the same line as the Master of the Ship, treating the surface of his ornaments with rather plain and broad patterns. Later on he gave to this side of his art closer attention, as seen in the thills, and in the last animal-headed post, every part of the surface of which is worked out with the richest variation and shows unparalleled skill in wood-carving. Each separate part of the surface is treated individually with the utmost care, the miniature cuts and lines are clean and sharp, the hand of the artist never failing throughout the work, nor his patience.

This intimate study of details, of which a short glimpse only can be given here, is indispensable to the full appreciation of Queen Ása's artists. It is certain also that extensive works requiring very long time were carved all through by one hand, certainly by the sculptor personally. This conclusion, of course, bears only on the finishing treatment of the decoration, the sole part of the work now to be studied. But the same artist must have been both the composer and the executant of the design, which was first drawn in fine lines on the plain block of wood, then worked out in relief and finished by minute patterns of the surface. The artist himself must have been in it at all stages of the work, and the technique of the carving is stamped by his personal taste as much as is the composition of the ornament. These considerations are also important to forming a just estimation of the Baroque Master. He was the great innovator of his art, creating his own original style, and at the same time he personally carried out extensive

works in every detail with infinite care and exactness. He possessed that fervent and patient energy which is part of the highest genius. He is the skilled and trained master, also in the minor abilities which have nothing to do with the lasting value of his work. Unsurpassed in technical refinement, he possesses all the current forms and motives of ornaments as perfectly as any academist. He represents the highest achievement of the Norse decorative art during the 9th century.

But there is nothing new under the sun. Beside the Baroque Master we meet, in the younger generation at Oseberg, another gifted sculptor, who is curiously modern in his neglect of correct design. He deserves the name of an Impressionist. Only one work of his was found, the frame of the fourth sledge, which is richly carved all over. The side panels are divided by narrow rails into small rhomboidal compartments (fig. 16), the bottom under the rails being filled with a dense and continuous animal-pattern. The upper edge of the sides is carved as a raised and rounded frieze composed of animal forms in high relief. The corner posts have animal decorations combined with round medallions and terminate in free animal heads strongly modelled. It is at once evident that the whole decoration is intended for an exaggerated effect of the relief, and this effect is attained by more drastic means than is ever the case with the Baroque Master. It looks as if the Impressionist aimed at very definite artistic objects, and well knew how to produce the impression he wanted. Certainly his sledge's frame is a most splendid piece of decorative art, and one of those which most attract the admiration of visitors to Queen Ása's collection.

But we are the more surprised that in all this decoration, so exceedingly rich and florid, there is not found one intelligible ornamental figure. The total impression is that of the common animal ornaments of the school which, in all the other works we have seen, were com-

posed of distinct figures, each of them provided with body, head and extremities. Of course the forms are purely conventional, often very fantastic, with no resemblance to real living animals, but undoubtedly the forms

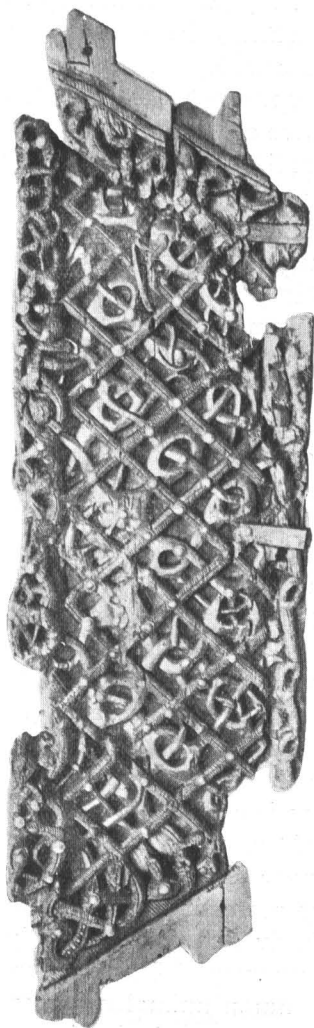


Fig. 16.—Frame of the fourth sledge.

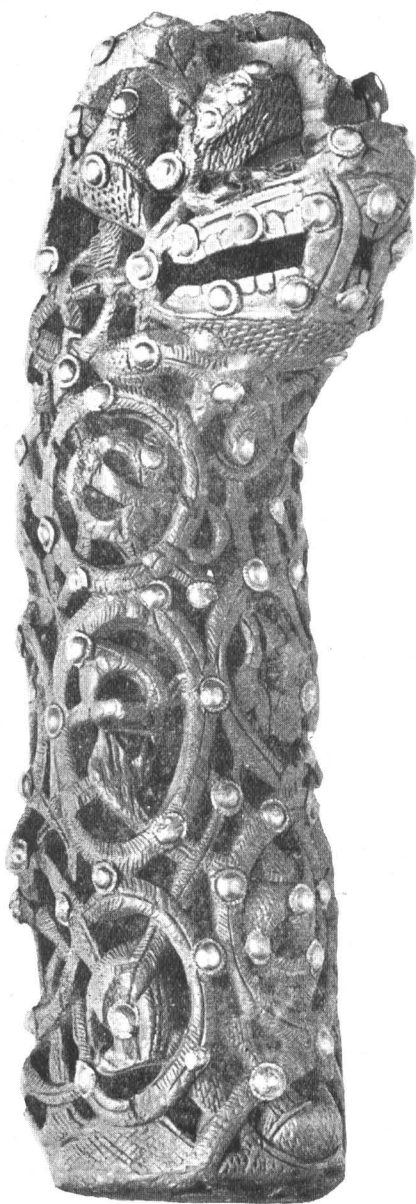


Fig. 17. —Animal-headed post of the fourth sledge.

were understood to represent animal forms, both by the artist himself and by his public, and even now a student with some experience is able to make out the meaning of them. In the frame of the 4th sledge the correct design of the motives is utterly neglected. We may trace here endless animal figures with numbers of legs and continuing with no distinct termination all through the pattern.



Fig. 18.—Animal head of the fourth sledge.

Small animal heads are placed *ad libitum* in some places, but without any organic connection with the figures. This artist either was ignorant of the rules so strictly observed by his predecessors and contemporaries, or he wilfully despised such inferior details as a correct drawing.

In all cases it may be said that he works in the Impressionist manner, going in for a certain general effect of

the work without caring at all for the details of the composition. From a technical point of view also his carvings are rather careless and by far not on a level with



Fig. 19.—Section of decorated sledge.

other works in the collection. But in spite of all, he is not a bad artist. His work possesses much decorative energy, and these astonishing unintelligible ornaments

are still attractive because they have sprung from a genuine artistic temperament. The animal heads terminating the corner-posts are modelled with a peculiar ferocious fantasy, and certainly of high value as works of art (figs. 17 and 18).

The last wood-carver we meet in the find is represented by a decorated sledge and the corresponding frame, both decorated with animal motives in high relief and partly combined with medallion frames. Details of his ornaments, of which two illustrations are given (figs.



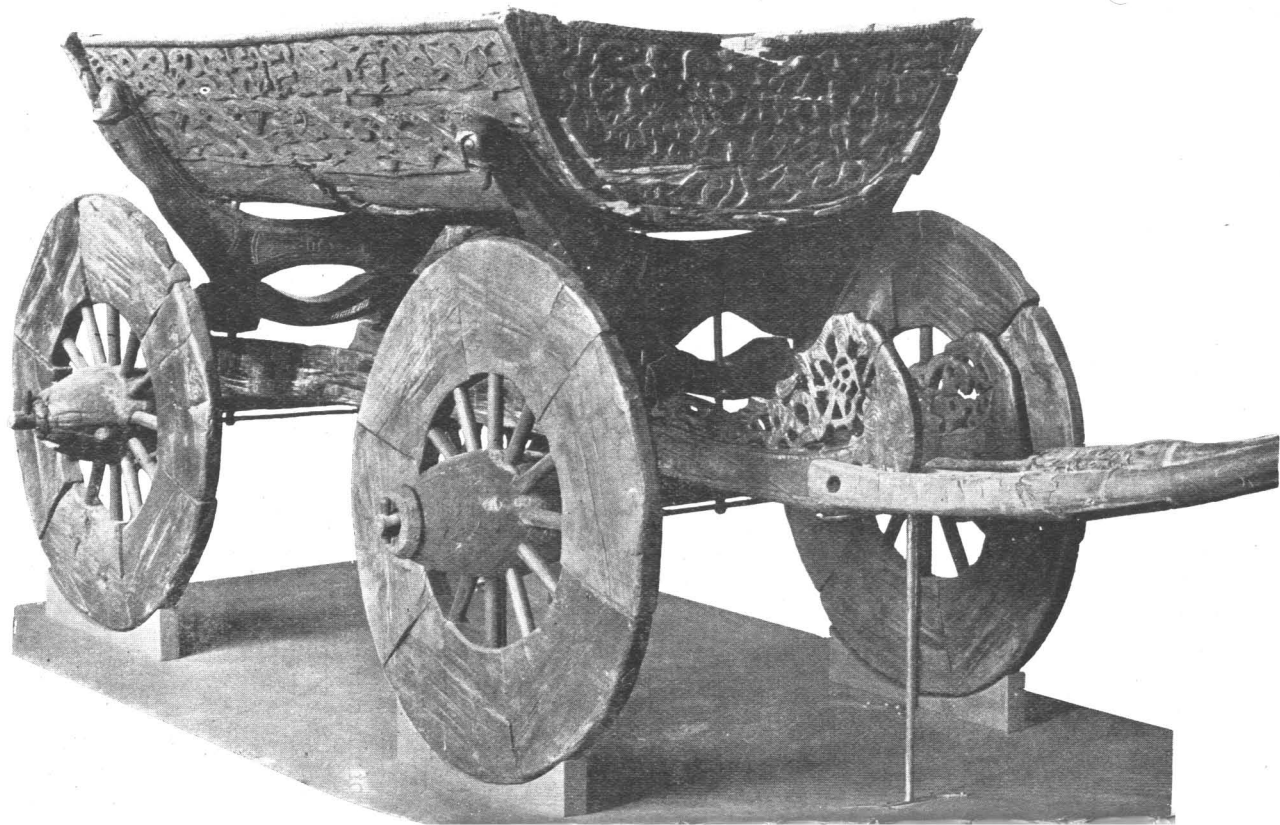
Fig. 20.—Decorated sledge.

19 and 20), show that he knew the new style created by the Baroque Master, though he was also a diligent student of the older traditions. None of the other artists has made use of so many different forms of details, and none of them was less capable of inventing a really good composition. His work is of much archæological interest as a perfect repertory of all the ornamental motives of the school. He is deficient in design, and his modelling of the carvings has no energy. The technique is good, though far from being excellent. As an

artist he may be characterised as an eclectic, who believed it to be the secret of his art to collect the largest possible store of single ornamental motives. He is absorbed by the study of details so much that he forgets the impression of the whole work. For our study he is important as being in striking contrast to the Impressionist, but he may only claim a very modest place among Queen Ása's artists.

We have now reviewed all the wood-carvers represented in the queen's grave, but still one most remarkable object is left. This is the large, four-wheeled carriage found in the ship (fig. 21). It is large and high, of imposing aspect, but at the same time very clumsy and unpractical. A carriage of the Viking period is in itself a great surprise, as roads were then absolutely unknown in Norway. At least the Oseberg carriage was impossible for travelling purposes, the construction being so unsound that it would break at the first hill on the way.

The problems connected with this carriage have been copiously treated in a paper by Professor A. H. Brøgger, read before the Scientific Academy of Oslo (Videnskapsakademiet) on May 3, 1918. It was shewn by Professor Brøgger that the carriage was not built for ordinary practical use. It was destined exclusively for certain divine ceremonies, and accordingly the carvings of the carriage are not common ornaments, being partly figure compositions illustrating old myths or legends. But even excepting these, which are unique among all the carvings of the find, the decoration of the carriage does not correspond to the usual style of Oseberg. The design is clumsy and somewhat awkward, and some details as well as the ornamental composition remind one of much earlier works of Scandinavian art belonging to the style of the 7th cent. It seems most likely that the decorator of the carriage was trying to imitate the forms and patterns of that style so much older than his



own time. In all ages conservatism has prevailed in everything connected with sacred rites, and in this case it probably was commanded that the carriage should be made as a copy of an ancient and venerable model. As the Viking artists had certainly no idea of different styles in the modern meaning of the word, this essay of archaism was not successful, the carvings of the carriage showing no decided style at all. Some features of it may be identified with forms from an earlier period, while here and there appear details borrowed from the older masters of Oseberg. Certain peculiarities lead to the conclusion that the carriage was, perhaps, decorated by the Master of the Ship.

The historical interest of the carriage is prominent, and, besides, it is very striking as a work of art. It is a proof of what could be attained by Queen Ása's artists even outside the limits of common decorative work. This huge and strange carriage, as illustrated in the photograph, with human faces modelled in full roundness, with representations from ancient tragic legends, the sides crowded with wild and dreadful monsters, will attract even a modern eye by a kind of magic fascination. In spite of evident ornamental defects the carriage still imparts something of that mysterious impression inherent in divine and sacred objects. Notwithstanding its defective form, we are still impressed by the feelings which inspired the artist in his work. It was no everyday task to decorate the vehicle destined to carry the deity in person on the most solemn occasion of the year.

A coincidence of happy circumstances, beyond all expectation, preserved to our days part of Queen Ása's collection, a representation of Norwegian art of the early Viking period. We may be sure also that the queen's collection was not at that time regarded as composed of mediocre or indifferent productions. This

court, so eminently interested in decorative art, must have been a meeting place of the best talents, and a centre of artistic activity. The sculptors, as well as the poets, resorted to the prince, who was known to give most liberal awards, and Queen Ása certainly had to be very generous to call and to keep in her service artists so highly gifted as the Academist, the Master of the Ship, and the Baroque Master. Her collection represents the climax of Scandinavian art at that time.

In our present state of knowledge Oseberg may be regarded also as perhaps the most important centre of art in all Western and Northern Europe. Through Byzantine influence during the Carolingian period, the art of Western Europe stored the rich inheritance of classical motives, and important works of this style were produced in the early 9th century. They show an art refined by the experience of so many generations, enriched by long traditions, and full of taste in the combination of all conventional motives, the acanthus foliage, the vine, the lions and griffons, etc., which are as old as decorative art itself. At Oseberg we meet artists speaking, so to say, a barbarous but original tongue of their own. They were highly trained in the treatment of a special animal ornamentation, which had developed in Scandinavia during the 7th and 8th centuries, and in full contrast to this sure and graceful style they are trying in a very clumsy manner to imitate the figure decorations in high relief they had seen for the first time in Carolingian art. The essay is made individually by the different masters. The Academist only accepted certain features of classical form which did not hurt the taste of the older native school. The Master of the Ship, in a native manner recalling peasant art, boldly attacked the task of modelling classical lions. The Baroque Master was equal to the new problem and became the virtuoso of a decoration in very high relief, but his motives show scarcely any direct imitation of

classical forms. His younger contemporary, the Impressionist, is entirely fascinated by the new style, giving up all care for the design and concentrating his whole effort on the vigorous modelling of the carvings.

The wood carvings from Oseberg no doubt look grotesque and barbarous when compared with classical art, even as represented by the late works of the Carolvingian period. It requires much patient study to understand the value of the Viking ornaments, and this art never attained the perfect and lasting harmony created by the ancient Greeks. But the court of Oseberg, as far as we know, was the one place in Europe at that time where highly gifted artists were wrestling with the fundamental problems of art as if the beauty of expressive forms had to be created there and then for the first time. New conceptions were produced by impulses received from classical art, and the queen's artists strove to obtain a similar artistic effect within the limits of their own decorative school; the decorations they created still possess that immediate attraction peculiar to works of genius and of individual art.

The collection found at Oseberg covers the first half of the 9th century, and no other part of the history of art in Norway is more interesting. It is a period of transition, when the old style of the Migration period was dissolved and broken to give place for the first vehement outburst of the Viking spirit. This vigorous art, as we see it in the works from Oseberg, perfectly illustrates the contemporary Norse history. This is the age of the first Viking expeditions, and the character of the period has found its full expression in the wild and voracious monsters carved on the wooden posts and also in the concentrated effect of the highly modelled decorations.

Nowhere else we have evidence of a similar production of works of art as at Oseberg. Certainly the first artists of Scandinavia gathered here, and we may be

sure that the most important works were made for Queen Ása and that the new Viking style was created at her court. She must have had a very strong fancy for these things to have such marvels made for her, and in such numbers. Circumstances more fortunate than might ever have been expected, have preserved for us part of the queen's collection, and these works once buried in her grave, now give to Queen Ása a most important, or indeed, a unique place in the history of art in Norway.

THE NORSE DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA.

THE EYKTARSTAÐR PROBLEM.

By M. M. MJELDE.

(Read December 5th, 1922).

WHAT induced me to study the *eyktarstaðr* problem in one of the Wineland sagas, was Mr. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy's *The Norse Discoverers of America*, which gives an English translation of the sagas about the Norse discoveries of North America and an analysis of their contents. The author has clearly proved, by comparing the descriptions in the sagas with the actual conditions on the American coast, and with the descriptions of later discoverers of the regions in question, that the Norsemen were much farther south than has generally been believed by his predecessors. He placed Wineland in the neighbourhood of New York, thus rejecting the results come to by Dr. Gustav Storm, the Norwegian historian, who placed Wineland in Nova Scotia, and others who placed it still further north, for instance in the St. Lawrence River and Bay. By solving the *eyktarstaðr* problem in the way I propose to do, all those theories about Wineland in Nova Scotia and the St. Lawrence basin, or further North, must be given up entirely, and Wineland has to be placed even farther south than New York. I am glad that, in this way, I have maintained the theory of Mr. Gathorne-Hardy that Wineland was wrongly placed too far North by his predecessors, and I am also glad that he accepts my theory which places Wineland

NOTE.—Mr. Mjelde's historical sketch of the Norse discovery of America is omitted.

further South than even he has dared to do in the absence of the astronomical proof which I think I have discovered after his book was published.

In the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason¹ the location of Leif Eiriksson's camp is described thus: "Meira var þar jafndægri en á Grœnlandi eða Islandi; sól hafði þar eyktarstað ok dagmálastað um skamdegi," which means:

"The (twenty-four hour) day was there more equally divided [*i.e.*, day and night were of more equal duration] than in Greenland or Iceland, and the sun was there in *eykt*-position and day-meal (breakfast) -position at winter solstice."

This astronomical observation by Leif Eiriksson has already been used as a basis for attempts to determine the geographical latitude in which the discoverer of Wineland found himself at the time. Very different results have, however, been arrived at owing to the different interpretation of the words *Eykt* and *Eyktarstaðr*.

The word *eykt* still survives in Norway in the form of *økt* and is everywhere used in the sense of a certain *number of hours*. In the country districts, *e.g.*, my birthplace in Hordaland, the period is reckoned at four hours—for instance, from 12 noon till 4 p.m., or from 4 p.m. till 8 p.m. The word *økt* is also still used in modern Norwegian military service regulations; it means a period of a few hours' duration, though the number of hours is not the same in all cases. The word *økt* is also employed in the sense of a *point of time*, for instance, 4 p.m.

In country districts in Norway the word *eyktarstaðr* has also been used up to quite recent times as signifying the particular point on the horizon above which the sun stood at the moment of *økt*, that is to say, at the commencement of an *økt*-period.

¹ *Flateyjarbok*, I., 539.

After the introduction of Christianity in Iceland, the Norwegian word *eykt* came after a time to be used synonymously with the latin *nones*. *Eykt* and *nones* are, as a matter of fact, repeatedly used in the Icelandic laws as words of identical meaning. The ON *nón* is derived from the Latin *nona hora*, the ninth hour, that is to say, 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the commencement of the day at the equinoxes being at 6 o'clock in the morning.

I will now refer to some attempts by scholars to use certain numbers of hours to determine the exact latitude of Leif's camp, in spite of the fact that the old Norsemen had not and could not have had any exact idea of exact hours.

On the assumption that *eyktarstaðr* was at 3 in the afternoon and *dagmálastaðr* at 9 in the morning, the Icelandic scholar Arngrímur Jónsson, and after him, Torfæus interpreted the paragraph in Flateyjarbók to the effect that in Wineland the sun at winter solstice remained for about 6 hours above the horizon. In that case Leif's camp should have been in about 59° latitude. But as the descriptions in the sagas of the place in other respects render it impossible for the camp to have been situated so far north—only one degree south of the southermost point of Greenland—that is to say, in the barren and infertile Labrador, this theory had to be abandoned. Torfæus then advanced another explanation. In the old Church law of Iceland he found the following definition of *eykt*: “þá er eykð er útsuðrs-átt er deild í þriðjunga, ok hefir sól gengna tvá hluti en einn ógenginn,” that is: “It is *eykt* when the southwest átt being divided in thirds, the sun has traversed two-thirds, and one-third remains.” By southwest átt Torfæus understood the quadrant between south and west. The time occupied by the sun in moving from south to west was, according to his idea, always 6 hours, and two-thirds thereof being 4 hours, *eyktarstaðr*

should be at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and *dagmál-astaðr* at 8 in the morning; thus the length of the day at Leif's camp at winter solstice should be about 8 hours. This fits in with a latitude of 49° , that is to say, Newfoundland or the corresponding coast of Canada. But this was also too far north, as wild vine is not found in Newfoundland at all, and in Canada does not grow north of the 47^{th} degree. This theory therefore also had to be abandoned.

A new explanation was found by the Icelandic judge Páll Vídalín and Bishop Finn Jónsson, which agreed better with the saga description of climate and vegetation. They started from Snorri Sturlason's report of the seasons, in which it says: "The autumn lasts from (autumnal) equinox until the sun sets in *eyktarstaðr*. They took it that Snorri's indication of the commencement of winter coincided with the beginning of winter according to the Icelandic calendar, which states that winter begins in the week prior to the 18th October. Consequently, it was investigated at what hour the sun set at Snorri's place of domicile, Reykholt near Borgarfjörð, on the 17th October,¹ and the hour was found to be 4.30 p.m. From this it was concluded that *eyktarstaðr* corresponded to 4.30 p.m., and that consequently *dagmálastaðr* was 7.30 a.m. Further, the conclusion was drawn that the shortest day in Leif's Wineland was 9 hours. From this duration of the day at winter solstice the geographical latitude was calculated to be $41^{\circ}24'$. This latitude is that of the coast of Rhode Island. The theories of the nine-hour day and Rhode Island were apparently supported by discoveries there of an inscription and an old stone building which were supposed to be connected with the stay of the Norwegians there. The inscription, according to Dr. Gustav Storm, turned out to be a common Indian pictorial one, and the stone structure a wind-mill of the

¹ Probably new style

year 1670. Further, the saga description of nature and scenery does not seem to indicate Rhode Island at all.

It is apparent from what I have already explained that the fault of all these theories is a two-fold one. In the first place we have the mistaken assumption that the Norsemen in those ancient days had the same exact idea of time as we have now. This they could not have had for the simple reason that they had no clocks or watches. Secondly, we find the mistaken idea that if one knows the exact hour at a certain spot on a certain day when the sun is in a certain position, then that hour will be the same all the year round and the same in all latitudes. The fact is the hour for a certain position of the sun varies according to latitude and season.

All that Leif Eiriksson knew with certainty was the bearing used in Iceland for determining *eykt*. It is probable that he used this angle for his observation of the sun in Wineland. If we know, or can draw our conclusion as to the size of this angle, then we can easily fix, not the exact latitude in which he found himself, but the latitude south of which he would have to be in order to make the observation of the sun on the shortest day of the year as described in the saga. In other words, one can fix a northern limit for his Wineland.

The first person to whom this idea occurred was a Norwegian, Geelmuyden, professor of astronomy at the University of Christiania. His explanation is contained in Professor Gustav Storm's well-known book, *Studies on the Wineland Voyages*. Professor Geelmuyden's idea was that in this case we have to do, not with a point of time or an interval of time, but with a point of azimuth or solar bearing. This idea is undoubtedly quite correct in principle; but Professor Geelmuyden, in my opinion, has in practice erred in his determination of the size of the angle in question.

His basis for determination of the angle is the point

mentioned in the Icelandic law, which he translates as follows: "*Eykt* is the point of time, when, the south-west (*útsuðrsátt*) being divided into thirds, the sun has traversed two-thirds and one-third remains." While this translation is correct, I will try to prove that what he adds on his own account is incorrect, viz.: *Útsuðrsátt* being the octant of the horizon that has the south-west midward, accordingly between $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S.S.W. and $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ W.S.W. azimuth, *eyktarstad* will be in the direction of $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ plus two-thirds. $45^{\circ} = 52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ from south to west." From this azimuth of $52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ he computes the northern latitude of Wineland as $49^{\circ}55'$ or about 50° .

In my opinion it is unlikely that Leif Eiriksson and his contemporaries in the year 1,000 used such an involved method. Nor can it be admitted that south-west is an octant. Professor Geelmuyden has given no reasons why just the octant should be chosen. Nor is it likely that the Icelandic law meant an octant.

The reason why the church gave a definition to *eykt* was that a holy day should be reckoned as commencing by *eykt*-time the previous day. The ordinary people needed a simple practical rule for determining *eykt*. But to divide the circle into eight and, in fact, sixteen parts and take two-thirds of one of the eight parts and add one-sixteenth part in order to arrive at the *eykt*-angle of $52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ would be far too complicated a method for people who worked in the open country and had to undertake this elaborate observation of the sun in order to find out when they should cease work and commence the holy day at the right moment.

It was much more reasonable to base the bearing of the sun on the *quadrant between south and west* in which S.W. is also midward. To find two-thirds of the quadrant between south and west is very simple, either by eye-measurement in the open country or by drawing a circle; in the latter case the span of the compass (*i.e.*,

the radius) is used in determining the point which is two-thirds of a quadrant from the south point to the west point.

Correctly interpreted, the Icelandic Church Law's direction about two-thirds of south-west *átt* means nothing but two-thirds of the quadrant between south and west. In this sense Torfæus, who was the first person to deal with the question, understood it, with this error, however, that he spoke about a *time* of six hours, that is an hour-angle of 90° , between south and west, whereas he should have confined himself entirely to an *azimuth* of 90° .

Torfæus' interpretation of the south-west *átt*, or the south-west horizon, as being the *quadrant horizon between south and west* also conforms with a mode of speech employed to this day by Norwegian sailors, fishermen and peasants, who say that in the winter the sun sets in the south-west, or south-west horizon, meaning that the sun sets somewhere between south and west. Correspondingly they say that the sun, in the summer sets in the north-west, or north-west horizon, meaning thereby that it sets somewhere between north and west. It would never occur to any of them in this connection to consider S.W. *átt* and N.W. *átt* as the octant between S.S.W.-W.S.W. and N.N.W.-W.N.W. respectively. It would be entirely wrong, having regard to the fact that the sun at the autumnal equinox sets in the west and in the course of the winter, up to winter solstice, sets further and further south. At the Polar circle the points where it sets are divided over the whole quadrant between west and south.

The way of speaking of S.W. and N.W. as whole quadrants has no doubt descended from the old days when one was not so mathematically exact either in regard to time or direction. The Danish naval officer Hovgaard, who wrote *Voyages of the Norsemen to America*, calls attention to the old custom of indicating

a direction as a *quadrant*, "thus, a southerly direction might mean anything from S.W. to S.E." of which he gives a few examples, which might be added to.

A regulation as to *nones* in the old Gulating law of Norway seems to form a parallel to the regulation in the Icelandic Church law. The Gulating law (Olaf and Magnus) says about Sunday observation: "but the Saturday before shall be hallowed at nones, *when one-third of the day remains.*" By "day" hardly anything other than the afternoon or the quadrant between W. and S. can be meant. "The one-third" that "remains" corresponds to the expression in the Icelandic law about one-third of south-west that remains when the sun has traversed two-thirds of S.W. As I will show later on, the sun's position in two-thirds of the S.W. quadrant in latitudes of mid-Iceland and mid-Norway corresponds to about 4 p.m. during the greater part of the summer, spring and autumn. And even to this day in Western Norway, and also in other parts of the country, *non* is considered as 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

As two-thirds of a quadrant equals 60° , and four hours are one-sixth of the 24, we are in this matter dealing with a *six-fold division of the circle*. This division of the circle is the simplest one of all, as only the radius opening of the compass is required for marking the points. It recurs in all divisions of time from of old: the 12 months of the year, the 24 hours of the day, the six days in which God created the world and man toils in the week. Vigfusson also speaks of the original Icelandic month being divided into six pentads instead of weeks. The six-fold division of the time and the circle was extended to most parts of the world. It is reasonable to assume that the old Norsemen believed that a six-fold division of the horizon, or two-thirds of the quadrant, corresponded to a similar division of the day of 24 hours, *eykt* equalling four hours, because at

so high a latitude as mid-Norway and mid-Iceland the sun, with its low altitude even at noon, follows the bend of the horizon to a considerable extent from sunrise till sunset. As a matter of fact the sixfold division of the horizon corresponds *roughly to the six-fold division of the day of 24 hours during the greater part of the summer and autumn in the latitudes of central Norway and central Iceland.* Thus an eykt-angle of 60° corresponds to 4 p.m.

I will not go into the details of my calculations of the hour corresponding to 60° eykt-angle in the various seasons, and will only state this as the result: by using 60° bearing of the sun (either from north or south, according to circumstances) in 65° latitude we obtain times so close to 4 and 8 that in the old days, without clocks, one would hardly notice the variation in point of time for this bearing during the different seasons. From the spring, right through the summer till the autumn, we thus get, with 60° bearing, times always closely approaching 4 or 8, that is, times which correspond to a six-fold division of the 24 hours. No wonder that in Norway they have this division of the 24 hours. In Hordaland it was, in my youth, the custom to rise at 4 a.m. and have a snack, work till 8 a.m. and have breakfast, work again till 12 and have dinner, then work till 4 p.m. and have non-meal, and then continue to work till 8 p.m., when supper was served. This old Norwegian way of dividing the 24 hours is no doubt the origin of the four-hour watches at sea; for the Norwegians were in the old days first among the seafaring nations of northern Europe. But this division of the day in the northern countries originated most certainly from the use of an eykt-angle of 60° .

I will, however, give another and still more decisive proof of the eykt-angle being 60° . Snorri, as already mentioned, says "autumn lasts from the (autumnal)

equinox till the sun sets in eyktarstaðr.” Further, we have according to the ancient Icelandic calendar the fact—also previously alluded to—that winter begins in the week prior to 18th October. In view of the interpretation of *eyktarstaðr* formerly prevailing, it has been maintained that the statement by Snorri and that given in the calendar were not in agreement in regard to the date. I will show that it is, when we use an eykt-bearing of 60° . With 65° north latitude, 60° azimuth from south to west, and with 0° altitude of the sun (sun setting on horizon), I have calculated the south declination of the sun to be about $12^{\circ}12'$. This declination corresponds to 26th October, as may be ascertained from any modern nautical almanac. It should be assumed that Snorri saw the sun setting behind some hill or mountain and did not see it set on the horizon of the sea, and in consequence he saw the sun disappear in S. 60° W. a couple of days before 26th October, say 24th October. It should also be observed that the Icelandic almanac in Snorri’s day was of the old Julian style, which was abolished in Iceland in the year 1700 when the new Gregorian style was introduced. The old style is now 33 days behind the new style, and in Snorri’s time the old style was seven days behind the new one. We must therefore subtract 7 days from our 24th October to get Snorri’s date, which thus will be 17th October. But his 17th October for the commencement of the winter is in the week *prior* to 18th October and thus fulfils the Icelandic calendar’s determination of the beginning of winter. Complete agreement exists therefore between Snorri and the calendar in their statements as to the commencement of winter, provided that in regard to Snorri’s statement we reckon with an eykt-angle of 60° as the point of sunset. But if we base the calculation on Geelmuyden’s eykt-azimuth of 52° we arrive at 3rd or 1st November new style, and 7 days deducted from 1st November gives 25th October of the

Icelandic calendar in Snorri's time, and this date is a whole week on the wrong side of 18th October. From these results it must be concluded that 60° is the correct eykt-angle, while Geelmuyden's $52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ must be wrong.

It was a very common practice in former days to fix the calendar and the seasons by sunset and sunrise on certain days. These days were as a rule celebrated as solar feasts. Ari, in *Ynglinga Saga*, refers to the sacrificial feasts at the beginning of winter and summer. Frazer's *Golden Bough* refers to the kindred Celtic solar feast of Halloween (October 31st) and Beltane (May Day). "These days," he says, "coincide with none of the four great hinges on which the solar year revolves, to wit, the solstices and the equinoxes. Nor do they agree with the principal seasons of the agricultural year, the sowing in the spring and the reaping in the autumn."

But I say that they do correspond to sunrise and sunset over marks *representing the six-fold division of the circle*. In mid-Iceland, as I have just shown, sunrise and sunset over these marks correspond to the beginning of winter in mid-October, which is over a month after Equinox. And Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, who has taken an interest in my studies of the eyktarstaðr problem, has furnished me with the information based on his own calculations that an azimuth of $S.60^{\circ}W.$ for sunset in latitude 53° (Central Ireland) gives approximately Halloween and May Day, nor is the result far off in the Highlands of Scotland (latitude 56° or 57°). It is quite remarkable how inexplicable things hitherto as regards the beginning of seasons, solar feasts, and holy hours of the day, fit in with a solar bearing of 60° .¹

With all the facts and probabilities mentioned, I think there can be no doubt that the *dagmálastaðr* and

¹ Mr. Mjelde's theory as to how *eykt* became synonymous with *nones* is omitted.

the *eyktarstaðr* in which Leif Eiriksson observed the sun on the shortest day of the year in Wineland were the points on the horizon which lay respectively 60° east and west of south.

Using this azimuth of 60° , 0° altitude of sun and with maximum south declination $23^{\circ}34'$ on the shortest day in the year 1000 I get a northern latitude of $36^{\circ}54'$, or about 37° latitude, as the *most northerly* point at which Leif Eiriksson could make his observation on that day. In this latitude, or farther south, his Wineland must have been situated.

South of 37° latitude (the northern limit for Wineland according to Leif's observation of the sun with 60° azimuth) lies Cheasapeak Bay, where the approach and topography generally seem, in my opinion, to fit in well with the description of the saga. The description of the climate also fits well in with the mild climate of Virginia, where Cheasapeak Bay is situated. Also the statements in the saga of the later expeditions to Wineland by Karlsefni fit in with the topography, botany and climate on the long stretch so far south on the American coast.

I have submitted my calculations and line of argument to Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, who has accepted my view and has even called it "epoch-making" in the study of the Wineland voyages.

[NOTE.—Mr. Mjælde concluded his paper with a suggestion that the reason why former writers placed Wineland so far north was because they believed that the Northmen were unable to sail so far south as the saga description of the climate and vegetation indicated. In refutation of this he cites the Norse voyages of the ninth century to France, Portugal, Africa, the Mediterranean, Italy, etc., and in the year 1000 they sailed direct from Norway across the North Atlantic, without touching Iceland or the Faroe Islands, a distance of 1,500 nautical miles.]

PSYCHOLOGY IN THE ICELANDIC SAGAS.

By GEO. AINSLIE HIGHT.

(Read February 6th, 1923).

THE modern reader of the sagas is at first often repelled by their subjects, by the bloodthirsty character of their heroes, the over-crowding of the scene with actors, and by the sameness of the incidents. The first was due to social conditions; the second would not be felt by people who had an extraordinary interest in and memory for personages and names and family connections; while the third is explained by the limited conditions of Icelandic life. The student soon realizes that the monotonous succession of raids and vendettas and law-suits are but the vehicle for a psychology as profound and as true to nature as can be found in any literature. The secret of the Icelanders' almost unrivalled art of story-telling lies in its unerring representation of the heart of man. For this reason it is impossible to view the saga as having grown out of Irish legend. The Irish stories have a charm quite their own; but it is not a human charm. The story-teller of Erin lives in the supernatural; his humanity is lost in visions of fairies and goblins and swan-maidens and enchanted islands. The Icelanders, on the contrary, is intensely and entirely, sometimes even brutally human. He tells of noble characters and he tells of mean ones with the same aloofness, leaving them to speak for themselves through their actions, but nowhere does he give a type of nobleness or of meanness. The strongest fail and the most depraved are capable of acts

of signal virtue, just as we find in actual life. Even his ghosts are only eccentric human beings; they fight and wrestle, slay and are slain, and commit depredations like other Icelanders, but form no organic part of the story.

Very noticeable is the consummate skill with which the Icelandic saga-writer conceals his art. The sagas must be studied closely and thoughtfully if their hidden beauties are to be discerned; an act here, a word there, will often reveal to the attentive reader the whole secret of a situation, and nothing is superfluous. *Grettis-saga* abounds in such subtle hints, of which a fine example occurs in the beginning of Chap. XX., just after the incident with the berserks. On the return of the *bóndi* Grettir, who has in his absence saved the lives and honour of the whole household, behaves with even more than his usual churlishness towards the mistress of the house, and roughly forbids the servants from going out to welcome their master, as if he took a fiendish pleasure in giving him a fright. We are left to discover for ourselves his true motive, which is simply a desire to leave husband and wife to meet alone after the awful experiences of the days before. The delicacy and tactfulness shown by Grettir on this occasion shed a new and quite unexpected light upon the character of the rugged hero. The *ars celare artem* is carried to such a pitch in the sagas as almost to become a mannerism, and not unfrequently leads to obscurity in the text. I have in my Biographical Dictionary, which I hope soon to publish, under the heading of Bolli Thorleiksson given a tentative explanation of a treacherous act on the part of an honourable man which is the decisive moment in all the rest of the story, but which seems to us utterly inexplicable. Whether my account be the true one or not, one thing is certain—the author of the story knew very well what he was doing, and mystifies our minds of deliberate purpose. It must not be taken as a mark of weakness

or of text corruption; on the contrary, such superficially apparent contradictions are rather a mark of genuineness.

But it is, above all, in depicting the female character that the Icelanders excel. Every conceivable variety of woman is represented in the sagas. We have types of female constancy in Audr, the wife of Gísli, and in Helga the Fair; we have the heroic self-sacrificing woman who endures agony in silence in order to avoid bloodshed—Audr, the wife Thórarinn svarti¹; the professional victimiser of men, indifferent to everything so long as she can entice flies into her web—Hallgerðr langbrók; strong, masterful wives who rule their weaker husbands—Bjargey, the wife of Hávard halti, Thorbjörg, the wife of Vermund mjóvi, Jórunn, the wife of Höskuld in *Laxdæla saga*; vindictive furies—Thurídr, the mother of Hall and Bardi in, in *Laxdæla* and *Víga-Stýrs sagas*, Gunnhildr, the wife of Eirík blóðöx, and in her later life, Thorgerðr Egilsdóttir; vixenish witches—Katla in *Eyrbyggja saga*, Kerling in *Thorskfirdinga saga*; wantons—Thórdís Súrsdóttir, Ásgerðr Thorkel's wife, both in *Gísla saga*; the independent daughter of a careless father—Jófrídr, daughter of Gunnar Hlífarson²; the grand lady who travels in state and exacts respect from all around her—Audr en djúpúðga; the theatrical sensation-monger—Thorgerðr, the widow of Vigfús.³ But however we classify, each has an individuality of her own, quite distinct from all others. A very interesting figure is Melkorka, the Irish princess, slave and mistress of the weak-minded Höskuld in the *Laxdæla saga*. She is not lacking in either spirit or ability, but is crushed by the circumstances of her lot; her whole life centres round her showy and characterless son Ólaf, aptly named “pái,” the Peacock. Every other heroine of the sagas pales

¹ *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 18.

² *Hænsa-Thóris saga*, ch. 17.

³ *Eyrbygg. saga*, ch. 27.

before Gudrún Ósvífrsdóttir, the heroine of the *Laxdæla saga*, one of the most splendid creatures of fiction in any literature. Her dominating passion is the desire for power, the most human of all motives, but her means of attaining it are characteristically feminine. Clever, imaginative, courageous to recklessness, cool-headed, untroubled by any moral scruples, she pursues her end with a directness and certainty before which obstacles and difficulties are simply non-existent. Characteristic is her first marriage; here, at fifteen, she seems to have reached the summit of her hopes, for she is allowed to do whatever she likes. But to rule over a fool is not what she wants, and she casts him off in scorn. Her end as a pious recluse is a master-touch of irony, absolutely true to reality; it is always the strong character, not the weakling, who in the end turns to mysticism and religious contemplation. A complete contrast to Gudrún is her rival Hrefna Ásgeirsdóttir and the contrast is no less in the treatment of her by the saga-writer. Whereas Gudrún dominates the entire saga, Hrefna is only indicated by a few touches, but these so skilful that her character stands out with unusual vividness. She is a perfect type of innocence and gentleness, a bright ray amidst the dark intrigue of her surroundings.

The position of women in Iceland was altogether very curious. Regarding her marriage a girl was not even consulted, unless as a special favour, or in deference to her domineering character; she generally accepted her father's choice without demur, even when the man was distasteful to her, as Thorgerdr marries Ólaf pái, whom she despises as illegitimate, and Helga the Fair marries Hrafn in the *Gunnlaugs saga*. The proceeding of obtaining a wife was not very romantic; courting in any form was considered insulting, and if a man composed love-ditties she or her mother could have him driven from the country. Yet her influence in the household

after she was married, and the respect in which she was held, were as great as ever they were in ancient Sparta, and their married life seems to have been generally happy. Instances of unfaithful wives, though they occur, are not very common.

To turn from the false and turgid psychology of our schools to an Icelandic saga is like passing from a murky swamp to broad open fields and sunshine. More particular remarks on individual characters will be found in the Biographical Dictionary; many of those which I have here brought forward as illustrations merely pass over the scene for the sake of some particular dramatic effect, and then disappear to return no more. One remarkable trait in a race so fierce and headstrong as that of the saga-Icelanders is their responsiveness to suggestion. It is noticeable both in the men and in the women, but more especially in those of strong and resolute character--another instance of the Icелander's close contact with nature and reality. We constantly hear of a man being persuaded to an act which is against his will, and which he knows to be prejudicial to his own interests, merely because some person, his inferior in every respect, insists upon his doing it. Thus Björn Hitdoelakappi, against his better judgment, yielding to the importunity of his false friend Thórdr, goes to stay with him,¹ with disastrous consequences. Gunnarr Hlifarson's consent to the marriage of his daughter Thurídr to Hersteinn was wrung from him by methods which would have determined a modern Englishman irrevocably to refuse it.² In the same saga Thórdr gellir fully realises the impropriety, indeed the illegality, of giving away his foster-daughter while her father is there, but on being pressed agrees to do it.³ Numberless more cases could be cited, but these may suffice.

¹ *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 11.

² *Hænsa-Thor. saga*, ch. 11.

Hænsa-Thor. saga, ch. 12.

Of the convincing, life-like reality of the portraits it is unnecessary to speak; they are never overdrawn, unless it be intentionally, for caricature, as with Gísli Thorsteinsson in the *Grettis saga*.¹ When the same personage occurs in different sagas the character is always maintained, as with Gest Oddleifsson, Snorri godi, the foster-brothers Thorgeirr and Thormódr. Steinþórr of Eyrr in the *Hávards saga* may not be the same person as in the *Eyrbyggja saga*, but one is plainly copied from the other; it is the same character of dull, though not ignoble, propriety that appears in each.

Before concluding I should like to say one word on the interest—or absence of interest—in northern literature in this country. An English boy on leaving school knows all about Zeus and Poseidon, but what can he tell you of Odin and Thor? I am fully sensible of the beauty of Greek literature; but I say that *our own* ancient tradition is as worthy of study as that of ancient Greece, and is in some respects—not of course in all—superior to it. Let anyone who thinks this assertion exaggerated compare for example Brynhild and Sigurd of the Edda with Homer's Athene and Odysseus, and ask himself which are the nobler creations. There is no Brynhild in the Homeric Olympus; she could not have breathed in that atmosphere.

¹ ch. 59.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS TO THEIR SCANDINAVIAN INVADERS.

By MARGARET ASHDOWN, M.A.

(Read January 8th, 1924).

THE subject of this paper was suggested by a paragraph in a paper on "*The Early Historians of Norway*," read to this Society by the late Professor Ker. The paragraph runs as follows: "In King Alfred's notice of Ohtere there is nothing of internal Norwegian politics, nothing of the debate between the new monarchy and the old country families which led, among other things, to the settlement of Iceland in King Alfred's own life-time. The king may not have known about these things; certainly his North Atlantic geography is defective. But he knew well enough the piratical and warlike habits of the Northmen, yet of these there is hardly a trace in this context. . . . King Alfred had pierced the barrier of fear and prejudice which hid the truth of Norway from the people whom the Northmen plundered."¹

The passage opens up a rich field of enquiry and speculation. How far, for instance, was the King's admirable impartiality a reflexion of the mind of his subjects, and how far must it be attributed to his own unusual breadth of view and scientific interest? From this starting point other questions suggest themselves. Is there any evidence to show that national animosity had obscured in the Anglo-Saxons a sense of their kin-

¹ *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, vi. 239.

ship with the enemy? Did the Anglo-Saxons discriminate between the different Scandinavian peoples, and was their attitude to the country from which any particular marauding host set out necessarily a hostile one? Did they recognize that in some cases at least the marauders, if policy required, were repudiated by the ruler of the mother country?²

It is to these and kindred questions that the following paper attempts to suggest answers as far as the scanty available material allows. For scanty the material is, when one comes to consider, not questions of demonstrable facts, but of an attitude of mind, and any attempt to deal with so vague and elusive a subject calls for an apology.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* has, of course, been used as a basis throughout, yet the nature of the annals, especially for the earlier years of the Danish invasions, makes them less valuable for the present purpose than as a record of events.

It is obviously tempting to interpret the lack of comment upon the nation's sufferings, and the absence of abuse of the enemy in the *Chronicle* of the ninth and early tenth centuries, as an indication of the people's heroic self-control and its magnanimous temper, as contrasted with the weakened *morale* of a later period. And such an interpretation may well be the right one. Every reader must be impressed by the splendid terseness of annal 878, which describes the lowest point in the fortunes of Wessex. "In this year, at mid-winter,

² It is not, fortunately, within the scope of this paper to consider the controversial question of the relative importance of the separate Scandinavian nations in the various Viking attacks.

³ From continental history we have the case of Horik's relations with the Emperor in 836. Horik had sent an embassy to the Emperor at Cologne. Meanwhile, Frisia had been attacked by Vikings, the Danish emissaries were suspected of connivance, and were put to death. Horik sent a protest to the Emperor and disclaimed all responsibility for the raids, and soon after sent word to the Emperor that he had seized and put to death the leaders of the marauding bands. v. J. C. H. R. Steenstrup. *Normannerne*. II., 45, 152.

after Twelfth Night, the host slipped away secretly to Chippenham, and seized the land of Wessex and occupied it, and drove many of the folk overseas, and conquered and reduced the greater part of the remainder, all save Alfred, and he with a little band made his way with difficulty along by the woods and in the moorland fastnesses, . . . and, the following Easter, Alfred, with a little band, made a stronghold at Aethelney, and from this stronghold continued to wage war against the host." Compare with this passage the lament of the *Chronicle* of the days of Ethelred the Unready. "Then was there gathered an immense force of the folk of Devon and Somerset, and they assembled at Pinhoe, and as soon as battle was joined, the English force gave way, and they (the Danes) wrought great slaughter there, and then rode over the land, and each journey was worse than the last, and they brought great booty with them to the ships and turned thence to the Isle of Wight, and went wherever they would, and nothing withstood them, and no fleet durst approach them on sea, nor any land force, however far inland they went. Then was it lamentable in every way, because they never ceased from their evil deeds." *

* Her hiene bestæl se here on midne winter ofer twelftan niht to Cippanhamme. and geridon Wesseaxna lond. and gesæton. and micel þæs folces ofer sæ adræfdon. and þæs opres þone mæstan dæl hie geridon. and him to gecirdon buton þam cyninge Ælfred. and he lytele werede uniepelice æfter wudum fór. and on morfæstenum . . . and þæs on Easton worhte Ælfred cyning lytle werede geweorc æt Æþelinga eigge. and of þam geweorce was winnende wiþ þone here. *A. S. Chronicle. Annal 878 A.*

* Þa gesomnode man þær ormæte fyrde of Defenisces folces. and Sumorsætiscas. and hi ða tosomne comon æt Peonrho. and sona swa hi togædere fengon. þa beah seo Englisce fyrd. and hi þær mycel wæl ofslogon. and ridan þa ofer þæt land. and wæs æfre heora æfra syð wyrse þonne se ærra. and mid him þa mycele herehuðe to scipon brohton. and þanon wendon in Wihrtland. and þær him ferdon onbuton swa swa hi sylf woldon. and him nan þing ne wið stod. ne him to ne dorste sciphere on sæ. ne landfyrd. ne eodon hi swa feor up. Wæs hit þa on ælce wisan hefigtyma. forðam þe hi næfre heora yfeles geswicon. *Annal 1001. E.*

The change of tone is striking, and corresponds to a difference in ruler and people at the two periods. Yet can the *Chronicle* be used as a proof of this change of attitude? May not a change in the conception of annalistic writing also have taken place, allowing in the later period the expression of national feeling not necessarily absent in the earlier?

In any case the impression produced by the *Chronicle* needs to be checked and re-inforced from other quarters, and something may be added by a study of contemporary English laws, charters, homilies, letters and lives, while special interest attaches to the two Anglo-Saxon poems, the popular "*Battle of Brunnanburh*," and the more heroic "*Battle of Maldon*," which reflect the mind of the nation in victory and defeat.

It must be added that certain sources have been used, such as the later Chronicles, which are recognised as of doubtful authority for matters of fact, yet their embroidery or distortion does not necessarily disqualify them for the present purpose.

Before attempting to deal with the main questions already suggested, it may be useful to notice one point of general interest in the tradition of the Scandinavian invasions of England, viz., the recurrence of the motive of personal revenge. The outstanding example is the story of Ragnar Lodbrok's death at the hands of Ella of Northumberland, and its relation to the great invasion of 866, undertaken by Ragnar's sons to avenge their father's death.

The story comes to us from Scandinavian sources,⁶ and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* knows nothing of it. The entry under the year 866 is laconic and quite non-committal. "In the same year came a great host to England, and took up winter quarters in East Anglia and there provided themselves with horses, and they

⁶ For a discussion of the traditions connected with Ragnar Lodbrok and his sons, see Steenstrup's *Normannerne*. I., 81-127.

(the East Anglians) came to terms with them." But if the *Chronicle* shews no knowledge of the revenge motif in its Norse form, another version, not in this case connected with the bloodfeud and quite distinct in setting, is found in England in the shape of Gaimar's curious story of Beorn Butsecarl, who called in the "great army," in order to wreak vengeance on King Osbryht, Ella's predecessor in Northumbria, who had dishonoured Beorn's wife.⁷

Turning to a later period, it is easy to attribute the increased violence of Swegn's attacks after the Massacre of St. Bryce to his fury at Ethelred's treachery towards the Danes in England, yet William of Malmesbury, who may be drawing upon genuine tradition, states that Swegn's sister Gunnhild, wife of Earl Pallig, was among the massacred, and that Swegn was actuated by a desire to avenge his sister's death.⁸

Another instance can be cited. Of Thurkel's arrival in 1009 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* only relates, "When this naval campaign had thus been brought to an end there arrived at Sandwich, just after Lammas-

⁷ þy ilcan geare cuom micel here on Angelcynnes lond. ond wintersett namon on Eastenglum. ond þær ge horsude wurdon ond hie him friþ namon. *Annal* 866. *A*.

Cf. the following annal. "Her for se here of Eastenglum ofer Humbre muþan to Eoforwic ceastre on Norþhymbre. ond þær wæs micel ungeþuærnes þære þeode betweox him selfum. ond hie hæfdun hiera cyning aworpenne. Osbryht. ond ungecyndne cyning underfengon. Ællan. ond hie late on geare to þam gecirdon. þær hie wiþ þone here winnende wærun. *Annal* 867. *A*.

⁸ Donc tint conseil od son linage;
A els se clamat del huntage.
Coment li reis laueit mene,
Lur ad tut dit e conte:
Puis lur ad dit kil sen irrat,
Sil þous, les Daneis amerrat.
La son quer nert mes lie,
Desri kil seit del rei venge.

Lestorie des Engles, ed. J. Duffus Hardy and C. T. Martin. Rolls Series. I., 2689-2696. See H. Matter. *Englische Gründungssagen von Geoffrey of Monmouth bis zur Renaissance*, pp. 280 ff. *Ang. Forsch.* 58. 1922.

⁹ ultionem præcipue Gunhildis sororis intendens animo . . . Eam cum ceteris Danis infaustus furor Edrici decapitari iusserat. *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*. ed. W. Stubbs. Rolls Series. I., 207.

tide, that vast enemy host which we call Thurkel's army,"¹⁰ but the *Encomium Emmae* states that Thurkel came to England to avenge a slain brother.¹¹ Moreover, Florence of Worcester mentions the arrival in the following year of Hemming,¹² who, if a passage in the *Knytlingasaga* refers to the same persons, was Thurkel's brother,¹³ and presumably his associate in this act of vengeance. The interest is heightened if we dare to assume that the slain brother was Sigvaldi, the famous Jomsviking.¹⁴

Too much stress must not be laid on accounts which in no case contemporary, and may have originated from the desire of later chroniclers to explain facts picturesquely after the events. Yet the application of the ideas of the bloodfeud to the relation between English and Scandinavian suggests that the struggle did not necessarily involve national feeling, or indeed any feeling which might not have arisen between persons brought into collision within a single clan or nation, a consideration which serves to introduce the question already formulated: "Were the Anglo-Saxon people conscious of kinship with the people that invaded them?"

I know of no direct answer, nor is any clear light

¹⁰ Ða þeos scyppýrd þus geendod wæs. þa com sona æfter lafmæssan se ungemætlica unfrið here. þe we heiton Ðurkilles here. to Sandwic. *Annal 1009 C.*

¹¹ fratrem suum inibi interfectum ulcisceretur. *Encomium Emmae*. Pertz. XIX., 512.

¹² Danicus comes Turkillus sua cum classe ad Angliam venit: exinde, mense Augusto, alia classis Danorum innumerabilis, cui praeerant duces Hemingus et Eglafus, ad Tenedland insulam applicuit. *Flor. Wig. Chron. ex Chron.* ed. B. Thorpe, 1848, I., 160-1.

¹³ Knuti konúngi fylgðu margir höfðingjar til Englands; . . . þar voru ok þeir bræðr, synir Strútharalds jarls, Hemingr ok þorkell háfi, ok margir höfðingjar aðrir. *Knytlingasaga* c. 8. *Fornmanna Sögur*, XI., 187.

¹⁴ On this point see *Crawford Charters*, ed. A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, 1895, p. 139 ff., and cf., *Gunnlaugssaga Ormstungu*, K. 15 (10) ed. F. Jonsson, 1916. "Ok i þann tíma var mikill herr danskra manna vestr þar ok var sa höfðingi firi er Hemingr hiet son Strut-Haralldz íalls ok brodir Siguallda i(arls)."

thrown by indirect evidence. If it could be shewn that the Anglo-Saxons, without being conscious of their common origin, were able to enter into friendly relations with the Scandinavians in a way which was not possible with non-related peoples, a step would have been taken towards a solution. This is suggested by Green in his comparison of the conquest of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons with the Scandinavian invasions. "The strife," he writes, "between Briton and Englishman was in fact a strife between men of different races, while the strife between Northman and Englishman was a strife between men whose race was the same. . . . the Northman was little more than an Englishman bringing back to an England which had drifted far from its origin, the barbaric life of its earliest forefathers. Nowhere throughout Europe was the fight so fierce, because nowhere else were the fighters men of one blood and one speech. But just for this reason the union of the combatants was nowhere so peaceful or so complete."¹⁵

Yet the comparison has to be approached with great caution, since our knowledge of the details of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain is exceedingly slight, and what we do know of the circumstances of the two invasions suggests conditions so different as to render comparison dangerous. Moreover, the relations of Scandinavians and Celts in Ireland were not so unlike those of Scandinavians and Saxons in England as to allow us to attribute all the ease with which one people amalgamated with the other to a common Germanic origin. Green, indeed, suggests another factor. "Moreover, their national temper helped on the process of assimilation. Even in France, where difference of language and difference of custom seemed to interpose an impassable barrier between the Northman settled in Normandy and his neighbours, he was fast

¹⁵ J. R. Green. *History of the English People*. 1881 I., 87-88.

becoming a Frenchman." " So Steenstrup, contrasting the attitude of the Franks to their Magyar and to their Scandinavian enemies, describes them as soon discovering " that with the Norsemen there could be woven social ties of every kind and that this people was very susceptible to all spiritual influences, as well as having a high grade of culture, although of a peculiar kind." "

Thus full allowance must certainly be made for the unusual adaptability of the Scandinavian people. Nevertheless one cannot escape the fact that the two peoples, Saxons and Scandinavians, had a common inheritance in tradition and language, and, once intercourse had been established, could hardly have failed to recognise it.

The question of common tradition is an alluring one. If only we knew, for instance, whether the poem of *Beowulf* was popular among the English during the 9th and 10th centuries, and what they thought of its Danish connections, we might be on the way to solving the question of whether the sharing of traditions helped to bring the two peoples together.

With regard to language, it has to be remembered that, while the mere fact of borrowing is little to the present purpose, the fact that the Scandinavian settlers and English inhabitants were evidently able partially to understand each other, as the occasional substitution of native sounds in borrowed words suggests,¹⁶ must have been a constant reminder of their common origin.

Before passing to the next question, something must be said about intermarriage, although the tendency to

¹⁶ Ibid , 88.

¹⁷ " Med Ungarerne kunde der, kort sagt, ikke være noget som hels Samkve af fredelig Natur ; mod dem gjalt kun Modstand og Udryddelse medens Frankerne snart lærte, at der med Normannerne kunde knytte sociale Forbindelser af enhver Art, og at dette Folk var mege modtageligt for alle aandelige Paavirkninger, ligesom det havde en hø Grad af Kultur, om end af en særegen Art." Steenstrup *Normannerne* II., 351.

¹⁸ See E. Björkman. *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English* Part I. Introduction.

intermarry is, obviously, no conclusive proof of consciousness of racial unity.

It would be interesting to know whether the presence of Scandinavian women in the invading hosts was the exception or the rule. There is good evidence that they were to be found on the Continent and in Ireland,¹⁹ and from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* it is clear that Hastings' host and the "great host," which came to England in 893 included both women and children.²⁰ Yet the number of Scandinavian women among the settlers must have been comparatively small, and we should expect to find either a forcible carrying off of Anglo-Saxon women by the invaders,²¹ or voluntary intercourse.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* makes no general statement on the subject of intermarriage, though it records the diplomatic marriage of Aethelstan's sister to Sihtric of Northumberland in 925.²² Later chronicles, however, refer not infrequently to intermarriage. So William of Malmesbury describes the Massacre of St. Bryce as "a lamentable sight to see, when each was compelled to betray his dearest guests, whom the closest bonds of affinity had rendered yet more dear."²³ John of Wallingford, in a different spirit, comments on the destruction by the English of "those women of their own nation, who had given themselves to the lusts (of the Danes), and the children that had sprung from that

¹⁹ See Steenstrup. *Normannerne*, I., 270 ff.

²⁰ þa foron hie (*the English*) to ond gefliemdon þone here. ond þæt geweorc abraecon. ond genamon eal þæt þær binnan wæs. ge on feo. ge on wifum. ge eac on bearum. *Annal 894, A.* So the *Chronicle* records that before the host made its lightning march across England to Chester, "befæston hira wif ond hira scipu ond hira feoh on Eastenglum." *ibid.*

²¹ cf., Roger of Wendover's story of the nuns of Coldingham. *Chronica*. ed. H. O. Coxe, vol., I., 300-2.

²² Her Æpelstan cyning ond Sihtric Norðhymbra cyrg heo gesamnodon æt Tameweorðpige. iii., Kt, Februarius. ond Æpelstan his sweostor him forgeaf. *Annal 925, D.*

²³ ubi fuit videre miseriam, dum quisque carissimos hospites, quos etiam arctissima necessitudo dulciores effecerat, cogeritur prodere. *De Gestis. Reg., Angl.* Rolls Series, I., 191.

foul adultery.”²⁴ Florence of Worcester explains the flight of certain Anglian leaders in the reign of Ethelred the Unready on the ground that “they were Danes on the paternal side.”²⁵

Intermarriage, then, would seem to have been frequent, a fact which would sort well with the sense of kinship between the two peoples, but cannot be said to prove its existence.

The next question which presents itself is really two-fold, viz., whether the Anglo-Saxons differentiated between the Scandinavian countries from which their invaders came, and whether they differentiated between the mother country and the separate viking hordes that issued from her.

The first of these questions leads to such dangerously controversial ground that I intend to avoid it. The second, although any decisive answer seems impossible, can be more easily discussed, and evidence bearing on this second question has often some relation to the first.

It is important to bear in mind the difference between the earlier and later inroads, formulated in Freeman’s well-known distinction between the period of plunder, the period of settlement, and the period of conquest.²⁶ One might look for a different attitude on the part of the Anglo-Saxons in each case. If Queen Elizabeth in the 16th century could disclaim responsibility for the English adventurers who “singd the King of Spain’s beard,” much more could the rulers of the, as yet, imperfectly organised Scandinavian kingdoms refuse to be held responsible for all the viking expeditions that set out from their shores, and the Anglo-Saxons may have recognised this. When, on the other hand, the

²⁴ipsas mulieres suas, quæ luxuriæ eorum consenserant, et pueros, qui ex foeditate adulterii nati erant. Gale. *Hist. Brit.* . . . *Script.*, 1691, III. p. 547

²⁵sed cum proelium essent commissuri, duces exercitus . . . quia ex paterno genere Danici fuerunt, suis insidiantes, auctores fugæ primitus extiterunt. Flor. Wig., *Chron. ex Chron.* ed. Thorpe I., 151.

²⁶E. A. Freeman. *Norman Conquest*. 3rd edition. 1877. I., 12.

King of Denmark himself issued forth to conquer England, the position was obviously changed, and at this last stage one might expect a clearer issue. Norway was the enemy of Denmark, and "the majesty of Denmark" itself was ready to fall upon England. Yet new circumstances had arisen in England itself, fusion between settlers and original inhabitants was in progress, and positions of responsibility were held by Danes or half-Danes, so that the issue was obscured again.

All that the records, English or Scandinavian, can offer is a number of instances in which Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons are found in friendly relations, while the main body of the two peoples, or some parts of them, still maintain an attitude of hostility.

As a rule such intercourse is not viewed as evidence of treachery or intrigue, although occasionally, as one would expect, some weak king or rebel among the Anglo-Saxons by forming an alliance with Scandinavians in England, wins the scorn of the English Chronicler, witness Ceolwulf of Mercia in 874,²⁷ or the rebel Aethelwold in 991;²⁸ the *Chronicle* of Ethelred's reign, moreover, records an extraordinary series of acts of treachery on the part first of Aelfric and later of Eadric Streona.

English records offer no example of friendly intercourse between an English king and a king of the Scandinavian mainland. For this we must turn to the questionable authority of the Sagas, which record the curious story of the relations between Aethelstan and Harold the Fair-haired that led to Aethelstan's fostering of Hakon the Good,²⁹ and Olaf Tryggvason's friendship with Ethelred the Unready.³⁰ To these stories

²⁷ *hie sealdon anum unwisum cyninges þegne Miercra rice to haldanne. Annal 874. A.*

²⁸ *Annals 901, 905. A.*

²⁹ *Heimshv.*, ed. F. Jonsson 1893-1900. *Har. Hlaf. K.* 38-40.

³⁰ See, *e.g.*, *Olaf Tryggvasons Saga*, c. 65, ed. P. A. Munch, 1853.

may be added the story of how the Kingdom of York was handed over to Erik Bloodaxe,³¹ and of St. Olaf's siege of London, which the Danes were holding against Ethelred, in the days before Olaf laid claim to Norway.³²

From the sagas come two instances of Icelanders, taking service with English kings, while the latter were engaged in hostilities against a section of the Scandinavian people, and however doubtful the details and chronology may be in each case, the stories are worth recalling. More attention has been given to the story of Egil and his brother Thorolf, who did such notable service for Aethelstan at Vinheith, against a confederacy that included the famous Anlaf Cuaran,³³ but the English scenes from the *Gunnlaugs Saga* are no less interesting. "When spring came, Gunnlaug asked the king's leave to depart. He answered, "It does not become you to leave me, in view of the danger which is threatening even now in England." Gunnlaug answered, "As you will, lord. Give me leave to depart in the summer, if the Danes come not."³⁴ The threatened invasion, according to the Saga, was that planned by Canute, with a view to claiming the kingdom won by Swegn, his father.³⁵

One curious story from the Sagas may be mentioned before turning to the more sober English records. It comes from the *Knyttlingasaga* (a poor enough

³¹ *Egilssaga*. Aldn. Saga-Bibl. 3. 1924. ed. F. Jónsson., LIX., 6.

³² *Heimskv. Ólaf. Helg. K.* 12-13.

³³ *Egilss. L-LV.*

³⁴ Um vǫrit þad G(unnlaugr) konunginn sér orlofs til brottferdar. hann svarar. Ei samir þer nu at fara fra mer til sliks ofridar sem nu horfir her i Einglandi þar sem þu ert minn hirdmadr. G(unnlaugr) svarar þier skulut rada herra ok gef mer orlof at sumri til brottferdar ef Danir koma eigi." *Gunnlaugs Saga*, 15 (10).

³⁵ The position of Icelanders in the Viking period was apparently exceptional and for this reason the instances cited above are perhaps of doubtful value for the present purpose. An Icelandic, it appears, could pass in safety from court to court, and could ignore politics. The story of Auðun and his bear, though of a later period, affords a good illustration. (*Haralds Hæðraða Saga*, see Wimmer. *Oldnordisk Læsebog*, 54-9).

authority, it must be confessed), and is one of several stories intended to explain Godwin's rise from obscurity to power. Ulf, Canute's commander-in-chief, has lost his way in a wood after pursuing the routed English at the close of a Danish victory. He meets a herdsboy and asks him the way to the Danish ships, concealing his rank but admitting that he is one of Canute's men. The boy replies that the Danes have hardly deserved well of the English, yet "You seem to me a man worth knowing, and not, I suspect, the man you give yourself out to be."³⁶ So Godwine takes Ulf to his parents, where he is well received. It is agreed that Godwine shall accompany Ulf as guide, and when the time for departure comes, the boy's parents ask Ulf to treat him well, since he will find little favour with the English after shewing help to a Dane. Ulf fulfils his obligations and through him Godwine wins the favour of Canute. So runs the story, and there is nothing incredible in its details, but its authority is not of the best. It is the only story known to me of an Anglo-Saxon in the service of a Scandinavian lord,³⁷ though during the Danish rule in England one would expect such instances to be common.

From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the evidence is of a different kind. Here we meet with Scandinavians, at first in opposition to an English king, accepting him as lord, and in some cases fighting for him against their countrymen. The motive may differ in different cases, now mere expediency, now the desire to serve under the lord most worthy of service.

The story of Thurcytel, who submitted to Edward in 915, suggests that the feelings of the English king in

³⁶ Ekki veit ek, segir sveinninn. at þér Danir megit vænta af oss liðsinnis, ok hafi þér Danir heldr til annars gjort . . . en svá lízt mér á þik, sem gott mannkaup muoi í þér vera, ok ætla ek þik annan mann, enn þú segir. *Fornumanna Sögur.*, XI., 191-2.

³⁷ The forced submission of English towns and shires to Swegen and to Canute are, of course, a different matter. *A.S.C., Annals 1013*, etc.

such a case may have been mixed. It seems that Edward found him something of an embarrassment, for two years later it is recorded that Thurcytel crossed to France, no doubt on a Viking expedition, with Edward's blessing, and help.³⁸ It is a pity that the *Chronicle* tells us so little, for the brief notices of Thurcytel are intriguing.

We can only conjecture motives in this case, but it is clear that the fame of a great man could break the ties of nationality, as in the earlier Heroic Age. William of Malmesbury's statement about Edgar, who was notoriously well-disposed to Scandinavians, that "His fame flying from lip to lip, foreigners, Saxons, Flemings and even Danes, often sailed hither, and were on terms of intimacy with Edgar,"³⁹ suggests conditions similar to those of the Heroic Age, when Hrolf Kraki's fame was so great that "all the greatest champions wished to be with him, and to serve none other, because he was much more bountiful than any other king."⁴⁰

Most striking are the instances of Scandinavians actually serving in the cause of an English king. So Edward the Elder, by a bold stroke of policy, garrisoned the newly-won town of Nottingham "with both Englishmen and Danes."⁴¹ A century later, we find that the fiercest resistance to Swegn's attacks seems to have come from Ulfcytel, who had some kind of command in East Anglia, and was undoubtedly a Dane by

³⁸ Ond þurcytel eorl hine gesohte him to blaforde. *Annal* 918. *A.* ond þy ilcan geare fôr þurcytel eorl ofer sæ on Froncland. mid þam mannum þe him gelæstan woldon. mid Eaweardes cýnges frípe ond fultume. *Annal* 920. *A.*

³⁹ Unde factum est, ut, fama ejus per ora omnium volante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandritæ, ipsi etiam Dani, huc frequenter annavigirent, Edgaro familiaris effecti. *De Gest. Reg. Ang.* Rolls Series, I., 165.

⁴⁰ at allir enir mestu kappar vildu með honum vera ok engum öðrum þjóna, því hann var miklu mildari at fé enn nokkurir konungar aðrir. *Fornaldars.* *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*, XXIII.

⁴¹ Þa for he þonan to Snotingham ond gefor þa burg, ond het bie gebetan ond gesetan. ægher ge mid Engliscum mannum, ge mid Deniscum. *Annal* 922. *A.*

origin."⁴² In the same reign Thurkel the Tall, who had come in 1009 with the host "which we call Thurkel's host," is found in London four years later, in alliance with King Ethelred. When in the same year London, like the rest of England, submitted to Swegn, Ethelred took refuge with Thurkel in his fleet on the Thames, so that, as Freeman describes it dramatically, "the monarchy of Cerdic . . . was now confined to the decks of forty-five Scandinavian warships."⁴³

The story of Thurkel is a significant one.⁴⁴ It seems probable that he accepted Christianity during his stay in England, perhaps under the influence of St. Alphege. Swegn, his first master, had adopted Christianity, repudiated it, and accepted it again. If Thurkel's own Christianity meant anything at all, he may well have considered Swegn as no better than a pagan at any stage of his career. It is highly probable that Thurkel's adherence to Ethelred was the direct result of his acceptance of Christianity. Thurkel's later support of Canute does not contradict this, for Canute earned the title of a Christian king in a sense which Swegn never dreamed of.

Here, then, is an issue clearer than that of race or nationality. The terms Norsemen or Danes on the one hand and Anglo-Saxons on the other are less significant than the terms heathen and Christian. It is not that the mere occurrence of any of these terms in the early records is of great importance. The term "hæþenan" occurs many times in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but side by side with it are found the terms "wicingas," "æscmen," while the term "cristenan" to dis-

⁴² Of Ulfcytel's stand against the Danes in 1004 the Chronicle writes, "Ðær wærð East Engla folces seo yld ofslagen. Ac gif þæt fulle mægen þær wære, ne eodan hi næfre eft to scipon. swa hi sylfe sædon." *Annal 1004. E.* Cf. Solus ex omnibus comes Orientalium Anglorum Ulkillus et tunc impigre contra invasores restitit. W. of Malmesbury. *De Gest. Reg. Ang.* Rolls Series, I., 190.

⁴³ Freeman. *Norman Conquest*, 3rd ed. I., 361.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 666, ff.

tinguish the English from the pagan Scandinavian is used, as far as I am aware, only once.⁴⁵ Yet the gulf between Christian and pagan constitutes one of the most important factors in the story of the invasions, and it is necessary to consider from a few of the many possible angles what part religion played in the relations of the Anglo-Saxons and their invaders.

As one would expect, the Anglo-Saxons shared with their fellow-sufferers on the mainland the belief that the descent of the Vikings was the "Scourge of God." Important attacks were preceded by portents and prophecies. In the year 793 one of the *Chronicles* reports: "In this year terrible portents passed over Northumbria, and pitifully alarmed the people, to wit, great flashes of lightning; and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air, upon which signs there soon followed a great dearth, and a little after this, in the same year, on January 18th, an onslaught of heathen men laid low God's church on the isle of Lindisfarne."⁴⁶ Similarly the renewed attacks early in the reign of Ethelred the Unready are said to have been heralded by prophecies of the punishment to fall on the betrayers of Edward the Martyr. So St. Dunstan, addressing the newly-crowned Ethelred, is made to declare, "the sin of thy abandoned mother, and of the accomplices of her base design shall not be washed out except by much blood of the wretched inhabitants." "Nor was it long after that," adds the chronicler, William of Malmesbury, "that is, in his (Ethelred's) third year, that seven pirate vessels came to Southampton."⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See Glossary, Earle & Plummer. *Two Saxon Chrons.* 1892. Vol. I.

⁴⁶ Her wæron reðe foreberna cumene ofer Norðanhymbra land. ond þæt folc earmlice bregdon; þæt wæron ormete ligræscas. ond wæron geseowene fyrene dracan on þam lyfte fleogende. þam tacnum sona fylgde mycel hunger. ond litel æfter þam þæs ilcan gearæsæ. on vi. Ið. Ianr. earmlice heðenra manna bergung adiligode Godes cyrican. in Lindisfarena ee. *Annal 793. E.*

⁴⁷ non delebitur peccatum ignominiosæ matris tuæ, et peccatum virorum qui interfuerunt consilio illius nequam, nisi multo sanguine

Naturally the moral of these disasters was drawn again and again. Alcuin's epistles dealing with the sack of Lindisfarne are in this spirit. "Fear," he writes to Ethelred of Northumbria, "the scourge which has fallen upon the Church of St. Cuthbert, a place surely the most sacred, and for long, through the favour of many saints, the most secure, now indeed lamentably laid waste by heathen men. The man who is not thereby moved to fear, and does not himself repent and mourn before God for the prosperity of his fatherland, has a heart of stone in place of a heart of flesh."⁴⁸

The theme is taken up by the homilists. The famous *Sermo Lupi* need not be quoted, but another homily of the Wulfstan collection attributes the nation's misfortunes to its neglect of Sunday observance.⁴⁹ The laws adopt the same tone. There exists an enactment of Ethelred's reign, with the heading, "This was decreed when the great army landed," in which a three days' fast is enjoined, and various acts of penitence "in order that Almighty God may have mercy upon us, and grant that we may overcome our foes."⁵⁰

The agitation revealed in such calls to repentance is not difficult to understand, for it seems clear that the collapse of Christianity presented itself as a very real possibility to many people in England during the 9th

miserorum provincialium . . . Nec multo post, id est, anno ejus tertio venerunt Hamtonam, nortum juxta Wintoniam, septem naves piratarum." *De Gest. Reg. Ang.* Rolls Series. I., 186.

⁴⁸ Timete flagellum, quod venit super ecclesiam sancti Cuthberti, locum scilicet sanctissimum et multorum sanctorum suffragiis diu tutissimum, nunc vero miserabiliter a paganis devastatum. Quid hoc non timet et se ipsum non corrigit et pro suæ patriæ prosperitate non plangit ad Deum, carneum non habet cor sed lapidum. *Alcuini Epistolæ.* Bibl. Res. Germ., vi., 1873, p. 189.

⁴⁹ and ic sênde ofer eow þa þeode eow to hergianne and eower land to awestenne, þe ge heora spræca ne cunnan, forþan þe ge ne healdað sunnandæges freols, and forþan þe ge ne forseoð and mine beboda noldon healdon. *Wulfstan.* ed. Napier. LVII. 295-6.

⁵⁰ Ðis man gerædde, ða se micle here com to lande. . . wið ðam þe us God ælmihtig gemiltsige and us geunne þæt we ure fund ofercuman mutan. Liebermann. *Gesetze.* I., 262.

and 10th centuries. This raises the further question. "How firmly was Christianity rooted in England before the coming of the pagan Scandinavians?" It is, indeed, often hard to say, when pagan customs are denounced during the Viking period, whether such customs are looked upon as survivals of Anglo-Saxon paganism,⁵¹ or as having been introduced by the pagan invaders. Perhaps the truth lies somewhere halfway.

In any case the fear of Pagan influence was present, and reveals itself not only in laws and homilies, but also, it may be, in the insertion in a number of Charters of such a modifying clause as "so long as Christianity remains among the English in Britain." As far as I am aware, such a phrase does not occur before the date of the attack on Lindisfarne.⁵² The two examples in the 8th century charters can both be placed after the year 793, and the panic of the first Viking descent upon English monasteries might well give birth, without closer contact, to the fear of the subversal of the English Church.

During the 10th and 11th centuries such phrases do not occur, but it must be remembered that during the long period of peace the fear may have died away, and moreover, by the end of the century, Christianity was beginning to make its way even into the Scandinavian countries.⁵³

⁵¹ cf. Bede. *Hist. Ecc.* III. And against what is the stricture in the Canons of Ælfric directed? (Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, 1840, 448). "þænne ge (the priests) þæto (to a wake) gelaðode sýn. þonne forbrode ge þa hæðenan sangas þæra læwedra manna." Have the lays of Ingeld and others to which Alcuin objected, lingered on to this late period, or are we here dealing with a new stock of heathen lays introduced by the Scandinavians?

⁵² See Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 272, 289. For the 9th century see e.g., Birch, 428, 468, 488, 519, 539. cf. Duke Alfred's Will (871-889). Kemble *Cod. Dipl.*, CCCXVII. "ða hwile ðe fulwiht sio on Angelcynnes ealonde" and in the *Codex Aureus Inscription* "ða hwile þe fulwiht stondan mote." In the Latin Charters. (e.g., Birch 289) "quamdiu fides catholica in gente Anglorum perseveret," or a similar phrase is used.

⁵³ Yet the denunciation of heathen customs is found repeatedly in the laws of Ethelred the Unready.

The phrase may of course be a mere empty formula, part of the conventional phraseology of the Anglo-Saxon charters, and certainly without support proves nothing. Nevertheless, the fact that such a phrase takes the place of the words "in perpetuum" or "perhenniter" in the earlier charters may be significant.

On what grounds, then, was the fear of the collapse of Christianity in England based? There seems to be no evidence that the Scandinavian pagans wished to proselytize, nor need we accept the assumptions of later chroniclers that the Vikings were actively hostile to Christianity, or to the learning and enlightenment that went with it. The more materialistic explanation that the religious houses were the greatest storehouses of treasure, were unprotected and were often to be found on the coast, seems enough.

Yet if the Scandinavians did not proselytize, there seems to be good evidence that a considerable number of Anglo-Saxons lapsed into paganism, whether into actual *æsir*-worship or only into pagan customs and the practice of sorcery and witchcraft, is not apparent.

Definite instances of desertion to paganism are not to be found in the English annals, as they are, for instance, in the Irish, and it seems unlikely that the worship of Thor and Odin found much footing among the Anglo-Saxons; it was probably weak among the invaders themselves. The homily in the Wulfstan collection, "*De Falsis Deis*," refers to Jove, whose name was Thor among some peoples, "him the Danish folk love most of all and in their error worship most zealously," and to Mercury, "and his other name is Odin according to the Danes."⁵⁴ Yet this homily suggests no fear that

⁵⁴and he hatte þor oðrum naman betwux sumum þeodum; þone denisca leoda lufjað swyðost and on heora gedwylde weorðjaþ geornost . . . and he is Oðon gehaten oðrum naman on denisce wisan. *Wulfstan* ed. Napier, XVIII., pp. 106-107.

Thor- and Odin-worship would infect the Anglo-Saxon people, and it was probably heathendom as defined in the latter part of the following passage from the laws of Canute that constituted the real menace in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Heathendom is "for a man to worship heathen gods, and sun or moon, fire or flood, springs or stones, or any kind of trees, or to be addicted to witchcraft, or to compass any deed of murder in any wise, either as an act of sacrifice or through fear, or to perform any follies of this kind."⁵⁵

A few scraps of evidence on this point have survived apart from that of the laws, with their denunciation of witchcraft and heathen rites connected with wells and springs. It is not easy, here as elsewhere, to prove a definite allusion to Scandinavian heathendom, but a clear reference to Scandinavian influence is preserved in one of the *Junius MSS.* in a vernacular letter from one brother to another. The customs denounced seem trivial enough, but must have stood for the general acceptance of pagan habits and standards. "I tell thee moreover, brother Edward, now that thou hast opened the matter with me, that ye (*the original here changes to the plural*) do ill to leave English customs which your forefathers held, and to love the customs of heathen men." The writer goes on to inveigh against the fashion of bared necks and blinded eyes "after the Danish manner," and concludes, "I say no more concerning this shameful guise, save what the books tell us, 'Let him be accursed who conforms his life to the cus-

⁵⁵ Hæðenscipe byð, þæt man deofolgyld weorðige, þæt is þæt man weorþige hæðene godas ond sunnan oþþe monan, fyr oððe flod, wæter-wyllas oþþe stanas oððe æniges cynnes wudutreowa, oððon wiccecræft lufige oððon morðweorc gefremme on ænige wisan, oððon on blote oððon fyrhte, oððon swylcra gedwimera ænig þincg dreoge. Liebermann. *Gesetze*, I., 312. The clause in Alfred's laws "se ðe godegeldum onsecege ofer God anne, swelte se deaðe" (ibid. 38) may apply not to *æsir*-worship, even if it does refer to Scandinavian rites, but to witchcraft and the forbidden practices.

toms of heathen men, and thereby dishonours his own kin.' ”⁵⁶

Yet, natural as this attitude is, we, from our point of vantage, can see that the Anglo-Saxon pessimists had taken too little account of two things, the decay of paganism among the invaders themselves, and their capacity for receiving new ideas.

The picture of the conversion of the Scandinavians in England is naturally chequered. I know of no cases of *prime-signing* in the English annals, but baptism was in some cases clearly diplomatic. Curious blendings of Christianity and Paganism were to be found, no doubt, and are typified by one of the “St. Peter” coins, struck according to Keary “at York during the Danish occupation,” which is stamped with Thor’s Hammer.⁵⁷ Yet if the acceptance of Christianity was sometimes a matter of expediency, the effect may have been in some cases unexpectedly lasting, witness the story of Anlaf Cuaran, who probably accepted baptism to win the favour of King Edmund, but volun-

⁵⁶ Ic secge eac ðe, brøðor Eadweard, nu ðu nu þyses bæde, þæt ge dōð unrihtlice, þæt ge ða engliscan þeawas. forlætað þe eowre fæderas heoldon and hæðenra manna þeawas lufiað þe eow ðæs lifes ne-unnon and mid ðam geswutelidað þæt ge forseoð eower cynn, and eowre ylðran mid þam unþeawum þonne ge him on teonan tysliað eow on denisc ableredum hneccan and ablendum eægum. Ne secge ic na mære embe ða sceandlican tylsunge buton þæt us secgað bæc, þæt se beo amansumod þe hæðenra manna þeawas hylt on his life and his ægen cynn unwurpað mid þam. *Englische Studien*. VIII., 67.

Probably what the *Chronicle* calls King Edgar’s “one misdeed” was the introduction of Scandinavian fashions of this kind, certainly not of “heathendom” in the more exact sense of the word.

Ane misdæda he dyde
 þeah to swiðe
 þæt he ælpeodige
 unsida lufode
 ond hæþene þeawas
 innan þysan lande
 gebrohte to fæste. *Annal 958. E.*

William of Malmesbury adds rather unfairly that as a result the English “a Danis potationem discerent.” *De Ges Reg. Ang.* I., 165.

⁵⁷ See C. F. Keary, *Cat. of English Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, *Anglo-Saxon Series*, I, 240 and Plate XXX.

tarily ended his adventurous life among the monks of Iona.⁵⁸ It is certainly significant that by the tenth century the Scandinavians in England could give to the English Church three such notable churchmen as Odo of Canterbury, and Oswald and Osbryht of York.⁵⁹

Once the barrier of religion was broken down, the relations between Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian could be of the most cordial kind. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records Olaf Tryggvason's confirmation in England, "King Anlaf was led with great honour to Andover, and king Ethelred received him at the Bishop's hands, and gave him noble gifts, and Anlaf then promised, and also performed it, that he would never again come to England with hostile intent."⁶⁰ This is confirmed by the shorter and longer sagas of Olaf Tryggvason, and Snorri records how Olaf sailed to England one autumn "and lay in a certain haven, and behaved peaceably, because England was Christian and he was Christian also."⁶¹

The English Church was called upon to provide teachers for the Christianizing of Norway. There seems no reason to doubt Snorri's statement, that when Hakon the Good returned to Norway as king, as soon as "he considered himself to have won a strong enough backing from certain of the great men to support Christianity, he sent to England for a bishop and

⁵⁸Chron. *Annal* 943, *A*, and note on Olaf Cuaran in J. H. Todd's *Gaedhil and Gaill*, 280-7.

⁵⁹See interesting note in W. H. Stevenson's *Asser.*, 1904, p. 334.

⁶⁰and hi þa læddan Anlaf mid mycclum wurðscipe to þam cyngre to Andeferan. ond se cyng Æðelred his anfeng æt bisceopes handa. ond him cynelice gifode. ond him þa Anlaf behet. swa he hit eac gelæste þæt he næfre eft to Angel cynne mid unfriðe comon nolde. *Annal* 994, *E*.

Is it not unduly cynical to suggest that if Olaf had not, about this time, won his kingdom in Norway, he would not have fulfilled his promise so honourably?

⁶¹"lá þar i höfn einni, fór þá með friði, þvíat England var kristit ok hann var ok kristinn." *Heimsk., Oláfss. Tryggv., K. 32.* ed. F. Jónsson.

other learned men,"⁶² and the assistance given by the English Church to Olaf Tryggvason is still better authenticated. The connection seems to have continued into the reign of St. Olaf, but was broken by his enmity with Canute.⁶³

Significant, too, is the early recognition in England of the canonization of St. Olaf. In 1055 we hear of a church dedicated to St. Olaf, but this is in a Scandinavian area,⁶⁴ and it is of far more interest that the earliest instance of an office for St. Olaf's day is to be found in the *Leofric Missal*, which affords good evidence for the general acceptance of the cult in England.⁶⁵

If one must attempt to sum up the scattered and inconclusive evidence, it may be reduced, perhaps, to this, that however much the fusion of Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons was facilitated by their essential kinship, the fact that the Scandinavians when they invaded England were peculiarly open to adopt the religion and culture of the people they invaded was a more important factor still. The acquiescence of the English in the rule of Canute, though partly due to national exhaustion, is hardly conceivable had Canute not adopted the definitely Christian attitude which caused Archbishop Fulbert of Chartres, to whom Canute sent generous gifts for the building of his great Cathedral, to marvel at the religious spirit of one "whom we had heard spoken of as king of a pagan people."⁶⁶

⁶² En er Hákon konungr þóttisk fengit hafa styrk af nokkurum ríkismönnum at halda upp kristninni, þá sendi hann til Englandz eftir byskupi ok öðrum kennimönnum. *Heimsk.*, *Hák.*, *Góð.* K. 13.

⁶³ See *Den Angelsaksiske Kirkes Indflydelse paa den Norske*. A. Taranger. 142 ff.

⁶⁴ He (Siward) ligeð æt Galmahó on þam mynstre þe he sylf let timbrian ond halgian on godes ond Olaf's naman. *Annal 1055. D.*

⁶⁵ See *Leofric Missal*. ed. F. E. Warren, 1883, p. 272.

⁶⁶ te, quem paganorum principem audieramus. Migne's *Patrol.* CXLI. 235. *S. Fulberti Epistolæ*. LXIX., cf. W. of Malmesbury, *De Gest. Reg. Ang.* (Rolls Series). I., p. 226.

One thing must be said in conclusion. If the story of the Danish Invasions is followed through the later Chronicles, it seems possible to trace a growing tendency to emphasize the feeling of animosity towards the invaders. The expression of such a feeling is not, of course, entirely a question of date. While the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* of Alfred's reign is almost free from comment on events, the apparently authentic parts of Asser's *Life* contains such phrases as "the pagan army of hateful memory," and "they took to flight like women,"⁶⁷ yet such phrases are rare, and the courage of the enemy is also recorded.

The later versions of the death of St. Edmund offer one of the best examples of the embroidering of an account of Danish atrocities.⁶⁸ The simple annal of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* might apply as well to death in battle as to martyrdom through heathen violence.⁶⁹ Yet the episode has been turned into one of the darkest blots upon the Viking record.

The excited records of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the reign of Ethelred ring far more with helpless fury at the mismanagement of English affairs than with animosity towards the enemy,⁷⁰ while the poems of *Brunanburh* and *Maldon* show surprisingly little of this spirit. There is more than enough in *Brunanburh* of exultation over a defeated enemy, but only the words, "the hated people"⁷¹ suggest personal or national hate. The spirit of *Maldon* is very close to the spirit of the *Chronicle* of the same period, but raised to a more heroic level, and, although it certainly expres-

⁶⁷ *exosæ memoriæ paganorum exercitus*. Stevenson's *Asser*. 1904 p. 26. *Muliebrites fugam arripiunt*. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁶⁸ See *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, ed. Lord Francis Hervey, 1907, where the different accounts of St. Edmund are collected.

⁶⁹ *py wintra Eadmund cyning him wið feaht ond þa Deniscan siȝt namon. ond þone cyning ofslogon. ond þæt lond all geeodon.* *Anna* 870. *A.*

⁷⁰ e.g., *Annals* 1001, 1009. *E.*

⁷¹ *aþum þeodum.* *Brunanburh*, l., 22.

is no love of the "hateful strangers," "the wolves of aughtier,"⁷² its dominant note is one of indignation against those of the English who were false to country and lord.

Such an attitude, not unworthy of the Heroic Age itself, leaves room for the generous recognition of quality wherever it is to be found. "Two crews," writes the *Chronicle* in 882, "gave themselves up, and they were much damaged and had suffered heavily before they gave themselves up."⁷³ And in describing the martyrdom of St. Alphege the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is impressive in its fairness, and its readiness to admit an excuse if one can be found. "(The Danes) were moreover very drunk, because wine had been brought from the South. Then they took theishop, led him to their 'husting' on the Sunday in the Easter octave, and there stoned him with stones and the heads of oxen, and one of them smote him on the head with an axehead, so that with the blow he sank down and his holy blood fell on the earth."⁷⁴

It is an attitude which made possible an apparently sudden and also a lasting amalgamation when the immediate causes of enmity were removed.

⁷² laðe gystas. *Maldon*. l., 86. wælwulfas, *ibid.* l., 96.

⁷³ tægen scipheras him on hond eodon, ond þa wæron miclum slægene ond forwundode ær hie on hond eodon. *Annal* 882. A.

⁷⁴ wæron hi eac swyðe druncene. forþam þær wæs gebroht win supan. namon þa þonne bisceop. leaddon hine to heora hustinga on þone nnan efen. octabas Paschæ. ond hine þa þær oftorfodon mid banum. d mid hryðera heafdum. ond sloh him þa an heora mid anre eyre on þet heafod. þet he mid þam dynte niðer asah. ond his halige d on ða eorþan. feoll. *Annal* 1012. E.

SCANDINAVIAN ELEMENTS IN ESTONIAN FOLKLORE.

BY DR. OSKAR PH. KALLAS,

The Estonian Minister in London.

(Read March 4th, 1924).

I FEEL honoured that I have been entrusted with the task of talking to you about the Scandinavian elements in Estonian Folklore, and am grateful for the privilege of mentioning the name of my country and its spiritual life to the Viking Society for Northern Research. It is less the feeling that a guest is always best entertained when he has the opportunity of talking about himself, than the feeling that here is an occasion to explain the circumstances of our life to Western-European people, the more or less one-sided connections with whom, we are always eager to make more reciprocal.

I do not suppose it is necessary to tell a "Viking Society" where and what is Scandinavia, but I am afraid that the "Northern" in the title of your Society means nothing more to you than Scandinavia, or possibly also Finland, and does not include, for instance, Estonia. Consequently, I shall have to say some introductory words about the Estonians so that you can better understand the subject of this evening.

We count ourselves as also of the North and not the East, if by North—as opposed to the East—is meant a special kind of feeling and thought, certain common ideals, and a peculiar psychology, not dependent on the different languages. And with the North, Scandinavia, we were in olden times bound also politically. The Danes brought us Christianity before the German Knights of the Sword. and with the name of our capital, Tallinn (Reval in German), which means "The

Danish Castle," there are many recollections for us and the Danes, for instance, their holy flag the Dannebrog, which falling from heaven in Tallinn decided the victory of Waldemar Seier.

Previous to the 200 years of the Russian Czarist time, we were a part of Sweden, and our University, founded in 1632 by Gustavus Adolphus, reminds us even to-day of the "good old Swedish times," a period which is impressed on the minds of our people as being a brief breathing space in the course of suffocating centuries. Only since we have regained our full independence do our people regard their lot as better than in the good old Swedish times.

But, I notice, that I am going too much into the present, and not into the past where it was my intention to lead you; because Folklore ordinarily means past time. Folklore may be called already the first words created by every nation. All the folksongs, riddles, and especially the magic formulae have been attributed to old primitive times, although, as I am going to show you, many so-called pagan beliefs have little to do with the pagans, and the word primitive has often been applied to quite modern ideas.

The metric form of our Estonian folksongs can be traced back more than one thousand years, but even now the folksong has not yet quite disappeared in Estonia.

Folklore, the more or less self-created culture of a nation, has a tendency to disappear when the more international school and manufactory culture penetrates into the life. The riddle or the proverb is superseded by newspaper anecdotes, the fairy-tale by the modern novel, the bagpipes by the gramophone, and the folk-lore by the manufactured article.

The Estonians have passed through such a phase during the last two or three generations, but in some frontier parts of our country, which for historical

reasons remained without any school culture, the folk-song, for instance, continues to form an important part of the spiritual life. Even the art of improvisation has not died out. Miko Ode, a songstress still alive, sang for the folklorist Dr. J. Hurt no less than 20,720 lines.

A nation needs spiritual food, and if this be not forthcoming, *e.g.* from the school or the church, the nation has to create it from within. And so, in former times, we created our folklore, which embraces really all the features of our life.

Our folklore has been very diligently collected, especially during the last two generations. It may be said, in passing, that we got the first incentive to collect our songs from a British source, via Germany. Ossian's songs (Macpherson) drew the attention of the German poet, Herder, to folksongs, and Estonia followed his example. The Finns, who had already started to collect folklore (Porthan), gained new stimulus from Ossian's songs.

We have repaid our debt, in part, as Longfellow in his "*Hiawatha*" used the metre of the old Finnish songs in the national epic "*Kalevala*."

When I say, we, I mean the Finns and the Estonians. The Finns are nearly related to us, and as in folklore, we have to be regarded, more or less, as one area.

Together with the Finns we possess, and I think I am not exaggerating, the largest folklore collections in the world—our nearest competitors being our neighbours, the Latvians and the Lithuanians—comprising with all their variants over 30,000 melodies, 55,000 tales, 125,000 riddles, 135,000 superstitions, 215,000 proverbs and nearly 200,000 songs with about four million lines (most of which are 8-syllable trochaic lines), etc., etc.

What is Scandinavian in Estonian folklore, I have been asked to tell you. I am afraid I am not able to give you an exact answer, and can only draw rough outlines.

The reasons for this lie with both sides, ourselves and the Scandinavians.

We have, it is true, very complete collections; scientifically, however, they have not been explored deeply enough yet.

Scientific research could only start with these collections—before this time only dilettantish attempts were possible—and the collections are not very old.

University Chairs for folklore were established in 1908 in Helsinki=Helsingfors (now there are three), and for our part, we were only able to follow the Finnish example in 1918, establishing two similar chairs in our University.

Scientific research work is now possible, in principle, although it is at present hindered by very prosaic circumstances. The Estonian collections are nearly all unprinted. It is a question of money only. Before the war the printing was started, and now the war is over, we have to pay our war-loans.

As I have said, we can hardly speak of a purely Estonian folklore. With our cousins, the Finns, we must still ascertain what is theirs, what ours, and what is common. It may be of interest for you to hear that, although as nations we have been separated at least fifteen centuries, we have exchanged folklore, and especially our songs, up to recent centuries, not to say recent years.

Some songs were spread by word of mouth from estate to estate, from village to village, starting from Estonia and ending at the Arctic coasts, and the most lively place of exchange of the songs was in the environs of the late Petrograd, now Leningrad, where the Russians are new comers and where some years ago I found people still speaking only Finnish. The Russians built Petersburg, on the site of about 50 Finnish villages, the Finnish names of which,

Korpisaari, Hirvisaari and others, have not yet been forgotten.

So our songs wandered, and in Karelia, which is situated between Russia and Finland, were mingled with songs coming from Finland and developed into greater units.

You see, roughly speaking, the folklore area of the Finns and Estonians is common.

To continue: are the Scandinavians able to say exactly what is their folklore? I think this question also has not been decided yet. What is here Low-German, the predecessors of the Saxon settlers in Britain, what German or what Gothic? We have met all these national groups.

In our country we have about 7,000 Swedish inhabitants from olden times, with whom we have had close relations. It has not yet been decided whether they have come from Scandinavia or are an independent Teutonic offshoot. And where is the original home of the Scandinavians?

There is the other difficulty. I think, for the beginning, it would be wiser not to speak definitely about special Scandinavian elements in Estonian folklore, but better about the Teutonic contacts with the Finno-Estonian folklore, to which in some respects can be included also Lapponian folklore: and as folklore, especially for olden times, means really the culture of a nation, I am impliedly speaking also about the cultural contacts between these national groups.

To get a true perspective about these contacts, we have to go back to the past.

We are helped here by the old chronicles and sources of history. When these sources become sagas and tales, we have to resort to archæology, and when finally archæology leaves us in the lurch our ultimate refuge becomes comparative philology.

We learn that we Estonians occupied our present

sites on the shore of the Baltic already some time before Christ. Our roots go back to the Ural Mountains, not to Asia, the valleys of the middle Volga, where even up to the present national groups with languages akin to ours are groping for their national awakening.

As regards our language, we are, according to the latest explorations, neither Mongols nor Aryans—both have claimed us—but an independent group, called the Finno-Ugric group, which is very near to the Aryan family of languages.

Our culture is so intermingled with the culture of the Aryan, especially the Teutonic nations, that it would be difficult to draw a definite dividing line, if such a division in cultural questions is possible at all: the international stream of culture washes many coasts, takes from many sources and waters many lands.

And lastly, our race. This question must also be treated cautiously. Language and race do not always coincide: Prussia, the stronghold of Germanism, is only partly German; North Russia likewise only partly Russian. Arctic Lapps speak a language akin to Finnish. Scandinavian Normans speak French, and many coloured peoples English. The races are confusedly mixed with each other. In our case, we are a north-European race, intermingled with other races, or have become such a race.

Already in prehistoric times we had contacts with Aryan nations. Moving away from the Urals in the direction of the Baltic, one branch, the Hungarians, turned to the South. For many centuries, on our way to the Baltic, we had contacts with a Gothic national group, in which certain scientists see the predecessors of the Scandinavians. The famous Danish philologist, Wilhelm Thomsen, gives a very interesting explanation about this, based on old Teutonic borrowed words retained in our and other languages of the Baltic (Latvian, Lithuanian, etc.).

More light is gradually being thrown on the piracy, commerce, struggles and peaceful exchanges between ourselves and the Danes; and also the Swedes.

Through our country lay one of the ways of the Vikings to the future Russia and to Byzantium; in 862 was formed the nucleus of the later Russia, and I am afraid that the honour of having done this must be attributed to the Scandinavians, although we, in our fairy tales, claim as our countrymen the first Russian rulers, the three brothers, Rurik, Sineus and Truwor.

A remark in passing: In our language the Swedes are still called "Roots," which word has been identified with the word Rus (Russia), and recalls the times when men from Roslagen in Scandinavia (Roots) founded a new "Scandinavia," the later Russian Empire.

In 1187, Sigtuna in Sweden was destroyed by Estonian pirates (a name which to some extent comes under the term "Vikings"), and the Swedes for their part did not forget to return this visit and others.

Lastly, full in the light of history comes the time when the German Knights of the Sword (mostly Saxons) came to our country, about the beginning of the 13th century, where Germans have remained up to the present, forming about 1.7 per cent. of the population.

You see, wave after wave of Teutonic peoples passed over us, each leaving deposits behind. All these cultural layers have to be uncovered one by one, and then we may approach nearer to what was originally.

In most cases, not in all, we, Estonians and Finns, were the receivers; our culture was lower than that of the Aryan nations, and we took or borrowed what we needed: culture words, costumes, beliefs, etc., and developed and bound them with our former creations. Just as a good modern novel is translated into different languages, so an interesting fairy-tale was spread

abroad in the neighbourhood by word of mouth, notwithstanding language barriers.

Gods also were appropriated from neighbours. Yet, thirty years ago, I met a pious man in the Russian Government of Witebsk, in his heart still half a pagan, officially a Roman Catholic, who borrowed from his Greek-Orthodox neighbour the image of a Greek-Orthodox Saint. "I was told this God is very helpful, so I am going to try if it will be useful to keep him and other Russian Gods." (Note the plural).

With time the Aryan nations came under new cultural influences—I may mention Athens, Jerusalem, Rome—and forgot more and more their old Gods and heroes, etc., who had to make way for a new God and new ideals.

We, Estonians and Finns, were denied progressive Western-European culture for a much longer period. We had to be satisfied with the heredity of former centuries. What we had received in olden times from the Aryans we kept faithfully in our memory and developed. So we have preserved from the traditions of the Teutonic nations also much that the latter themselves have forgotten.

Naturally, now that nearly 100 per cent. of our people can read and write, we are no longer able to play this part.

This may be deplored by the true folklorist, but can only be gratifying to friends of cultural development.

Permit me now to illustrate with a few examples, what we have got from the Teutonic nations, especially the Scandinavians.

I will start with the happy family festival of the Estonians, the wedding. On my native island, Saaremaa (Oesel), while I was still in my childhood, the wedding festival was kept up for a week, with bagpipes, songs and ceremonies. Tens of thousands of song lines are devoted to the nuptials.

The late Leopold von Schröder, member of the Vienna Academy, the well-known Indologist, whom I had the chance to admire as my liberal-minded teacher in our University, tries to show in his exploration "*Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten 1888*," the important part played by the Estonians in the preservation of the old Teutonic wedding ceremonies. The abduction and buying of women, the going round begging of the brides, their hiding, flying and veiling, ceremonies which have existed and been forgotten by the Germans and the Scandinavians, continue to live in our wedding ceremonies or wedding songs. He finds parallelisms even in the old Indian ceremonies.

As regards the Indian beliefs, Professor Otto Donner, from Helsinki, the father of the present Finnish Minister in London, already in 1863 compared them with Finnish traditions.

The results of their explorations may be partly modified since the new Finno-Estonian materials make possible a more perfect method of exploration, but in any case to Donner and Schröder remains the merit of having been among the first scientists to direct attention to the importance of the comparison of the Aryan and Finno-Ugric areas of folklore.

The newer methods of exploration of Finno-Estonian folklore were created and developed particularly by two professors of the Helsinki University, Julius and Kaarle Krohn, father and son.

The latter has also specially explored the Teutonic elements in Finno-Estonian folklore, and I venture to direct the attention of those interested to his explorations, part of which have been printed also in German and Swedish.

Allow me in the following to give some quotations from the results of Kaarle Krohn's explorations.

Of the religion which existed in Scandinavia before the Eddas (before the 9th century), Finno-Estonian

mythology gives a very distinct picture, corresponding with the most reliable Teutonic testimonials.

A great number of the lower mythological beings in Estonia and Finland are of Teutonic origin; take for example the well-known house-ghost "tomte" in Sweden; or "skratt," a kind of dragon, or his colleague "Bara," the Estonian "Paar" who brought riches also to Estonian collectors of wealth; or the wicked waterman "Näcken," or from later times the calumniator "diabolos," whose Estonian name "jeevel" we children on the island of Saaremaa used so often to employ in ignorance of his bad occupation as head of all evil spirits, or of his name having come to us from the Swedish "Djävul."

Of the higher gods I mention, for instance, Thor and Freyr. The aid of Thor as Taara was invoked by my countrymen, the inhabitants of the island of Saaremaa, when they had to struggle against the German Knights of the Sword in the 13th century, and their Taarapita (help Thor) reminds one of the battle-cry of the Normans, Turaie.

Thor's memory lives in many of our names, possibly also in the name of our University town Tartu=Dorpat, one explanation of which is the "Lowland of Thor."

Thor's day (Thursday) was until recent times a special day on the Island of Saaremaa, when work was concluded earlier, etc.

Our veneration of the dead, or ancestor worship, has been influenced by Teutonic nations, and such words as hell, the Gothic wainags (dead), etc., survive in Finnish and Estonian.

Not only does Scandinavian mythology before the time of the Vikings find supplementary material in our traditions, but the religious and poetical products of the time of the Vikings also find their parallels.

I call special attention to the death of the northern god Balder, which has supplied the theme for many

Finnish songs (about Lemminkäinen). But Professor Kaarle Krohn attributes all these songs and also the heathen Balder to Christian sources.

The richest materials are to be found in our traditions of the spiritual life in the Teutonic middle-ages. A whole cycle of songs about Christ has been preserved on the Finno-Estonian Russian frontier, by the Karelians and Setus, *i.e.*, Greek Orthodox Finns and Estonians.

It is a strange route that these Christian songs and legends have taken. They were created in Roman Catholic Germany and Roman Catholic Sweden, and wandered to the Roman Catholic Estonians and Finns, and farther to our Greek Orthodox countrymen on the Russian frontier. Under the influence of the Lutheran Reformation, they were forgotten in Germany and Sweden, and also in Lutheran Estonia and Finland—we became Lutheranised during Luther's time—and in the end were collected from the illiterate Greek Orthodox Karelians and Setus during the last two generations and written down.

The latter had not only kept them, but had also developed and partly paganised them. Although they were nominally Christians, they were never taught the Christian dogmas in their mother-tongue and clung more or less to their old faith. Even in the Finnish national epic, the "Kalevala," some of these Christian songs have been interspersed as old pagan songs.

Also the old Finnish magical songs, which had been taken for emanations of Finnish Shamanism, some thousands of years ago, under the fire of exploration were revealed to be products of mediæval Roman Catholicism. Magical formulæ from Scandinavia received a poetical form in Finland. Christian names, such as Maria, and St. George, etc., were replaced by old Finnish pagan names, but their deeds to some extent remained.

A question which involuntarily arises is that : neither in the epic nor in the magic songs of the Finno-Estonian Area can be found a case where a heathen myth was transformed into a Christian legend. But contrary transformations have been many. The magic poetry of the Finns germinates from Teutonic-catholic seeds; the Estonian and Latvian magical songs show the same sources; in Russian magical formulae also is the Roman Catholic influence evident. Why not ask : what is the case with German and Scandinavian magical formulae? Are they really heathen traditions? Did they also spring from Christian sources? I take only the so-called heathen Merseburgian magical formulae (*Merseburger Zaubersprüche*) known in Germany, England, Scandinavia, Estonia and Finland. In the light of Finnish exploration, they have lost their heathen character. (K. Krohn).

I promised to give some examples about Teutonic-Finno-Estonian contacts. I have done so. Many more could be given, but I think I have to finish. It would be very interesting to talk, for instance, about the fairy-tales, the birds of passage in different countries, only seldom the heritage of one nation. Our fairy-tales could probably help to determine the age of the formation of the German-Scandinavian fairy-tales; for instance, our tales about animals are often from an older form than the corresponding animal epics of the Teutonic middle ages.

Even such cameo poetry as exists in our riddles and proverbs has a certain Teutonic influence: the Finnish riddles and proverbs suggest Scandinavian sources, and the Estonian riddles and proverbs have a connection with the German originals.

But now I have really finished.

I have only very briefly touched upon the riches which have been preserved in our folklore, which awaits printing and further exploration. I mainly intended

to direct your attention to the significance which our folklore has for the Teutonic nations, especially the Scandinavians, and indirectly also for the English and American nations in so far as they are descended from the Saxons and Scandinavians, when they want to trace the original form of their own past spiritual life, called folklore.

Here is much work to be done. A modern motto, "Co-operation," has helped us a great deal in our economic life. What do you think about a co-operation in the spiritual area of life, for example, between the Teutonic and Finno-Estonian folklorists?

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SWEDISH KINGDOM.¹

BY PROFESSOR BIRGER NERMAN.

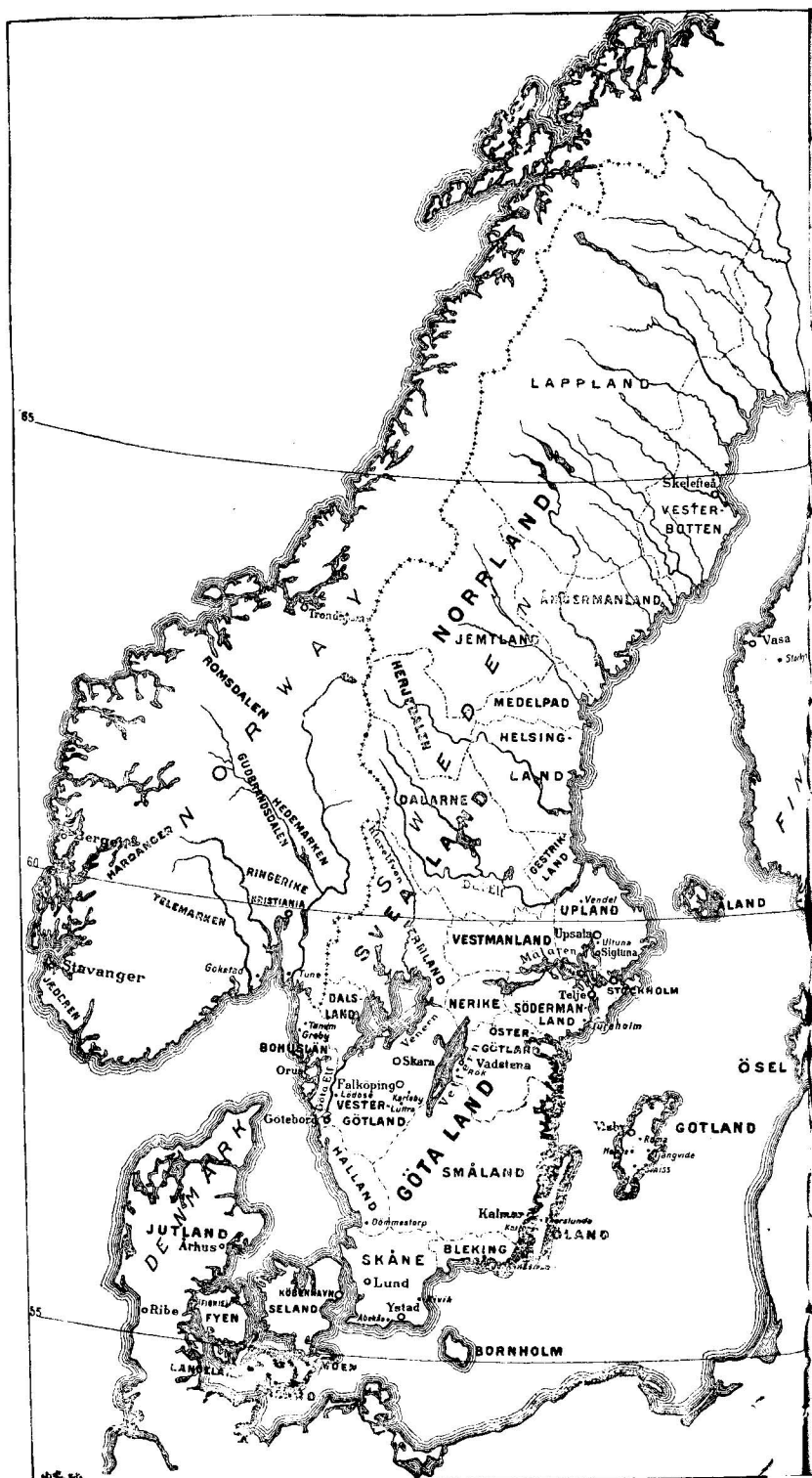
(Read April 16th, 1924).

THE generally accepted idea regarding the establishment of the Swedish realm is the following :

Towards the middle of the first thousand years after Christ there existed a fairly large and united realm of Svear (Swedes), with its centre around lake Mälaren, and comprising at least the present provinces of Uppland, Södermanland, Västmanland, Dalarna (Dalecarlia) and districts on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia. Farther south there were several independent states, of which the most prominent were Västergötland, Östergötland (the latter is sometimes reckoned as part of Västergötland), the islands of Öland and Gotland. The inhabitants of these southern districts usually go under the joint name of Götar, and all these districts seem to be generally regarded as having formed some kind of state federation. Even before the sixth century A.D. wars were waged between Svear and Götar, but about A.D. 500 these struggles increased in severity, and during the first part of the sixth century the Svear conquered district after district of the territories of the Götar, which led to the complete establishment of the Swedish realm, about the middle of the sixth century.

It has long been known that the Swedish realm came into existence owing to the conquest of the southern parts of the Scandinavian peninsula by the Swedes; the name Sweden tells us as much. But it was long before any very clear knowledge was obtained as to how and

¹ See the author's greater work: *Det svenska rikets uppkomst*, Stockholm, 1925.



when this took place. It is during the last twenty years that students have gone deeper into the question, and given us the above account of the establishment of the Swedish realm. It is, above all, to the late Dr. Knut Stjerna that credit is due for having drawn the outlines of the conquest, mainly in his paper *Swedes and Geats during the Migration Period* (*Svear och Götar under folkvandringstiden: Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, xii, 1905). Stjerna's paper gave us only a first sketch; he unfortunately never had an opportunity to state his evidence more fully. This evidence was mainly archæological.

Stjerna's article abounds in brilliant observations and ingenious deductions, and no doubt contains much that will prove of lasting value. A detailed investigation of the archæological material has convinced me, however, that it is not safe to venture on historical conclusions as bold as his, upon archæological evidence alone. The archæological material justifies one in drawing certain general historical conclusions, but we cannot dogmatize as to the sequence of political events which led to the founding of the Swedish realm. With regard to many large districts the material is still too scanty for any deductions to be drawn. It is only for Gotland, and, possibly, Öland, too, that the archæological material is rich enough to afford any contributions towards attaining this end. I am, therefore, of opinion that, as yet, it is only on a few points that archæology can help us to solve the problem in question.

However, there is another means of drawing the outline of the foundation of the Swedish realm, a means which, at the time Stjerna wrote his article, existed, or at any rate was employed, only to an inconsiderable degree. Stjerna drew his deductions at a time when the literary sources dealing with Northern Antiquity were but slightly esteemed, and when most of these sources, the Scandinavian especially, were regarded as value-

less, or almost so, for historical research. Of late years opinion has veered round in this estimate of the literary sources, and in particular of the Northern Sagas, as historical documents. Sources which, till quite lately, were disregarded, now stand forth as weighty documents. It is, to a great extent, the light thrown by archæology on statements respecting graves and burial customs, which has brought about this revaluation.

I consider the time is ripe to allow these sources to add their testimony to the account of the founding of the Swedish realm; believing as I do that in them lie concealed the leading historical features of the creation of Sweden as a political entity. But I think that the archæological material should be used wherever feasible, and it is quite clear, too, that the firmest ground is secured where the literary material is supported by archæological finds.

In a larger treatise, which I hope to be able to publish soon, I have brought together the testimony given jointly by the literary sources and the archæological material bearing on the founding of the Swedish realm. Here I shall attempt to sketch the picture of the process as conjured up from these two sources.¹

It is to be understood that the following account is grounded on the historical chronology which I have compiled on a combined historical and archæological basis in a series of previously published papers.²

* * * * *

When, about A.D. 500, we begin to obtain a richer fund of information than before respecting Scandi-

¹ I have thought it better not to burden this condensed account with many references to literary works; my larger work will be amply supplied with testimony.

² Special reference is made to the following of my works, viz.: *Vilka konungar ligga i Uppsala högar?* Upsala, 1913; *Svärges äldsta konungalängder som källa för svensk historia*, Upsala, 1914; *Ottar Vendelkråka och Ottarshögen i Vendel* (in *Upplands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift*, Vol 7, 1917); *Ynglingasagan i arkeologisk bevisning* (in *Fornvännen*, 1917); *Kung Agne och hans död på Agnefit* (in *Fornvännen*, 1919); *Den svenska Ynglingaättens gravar* (in *Rig*, 1919).

navia, we find the present territory of Sweden divided into a number of independent states. This we learn from three non-Scandinavian sources, two from the sixth century and one from about A.D. 700. These sources are the only ones hitherto used in outlining the formation of the Swedish realm, although they have not been used to the degree that was possible.

The Greek writer Procopios, who compiled an historical work¹ about A.D. 550, states that the island of Thule, by which he means the Scandinavian peninsula, was inhabited by thirteen populous tribes, each under its own king, and of these tribes he mentions one, *gautoi*, the Götar, clearly referring to the Västgötar. Procopios distinctly states that he himself has spoken to, and made enquiries of, persons from Thule "who have come to us from there." Even if the figure thirteen naturally is approximate, the testimony that several states existed on the island of Thule is of great importance. Of these states, several must belong to the eastern part of the Scandinavian peninsula.

Simultaneously with Procopios, Jordanes the Goth wrote his celebrated history of the Goths, *De origine actibusque getarum*.² Jordanes in this work supplies a good deal of information about the peoples of the North, and this information is based on a now lost history of the Gothic people, written some decades earlier by Cassiodorus, the Chancellor of Theodoric the Great. Cassiodorus, in his turn, had obtained most of his information respecting Scandinavia from Northmen whom he had encountered in Italy. Jordanes enumerates about twenty-five *nationes* on the island of *Scandia*. It has been possible to identify many of these, and it has become evident that they could not all represent independent states. In general it has been found diffi-

¹ J. Haury's Edition, Leipzig, 1905, *et seq.* (Teubner Series).

² Th. Mommsen's Edition in *Monumenta Germaniæ historica, Auctores antiquissimi* V:I., Berlin, 1882, p. 58, *et seq.*

cult to reconstruct the political geography of the island of Scandia on the basis of Jordanes' statements, but I believe that, in certain cases, one can venture to draw more definite conclusions.

For example, it is clear from Jordanes' account that the Svear had constituted themselves into a large, united realm. This is shown, *inter alia*, by the fact that while Jordanes speaks of several *nationes* in both the present Götaland (southern Sweden) and Norway, he knows from the central parts of the present Sweden of no other people than the Svear. He mentions them twice, under the designations *suehans* and *suetidi*, but he says nothing, for example, of Upplanders, Södermanlanders, Västmanlanders. Jordanes states that the Romans, through other intermediate people, obtain from the Svear furs celebrated for their fine colour. As it was naturally northern Scandinavia, above all, which had a supply of fur-bearing animals, the statement goes to show that the Svear controlled the trading in large tracts of Norrland (northern Sweden). But the fact that they controlled the trade in large sections of Norrland is probably evidence that at least a part of this territory belonged to the Swedish realm. It is, further, stated by Jordanes that the Västgötar, who by him are called *gauthigoth*, formed a powerful state; he mentions particularly that they are a very warlike race. In Västergötland he knows of no special tribes, and we can also deduce from other matters in Jordanes' work that the present Västergötland formed at that time one undivided realm. Most probably the Västergötland of that day was larger than the present province. Dalsland at least must have belonged to it, a probability suggested by the fact that inhabitants of this district are not specially mentioned, whereas tribes in adjacent districts are enumerated. Possibly there is a passage in Jordanes which may lead us to think that southern Bohuslän belonged to the Västgöta state. Of *nationes*

in the present Götaland we can also mention *ostrogothæ*, the Östgötar, and *vagoth* assuredly the Gutar (the inhabitants of Gotland). We are given no information as to their political position.

The third source which provides us with important information about the peoples in Sweden circa A.D. 500 is the Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf*,¹ written circa A.D. 700, but based on Northern traditions from the sixth century. In *Beowulf* there are mentioned three independent peoples which must have belonged to Sweden: *swēon*, *gēatas* and *wylfingas*. *Swēon* are the Svear. As we know, there have been hot disputes respecting the identity of the *gēatas*, which linguistically means Götar. The designation has been applied by some to the Götar and by others to the Jutes. The advocates of the Götar-theory have sought for the Geatas in larger or smaller districts of the present Götaland. It has usually been assumed that the Geatas can most closely be identified as the Västgötar, although, according to some investigators, Östergötland at least is also to be reckoned as belonging to their territory. Stjerna, however, held that Öland was their chief place of habitation. The supporters of the Jute-theory have looked for the Geatas sometimes in the whole of Jutland, and at others in certain sections of it. As far as I can see, the Geatas must be taken to mean the Västgötar and none but them. I cannot, however, formulate the reasons for this assumption of mine here, but shall content myself with stating one reason which proves that we must look for the Geatas in Västergötland—a reason which has to my knowledge only been mentioned by Chambers.² To me, this reason by itself is decisive. Lengthy wars between Svear and Geatas are mentioned in *Beowulf*. The sites of certain battles are mentioned, but they cannot be identified. It is stated, however,

¹ Wyatt—Chambers' Edition, Cambridge, 1914.

² R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf—An Introduction*, Cambridge, 1921. p. 342.

that King Onela of the Svear fought against his nephew Eadgils, who had fled to the Geatas and obtained assistance from them. But the same battles are mentioned in Snorre Sturleson's *Ynglingasaga*¹ and *Edda*,² and in these writings there is given the remarkable information that Ale (=Onela) the Upplander (whose homeland, the Swedish Uppland, has been confounded with the Norwegian Oplandene) and Adils (=Eadgils) fought *on the ice of Lake Vänern*. This shows conclusively that it was between Svear and Västgötar that the struggles in question took place. That Östergötland did not belong to the realm of the Geatas is proved, in my opinion, by the fact that it must be the Östgötar who are designated by the third tribal name, *wylfingas*. This is really the name of a royal house, although, as in some other instances in *Beowulf*, it has been transferred to the people over which the family ruled. The same family is referred to several times in Northern sources under the name of *Ylfingar*, and, in two instances, members of this family, Hjorvard Ylfing and his son, Hjormund Ylfing, have been located in Östergötland—e.g., in the Icelandic *Sogubrot af fornkonungum i Dana ok Svía veldi*.³

Beowulf gives us detailed Geatish traditions. As in these the Geatas have nothing to do with any other peoples than the Svear, the Ylfingar, the Danes, and the Raumar in south-east Norway (*heaðo-rēamas*), these peoples appear to have been the nearest neighbours of the Västgötar. Under these circumstances it is possible that the whole of Bohuslän belonged to Västergötland. Southwards, on the other hand, the country of the Västgötar cannot have extended far past the present

¹ Finnur Jónsson's Edition of *Heimskringla*, Copenhagen, 1893-1901 (= *Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*, No. 23), I., p. 56.

² Finnur Jónsson's Edition, Copenhagen, 1900, p. 108.

³ C. af Petersen's and E. Olsson's Edition, Copenhagen, 1919 (= *Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*, No. 46:1.), p. 13.

Västergötland. Scania naturally belonged to Denmark, and the same holds good of the greater part of Halland. It is possible, as some have assumed, that northern Halland, which, linguistically, belongs to Västergötland, formed part of the Västgöta kingdom.

Beowulf tells us nothing of the political condition in the south-east part of the present Sweden.

We learn from *Beowulf*, on the other hand, that the political situation in the country underwent a change during the sixth century. The narrative tells, as before mentioned, of long drawn-out wars between the Svear and the Geatas, and the poem contains evidence that the wars ended with the downfall of the Geat kingdom. The events, it is true, are not brought down as far as to this catastrophe, but the annihilation of the realm is foretold twice in plain words. "Every man of this tribe shall wander without right to a country," it is said in one place (v. 2886 *et seq.*), and in the other (v. 3019) it is said that the Svear will invade the home of the Geatas, whose women shall "tread foreign soil." And it is added (v. 3029 *et seq.*) concerning the one who last prophesies, that "not very falsely did he speak of fate and words"—the poet, consequently, knowing that the prophecy has been fulfilled. That the downfall of the Geat kingdom is mentioned in *Beowulf* was emphatically pointed out by Stjerna. But, as has been mentioned above, Stjerna identified the Geatas with the Ölanders.

The downfall of the Västgöta realm, according to the information obtained from *Beowulf*, must be dated between the years A.D. 550-575. It is clearly during the reign of the Swedish king Adils that the Svear conquered the Västgöta realm. Adils appears in Northern writings as a very mighty king, but the conquest of the Västgöta kingdom is not mentioned in them.

About the same time, or a little earlier, perhaps,

another territory, the island of Gotland, was incorporated with the Swedish realm.¹

The Swedish *Guta Saga*² states that there once arose a surplus of population on Gotland, and that therefore one-third of the inhabitants were forced by lot to leave the country. Those who in this way were doomed to emigrate objected, however, and withdrew to the Torsburg, the largest so-called bygdeborg in Gotland and the whole of Scandinavia. Being driven away from there, they crossed over to the island of Fårö (at the north point of Gotland), thence across the Baltic to Dagö (off the coast of Esthonia), later, via the Düna river through Russia and, finally, down to Greece, where they were allowed to settle. After narrating these events and the customs of heathen worship, the Saga goes on to say that many kings fought against Gotland while it was heathen, but that the Gutar were always victorious. Finally, however, the Gutar concluded a peace with the Swedish king—his name is not mentioned—and of their own will submitted to his rule and agreed to pay tribute to him.

It is known that Gotland formed part of the Swedish kingdom during the Viking Age. The Saga, on the other hand, makes out that the above events took place after the erection of the Torsburg, *i.e.*, after about 400 A.D., at which time the 'bygdeborgar' first began to be constructed (from the Torsburg there is a find, a solidus, from the 5th or 6th century after Christ). It would thus be at some time during the period 400-800 that the events described in the *Guta Saga* took place.

The archæological material on Gotland from this period points to extremely remarkable conditions which support the statements made in the *Guta Saga*.

¹ I have written fully on this matter in my work: *En utvandring från Gotland och öns införlivande med sveaväldet* (= *Kunglig Vitterhets Historik och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, III. 1:4, 1923).

² H. Pipping's Edition of *Gutalag och Gutasaga*, Copenhagen, 1905-1907 (= *Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*), p. 62, *et seq.*

Whereas there is an abundance of grave-finds from the greater part of the fifth century, a perfectly catastrophic decrease suddenly occurs towards the year 500 A.D. The number of known grave-finds from the period 475-550 A.D. are not more than one-fourth of those from the period 400-475 A.D. If we count finds which have been investigated by experts, or which otherwise show reliable combinations, there are not more than about thirty-five grave-finds for the period 475-550 A.D., as compared with about one hundred and forty from the period 400-475 A.D. As the burial customs are exactly the same during the two periods, this decrease can only be attributed to a great emigration. Furthermore, about 475 A.D. we find influences from Gotland types in the East Baltic countries and Western Russia. It is therefore evident that towards the year 500 A.D., a great emigration took place eastward from Gotland.—About 550 A.D. the grave-finds begin gradually to increase in number. But a remarkable circumstance is now noticeable. Stjerna had stated that, about the year 500, in certain districts of south-eastern Sweden, on the island of Öland, for instance, and about 550 A.D. in others, on Gotland, for example, the old world of antiquities disappears and a wholly new one makes its entry, one which has its prototypes in Svealand and Norrland. For certain districts, Östergötland, for instance, the material is still too unimportant to allow any deduction to be drawn. As regards Öland, disturbances in the archæological material appears to set in about 500 A.D., and a series of new types makes its appearance during the next hundred years, but certain archæological conditions point decidedly against the Svear having caused the changes, and the fresh types point in various directions. But as regards Gotland, Stjerna's theory is, in its main features, evidently right; a detailed examination of the material here confirms to a great extent the correctness of his opinions. The old world of

antiquities disappears almost entirely on Gotland, and the new types, which make their appearance about 550 A.D., have their prototypes in part on the Continent—a fact which was overlooked by Stjerna—and in part, and evidently principally, in Svealand, Norrland, and possibly western Finland, *i.e.*, in the old Swedish realm. Such an archæological influence of the Swedish districts on Gotland cannot be established for any other period during the Iron Age. It is, no doubt, risky to draw any conclusions of an historical nature from this circumstance alone, but if we combine the archæological proofs with the evidence of the Guta Saga regarding the incorporation of the island with the Swedish realm, I think it safe to conclude that Gotland was joined to the Swedish kingdom about 550 A.D. Most likely the island was conquered by the Svear, and did not, as intimated in the Guta Saga, join the realm of the Svear of its own accord.

During the sixth century, therefore, the Svear made two very important conquests, that of the Västgöta kingdom, and of Gotland.

Stjerna has pointed out that the gold-finds in Sweden from the years 400-550 are to a great extent localized in the present Götaland, and are much scarcer in Svealand. He looks for the explanation in the fact that the Götar were in close connection with the Germanic peoples on the Continent, and that they took part in the latter's victorious onslaught on the Roman Empire, and received a share of the gold treasures that the Germans exacted from the Romans. The Svear, on the other hand, Stjerna thinks, remained more isolated. But it was precisely this treasure accumulated by the Götar which, according to Stjerna, tempted the poorer Svear, and the riches of the Götar thus proved to be the reason why the Svear attacked their southern neighbours. Assuredly Stjerna was quite correct in this brilliant interpretation of the archæological material.

According to the *Ynglingasaga* and *Historia Norwegiæ*,¹ written in Snorre's time, and, like the *Ynglingasaga*, founded on the epic *Ynglingatal*, Adils was succeeded by his son Osten, and the latter by his son Yngvar. Very little is known of the fortunes of the Swedish realm during their days. Östen appears to have been killed through his house being set on fire by Götar, but of which branch is uncertain.

According to the same sources, Yngvar was followed by Bröt-Anund; he lived during the first part of the seventh century. With him there apparently began a period of peace, the longest enjoyed by the Swedish kingdom for many a day. Anund appears in the *Ynglingasaga* as an organizer, who lays land under plough and builds roads. It was, of course, very natural that, after the long wars and conquests of the sixth century, a wise king should pursue a peaceful policy, the conquered territories having to be consolidated, and the organization of the whole country strengthened.

According to the sources before-mentioned, Anund was succeeded by his son Ingjald. The latter endeavoured to continue the work of unification begun by his father, and, as we know, he did so very thoroughly. The *Ynglingsaga* informs us that, at this time, there were still a number of minor kings within the Swedish realm, with the Upsala king as overlord. Ingjald wished to get rid of them, and to that end invited them to his father's "funeral-ale," where they were burnt to death in their lodgings.

From Snorre's description an idea is gained of the extent of the Swedish kingdom during Ingjald's reign. Snorre says that Ingjald sent messengers over *the whole of Svitjod*, and invited kings and jarls and other prominent men. To the funeral feast there came the

¹ G. Storm's Edition in *Monumenta Historica Norvegiæ*, Christiania 1880, p. 101, *et seq.*

kings of Fjädrundaland (= western Uppland and part of Västmanland), Attundaland (south-eastern Uppland), Nerike and Västergötland. The king of Södermanland, who was also invited, did not attend. Snorre's account gives us decidedly the impression that Uppland, Västmanland, Södermanland and Nerike formed part of the Swedish kingdom. The king of Västergötland, being Ingjald's father-in-law, had a special reason to come to the "funeral-ale," but Snorre does not distinguish between him and the other kings, which induces us to believe that Västergötland was then included in the Swedish realm.

We thus find that the Swedish realm, in the middle of the seventh century after Christ, comprised Svealand and Västergötland. This agrees very well with the result we arrived at above, viz., that the Västgöta kingdom as early as about 550-575 A.D. had come under the sway of the Swedish kings. That Gotland is not mentioned is due to the fact that this island had not any king, such rulers, as far as we know, never having existed in Gotland.

As already mentioned, the king of Södermanland, Granmar, did not come to the funeral. He tried to hold his own against Ingjald, and succeeded, too, in keeping his territory outside the unified kingdom created by the latter, until, finally, he was surprised and burned to death in his house by Ingjald, who afterwards took possession of his kingdom.

Snorre states that king Granmar received assistance from his father-in-law, king Hogne of Östergötland. This information is of great interest. It proves that Östergötland, as late as about the middle of the seventh century, was still an independent kingdom. We have also seen that the king of Östergötland was not mentioned among the kings invited to Anund's funeral-feast. Snorre states further that Ingjald and Hogne remained enemies after the death of Granmar, and adds

that Høgne kept his kingdom against Ingjald until his own death.

Ingjald could not, however, maintain his dominion. The *Ynglingasaga* and *Historia Norwegiæ* state that Ivar Vidfadme attacked him, and that, in order not to fall into the latter's hands, Ingjald perished by burning his own house over his head. The same information is found in the Icelandic *Hervararsaga*.¹ In the *Ynglingasaga*, Ivar is stated to have come from Scania; another Icelandic source, the before-mentioned *Sögubrot*, also gives Scania as his place of origin. Ivar conquered, not merely the kingdom of Ingjald; the *Ynglingasaga*, *Hervararsaga* and *Sögubrot* all state that he also acquired Denmark west of the Sound. According to these accounts, he thus established a great Danish-Swedish realm, and became, so to say, the first king of the Northern Union. As is stated by the sources, his power even extended beyond the confines of Scandinavian countries.

There is no reason, as far as I know, to doubt the testimony of the Sagas that Ivar vanquished Ingjald and founded a great kingdom. It is true that several of these sources are based on the same traditions, but it is important to note that the *Sögubrot* relation must be independent of the others. The very title 'Vidfadme' (wide-reaching) speaks for the truth of Ivar having established a large kingdom. And the stage-setting of the Sagas is in reality very probable. We must keep in mind that Ingjald attempted to extend his kingdom southwards. He waged war against the king of Östergötland, who, however, managed to hold his own against him. But it is unlikely that Östergötland, unaided, could have resisted Ingjald, and it was only natural that king Høgne should look for assistance to southern neighbours. There may possibly have existed

¹ S. Bugge's Edition (in *Norøne Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold*, Christiania, 1864-1873), p. 290, *et seq.*

independent territories between Hagne's and Ivar's kingdoms, but Ivar was evidently the most powerful ruler in the south, and there is nothing to gainsay the possibility of Ivar having ruled over Blekinge, Ö and, and parts of Småland, besides Scania. It was also to Ivar's interest to counter the attempts of Ingjald to extend his kingdom southward. There probably existed, consequently, actual political reasons for Ivar's decision to attack Ingjald, besides the purely personal one mentioned in the *Ynglingasaga*, viz., that Ingjald's daughter, Asa, had been the cause of the death of Ivar's father, Halvdan. On the attack proving successful, it is quite conceivable that Ivar founded a large Danish-Swedish realm.

According to the sources, Ivar reigned a long time; he died towards the end of the seventh century. The *Sögubrot* and the *Hervararsaga* both state that his extensive kingdom fell to pieces on his death, but they also inform us that it was re-established by his young nephew, Harald Hildetand. It is assumed that it was a really unified kingdom, as the *Sögubrot* informs us that Harald appointed kings and jarls, who paid tribute to him, and that there was no king in Denmark or Svitjod who did not do so.

Harald, too, reigned a long time. He fell in the celebrated battle of Bravalla Moor in Östergötland, which was fought somewhat before 750 A.D. This battle is mentioned in many places in the old Northern literature. According to the *Sögubrot*, Harald in his old age placed his kinsman Ring as king at Upsala to rule over Svealand and Västergötland; he himself ruled over Denmark and Östergötland. Saxo, too, in his famous Danish Chronicle,¹ states that Harald's kinsman, Ring, became king of Sweden with the old king's consent. According to the *Sögubrot*, the battle of Bråvalla was a put-up fight: the old king challenging

his kinsman to a great battle in order to have an opportunity to die fighting. Saxo is aware of this reason for the battle, but mentions, too, that enmity had arisen between Harald and Ring. However, the hostile forces met in Östergötland, and in the battle which ensued Harald met his death and Ring was victorious. On the death of Harald the sovereignty over his dominions was assumed by Ring, but here the sources become extremely vague.

It is quite clear that the events in connection with the battle of Bråvalla were of greater significance than that an aged king, in order to fall fighting, challenged his kinsman and tributary king to a great battle. Saxo, naturally, is correct in his second assumption, that hostility had broken out between Harald and Ring. I believe that the true facts can be made out behind the tales of the Sagas. I should like to draw attention to the fact that Svealand-Västergötland are placed in opposition to Denmark-Östergötland, and I think that the background of reality was that the former realm, the old seventh-century Swedish kingdom, separated from Harald's dominions and attacked the over-king. The great battle of Bråvalla decided the issue between the two states, and the Svear were victorious.

The battle of Bråvalla had great political consequences. It was through this victory that the Svear, for the first time, were able to extend their rule over Östergötland. But most likely territories south of it now also fell into their hands—Småland, Öland and Blekinge. At all events, they did so shortly afterwards, during the latter part of the eighth century, for when we come to about 800 A.D. the Swedish realm is one united dominion.

There exists clear proof of this. On the occasion of St. Ansarius' visit to Sweden, about 830 A.D., there existed only one united kingdom. From a somewhat

later year, we have a most remarkable piece of evidence as to the extent of the Swedish kingdom.

Alfred the Great, the English king, who died in the year 900, translated into Anglo-Saxon the history of the world by Orosius, written in the fifth century.¹ In a supplement to the translation he gives us some information about a voyage in the Baltic Sea, undertaken, during the second half of the ninth century, by a man named Wulfstan, who told the king of his adventures. The voyage was from Hedeby to the trading port of Truso at the mouth of the Vistula. "On the starboard side," said Wulfstan, "he had the land of the Wends, and on the larboard Langeland, Låland, Falster and Scania, and all these lands belong to Denmark. Later we had on the larboard side the land of the Burgunds (=the island of Bornholm), and the Burgunds have their own king. Still later, after the land of the Burgunds, we had to larboard the lands called Blekinge, Möre, Öland and Gotland, and these lands belong to the Svear."

Thus we see that during the latter half of the ninth century the founding of the Swedish kingdom is completed.

The Swedish realm which existed as a unified state at the beginning of the Viking Age was, naturally, not a state in the modern sense of the term; it was much more loosely built up. The unity was indicated chiefly by there being only one king. The different territories had in common that they paid tribute to the king. Furthermore, they were united by their joint military organization under the king's command. Possibly there also existed a certain uniformity in respect of religion. But in other matters the various sections possessed decided independence. Each territory had still its own laws.

¹ *King Alfred's Orosius*, I., edited by H. Sweet, London, 1883 (= *Early Engl. Text Society*, No. 79), p. 19, *et seq.*

It was not until well into the Middle Ages that Sweden obtained a code of law common to the whole country, and it was by this event that the country may be said to have first come into being as a state in the modern sense of the word, with a real inner unity. The Sweden which we find at the beginning of the Viking period is, however, in certain respects a unit, and one is therefore justified in saying that the establishment of the Swedish kingdom was complete by that time.

* * *

I have here briefly allowed the literary sources of information to give their testimony as to the origin of the Swedish realm. The sources do not contradict one another. On the contrary, they agree very well, as we have seen, and confirm and amplify one another. The picture they give of the unification of the Swedish kingdom is certainly extremely schematic, but still, it is distinct and connected. The very fact that the sources agree so very well, and really give a continuous picture of events, speaks highly, in my opinion, for the truth, in the main, of the story they tell.

We have seen that the archæological material also on certain points furnishes very important contributions to the problem under consideration. We can hardly expect to discover any new literary material of importance. The archæological material, however, grows year by year, and we may feel assured that a fuller collection of archæological material will make an important contribution to a more intimate knowledge of the origin of the Swedish kingdom.



ARTHUR AND ATHELSTAN.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

(Read December 2nd. 1924).

OBITER dicta come home to roost, and hence this essay. Years ago I wrote a little book about Scandinavian Britain, and now I am told that I said therein, "Arthurian tales contain many motives of the Viking Age, and confuse the ancient Celtic mythology with waifs and strays from ninth and tenth century history, and from the folk-lore of the Norse." What, I am asked, does this mean?

If the question has not been answered already by someone else, I should like to answer it thus:—

The Arthur of the *Historia Brittonum*, attributed to Nennius and dated somewhere round about the year 800, is a very different person from the Arthur of the romances. The first stage of the romances in any completed form is the story told by Geoffrey of Monmouth in 1147, who claimed that he was translating an old Welsh book. There were other Welsh (and no doubt Breton) stories current; scraps of them have been collected, *e.g.*, by Sir John Rhys, in well-known works; but these are not trustworthily dated. The most complete are the Arthurian parts of the *Mabinogion*, and even there we find traces of comparatively recent incidents. In "the Dream of Rhonabwy" it is impossible not to see a reflection of Brunanburh, told as of the battle of Moun Badon. Owen and his Ravens surely mean king Ower of Cumbria, who historically led the viking settlers of Cumberland to the great battle. In "The Lady of the Fountain" Owen's Ravens appear again, "and

wherever he went with these he was victorious." In "Rhonabwy" it is told that the Saxons tried to put off the battle, and Arthur took counsel with the men of Norway and Denmark about it; and this is parallel to the incident in Egil's Saga when Athelstan puts off the battle in the same way, sending offers of tribute, which the Welsh story amplified into "four-and-twenty asses with their burdens of gold and silver . . . bringing tribute to Arthur." It is obvious that the events and details of Brunanburh, already partly forgotten, were worked up into a professed account of Mount Badon, to give reality and local colour to a shadowy tradition. And it is further arguable that the story of Brunanburh came to the Welsh through sources like those which brought it to Iceland. It was a very great event, paralleled in British history only by the legendary battle of Mount Badon, Arthur's crowning victory; and naturally the legends coalesced. But this helps us to date the origin of the Mabinogion story. It is of the age following the Viking wars, late tenth century at earliest. It contains nothing of earlier British Arthurian legend beyond what is related by Nennius.

Now Geoffrey of Monmouth had his old Welsh book given him by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford. We propose to show that it was certainly old, but not more than about 150 years old. The story Geoffrey tells is parallel to events which occurred down to about 950, and it must have been considerably later than that date when incidents—too fresh in mind in the middle of the tenth century—could be used as matter of romance. The incidents are given in his chapters of the ninth and tenth books, running on to the end of chapter 2 of the eleventh: Bohn's English translation is generally available.

The first (Book ix., chap. 1, 2) tells how the Saxons, at the beginning of Arthur's reign, had subdued all Britain from the Humber to Caithness; which is true

of the Vikings in Athelstan's day, but not of the Saxons in Arthur's. Arthur marches north, and defeats Colgrin and his Saxons, Scots and Picts, by the river Douglas, and then besieges York. Colgrin's brother, Baldulph, comes from the sea-coast to the rescue, but is repulsed by Arthur's captain, Cador duke of Cornwall, and then Baldulph bethinks him of a trick. He disguises himself as a harper, and so passes through Arthur's camp and is dragged up with a rope let down by his friends from the city walls: and once safe in York his allies, under Duke Cheldric, arrive from overseas and raise the siege. Now, there was no York when Arthur is said to have lived: that is a matter of archæology. The Roman town was destroyed. After 500 a few Angles settled and farmed in the outskirts, but the town did not grow up until St. Paulinus had planted a church there, a hundred years later. Moreover, it was Athelstan who took York after the death of Sigtrygg O'Ivar (927), and pretty certainly passed through it in 934 and 937 on the way to Scotland and Brunanburh respectively: and it was on the last of these occasions that Olaf Cuaran, according to William of Malmesbury (ii., 6), played this same trick of entering the enemy camp disguised as a harper. When Athelstan returned to York, on one occasion at least, he is said to have stayed at the city and made gifts to the churches, founding the hospital of St. Peter: Arthur too is represented as holding his Christmas there and rebuilding churches (Geoffrey, ix., 8). The whole of this first episode of the earliest form of the Arthurian epic is a version of Athelstan's history; or rather it is built up out of materials from the doings of the tenth century, not from any real tradition of the fifth and sixth.

The next event in Geoffrey's book (ix., chap. 3) is Arthur's expedition to relieve Lincoln, which was besieged by the pagans. He drove them off to the wood of Celidon. That is the Cat Coit Celidon of

Nennius, which in this account is identified with Lincolnshire, not Caledonia; but as the old Celtic root *cald* seems to have meant simply wood (I suppose Welsh *celli*), the word Celidon might have been used of any forest. In this wood the pagans took refuge. Arthur had trees cut down and made into a fence around them, and in three days they were forced to surrender. Now a parallel exists in the fighting in the wood told in the "Three Fragments" (quoted by Steenstrup, *Nordm.* iii., 36) and attributed to the time of Sigtrygg O'Ivar, and there dated to 911 but not localized; how the Saxon (English) king bade his men cut down the trees with their swords and axes, until they got at the Vikings and slew them.

Geoffrey continues: The Saxons who were spared, on surrendering, promised to go back to Germany, but sailed round the coast to Totness, and devastated the country as far as the Severn Sea. Then they marched upon Bath, and the great battle followed, in which Arthur carried his shield Priwen with the picture of Mary, Mother of God, painted upon it, and Caliburn, the sword made in the isle of Avallon, and his lance Ron, and signally defeated the pagans in the battle of Mount Badon. Already *Badonis mons* had been identified with Bath, an equation which modern philology forbids. But all this story is taken from a much later campaign. In 875 the Danes, under Guthorm, wintered at Cambridge; next year they sailed round to Poole harbour, and seized the 'castle' of Wareham. King Alfred bought peace, and the Danes swore on the holy ring that they would depart. "Notwithstanding," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "that part of the army which was horsed stole away by night from the fortress [of Wareham] to Exeter." Alfred pursued them and again received their oaths and hostages that they would keep the peace: but in 878 they overran Wessex, "and many of the people they drove beyond sea, and of the

remainder the greater part they subdued and forced to obey them, except King Alfred," who established himself at Athelney and finally overcame the heathen in the famous battle of Ethandune. It is impossible not to see in Geoffrey's account an attempt to write a story around the bare tradition of Mount Badon, using the ninth century history to fill out the details. The names are changed, and that shows the definite intention of the Welsh story-teller to use known facts without giving himself away. For Wareham he writes Totnes, for Ethandune he writes Bath; for Guthorm and the Danes he puts Colgrin and the Saxons; and for Alfred, Arthur. Indeed, we can perhaps find the armour of Arthur in the Viking Age; for William of Malmesbury tells how Athelstan owned the sword of Constantine the Great, with his name in golden letters, and one of the nails of the Crucifixion set in its pommel; and the spear of Charlemagne, said to have been the very spear with which Longinus pierced the side of Christ. Such detail seem to be used in the story of Excalibur and the mystic Lance of the legends.

Then Geoffrey (ix., chap. 6) tells us of Arthur's campaign in Scotland. He marches on Alclud (Dumbar-ton) and attacks the Scots and Picts in Mureif (Moray). The enemy takes refuge on the island of Loch Lomond, where Arthur besieges them with his fleet of boats. Meanwhile Guillamurius, king of Ireland, comes over with a great army; Arthur turns against them and overcomes them; and then marches through Scotland, giving no quarter to any but the clergy, who beg him to spare their unfortunate nation. Arthur desists, and in the next chapter (ix., 7) we have a bit of natural history and geography as it was understood in the earlier middle ages, concerning lakes in Scotland and Wales. It is after these events that Arthur goes to York for his Christmas, as already told.

This story is not far to seek. It is pieced together

from Athelstan's campaigns of 934 and 937. In the first he invaded Cumbria and Strathclyde, of which the old capital was Alclyde (Dumbarton), and then pushed on through Scotland to Dunnotar Castle in Kincardineshire. The Welsh author identified 'Linnuis,' the region of one of Arthur's battles, with Lennox; nowadays, as the oldest forms of Lennox are Lemnaigh and Levenach, we could not accept this localization. Indeed, we do not need to trouble ourselves with a British (Cymric) king's attacks on Scots at Loch Lomond, because about A.D. 500 the Scots were hardly beginning their settlement of Argyll. They may by then have seized Dunadd, but it is a far cry to Loch Lomond. There may have been some later fighting between the first Scots and the Cymru of Strathclyde which suggested the episode; for many waifs and strays of legend are gathered up with the general cycle of Arthur. But the localization of Arthurian legend in Strathclyde and Perthshire seems to have been a later growth, like the localization of the same stories in Northumberland, Cumberland and the north generally, when the romances had become common property and every region claimed its share of heroic associations.

The other part of this campaign as told by Geoffrey is certainly adapted from the story of Brunanburh. King Guillamurius of Ireland is suggested by Olaf Skotakonungr, who came over the sea to join the Picts, Scots, Cumbri and Viking settlers of the north and was overthrown by Athelstan at Brunanburh in the Northwest. The two historical campaigns were so closely allied in circumstances that it is no wonder if they were confused and treated as one by Southerners after a generation or two—that is to say, by the author of Geoffrey's Welsh book, writing late in the tenth or early in the eleventh century. But again we see a definite attempt to use the details and colour in a historical picture, and to cover the inventor's tracks by

changing the name from Olaf to Guillamurius, Gilla-muire.

When Geoffrey's Arthur had conquered and spared Scotland, and all Britain was under his authority, he divided the north between three subject-kings; Lot was made ruler of Loudonesia (Lothian); Augustel or Angusel, previously king of Scots, was restored to his throne; and Urian, brother of those two kings, was made king of Mureif (Moray). After settling these affairs, Arthur married Guanhumara (Guenevere by the aspiration of the *m* in the older form of the name). In this partition of the north we can see the actual history of Athelstan, who left Alban to Constantine and Cumbria to Owen's son Duvenald (the Dunmail of Cumberland tradition); and Northumbria, which then included Lothian and until a little while earlier had been held by Sigtrygg, now dead, was very soon afterwards held as a kingdom by a series of Viking chiefs—Olaf Guthferthsson, Olaf Cuaran Sigtryggsson and Eirík Haraldsson. The Angusel of Geoffrey's authority, king Anguish of Ireland and Scotland in the later Arthurian romances, must mean Angus, which was the name of kings in Alban earlier than Constantine. Urian seems to be adapted from the name of a famous early king of Cymru, father of the earlier Owen. But both these names, Angus and Urian (Urbgen) are much later than the periods assigned to Arthur: and yet, from this artificial connexion with his legend as told in Geoffrey's book, the medieval romancers get their king Urien, father of Sir Owen, or Uwayne, and king Anguish. 'King Lot' is a more complicated affair.

Geoffrey's account of Lot is that he was nephew of Sichelin (or rather Sichelm, for Sighelm) king of the Norse—in the sixth century!—and right heir to the throne of Norway, which had been usurped by Riculf. Lot married Arthur's sister, by whom he had two sons, Walgan and Modred. When Arthur had settled him-

self in Britain and conquered Ireland and Iceland (whatever Iceland may be interpreted to mean in this connexion) he received the submission of Doldavius, king of Gothland and Gunfasius, king of the Orkneys, and sailed to Norway, fought and slew Riculf, and set Lot on the throne there. After this, Lot is no longer named as king of Lothian, but of Norway (Geoffrey, ix., 9-11). Walgan and sent into the service of the Pope, and reappears with honour in Arthur's continental campaigns: he fell at last in the battle against Modred just before the last great and fatal day of Camlann (called by Geoffrey the river Cambula). Modred, when king Arthur was abroad, married Guanhumara, usurped the crown, fought Arthur on his return, and fell, as Arthur also, in the final battle. It is obvious that all this Norwegian history is out of place in the early sixth century. It may be, as archaeological evidence suggests, that the Angles came from Norway, but they did not come until near the close of Arthur's supposed period, and then in small groups, settling in isolated holdings up the rivers of Yorkshire. King Ida at Bamborough, and the formation of any military power with which the Angles could have fought the Britons of the north, date considerably later than Arthur. Whence then did the Welsh story teller get his Lot of Norway and Lothian, and the later romances their connexion of Lot's family with Orkney?

There is no doubt much purely Welsh folklore mixed up with the story of Arthur's sisters, Morgan la Fée and Morgawse, and many details may be independent of the Viking Age history which has been blended with them. But there still remains a curious parallel, or series of parallels, between what we may accept as the fact of the tenth century and the fictions of Arthurian legend. Two elements especially are worth noting, which we may call the Orkney motive and the nephew (Modred) motive.

The Orkney motive comes into history a little later than Athelstan. Northumbria and Lothian came under the power of Eirík Haraldsson in 946, and after vicissitudes he was expelled, probably killed in the battle of Stainmoor, in 954. He came from Orkney. He had a beautiful and dangerous witch-wife, Gunnhild. Her daughter, as baneful as herself, was the wife of Ljótr, earl of Orkney and Caithness. Of course, popular etymology in ancient times made Lot the eponymus of Lothian; but no early history tells of a Lot of Lothian. The name was, in Norman French, Loot, Looth (the *th* as *t*), and the *o* therefore long. Sir John Rhys argued (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 125) that it represented old Celtic Lôdens, the Llûd of the silver hand of Welsh mythology, king Lud of London; but there is nothing in all this to connect with Lot of Orkney, whereas the Norse Ljót was earl of Orkney, and had a baneful wife, and through his father-in-law Eirík was very closely connected with Northumbria and Lothian. It seems that the Welsh story-teller used this bit of detail, as he used others of the age, to give body to his historical romance; and the connexion, once accepted, suggested Arthur's Norwegian adventures. Eirík, of course, was the rightful heir, expelled from Norway but reinstated in a kingdom in England.

The nephew motive seems to relate to Athelstan. In the older form, Geoffrey's Modred was simply Arthur's nephew, who finally became his enemy through ambition to rule in his stead. In Athelstan's history there was his nephew by marriage, step-son to his sister, who had married Sigtrygg O'Ivar; and because he was not allowed to take the crown of Northumbria, Athelstan's chief enemy. It was he who engineered the great combination that tried to overthrow the English power at Brunanburh; and he, Olaf Cuaran, did eventually gain for a while the crown he sought. Something of this romantic story of Olaf Cuaran seems to lie at the

back of the matured Arthurian legend, altered and varied, but showing once more how the legend was woven together of many strands, of which the strongest and most continuous were the Viking Age incidents.

A question must have arisen by now—"Why should an English king sit to a Welsh artist for the Cymric national hero? Were not the races too hostile?" They were hostile, but not inimical. Asser's *Life of Alfred*, however spurious, shows that the ideal of English character was not unrecognised by a Welshman: and many more instances could be given. A race-war among kindred races cannot be kept up; it is as immoral and impossible as a class-war. And in the realms of art it is still more unthinkable. We have to understand the position of a Cymric artist, somewhere about the year 1000, acquainted with the bare outline given by Nennius and ambitious of filling his canvas. What Arthur was believed to have done in his day, Alfred and Athelstan did over again, and on a greater scale. For the most part, the Welsh had common cause with them against the Vikings, and it is a curious fact that by the twelfth century Athelstan was looked back upon as one of the heroes. Caradoc of Llancarvan could say that he was "the worthiest Prince of the Saxon blood that ever reigned." It was true that he once entered Wales and demanded tribute, but he was very easy about the payment, and "King Ethelstane was no less terrible abroad than he was awed and feared at home; the kings of France and Norway sending him very great and costly presents, to obtain his favour and to gain his good will." His birth was romantic: the legend is given by William of Malmesbury. His life was uniformly successful. His character was generous, and his connexions widespread and magnificent; and his death was childless. He was what Arthur, as national hero, ought to have been. No wonder he was the model from which Arthur was painted.

After the chapters we have gone through, Geoffrey proceeds with Arthur's campaigns in France and elsewhere on the continent. Here we lose the thread of British history in the Viking Age, and the sources must be looked for elsewhere; but in a general way the whole series of adventures may have been suggested by Athelstan's foreign connexions. His sisters, beside the one who married king Sigtrvgg, were the wives of no less personages than Charles, king of France; Hugo, count of Paris; Otho, emperor of Germany; Louis, duke of Aquitaine; and another prince of central Europe unnamed. This is enough to start imagination on a foreign tour with Arthur-Athelstan as the leader. On the way there was the adventure with the giant of Mont St. Michel, a common motive in folklore, possibly Welsh; but for a Norse parallel we have the story of Thorvald in the *Fljótsdæla saga*, and it is a frequent motive of old Norse ballads.

One more incident of Geoffrey's may be noticed as clearly taken from Viking history. In his chapter on Careticus, fifth king after Arthur, he tells of Gormund, king of the Africans, who came from Ireland to help the Saxons, and besieged Cirencester. The story is a travesty of the capture of Cirencester by Guthorm in 879-880, the same Guthorm whose raid on Devonshire had already been used to adorn Arthur's second triumph. "Africans" can only mean that the Welsh were reporting from the Norse tradition, for the black men, Danes, Dubhgall, may have been confused with *blámenn*, which also means negroes. In the *Mabino-gion* also the distinction of black Danes and white Norse is mentioned.

Here we come to the end of Geoffrey's history of Arthur, so far as it is traceably founded on events of the Viking Age. His Welsh book ends with Athelstan: "The Saxons managed affairs with more prudence [than Britons]; maintained peace and concord among

themselves [compared with the Welsh]; tilled their grounds, rebuilt their cities and towns, and so throwing off the dominion of the Britons, bore sway over all Loegria under their leader Athelstan."

But what about a real Arthur?

Nennius tells a plain tale which might very well have been the tradition current, less than 300 years after the events, of a leader named Arthur [*i.e.*, with the Roman or Roman-Celtic name of Artorius], who fought the Saxons in twelve battles and kept the tide back. He beat them on the river Glein, four times on the Dubglas in the district of Linnuis, again on the river Bassas. His seventh battle was in the wood of Celidon, "*id est* Cat Coit Celidon." Then at Castle Guinnion, when he wore the picture of the Virgin Mary [on the shield] on his shoulders. The ninth battle was at the Urbs Legionis [Henry of Huntingdon seems to have read *Urbs Leogis*]. The tenth on the shore of the river Tribuit; the next on the mount Agned, and the twelfth 'in monte Badonis.' And in all battles he was conqueror. But the heathen sought help from Germany, and increased and prevailed until the time of Ida, first king in Bernicia. That is all: but later Welsh notices, of the tenth century, add dates: 516 for the battle of Badon, and 537 for the battle of Cam Lann, in which Arthur and Medraut fought. Other mentions seem to be later still, and add only scraps of folklore. The main story for which we have to find a place is the first, that of Nennius.

The place, we have seen, cannot be in the north, nor in the west. But the map of early cemeteries and remains given by Mr. Thurlow Leeds, in his *Archæology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, seems to hint the regions where the events attributed to Arthur were possible. South of the Thames valley, where settlements of Saxons were being formed, and some at any rate peacefully, as shown by the evidence of the village

recently explored in Berkshire, a little south of Abingdon; west of Kent; north and west of the Sussex and South Hampshire coast, there is a blank space, marked only with barrow interments of men killed in fight on Salisbury Down, and weapons found near Winchester. In that area the Roman-British civilization had been strong, a hundred years before Arthur's time; it is mainly upland country, and dotted over with forts already ancient history to Arthur. That perhaps was the area he defended. And if we do not venture to identify sites, it is because there is a Place-name Society, and it will be their business, when all records are searched, and philology has done its best, to tell us how far the names of the twelve battles can be found in that region. Place-names are doing much to lift a corner of the veil which hangs over the scenes of our earliest history. Perhaps, after an age of credulity, another of scepticism, and a third of pseudo-science which has failed to explain him as a sun-myth or a culture-hero, archæology and philology may give us back a real Arthur.

THE TRANSITION FROM NORSE TO LOWLAND SCOTCH IN SHETLAND, 1600-1850.

A STUDY IN THE DECAY OF ONE LANGUAGE
AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE LANGUAGE
THAT SUPPLANTED IT.

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE T. FLOM, University of Illinois.

(Read April 27th, 1926).

1. The dialect of the Shetland Isles forms the northernmost branch of Lowland Scotch in A. J. Ellis's *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects*. Its grammar is in the main Scotch, but with a few Norse forms; its accent is West Norwegian; its phonology a mixture of the two.¹ In its phraseology the Norse element would seem to be the dominant one; but yielding slowly to Lowland and Standard English. In its vocabulary it is part Norse and part Lowland Scotch (and English), with less important other elements.² I shall below come back to the question of the relative proportion of the main elements. On the semantic side, Norse and Scotch uses are found side by side in well-nigh every sentence spoken; its compound words very frequently combine one stem from the one language with one from the other. This unusual example of mixed speech, with its exceedingly irregular forms, is the outgrowth of the complete union of two languages, of which the one which yielded its place was the speech of the majority, the one which displaced it was the speech of the smaller number, mainly the official class and the clergy. The basic Norse population, in passing during the centuries from Norse to Scotch, adapted the new words learned to their own native ways of pronouncing; and in the course of time large bodies of Scotch words, in the resulting mixed dialect, were not only

pronounced after the Norse manner, but were perhaps given Norse suffixes also, or employed in ways strange to Scotch, but ways which the words had had in the native Norse. And similarly with loans on the other side. The Scotch settlers and officials, few at first, more numerous later, found in Shetland a dialect which they did not understand, and which they had to learn, one whose nouns, and adjectives, and verbs, they took up into their own speech, adapting them to their own manner of pronouncing. And certain other national factors must, perhaps, also be reckoned with. The variety of pronunciations of the same word is, apparently, nowhere in English-speaking countries, so great as in the Orkney-Shetland variety. At the present time Standard English is slowly but surely displacing the dialect, as the form of speech that all strive to acquire.

2. The historical background of these things may briefly be summarized as follows. The Norsemen first visited the islands probably about 750 A.D.; their first permanent settlements were made probably about 790 or 800. Neither the *i*-umlaut of the Norse words in the dialect, nor the lake and river names (not to speak of the place-names) offer any evidence of settlement earlier than that. However, before the Norse occupation, Picts, and Gaels, and Irish priests, had been there; but upon the coming of the Vikings the peaceful priests withdrew, returning, we assume, to Ireland. The Picts and Gaels had come from Scotland, and some of them also from Wales it would seem; of these, too, many may have withdrawn. But many also remained; and the evidence indicates these were not exterminated by the Norse; they merged gradually into the new population. And so there came about a certain racial mixture already from the beginning of the Norse occupation. The evidences of Pictish nationality especially, are to be seen in certain lake and river names, and in a small group of words in the Shetland dialect.³ Shetland and Orkney (which also had

been settled by the Norsemen at the same time), were politically a part of Norway as late as 1468. In that year the two were temporarily handed over to Scotland as a pledge of the dowry of Princess Margaret, upon her marriage to James III. of Scotland. This contract was made by King Christian I. of Denmark-Norway, Norway having become united with Denmark in 1387. Thus with 1468 Scotch rule takes its beginning; but in Orkney especially there had been some Scotch immigration long before then.

In nationality, then, Shetland had been Norwegian for well on toward 700 years. But it continued to be acknowledged as Norwegian territory for 200 years after 1468; for Scotch rule was clearly understood to be merely a temporary arrangement, and the islands were in time to be returned to Norway. It was expressly stipulated in the contract that there were to be no changes made on the part of Scotland in the laws and institutions of the Shetland-Orkney Earldom. On three different occasions after 1468 the Kings of Denmark-Norway offered to pay the sum necessary to release the islands; and as late as 1667 the right of Norway was recognized by Scotland in a document that also bears the signature of the King of England and of the King of France. But that is the last we hear of it. And we may perhaps set down 1667 as the date in which Shetland-Orkney passed definitely and permanently into Scottish hands. And down to about this time also, as I shall indicate below, Shetland was linguistically almost purely Norse; from then on it becomes more and more rapidly Lowland Scotch.⁴

3. As late as the end of the XVIth century, we may safely assume, Scottish settlement of Shetland had hardly begun. We learn, *e.g.*, that in 1593 Rev. Magnus Manson, who had been appointed minister in Unst, one of the northern isles, was obliged to go to Norway to learn the Norwegian language, or perfect

himself in it, as his congregation "understood no other language."⁵ And Arthur Edmondston, in his *View of the Ancient and Present State of the Zetland Islands*, Edinburgh, 1809, illustrates how around the year 1600 the Scotch seem to know very little about Shetland. In the last decades of the XVIIth century, however, this has changed. The Scotch population now no longer consist merely of the Great Fowd, the lairds, and the ministers sent there by the home church; there is something like a definite immigration of settlers, and a systematic effort on the part of Scotland to make the islands Scotch. But the change from one language to another must have been a slow process in that period under conditions as they were in Shetland at that time. Orkney was nearer, and in Orkney it began earlier and went faster." Of Orkney, Mathew Mackaile, of Aberdeen, writes in the last half of the seventeenth century, in *A Short Relation of the Most Considerable Things in Orkney*: "It is very probable that the inhabitants of the Orcades of old did only speak Noords, or rude Danish; but now there are only three or four parishes (especially upon the Mainland or Pomona) wherein that language is spoken, and that chiefly when they are at their own houses; but all speak the Scots language, as the rest of the commons do" (p. 453 in Barry: *History of the Orkney Islands*). As late as the last half of the XVIIth century, then, there were those in several places in Mainland, Orkney, who spoke Norse, when among themselves. And Rev. John Brand wrote, in 1701, in his *Description of Orkney and Shetland*, that Norse was not extinct yet in Orkney, "though there be far more of it in Zetland."

As far as Shetland is concerned, then, Edmondston is no doubt about correct in the general facts, when he writes, in 1809, that "the Old Norse has long been wearing out, and the change appears to have begun in the southern extremity"; and he adds that thirty years

ago several individuals could speak it fluently in Unst. Around 1850 the last persons lived who could speak Norse (or "Norn," as there called), so runs the report from different parts of Shetland. The last one who is actually named as speaking Norse is Walter Sutherland in Skaw, Unst; he died *ca.* 1850.* But the process itself, the steps by which the linguistic interchange came about, is left very vague by all such information. We can get a better idea of it from the published dictionary of the Norse element, and from the literary fragments that have been preserved.

I shall now pass to these.

4. On page xix. of the introduction to his *Etymologisk Ordbog over det norrøne Språk på Shetland*, J. Jakobsen informs us that his dictionary contains some over ten thousand words of Norse origin. Jakobsen's studies were carried on in the isles during the years 1893-95, and the first three parts of his work were published respectively in 1908, 1909, and 1912. The fourth part, much the largest, was issued in 1921; in all it makes a volume of 1107 pages. The dictionary does not claim to present the "Norn" element in the dialect of Shetland as it is spoken to-day; for the author informs us that only about half of this number is in *general* use now, and he includes also words from the literary fragments that have been preserved. In his estimate of about half of the ten thousand he eliminates: (1) those words which remain in certain regions only, and (2) antiquated words which are known, and in part used among old persons. But for our purpose those of the first group, being living words, should be included; and also many of the second group belong to the dialect of the present. If we assume that the number of such obsolete and obsolescent words was about 2,000 in 1893-95, which is my estimate after an examination of a part of the material, this would leave 8,000 words. It was observed by Jakobsen that since 1895 the number

of Norn words no longer understood and used has been rapidly increasing. For the present generation then the number of Norn words in living use is considerably less than ten thousand; and also for the year 1850, when Norn definitely disappeared as a spoken language, the number of such words in the Shetland dialect must have been considerably larger than ten thousand. Possibly about 12,000.

What the total word-stock of the Shetlands is I do not know. However, on the basis of the evidence I have, I would estimate the number to be about 16,000. About the year 1900, therefore, the Norse element on the one hand, and the Scotch and other elements on the other about balance. But in 1850 the number of English-Scottish words was not so large as now, and the Norse element was much larger; presumably the ratio was about as 5 to 12. This conclusion may be regarded as borne out, perhaps, by the number of words in Thos. Edmondston's *Etymological Dictionary of the Dialect of Shetland and Orkney*, 1866 (in which there is but little from Orkney). This work contains *ca.* 3,400 words, of which the Scotch element makes up *ca.* one-third. It may be assumed that Edmondston's dictionary is equally incomplete for both elements, the Scotch and the Norse.

The Shetland dialect might be thought to be one of poverty in words, if we were to judge it merely from Edmondston's dictionary, and many readers would at once draw that conclusion. But Jakobsen's dictionary shows the Shetland dialect to be moderately rich lexicographically. Linguists and dialect students would, no doubt, expect a larger estimate. However, in view of facts to be brought out below, and in view also of the limited scope of occupations in Shetland—they are fishermen, sheep-raisers, and workers in woollen mills—I feel the estimate should be made so low."

5. Sub-dialects and lexicographical differentiation

The Shetland dialect has been divided into 16 local forms or sub-dialects, the basis of this division being certain rather prominent differences of pronunciation, as between the conservative west and the more uniform and modernised south and east, between the outlying islands and the different sections of the Mainland. Some of these differences of pronunciation are, however, rather minor, and one could perhaps, just as well divide into 12 varieties, it seems to me. The dialectal differentiation in Shetland is more significant, perhaps, in the vocabulary. In this respect the conditions for the rise of numerous local differences were present here in a greater degree than in most countries. The important factors were those of isolation, and the difficulties of communication between the islands, and even between the north, the west, and the south of the Mainland.

And it is likely that through the greater part of the Middle-Age period, and down into the XVIIth century, each island or district was more or less an independent unit, the people living by their own work, and supplying with their own hands the material needs of food and clothing. Thus as late as Brand's time (1710)¹⁰ the shoes of the fishermen and peasantry were home-made, a kind of shaped skin that was strapped on to the foot. The needs for communicating with or trading with the people of other islands were not many. In such a case numerous differences in the use of the words may arise in the course of time; and the loss of old words, and the adoption of new words, or the coining of new terms, may be very unequal in the different parts. In illustration of this I shall cite the good example of the different terms used for the dyke or gate-way which leads from the sheepfold, or *kro*.¹¹ In Northmavine one says *retta-dyke*, the first element being from O.N. *réttr*, 'sheep-fold'; in the island of Yell it is *stillyers-dyke*, the first part being O.N. *stillr*, 'trap.' In Fetlar one

says *rekster-dyke*, using the O.N. *rekster*, a 'driving'; but in Unst the word is *soadin-dyke*, from the Shetland vb. *soad*, which is O.N. *sæta*, 'to waylay.' In place of 'dyke' as the second component, they employ the word *stjaagi* in Foula, from O.N. *stjaki*, 'pole,' and the word there becomes *kro-stjaggi*; in the central sub-dialects of Mainland one says *stuggi-dyke*, or *kro-stuggi*, the new element being from O.N. *stuka*, 'sleeve.' Thus seven Norse words and the English 'dyke' appear in the various formations; in two of them both component parts are Norse. Are we to regard these different uses in the different islands as due, perhaps, to differences in the speech of the original settlers, pointing to different parts of southern Norway? In most cases I think not; at any rate, I shall leave this question in abeyance here.

The local variations mentioned may be just as striking in the most intimate words of the dialect, those that belong to the occupations of the day, terms for utensils and the parts of these, for animals and for the different parts of their bodies, and similarly of course with other words. Such local variations may often be due to differences in the local specialisation of terms. By this I mean, e.g., the use of different words for the same animal, or of different forms of the same word, as a more specialised definition, thus the single term taking the place here of a compound, or an adjective plus a noun, as usually. So an animal will have a different name for the different stages of its growth, as when the gray cod or *sed* in its first year is generally called *selek*, but in Foula it used to be called *mort*; and as when in Dunrossness the *sed* of two years is named *waelshi pultek*, but in Unst is called *hol-pultek*. It is clear that the great wealth of vocabulary is in no small part due to just this specialisation.

6. Variety of specialised terms. This specialisation here referred to seems peculiarly characteristic of the

Shetlands; thus the gray-cod has twelve names, and the ordinary cod has ten; other fish too will have several names, but none quite so many. And it is quite the same in other classes of words. I shall illustrate this by the Shetlandic equivalents for the word 'tail.'¹² Here the whole variety of names is likely to be current in the same region. The O.N. *hali* is a long tail, applied particularly to a cow's tail (as in south-western Norway); *tagl* is the word for a horse's tail (as in western Norway and elsewhere); *skauf* is the bushy tail of a dog or a fox, and for this *skott* may also be used; *derrell* is a sheep's tail; *rovi* or *rovak* is the tail of the cow and also of the dog-fish; *vel* and *stert* are both used for the bird's tail (as in south-western Norway in the case of both); *spord* is the tail of a fish, but in taboo-talk in Aithsting this is the general term for tail.¹³ Thus there are nine words in regular and general use for tail, one of which serves for all as a taboo-term.

7. The Norn of Shetland of about the year 1700. I shall now try briefly to analyse the language of the literary fragments that have been preserved from about or earlier than 1750; they should reveal to us just about when the native dialect began to decay, and what the first steps in that decay were. After that I shall attempt to trace the progressive disintegration of Norse, until it died out as a spoken language.

The material we have for the time mentioned is (1st) *The Ballad of Hildina*, (2) some bits of poetry, riddles, and proverbs, (3) the *Lord's Prayer*. The Ballad of Hildina was first printed by George Barry in his *History of the Orkney Islands* (2nd ed. London, 1808, pp. 489-495). The ballad was recited to George Low in Foula in 1774, and embodied by him in his report of his *Tour Through the Islands of Orkney and Shetland*, published (not until) 1879 at Kirkwall, Scotland. A study of it with special reference to its phonology, was published by the Norwegian Scientific Society in 1900.¹⁴

In its vocabulary the Hildina is almost entirely Norse. There are 35 stanzas of four verses each, and a total of *ca.* 500 words; of these 7 words with 12 occurrences are Scotch, counting for the Scotch also the hybrids—*ca.* 2½% of the total. Of these only 3 are regular loan-words, namely the two vbs., *aska*, the conjunction *yift*, 'if,' and the preposition *to*. The occurrence of the preposition is rather surprising, and I suspect that the reciter of the ballad said *te* (*tì* or *tə*),¹⁴ which the writer copied as English 'to.' In the four hybrids a Norse word has been influenced in form or meaning by a Scotch word; these are: *frinde*, and *ufriend*, O.N. *frændi*, Eng. 'friend'; and the noun *glasbury*, 'castle of glass,' in which the last part shows Eng. influence; finally the vb. *tinka* may have its vowel *i* from Scotch, or is perhaps the Sco. *tink*. It is to be added that the native *till* and *spira* are also used by the side of *to* and *aska*.

In its grammar the Hildina is Norse, but it shows a stage when the forms are breaking down. The definite article is everywhere the Norse post-positive article (*Jarlin*, *cullingin*, *fruen*, *koningn*, *vadlin*, etc.). The case-endings of nouns are fairly well preserved (gen. sg. -*ar*, gen. pl. -*a*, wk. dat. sg. masc. *frinda*), as also those of the pronouns (*ednar*, etc.), the pprtc. ending -*inn* remains as -*in*, wk. fem. nouns end in -*a*. The infinitive ending of vbs. is -*a* (cf. also the borrowed vb. *aska*); similarly the 3d pres. of strong vbs. shows leveling under -*er*, *genger*, but *stiendi* (*stendr*) once.¹⁶ Elsewhere there is much uncertainty, as e.g., -*inn*, -*in*, is written -*in*, -*en*, and -*on*.¹⁷ I cannot take time to illustrate these things in detail, however.

8. The Hildina ballad was copied down from the lips of an old man, William Henry, a farmer of Guttorm, Island of Foula, in 1774.¹⁸ He learned it in childhood, and it may be assumed that he was born about 1700. But the ballad cannot, of course, be taken as

representing spoken Norn of 1700. Its language is probably, however, the language of the generation of his parents. As other things bear out this conclusion, we shall not be wrong, I think, if we conclude that the ballad represents the dialect as spoken about 1660-75. That would be about two generations after the time that Rev. Magnus was obliged to go to Norway to learn Norse, for his congregation understood no other language. The Norn dialect of about 1660-75 then was grammatically a pure Norse; but it had taken over from Scotch a few nouns and vbs., and of other words at any rate the conjunction *yift*, while the influence was beginning to show itself in the meanings and forms of occasional other words, and in a certain irregularity in the inflectional endings. The phonological irregularities that we witness are, however, not due to any special extent to Scotch influence, but are mainly developments within Shetland Norn itself (many of them are paralleled by developments or tendencies at the time in the closely related dialects of the Faroes, and of south-western Norway).

9. There are next a few fragments that apparently belong to about 1750. They are: (1) some lines about a boy who had been to Caithness; (2) the Conningsburgh phrase, and (3) a nursery rhyme. These three read in order:

1. De vare gue ti,
when sone min guid to Kadaness:
hän cân ca' rossa mare
hän cân ca' big bere
hän cân ca' eld fir-
hän cân ca' klovandi taings.¹⁹

2. Myrk in e Liora, Luce in e Liunga, Tim in e Guest in
e geungna.²⁰

3. Byun vil ikka teea
tan an leggen
slogan veggen
byun vil ikka teea.²¹

The first is from Unst, the chief of the northern islands; the second is from Conningsburgh, Mainland, that part of the Mainland where Norn maintained itself longest; and the third again is from Unst. The first, which is in prose, shows the retention of the introductory pronoun *de* (O.N. *þat*), the possessive *min*, the pers. pron. *han*, and the post-position of the possessive (*sone min*); further, the pret. *var*, 'was,' Norse *var*. The 3rd selection shows the suffixal def. art. still in use, and the infinitive of verbs as still ending in *-a*. The fragments contain only two prepositions, *to* and *i* (*vare* equals *var i*), of which the latter is Norse. The pronunciation is clearly a very open *i*; cf. the writing with *e* in all instances in the Conningsburgh phrase.

The grammar of the two fragments is still almost entirely Norse. The vocabulary now definitely shows a growing Scotch element, but the words are still almost only verbs and nouns. And it would seem that the commonest vbs. are establishing themselves rather more easily than the nouns, as here the two vbs. *geng*, and *ca'*. The vocabulary continues to be overwhelmingly Norse. The fragments are too short to give much information about what the condition is at this time in regard to the prepositions. We learn something, however, concerning the question of the break-down of endings if we take into account also the Conningsburgh phrase; but this phrase is metrical²² and alliterative, and its final syllables are no safe test as to what the spoken language was in these respects. *Ljora* shows correctly the dat. ending *-a*, but *liunga* should be *ljung* (or *liunge*); its *-a* is clearly due to that of the preceding *ljora*; and so with *geungna*.²³ Finally the adv. *ikka* was without doubt pronounced *ikke* at the time; it has received its *-a* by influence of the following *teca*. This same kind of assimilation of forms in verse is again seen in line 2, where we have *tan an* for *ta'n i*, and in the third line, with its *slogan veggen* for *slo (=slaa 'n i veggen*.²⁴

10. *Low's list of Shetland words.* *The Lord's Prayer*, 1774.²³ Of the first of these I shall speak very briefly. We observed in the first of the three fragments considered above that the boy who had been to Caithness had there learned the Scotch words for *rossa*, namely *mare*; *big*, namely *bere* ('barley'); *eld*, namely *fire*, and *klovandi*, i.e., *tuings*. Such everyday English-Scotch terms as 'mare,' 'fire,' 'bere,' etc., had before that been unknown there. In 1784 Low took down, while in Foula, a list of Norn dialect words. This list is of exceeding interest, even though the information accompanying it is not as full as we could wish. We learn from it that in Foula such nouns as *fisk*, *sheug* (sea), *sildin* (herring), *berg* (rock), *bodin*, and *knorrin* (boat), *mostin* (mast), *ednin* (eagle), *kurin* (cow), *fir* (sheep), *hessin* (horse), *heosa* (ladle), and a number of other of the commonest terms still had their Norn names. It would seem that words for the boat and its parts, the sea, and what is connected with it, the various kinds of fishes, birds, and animals, and the names denoting utensils and wearing apparel, were still Norse. But we are left in uncertainty in this case as to whether or not the Norse terms were the only ones used. Low does not inform us whether the corresponding Scotch words were not also, to some extent at least, used in Foula.

The Lord's Prayer reads as follows, in the language of the time :

Fy vor o er i chimeri. Halaght vara nam dit. La konungdum din cumma. La vill din vera guerde i vrildin senda eri chimeri. Gav vus dagh u dagloght brau. Forgive sindorwara sin vi forgiva gem ao sinda gainst wus. Lia wus eke o vera tempa, but delivra wus fro adlu illu for do i ir Konungdum, u puri, u glori, Amen.

We are here again a step farther on in the change to Scotch; of 43 different words six are English-Scotch. These are the nouns *puri*, and *glori*, the vbs. *delivra*,

and *forgiva*, the conjunction *but*, and the preposition *gainst*. Further the Norse *vilya*, which was still *villya* in the Hildina, and is in the Orkney form of the Lord's Prayer *veya*, has here become *vill* by influence of the Eng. 'will,' and the O.N. *heilagt* appears as *halaght* by influence of the Sco. 'haly.' The noun *nam* is clearly Norse *namn*, pronounced *nam* before the consonant *d* of *dit*; on the other hand *forgive* is the Engl. 'forgive,' not Norse *fyrirgeva*. Attention may further be called to the fact that the nouns are given the def. form by the use of the suffixal article *that*, the infinitive ends in *-a*, and that the order of words is Norse. Even here then we have grammatically a language that is Norse. But the fusion between the two languages is now so intimate that the Scotch pronunciation of words has influenced the corresponding Norse word in several instances, while Scotch semantic influence upon Norse words, observed already in the Hildina, is seen in additional instances here. It is also not without interest that the Prayer uses the nouns *glori* and *puri* instead of the Norse *mátt* (*magt*) and *heiður* (*sæmd*, *æra*). It is apparent that the tendency to use the Scotch terms in the case of abstracts has set in, while for concrete nouns the native Norse prevail in most cases, or is still in common use by the side of the borrowed Scotch (or Engl.) word in, what from now on is, an increasing number of words. It is also of considerable interest that the pronouns, and the possessive adjectives, are Norse, and mainly also the prepositions. The evidence here then contradicts the opinion sometimes expressed that in mixed languages the language that prevails established itself as early in the form words and the particles as in nouns and endings. In Shetland Norn these two classes of words are not borrowed to any conspicuous extent until the time has come when the very grammar is changing from Norse to Scotch form.

II. As representatives of the Norn dialectal element

after this change had come about we may take now a number of very much distorted poetic fragments, bits of ballads, nursery rhymes, seaman's songs, etc., which have been copied down within the last sixty years, and some as recently as *ca.* 30 years ago. Some of these probably belong to the beginning and the first half of the XIXth century in practically the form in which we have them. They show a language in which the old endings are now and then preserved and understood, elsewhere changed beyond recognition, with extensive levellings under certain vowels or certain combinations of vowel and consonants that are characteristic of the particular fragment, or in some cases also, perhaps, of certain regions. Some of the best are :

To lag de kjóren (O.N. *laga kýrnar*), 'to move the cows.'

Fo me a deik (O.N. *fá mér einn drykk*), 'give me a drink.'

Ma'er to de bjádn (O.N. *mátr til barnsins*, or *fyrir barnit*), 'food for the child.'

Others have a more purely Norse form : *oba dona* (O.N. *opna dýrnar*) ; *kwarna farna* (O.N. *hvar fær du?*) ; and *spongna ligere glegan* (O.N. *spónninn liggr i glygginum*).²⁶ In the last of these the def. article (-inn, -in) has become -an, -na, but the forms are evidently understood as definite. In the line : *to lag de koren*, the suffixal article has become petrified and has no meaning to the speaker, hence the Engl. article *de* before the noun. In such examples as *oba dona*, and *kwarna farna*, the meaning was understood, but the endings in themselves have no longer any meaning to the speaker, and we have, further, throughout, that vocalic assimilation so characteristic of all the fragments in the last stages of the decay of the ancient Norn in Shetland. Of the utter disintegration of inflexional endings, with levelling under -a, the following is a good example :

Shekla komena rina tuna
swarta hesta blaita bruna,
fom'ena hala and
*fom'ena bjádnis a kwara hala.*²⁷

This bogy-rime was related to J. Jakobsen by an old woman in Foula; she understood clearly the meaning, and gave Mr. Jakobsen a translation of it. Observe the almost universal levelling under *-a* and *-ena*, everywhere in fact except in the noun *bjadnis* (O.N. *börn* + the English plural ending *-s*). Levelling under *-a* is, however, not here a regular process of an especially frequent noun ending establishing itself in classes of words and in cases where it did not belong, nor is there such levelling in the verbs. It is merely a generalising of a few prevailing final sounds in such rhymes and other fragments in a period when the feeling for the correct inflexional endings had been utterly lost. A good example is the following fragment of a conversation:

Kwarna farna ?
farna sikena droka.
farna raðna sikena droka ?

i.e., *hvert ertu farenn ? farenn at sôkja einn drykk. farenn upp u þakit at sôkja drykk.*²⁸

Similar in form is 'The Faire Song,' from an old legend about a man who, riding past a mound, hears some words spoken to him from the mound:

Hœredu, hœredu, ría,
ría, ría, ræn,
sína divlu dona vívlu,
kopera jädla
*honjdæna bradna.*²⁹

The first two verses are quite clear. The third and fourth seem to be: *si henna Divla (at) buyn ha falle i koparkjedla*, that is, 'say to Divla, that her child has fallen into the copper kettle.'

There is a more recent variant that reads:

Tríva ríra gonga,
tell to divla
at vívlu ís fa'en í de fíre
and ís brunt hev.

Another variant reads:

Du at rídes de ríðl
and ríns de grey,
tell tun Tívla,
at nuna nívla
ís válna vátna.

It is impossible to get any meaning out of the last two lines."

12. I have in this brief account of the gradual decay of the Norse language in the Shetlands taken into account only the Norse population and the Norn dialect. A complete view cannot be had of course without seeing also the other side, namely the Scotch as spoken through the same period. But I shall have to leave this out of consideration at present. It is clear that the Scotch who first came there to settle had to learn Norse; practical considerations necessitated that. It is clear also that from the beginning of the XVIIth century at least some of the Norse natives were beginning to speak, after a fashion, Lowland Scotch; it was of course especially the young. Thus through the XVIIth c. and perhaps as late as the middle of the XVIIIth c. a considerable part of both nationalities were bilingual. Then this bilingual element increases rapidly among the Norse, and decreases among the Scotch. It is apparent that from the beginning of the XVIIIth c. practically all could speak Lowland Scotch, but the Norse spoke it only when necessity arose. As late as the period from 1750-1775 they learned Norn as the mother tongue. On the other the Scotch language in the islands early took over large bodies of words from the Norse. The court records and the deeds of the time are full of Norse words. I shall merely refer to Gilbert Goudie's "Notice of Ancient Legal Documents Preserved among the Public Records of Shetland," *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scotl.*, 1882, pp. 181-203, and the list of Norse words there given; and the "Minutes of a District Court held at Sumburgh in Dunrossness, in August 5th-7th, 1602," printed pp. 178-189 of Rev. John Mill's *Diary of Shetland*, 1740-1803. The rather rapid and general change over to Scotch in the XVIIIth c. was due in particular to the English schools which were established in Shetland after the visit there of Brand in 1701.

The generation of those born in the two decades before 1775 was the first among the population at large to learn Scotch as the language of childhood.³¹

NOTES.

1. The survival of Old Norse forms in its "Norn" words is dealt with by J. Jakobsen in *Det norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, Copenhagen, 1897 (pp. 196), on pages 100-114; the phonology is treated, somewhat more fully, pp. 115-146, on the basis of the material that Dr. Jakobsen had in 1895-96, when this work (his doctorate thesis) was written. I shall below refer to this as *N.Sp.*

2. For the dialect as a whole, though this work is very incomplete, there is Thos. Edmonston's *An Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect*, London, 1866. There is now also the Shetland glossary by James Angus, which, however, I have not yet received. For the Norse element we have the monumental *Etymologisk Ordbog over det norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, 1898-1921, pp. xlviii. + 1032 + xvii. + x. An eminently scholarly work. There is also much material in *Old-Lore Miscellany*, London, 1907-1914, publication of *The Viking Society for Northern Research* (abbr. *O.L.M.*); I shall mention especially Jessie M. E. Saxby's articles on "Shetland Phrase and Idiom," and "Food of the Shetlanders Langsyne."

3. As to Pictish names see J. Jakobsen's "*Shetlandsøernes Stednavne*," pp. 213-254 (*Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1901).

4. For the main historical facts I will refer here to the *Diplomatarium Orcadense et Hialtlandense*, I, Introduction, by A. W. Johnston, 1913, with table of documents and dates. (Published as *Orkney and Shetland Records*, I. xi.). Reference may also be made to *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xvi. (1882), pp. 181-191; J. Jakobson's *N.Sp.*, Indledning, pp. 1-15; and *Orkney and Shetland*, by J. G. F. Moodie Heddle and T. Mainland, Cambridge, 1920, pp. 167 (*Cambridge County Geographies*).

5. *O.L.M.*, VII., p. 151. According to Mr. Arthur Laurenson of Lerwick, Shetland, who is a descendant, Rev. Magnus Norsk was vicar of Yell in 1590, and his full name was Magnus Manson.

6. Nevertheless there are numerous O.N. words in regular use still in Orkney, which are rarely used or are obsolete in Shetland. It may be noted here, too, that Lerwick, the present capital of Shetland was founded and settled by the Scotch in the last three decades of the seventeenth century.

7. Date "1666 at the latest," Mr. A. W. Johnston kindly informs me.

8. *N.Sp.*, p. 10.

9. J. Jakobsen published in 1897 a little volume entitled *The Dialect and Place-names of Shetland*, Lerwick, in which there is much valuable material on the vocabulary, the numerous words for animals, according to their age, etc., and on the local differences in the vocabulary.

10. J. Brand: *Description of Orkney and Zetland, Pightland-Firth and Caithness*, 1701.

11. From *N.Sp.*; also in *Dialect and Place-Names of Shetland*.

12. See *N.Sp.*, p. 49; Aasen *Norsk Ordbog*, and Ross: *Norsk Ordbok, tillæg til Aasen*.

13. *Etymologisk Ordbog under spord*.

14. *Hildinakvadet, med utgreiding um det norske maal paa Shetland i eldre tid*. Av Marius Hægstad. Pp. 98, and facsimile.

15. Which would then rather be O.N. *til*, with loss of final *l* (just as in West Norwegian dialects).

16. But cf. the 3 pres. *askar* (as *kalla-kallar*).

17. Variant writings for a mid vowel.

18. *Etymologisk Ordbog*, p. xiii.

19. *N.Sp.*, p. 8. The meaning is:

It was a good time,
when my son went to Caithness:
he can call rossa mare,
he can call big bere,
he can call eld fire,
he can call klovondi taings.

(bere = barley; taings = tongs).

20. *N.Sp.*, 155. From Low. Also printed in *Hildinakvadet* (see Note 14). The meaning is: "'Tis dark through the louver, but light through the heath; 'tis time for the guest to be gone."

21. From *The Dialect and Place-Names of Shetland*. There is a later variant in *N.Sp.*, p. 149. The lines say:

The child will not be quiet:
take him by the leg,
strike him 'gainst the wall,
if the child will not be quiet.

22. See above §9, 2.

23. *Geungna* would seem to be O.N. *gengenn*, but the *n* of *-na* may in such a case be due to the *n* of the preceding syllable, so that the line would be: 'det er tid at gjesten gaar, or 'det er tid for gjesten at gaa'.

24. With its *g* from *veggen*; but the *-an* is clearly *han*.

25. Printed in Barry, l.c., p. 487, and in *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1860, p. 198. The list of words printed in Low, l.c., p. 106 was first published in Barry, pp. 488-489. See also *Hildinakvadet*, l.c.

26. The expressions are given by JJ., in *N.Sp.*, and in *The Dialect and Place-Names of Shetland*. Other fragments, much distorted, are given in *N.Sp.*

27. *N.Sp.*, p. 19, and in *The Dialect and Place-Names of Shetland*, p. 52. A bogie has come riding into our yard on a black horse with a white spot on its forehead: it has fifteen tails and fifteen children on each tail.

28. *N.Sp.*, p. 154.

29. This and variants, *N.Sp.*, pp. 153-154.

30. I add the following riddle or "goadik" from Unst which was told to Jakobsen by John Irvine of Lerwick, during the former's studies there in 1893-95 (*DP-NS.*, p. 53) :

Fira hongá, fira gonga,
fira staad upo skø;
twa veestra vaig a bee,
and ane comes atta driljandi.

The form given in *N.Sp.*, p. 17, is as follows:

Føre honge føre gonge,
føre stad upo skø,
twa vistra vegebi,
and en comes ate driljandi.

The riddle may be translated: "Four are hanging, four are walking, four point skywards; two show the way to the yard, and one comes shaking behind." (bee = O.N. *bær*).

A remarkable instance of preservation of the O.N. endings is seen in the following proverb, given by James Angus, Lerwick: Guyt a taka gamla manna rō, "(it is) well to take old men's advice." Rō = O.N. *ráð*.

31. See above, §4, on Norse and Scottish in the present dialect.



ICELANDIC BALLADS.

By EDITH C. BATHO, M.A.

(Read March 17th, 1925).

THE ballads of Iceland may be read in the little 4-volume edition of Sv. Grundtvig and Jón Sigurðsson in the *Nordiske Oldskrifter*, and they make excellent reading. But it is impossible to read far without being struck by the thought that they are almost too good. The greatest lover of ballads has to admit that the noble simplicity of the best of every country is balanced by an exasperating silliness in the worst, but in the Icelandic ballads there is hardly any silliness, and although there is often a noble and admirable simplicity, one has an uneasy consciousness that both the ballad-maker and the later singers knew very well what they were about. And here I may be allowed to quote certain words of Steenstrup's in his book on the age of the Danish ballads. He is pointing out the danger of using for evidence of age the Icelandic and Faroese versions of ballads.

"Among the populations of these islands," he writes, "the memory of the sagas and of the Eddas was always alive, and could not but blend itself with and influence the later mediæval poetry. In Denmark, on the other hand, knowledge of the old poetry had entirely disappeared. Whereas in Denmark there was almost no vernacular composition apart from the ballads, in Iceland the popular ballads are only a small part of a great poetical literature coming from the later Middle Ages. In the nature of the case the one kind of literature inevitably influences the other—in other words, the popular ballads easily assume a more conscious and literary character than they had elsewhere. And besides that, the "educated classes," that is more particularly the clergy, in these islands contributed in a high degree to the flourishing or at least to the preservation of this kind of poetry; and the ballads have in consequence received a stamp which makes them less serviceable as touchstones for what is genuine and antique in the Danish ballads."

Now Steenstrup is dealing with one particular difficulty, and much of what he says is less applicable to Iceland than to the Faroes. The direct influence of the sagas on the Icelandic ballads is not so great as his words would imply—if it is permissible to differ from so great an authority; here and there is a hint of the saga-spirit, but there is very little saga-stuff, and what there is has not usually been well treated. On this there will be something to say presently. But his main contention is indisputable. The tradition of vernacular literature was alive in Iceland, and as a natural consequence the ballads of Iceland are more conscious, more artificial, than any others which I have met.

All ballads, of course, are in a sense artificial, a court fashion shaping them with dance and refrain, taking up often old stuff, stories whose age cannot be decided, so great is it, and dealing with them and with newer, even contemporary, tales in the same way. Sometimes the distinction of matter is obvious without any corresponding distinction of manner; sometimes there is an apparent distinction of manner between ballads which are fundamentally of the same kind. To take English examples, *The Maid and the Palmer*, a literary ballad based on the story of Christ and the woman of Samaria, has an elaborate refrain; but so has *Binnorie*, which is a story of folk-lore common to many peoples; while, on the other hand, *The Boy and the Mantle*, another very old story, has lost its refrain. That last ballad has become attached to the Arthurian cycle and so might be considered more courtly than *Binnorie*, but *Binnorie* keeps the trace of the dance which has been lost in *The Boy and the Mantle*.

There were twa sisters sat in a bour,
Binnorie, O Binnorie;
There came a knight to be their wooer,
By the bonny mill-dams of Binnorie.

Or, with a more elaborate measure—

There was twa sisters in a bour,
Edinburgh, Edinburgh,
There was twa sisters in a bour,
Stirling for ay;
There was twa sisters in a bour,
There came a knight to be their wooer,
Bonny St. Johnston stands upon Tay.

There you can hear the dance and chorus advancing and retreating. In many English and Scottish ballads the refrain has dropped out, or perhaps never existed; the dance fashion was not so strong here as in other countries. The ballads themselves are almost dead in England; you have to go to the Appalachian Mountains to find them, with such other old-fashioned things as private feuds, in healthy existence. In the Scandinavian North the ballad was still in the height of fashion in the XVIIth century, and in the Faroes to this day the tradition is so lively that, I am told, you may find a party singing and dancing ballads for their own enjoyment, rejoicing in the *Sjurðarkvæði* as their ancestors did in those epic versions which have come down to us in fragments, as a mediæval German court did in the *Nibelungenlied*, or as an audience of Wagnerians does in the *Ring*.

The ballads are not danced in Iceland—Finnur Jónsson doubts whether they ever were, at least to any great extent, though some of the popular tales confirm the hint given by such a ballad-title as *Magna dans*—but the form of them is as clear-cut as if they were danced. Only three or four ballads in Grundtvig and Sigurðsson's collection are without refrain, and there are something like 100 different refrains to considerably fewer ballads, sometimes single, sometimes double, occasionally a little more elaborate. The Icelanders have a love for complicated verse-forms which might inspire envy in the breast of a troubadour or a meistersinger, and the refrain and the opportunities

for variations in the game of repetition might be expected to stir them to displays of ingenuity. As a matter of fact they do not take the chance; there is nothing so elaborately foolish as the stanza of *The Maid and the Palmer*—

The maid shee went to the well to washe,
 Lillumwham, lillumwham!
 The mayd shee went to the well to washe,
 Whatt then? what then?
 The maid shee went to the well to washe,
 Dew ffell of her lilly white fleshe.
 Grandam boy, grandam boy, heye!
 Leg a derry, leg a merry, mett, mer, whoope, wher!
 Driuanee, larumben, grandam boy, heye!

This seems to err on the side of extravagance, which is not an Icelandic vice. The simple forms of stanza are in Icelandic still the commonest: couplets or quatrains with single or double refrain: and there is scarcely anything more complicated than this which follows. There is the beginning of *Gunnhildar Kvæði*, which is almost the same story as *Sir Aldingar*—

It was on a day so fair,
 Gunnhild gave gifts here and there:
 To one she gave the good red gold,
 To one she gave the wine so old.
 —Glad would I from this world sever.

Good red gold,
 To one she gave the wine so old,
 To Rogvald gave a shield of red
 With twisted gold about it spread.
 —Glad would I from this world sever.

A shield of red,
 With twisted gold about it spread—

And so it goes on. The form, which is not peculiarly Icelandic—it comes from Denmark and thither, probably, from France—is found in several ballads. A caviller might object that at this rate we shall be some time in getting to the point; but there is something to be said for the repetitions: like the similar trick of

incremental repetition, they allow the story to make its full impression.

Apart from such interlinking of verses and rather more variety even in quatrain form than we are accustomed to in English, there is nothing remarkable in the Icelandic stanzas. They agree fairly closely with Danish forms. The matter again is much the same as the matter of ballads elsewhere, especially elsewhere in the Scandinavian countries. There are parallels, sometimes very close, to a good many English and Scottish ballads—*Binnorie*, *Fause Foodrage*, *Earl Brand*, *Willie's Lyke-wake* and others. *Hörpu Kvæði*, one of the best of this kind, will show how close the resemblance can be—

Wooers came to the maidens' bower
—In the land so wide—
They sought the youngest, fair as a flower—
—Well may the host from Denmark ride.

The youngest she was fair to see,
The eldest foul as foul might be.

Sister spoke to sister dear,
“Come and walk by the water clear!”

The youngest sat her down on the brim,
The eldest came and pushed her in.

She reached up her lily-white hand,
“Sister, help me now to land!”

“I will not help thee from the flood
Unless thou give me thy gold shoes good.”

“My gold shoes gladly will I give thee
If thou wilt give thy help to me.”

She reaches up her lily-white hand,
“Sister, help me now to land!”

“I will not help thee to climb up here
Unless thou give me thy face so fair.”

"I cannot give my face to thee,
God will not suffer such things to be."

She reaches up her lily-white hand,
"Sister, help me now to land!"

"I will not help thee *from* the flood
Unless thou give me thy true-love good."

"I give thee all that I give thee may,
I cannot tell what my love will say."

There came a wind from the south,
The water filled her mouth.

There came a wind so strong
And drove her the shore along.

Her own true-love came on the strand
Where her body drifted to land.

He took her up with little mirth
And laid her body in hallowed earth.

He took her golden hair
And made three harpstrings there.

The first string spoke a word:
"My sister sits bride at the board!"

The bride spoke up from her seat,
"The harp sings nowise sweet."

The next string cried on high,
"She holds my true-love from me."

The bride spoke red as blood,
"The harp makes us heavy of mood."

The third string answered then,
"My sister has me slain."

He struck the harp amain
—In the land so wide—
The bride fell dead for shame
—Well may the host from Denmark ride.

Against such close resemblance in what may be called the common ballad material, there is hardly anything which corresponds to the historical ballads which most countries possess. The fashion came to Iceland too late for the Sturlung troubles to be treated so, and though the *Burning of Flugumyr* is a fine ballad-subject, it had to wait 650 years to be sung in that way, and then in a strange tongue, by Beatrice Barmby—

It fell about St. Luke's Day, when nights grow long and
dour,
That Eyjólf of Madderfield gathered his men for a raid
on Flugumyr.

Bishop Jón Arason's exploits in the XVIth century fall within the right period, and deserve to be sung as much as those of Scotts and Elliots, but they are not so commemorated.

And here we come to the great disappointment of the Icelandic ballads. If some of the old stories survive as ballads in Denmark where, as Steenstrup points out, the memory of the old poetry was dead—if you can enjoy *Thord af Havsgaard* and see how much of *Dryms Kviða* is left in it—why should Iceland, which consciously remembered the old stories, not have taken more of them up into ballads? It was from no sense of the sacredness of the prose sagas that they were scarcely touched; they were scarcely touched, not untouched. Why is there no Icelandic ballad of the Death of Kjartan Olafson? There is one in the Faroes, one of the many instances of what was said before, that the saga tradition of which Steenstrup speaks is, in this matter, stronger there than in Iceland. But why is there nothing in Iceland? Oddly enough, one of the most striking passages in *Laxdæla* seems to be caught up into the Icelandic parallel to *Fause Foodrage*. Logi í Vallarhlíð and Vilhjalmur love Aðallist, who marries Vilhjalmur. Logi kills him and renews his own suit. She answers—

“Hold thy peace, thou valiant knight.
And speak not so to me;
He is not far from me to-day
Shall vengeance take on thee.”

That is not so effective as Gudrun's dangerous smile to Helgi Hardbeinson, which needed no explanation in words, but the spirit is the same.

Aðallist bears a son, and later in the ballad comes something which carries us at once to *Njáls saga*. The lad grows up and asks the name of his father's murderer.

Aðallist went to the chest,
She lacked nor wealth nor fee;
The blood-stained kirtle
She laid upon his knee

And there at once you have Hildigunna egging Flosi on to take vengeance for Hauskuld.

Then Hildigunna went back into the hall and unlocked her chest, and then she took out the cloak, Flosi's gift, and in it Hauskuld had been slain, and there she had kept it, blood and all. Then she went back into the sitting-room with the cloak; she went up silently to Flosi. Flosi had just then eaten his full, and the board was cleared. Hildigunna threw the cloak over Flosi, and the gore rattled down all over him.

Then she spoke and said, “This cloak, Flosi, thou gavest to Hauskuld, and now I will give it back to thee; he was slain in it, and I call God and all good men to witness, that I adjure thee, by all the might of thy Christ, and by thy manhood and bravery, to take vengeance for all those wounds which he had in his dead body, or else to be called every man's dastard.”

Flosi threw the cloak off him and hurled it into her lap, and said, “Thou art the greatest hell-hag, and thou wishest that we should take that course which will be the worst for all of us. But ‘women's counsel is ever cruel.’”

The ballad heroes do not show this reluctance to act, either in the Logi ballad or in *Magna dans*, where the mother tells her twelve-year-old son in the same way how his father came by his death—

The bloody brand in the kirtle wrapped
She took and laid upon his lap.

“This bloody kirtle from him was drawn
The night that he lay dead on my arm.”

Touches of that sort are exasperating in their hints of what we might have had. Why should there be no ballad of the death of Hauskuld or the burning of Njal? They are stories made for ballad treatment. There is one of the death of Gunnar of Lithend, and it is not particularly good. It is too curt, and but for one astonishing omission it would be fair to say that it has been made too conscientiously out of the saga. There is of course more than one version of Gunnar's death, but the ballad follows that in *Njáls saga*, and here it is:—

Gunnar at Lithend was dwelling,
Of him shall the story now be telling.
—At the thing,
Better love had Brynhild for Hring.

Hallgerd was his wife by name,
Little were their minds the same.

Gunnar spoke to her one day,
“Hear now, good wife, what I say.

“Tell me truly, as I ask thee,
Whence came the cheeses that I see?”

Her answer is, as we know, unsatisfactory, though would not convey much to anyone who did not already know the story.

He struck her on the cheek so fair,
The red blood sprang out there.

Many a day is gone and past,
Hallgerd keeps her counsel fast.

As it fell upon a day
Gunnar's foes seek him to slay.

Gunnar speaks with heavy cheer,
“Hearken now, my lady dear!

“Lend me a lock of thy golden hair,
My bowstring to mend here.

“Lend me a lock of thy hair of gold,
Or else my life is bought and sold.

“Lend me thy hair, O lily sweet,
Or see me lie dead at thy feet.”

“Never will I lend thee a hair
As long as the mind in me is clear.

“I keep thy buffet well in mind,
I will not now to thy life be kind.”

Hallgerd would not lend her hair,
Though Gunnar's life hung on it there.

They took Gunnar of Lithend,
They made his fair life end.

They did not turn again
Till Gunnar lay there slain.
—At the thing,
Better love had Byrnhild for Hring.

That is very close to its source, except for the one omission for which I am sure that no dog-lover at least will ever forgive it. What has become of the dog Sam?

There was a beaten sunk road, between fences, above the farmyard at Lithend, and there they halted with their band. Master Thorkell went up to the homestead, and the tyke lay on the top of the house, and he entices the dog away with him into a deep hollow in the path. Just then the hound sees that there are men before them, and he leaps on Thorkell and tears his belly open.

Aunund of Witchwood smote the hound on the head with his axe, so that the blade sunk into the brain. The hound gave such a great howl that they thought it passing strange, and he fell down dead.

Gunnar woke up in his hall and said, “Thou hast been sorely treated, Sam, my fosterling, and this warning is so meant that our two deaths will not be far apart.”

Now that is a thoroughly ballad-like incident, and that it should be ignored so completely in the ballad is almost unpardonable. To put in the cheeses and omit Sam shows a curious and unusual want of imagination.¹ The omission of such picturesque detail is not common in the Icelandic ballads. The other historical ballads do not err in the same direction. There is certainly one ballad, possibly two, on the birth of King Magnus Olafson. *Óláfs vísur* tells the story with tolerable truth to history and merely legitimate embroidery, but the other ballad on the same subject embroiders to such an extent that the historical foundation disappears. On the whole it seems to me doubtful whether this second ballad, *Karla-Magnusar vísur*, is about Magnus Olafson at all, though the editors interpret it in that way. The only resemblance is in the name, and there is something suspicious about that. Why Karla-Magnus, when everyone knows that that was the name which Sighvat the Poet did not succeed in giving him? You remember the story—the birth of the child at midnight, when no one durst wake King Olaf to tell him either of the fact or of the probability that the baby would die, and Sighvat's really courageous acceptance of the responsibility of baptising him, on the ground that it was better to give two men to God than one to the devil. The devil would have a good claim to the child if he died unbaptised, whereas if the King were so much annoyed as to hang Sighvat, the poet might reckon himself pretty certain of Paradise. And then Sighvat made his linguistic mistake: meaning to name the child after Charlemagne, he took the first part of *Karlamagnus* apparently as a genitive plural with adjectival force and called him simply Magnus. In this wildly romantic ballad the name is Karla-Magnus, and you might read

¹ One might contrast the imaginative skill with which Mr. Gordon Bottomley has used the incident in *The Riding to Lithend*.

for some way before realising that the King in it does not give his name to it, is not Charlemagne even in his fairy-tale character, and possesses any of the qualities of a saint. It begins like the ballad of *Kristin the Queen's Rival*:—

The Queen she stood at her bower window,
She heard the King talking below.

“Glad were I if the Queen were dead!
Then would I love thee, thou rose so red.”

The Queen not unnaturally resented this, but, being of a milder mood than other queens in the same situation, she contented herself with sending her rival to a foreign land. The King followed her, however, and their son was Karla-Magnus, who presently comes riding to the town and is recognised as his father's heir. The more truthful ballad, *Óláfs vísur*, is really better and more poetical.

King Olaf Haraldson rode out
The gay green woods among,
He saw a footprint on the ground
That fairer might be none.

Up spoke Finnur Arnason
And uttered there his thought,
“Better were that little foot
In scarlet if it trod!”

“Hear me, Finnur Arnason,
And do as I bid thee:
Before the sun be set to-night
That maiden bring to me!”

As in the other version, the maiden, here called Alfheið—the historians call her Alfild—serves the Queen and presently gets the King's love.

The moon was at the full that night,
The sea was at the flood:
On Sunday was begotten
King Magnus the good.

Alfheid's three dreams which follow, and her refusal to sell them to the Queen, may have come in from another ballad, though the details are different. But these dreams before the birth of a great man are common in every land.

Alfheid lay and first she dreamed
A dream that seemed her good,
She dreamed the land of Norrøway
Came floating to her foot.

Alfheid lay and next she dreamed
In the church that she stood there,
It seemed to her upon her hand
Kindled twelve tapers fair.

Alfheid lay and last she dreamed
And lucky were her dreams,
She dreamed that from her bosom
There shone bright golden beams.

Then comes the birth of the child, and the warning of the women, that there was little hope for his life.

Then up spoke Poet Sighvat,
As in the books we read,
"Or will ye make him a Christian man,
Or answer for the deed?"

Up and answered the King's men
That little knew of fear:
"Thou shalt have thy will in all,
And we stand by thee here."

Sighvat went into the hall
Where the King sat at board:
"Now God you save, King Olaf,
And why have you sent me word?"

Up and spake King Olaf,
I tell you verily:
"Who has given thee leave, Sighvat,
To name my son for me?"

"I have called him Magnus,
And reason good therefore;
Never heard I of a nobler name
In kings in the world before."

Up and spake King Olaf,
 And blithe was he of mood :
 "And all the days thou livest
 Thou shalt serve Magnus the good."

And so the ballad ends, with a final verse of pious aspiration. The reference to "the books" is significant, but it will be seen that the books are not the books in which we now read the story, but other sources to us unknown. Still, the history is treated with respect.

On the whole, Icelandic is poor in historical ballads. Besides the two Olaf ballads and *Gunnars Kvæði* there are Valdemar ballads coming directly from the Danish—stories on which Steenstrup casts historical doubts, but which we may be excused for preferring to believe; beyond them there is little which may be called even semi-historical. A ballad in which one of the characters is a King Svein raises hopes which cannot be fulfilled. Svein may possibly, though very doubtfully, be that son of Knut the Mighty, Svein Alfifuson, whose rule in Norway after the death of St. Olaf was so unpopular. He died in the same year as his father, in what manner is not certain, and if you like to suppose that it was in the manner set forth in this ballad—*Kvæði af Knúti í Borg*—no one at present can disprove it. The ballad is a lively one, especially in the Icelandic version, and needs no apology for its introduction. One word of explanation, however, I must give. Like Sir Richard Dalyngridge, I have changed *all* the names in this story: not for the reason which did so much credit to Sir Richard's honour, but for another more practical. It is very difficult to manage the name *Knut* in an English ballad. *Canute* does not improve matters in the least. You can of course write a good poem about Canute: there is, for example, the song which the good Sir Wilfred of Ivanhoe, extremely melancholy although he was not yet the Desdichado Doblado, sang to King Richard on the night before the

assault on the castle of Chalus, when Roger de Backbite meanly tried to curry favour with the King by snoring; but that is not exactly a ballad. Sir William is a good name for a true lover in a ballad. Knut's truelove was Kristin, which is possible in English, but since his name is to be William, hers had better be Margaret. As for King Svein, since there is so much doubt about his historical existence, we will let him change his name too, to Henry.

The beginning of the story is missing in Icelandic, but from parallel versions we discover that the King and Sir William both wooed Margaret, who rejected the King and chose the knight. The ballad begins in the middle of the wedding festivities—

Sir William stands in his high hall
And leads his young bride in,
The King is out with his ships so good,
And sails the lands between.
(What grieves thee, lily, so sorely?)

The King is out with his ships so good,
He wears both gold and pall;
Sir William in his high hall
Has the fairest bride of all.

"Hearken now, my own true love,
And do now as I say,
And let us bid King Henry
To drink with us to-day."

Then answered maiden Margaret,
Fair as a rose was she,
"And though you bid King Henry,
Small honour will that be."

Sir William, evidently a little hurt by her unresponsiveness, rides down to the ship and asks the King to dinner with as many men as he chooses to bring. The King accepts the invitation and, his host having departed, turns to his men and bids them arm.

Then up and spoke his bannerman,
And wise was he of wit,
"And do we ride a-harrying,
Or what is there afoot?"

"Little it suits me to be King
Over all the land,
If none of all my merry men
Will take a sword in hand."

"All of us will ride with you
And drink red wine this eve,
But none of us will do that ill,
To make a maiden grieve.

"All of us will ride with you
And drink red wine to-night,
But none of us will do that ill,
To grieve a lady bright."

So, in an evil hour, the King came to Borg and was
nobly welcomed there.

Maid Margaret sits in the bridal seat
That fairer might be none,
Her hair fell down on her shoulders
With red gold twined among.

Maid Margaret sits in the bridal seat
As fair as lily-flower,
And then spoke proud King Henry,
"Would I were in her bower!"

Then up stood proud King Henry
And went towards the board,
"Now give me room, you bride's maidens,
To speak with the bride a word!

"How much of the good red gold
Shall I now give to thee,
If that thou, fair Margaret,
Wilt give thy love to me?"

"I had enough from my father,
Both of gold and fee;
I have no need, King Henry,
To take of them from thee."

Maid Margaret sits in the bridal seat
And sore begins to weep ;
Sir William stands in the high hall
As merry as man might be.

“ Hearken now, my own true love,
What grieves you now so ill?
And if you will to bride-bed go,
The harping I will still.”

“ I grieve not for the harping
Nor for the pipe so gay,
But this I grieve for most of all,
The King will you betray.”

But Sir William still refuses to be warned.

Up then stood King Henry,
His golden hauberk glanced,
And there he smote Sir William
As it had been by chance.

Sir William fell upon the floor
And the blood ran from his side,
But the King's knights held Margaret
That was so sad a bride.

“ Hearken now, my own true love,
And comfort well your harm,
But think of me for full nights three
When you lie on the King's arm.”

“ Grant me a boon for Jesu's sake
And Mary maiden mild ;
Let me wake over Sir William,
For to sleep I have no mind.”

“ Hearken now, my own true love,
For that may never be ;
I myself will watch the bride,
And the squires hold wake for him.”

So the King marries the bride without delay, but
not without protest from her.

Maid Margaret sits in her bed of down
And wrings her hands so white ;
King Henry stood beside the bed,
And fey he laughed that night.

Up then spoke Maid Margaret
That was few winters old,
"And if I were my father's son,
You should not laugh so bold."

"Hearken now, my own true love,
No need is there to grieve;
And if you were your father's son,
Sir William were yet alive."

"Hearken now, King Henry,
And comfort well my harm;
Let me lie for full nights three
A maid upon your arm."

Answered then King Henry
As he lay down in the bed,
"Gladly will I grant that boon,
The first since we were wed."

There is a touch almost of comic sentimentality in that last line—the affectionate husband yielding gracefully to the first post-matrimonial request of his wife—but the King did not in fact misjudge Margaret, who was as direct and ruthless in her methods as he himself. That was probably why she preferred the gentle and unsuspecting William. The King stayed awake for the first two nights, but on the third she had her will.

She struck him under the shoulder
A deep wound and a wide;
"Awake, awake, King Henry,
You love Sir William's bride!"

"Hearken now, my own true love,
Ill with me you deal;
This was not well done to me,
That loved you so well."

"I was never your own true love,
You wrought me sorrow and pain;
Never a man shall be my love
Now that William is slain."

"Nothing now it seems to me
That I must come to death,
But much it seems to me, Margaret,
That you are still a maid."

Up then answered Maid Margaret
And stood up from the bed,
"Praised be God and Mary mild,
I keep my maidenhead!"

Up then answered Maid Margaret
And wiped the blade of blood,
"If I had lost my maidenhead,
For nothing I were good."

So she went out and laid herself down on Sir William's grave and died.

The first time I showed this translation to a friend, she asked whether all the ballads were really so moral, or whether this one had been touched up. One might reply that it is a curious kind of morality which repays with a knife under the shoulder a lover whose intentions would be described by an old-fashioned novelist as strictly honourable, whatever may be said of his fashion of carrying them into effect; but this is perhaps quibbling. The truth is of course that ballads have no stricter morals in Iceland than anywhere else. They recognise true love, but do not consider what should be the moral course for the lovers. The question is rather of the will; if your will goes with your favours the tragedy lies in your thwarting, as partly here, or in *Clerk Saunders*, but if not, either the forcible taking or your resistance makes the tragedy, as in *Babylon*. Of a slightly different kind are such things as the Danish and Icelandic ballads of Ebbe's daughters, who take vengeance for themselves on the knights who have wronged them, and again *Knút í Borg*, where the lady not only balks the villain but avenges the death of her true love.

Knút í Borg is a characteristic Icelandic ballad; that

is to say, it comes in from Denmark and yet is not a mere translation. The best and most vigorous passages, the conversations between the King and the lady, are found only in Icelandic. Some ballads, it must be confessed, have kept a strong flavour of their place of origin in both language and style, but there are few which do not show some individual traits, and some have no exact parallels elsewhere and have been so thoroughly "thought over" that they might fairly be reckoned pure Icelandic. An example of these is *Bjarnasona Kvæði*. The theme is the same as that of *Clerk Saunders*, the brothers resenting and avenging the wrong done to the honour of their house, but the treatment is Icelandic.

Ranfrid was sleeping,
Ill were her dreams;
Sir John came asking
What made her weep.
(Thus the knights went riding.)

"I dreamed that I saw
The sun shine clear;
Thou wilt not live, Sir John,
To next year.

"I dreamed that I saw
The red fire bright;
Thou wilt not live, Sir John,
To the next night.

"I dreamed that I saw
Swine so dark:
They rooted there
With their tusks sharp.

"I dreamed that I saw
My seven gold pins;
All were they broken
That I would set in.

"Rise up, Sir John,
In your armour bright;
Bjarni's sons come riding
Here in the night."

“How should I rise up
And arm me here?
Here have I neither
Bow nor spear.”

“Rise up quickly
And arm thee here;
Here hast thou both,
Bow and spear.

“Rise up quickly
And arm thee to-day;
Bjarni's sons come riding
Along this way.”

Up rose Sir John,
No fear had he;
The first step he took
He knew he must die.

Sir John knelt down
At the altar feet:
“God in heaven
Give me good speed!”

There came Thrand
And there came Styr,
They slew Sir John
At the church door.

Out went Ranfrid
Sad from the hall;
“Whose is that little boat
Covered with pall?”

Up spoke the man
And answered her fair:
“Styr and Thrand, Bjarni's sons,
Own this boat here.”

Up spoke the man
And answered her need:
“Styr and Thrand, Bjarni's sons,
Did this deed.”

She would not believe
 Sir John was slain,
 Till she saw his kirtle
 And the red stain.

She would not believe
 That he was dead,
 Till she saw the red blood
 On his yellow head.

Ranfrid wept
 For full months three,
 The fair sun in heaven
 She would not see.

Glad rode Bjarni's sons
 Home from their deed;
 Fair Ranfrid for sorrow
 And weeping lies dead.
 (Thus the knights went riding.)

The best of all these ballads is that version of the Tristram story which, some of us remember, W. P. Ker loved so well. I will read you his rendering of the conclusion¹—he did not translate the whole ballad, but I will not mix my words with his. The story tells of Tristram's wound, the summons to Iseult, and the business of the black and white sails; and then—

Iseult goes from the sea inland,
 (The street was long);
 And ever she heard the bells ringing,
 The goodly song.

Iseult goes from the sea inland,
 (The street was strait);
 And ever she heard the bells ringing,
 As she came thereat.

Then she spake, the fair Iseult,
 From over the foam:
 "Nay, but Tristram should not die
 When I come home."

¹ *Scottish Historical Review*, July, 1903; reprinted in *Collected Essays of W. P. Ker*, Vol. II.

Out on the floor the priests were standing
With tapers fair ;
Queen Iseult came where Tristram lay,
And knelt there.

To many a *man* in the world is given
Sorrow and pain ;
The queen knelt down and died there, Iseult,
Where he lay slain.

Out on the floor the priests they stood,
Their dirges said :
The bells of gold were rung for Iseult
And Tristram dead.

(Nothing for them was shapen but to sunder.)

That may be artificial, made out of the books as a literary experiment on a foreign model, not truly popular poetry, but it is poetry ; and in that, though it may excel the rest, it is typical of the majority of the Icelandic ballads.

DANES AND NORWEGIANS IN YORKSHIRE.

By A. H. SMITH, M.A.

(Read December 15th, 1925).

THE object of this paper is to give some account of the individual influence of Danes and Norwegians in Yorkshire. The general influence of the Scandinavian peoples is extensive, but when we attempt to determine what the Danes have done or what the Norwegians have done, the task is difficult. For one thing, there are severe limitations to our knowledge on account of the limited nature of our sources. For that reason, we must collect all the information we can and include the study of chronicles, place-names, local dialects, and relics of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture.

The Scandinavian peoples at an early date were divided into two groups:—

- (1) East Scandinavian (Danish and Swedish);
- (2) West Scandinavian (Norwegian and Icelandic).

The difference between the two groups was mainly linguistic, but modifications were present which were due to divergent political and geographical factors. But despite their differences they were of a common stock, and both indulged freely in the Viking expeditions into Western Europe. Both groups made their presence felt in Yorkshire, but at different periods. The Danes came first.

The first mention of the Scandinavians in Northumbria is the entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle anno 793, when the Isle of Lindisfarne, at the end of a year of terrifying portents and dragons, was put to sword and fire by the "heathen men." But it was not till 867 that any important invasion took place in the district. In that year "the marauding army (*here*)

crossed the Humber estuary from East Anglia to York in Northumbria,"¹ and after a terrible battle captured York. The fall of the English districts of the Midlands and East Anglia followed, but King Alfred successfully staved off the invasion of Wessex. By the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, the Danes confined their bellicose efforts to the Danelaw. This was more of a necessity to the Danes than a triumph, for the strength of the West Saxon defence was more than the Danes had expected; and whilst that resistance was considerable it was more profitable for them to return to the parts they had already subdued.

These invaders were undoubtedly of Danish origin. The great Scandinavian army, which had now been in the country since 866, had come from Denmark by way of the Rhine mouth under the leadership of the sons of famous Danish Viking Ragnar Loðbrok or Ragnar with the Shaggy breeches. This is important, for it shows that it was a Danish army that first settled in Yorkshire. And an interesting confirmation of this appears in a 12th century chronology,² where in the year 868 we are told that "the Danes Hinguar and Hubba entered England"; the various Scandinavian forces in England about this time are always referred to as *Dani* in the chronology.

In 875 this great Danish army, which had subdued York and the Midlands, divided its forces at Repton (Derbyshire), and one part, under Guthrum, went south; the other, under Halfdene, returned to its operations in the north. A certain amount of plundering must have taken place in Yorkshire about this time, for the Memorial of the Foundation and Benefactions of Whitby Abbey³ tells us that St. Hild's famous monastery of *Streoneshalch* was destroyed "by the

¹ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 867.

² Brit. Mus. Harl. 1808, fol. 6: "*Hinguar et Hubba Dani intrauerunt Angliam.*"

Whitby Chartulary (Surtees Soc.) 1.

most cruel pirates Ingwar and Ubba"—the brothers of Halfdene. Halfdene ravaged the country north of Yorkshire, probably the borders of County Durham and along the river Tyne. After spending the winter there he proceeded to attack the Picts and the kingdom of Strathclyde. Green suggests that these movements outside the old kingdom of Deira were merely predatory,¹ but there can be little doubt, as Lindkvist suggests,² that the enterprise was actuated by a desire to ensure the peaceful colonisation of Yorkshire, which was to take place in the following year 876. Plunder cannot have been the object of attacking County Durham; the land between the Tees and the Tyne was a barren waste and was regarded as the natural boundary—a kind of buffer state—between the old kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia.³

In 876 "Halfdene portioned out the land of the Northumbrians, and they tilled it and made a livelihood by it."⁴ This is the first recorded settlement of Scandinavians in this country, and it was effected, as we have already seen, by a Danish army. Its extent was limited on the north by the river Tees, for the place-names of Durham betoken little direct Scandinavian influence.⁵ That being the case, Halfdene's settlement must have been confined to Yorkshire. The contemporary account of Asser, that "Halfdene, the king of that part of Northumbria, subdued the whole district, divided it amongst his followers, and settled his army upon it,"⁶ leads us to believe that the settlement included the greater part of Yorkshire. Place-names, as we shall see later, indicate that the Danish settlement was confined mainly to the most fertile parts of

¹ *Conquest of England*, i 119.

² *M.E. Place-names of Scandinavian Origin*, i.

³ cf. "Vita Sancti Oswaldi," *Symeon of Durham* (Rolls ed.), i. 339.

⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, anno 876.

⁵ Cf. Mawer, *Place names of Northumberland and Durham* (Cambridge).

⁶ Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (Oxford) 38.

the country—the East Riding, the Vale of York, and the eastern part of the West Riding.

“Under the Danes,” writes Professor E. V. Gordon,¹ “Yorkshire became a realm of many freeholders, large and small, according to their rank and military services. The large freeholder was called a hold, which originally meant a “hero”; the word appears with that meaning in OE *hælep*, Germ. *held*.² The small freeholder was called a *dreng*, a word which enters into the place-name Dringhoe in the East Riding, and Dringhouses in the West Riding. Under these were servile dependants of English blood, who appear in later records as *liesings*,³ that is, freemen. The number of freeholders in Yorkshire, as in other parts of Scandinavian England, by this system of distribution of land among the men of the army, became far greater than in Anglo-Saxon England, where large landowners were the rule.” The large number of freeholders is apparent even in the Domesday Book accounts of the land tenure of the time of Edward the Confessor.

The rule of the Danes at York was turbulent and unruly; little peace there was, for their kings were constantly at enmity with the English, and often with their own people. This state of affairs brings to a convenient end the first great Scandinavian settlement—the settlement of the Danes.

Soon after this we find the beginnings of a new Scandinavian invasion, this time of Norsemen from Ireland. According to Ethelwerd, the jarl Siefrið is said to have made two descents on Northumbria; he is

¹ In an admirable essay on “Scandinavian Influence on Yorkshire Dialects” (*Transactions of the Yorks. Dialect Soc.* 1923), p. 6. I have added one or two notes.

² ON *holdr* enters into the name of two lost places in the North Riding. *Holdelithe* in Ryedale and Wensleydale, meaning “the holds’ slope” from ON *hlǫð*.

³ From ON *lǫvsingr*, which enters into two Lazenbys and a ME field-name *Lavsingcroft*, all in the North Riding, as well as Lazencroft near Leeds (YWR). *Lesingcrofte*, 1304, Abbrevatio Placit.

probably identical with the Siefred whose name appears on the York coins of 893 ff.¹ It is interesting to note that Siefred from O.N. *Siggferðr* is of West Scandinavian origin.² He was in alliance with the Danes who were campaigning against Alfred, and seems to have died fighting. This is the beginning of the second great Scandinavian invasion. It was well recognised in the strengthening of the north-western forts against the Irish Vikings in 918.³ The following year, 919, Ethelfled, the lady of the Mercians, captured York, and perhaps it was the fall of York to the English that brought to England Viking assistance from Ireland. For, in the same year, "Regnold the king captured York."⁴ This Regnold is known elsewhere as Ragnvald mac Bicolch, and in the preceding years he had harried Ireland and the Isle of Man. He was the first of a series of Irish Viking kings of York which lasted for 35 years. He was succeeded by his brother or cousin Sigtrygg, who had been expelled from Dublin by Guðfrid O'Ívar, and who in England is said to have slain his brother Niel.⁴ It is probable that, now intercourse was established between Ireland and Yorkshire and the kingdom of York was ruled by Irish Vikings, large numbers of Norsemen came and settled in Yorkshire in the tenth century. This is confirmed by place-names, which give some clue as to the nature and provenance of these settlements.

DANISH AND NORWEGIAN TESTS.

The general extent of Scandinavian influence on England has been closely examined by—

(1) Björkman on general lexicographical questions

¹ Gordon, *op. cit.* 7.

² Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England*, 117 and note 1.

³ A.S.C. (MS.E) s.a. 923.

⁴ A.S.C. (MS.E) s.a. 921. Most of our knowledge of the Scandinavians in Ireland is from the Irish Chronicles of the Four Masters. It is interesting to note that the name *Niel* is from the OIr. personal name *Níall*.

(*Scandinavian Loanwords in Middle English*, Halle, 1900), and on personal names (*Nordische Personennamen in England* and *Zur englische Namenkunde*, Halle); and

(2) Lindkvist on place-names (*Middle English Place-names of Scandinavian Origin*, Uppsala, 1912).

Professor Eilert Ekwall has made many contributions to our knowledge of the Scandinavians in England (especially in his chapter on the Scandinavians in the *Introduction to the survey of English Place-names*, Cambridge, 1924). Björkman and Lindquist are mainly concerned with Scandinavian as distinct from English, and do not carry their investigations far in distinguishing between Norwegian and Danish influence. The material available for this is limited by the very exacting nature of the problem; the difference between Danish and Norwegian was not very great, and even when we discover a difference it is possible that ME orthography cannot be interpreted with certainty. For these reasons we have to rely mainly on the material available for a study of the place-names of Yorkshire, and the examination of this reveals a number of interesting features.

In the present state of our knowledge, place-names and archeology are the two branches of historical studies on which we must base our examination. Place-names, quite apart from the fascination they may have for patriotic in-dwellers, often have a definite historical value, and this proves to be the case in dealing with the question of Danish or Norwegian settlements in Yorkshire.

In deciding what is Norwegian or what is Danish in our place-names, we should first make out what were the differences between Norwegian and Danish speech in the Viking Age.

In a number of sound-combinations Danish and Norwegian differed:—

(1) ODan. *ũ* = ONorw. *o* (from PrGerm. *ũ* by *a*-mutation, which took place with much greater regularity in ONorw. than in ODan). Thus ODan. **hulm** "level land by a stream," is equivalent to ONorw. *holmr*. The latter form appears almost always in Yorkshire, and it finally ousted the one or two examples of ODan. *hulm*, which is found twice as Holme (YER) (*de Hulmo* 1219, *Assize* 1040.m. 3d), and as Holme (YNR) (*Hulme* DB, 1128-35 YCh. 944). The ODan. form corresponding to the ONorw. personal name *Folkar* was *Fulkar*¹; the Danish form enters into Foggathorpe (YER: *Fulcartorþ* DB). Other words seem to bear this relationship: ODan. had a form *kunung* 'king' (= OE *cyning*), but in ONorw. the regular form was *konungr*. The Danish form is in several Yorkshire place-names, such as Conisbrough (*Cunugesburh* 1062 KCD. 1208, *Cuningesburg* DB) and Coniston (*Cuningestone* DB) in the West Riding and Coneysthorpe (*Cuningestorþ* DB) in the North. Corresponding to the ONorw. personal name *Folki*, was an OEScand. *Fulke* as in OSwed., and this is found in Folkton (*Fulcheton* DB) and Foulbridge (*Fulkebrigge* 1182 P). The material available for this difference is scanty and at first unexpected; the reason for it seems to be this. Most of our spellings date from after the Norman Conquest and consequently were the work of Norman scribes, who wrote down English sounds according to French methods of orthography. Thus for early English *u* they wrote *o*, so that many names, containing ODan. *u*, were represented by French scribes with *o*, which was also the symbol for the sound *o*. Often, therefore, though distinction was preserved in ME between the sounds ODan. *u* and ONorw. *o*, it is impossible to say whether they were

¹ Scandinavian personal names are quoted without further reference from (1) ONorw. Lind, *Dopnamn*, *Binamn*, (2) ODan., OSwed. Nielsen, *Olddanske Personnavne*, Lundgren-Brate, *Personnamn från medeltiden*.

Norwegian or Danish in origin. Where *u* was written, it is, of course, certainly Danish.

(2) ODan. *ō*, ONorw. *ū*: in the case of the long vowels *ō* and *ū* the provenance in OScand. is reversed. The chief example is ODan. *þōð*, 'a booth, stall,' corresponding to ONorw. *būð*. Mod. Engl. *booth*, though pronounced like ONorw. *būð*, is from ODan. *bōð*, just as *tool* is from OE *tōl*. Both forms are found a number of times in Yorkshire. Scorbrough in the East Riding (*Scogerbud* DB), 'stall in the wood,' is from ONorw. *būð* and ON *skógr*, genitive *skógar*. Beedale, near Wykeham (*Boddal* c1153 Dugd. v. 670), is from ODan. *bōð* and ON *dalr* 'a valley.' Bootham in York (*Bouthum* 1145-61 YCh. 267, *Buthum* 1150-61 *Easby*, 135) is also from ONorw. *būð*.

(3) Loss of *r* in the genitive inflexion *-ar* before a consonant, as OSwed. *hæstanir*, 'the horses,' took place in OEScand., but not in Norw. where *r* was kept, as ONorw. *hestarnir*.¹ Consequently, in place-names, where the second element often begins with a consonant, *-r* in the genitive was lost as in such ODan. names as *Gutmundatorp*, *Asvardebode* (= ONorw. *Guðmundar-*, *Asvardarbuð*). Barkerthorpe in the East Riding, frequently *Barchetorp* in early spellings (as DB, beside *Barchertorp*), is from the ON personal name *Borkr*, genitive *Barkar*, and forms which show loss of *r* are due to the original Danish type with loss of genitival *r* before a consonant. So too Sewerby 'Siward's farm' and Romanby (*Romundebi* DB) 'Hro(ð)mund's farm.'

(4) Assimilation of a stressed vowel to the unstressed vowel of the next syllable is found in Norwegian dialects,² and seems to be found in the name of Tharles-thorpe, a lost town on the Humber (*Toruelestorp* DB,

¹ Pointed out by Ekwall, *Introd. to the Survey of English Place-Names*, 61, 62.

² Ekwall, *op. cit.* 92.

Tarles-, *Tharlesthorp* 1285 KI, 1316 NV), in which the first element ON *Þoraldr* first underwent assimilation to *þarald*.

(5) Assimilation of certain consonant combinations in ONorw. took place about the year 1000: *nk* > *kk*, *nt* > *tt*, and *rs* > *ss*. "That this change took place before the end of the Viking settlements in Yorkshire seems clear from the word 'drucken,' a common dialect equivalent to 'drunken.'"¹ There can be little doubt that words belonging to one of the assimilation groups belong to a late stratum of Norwegian loanwords, borrowed, no doubt, from Scandinavians who came after the year 1000. It is also possible that some words which do not show assimilation might belong to an earlier invasion of Norsemen; we can only be certain that words which show the change are Norwegian.

The chief examples here are:—

nk — *kk*: ODan. early ONorw. **brink**, ONorw., **brekka** "a slope." Danish *brink* is found in Brink Hill, North Riding (*Brinks* 1376 Dugd. v. 348), and Micklebring (YWR), *Mikelbrink* 1335 IpmR, whilst ONorw. *brekka* is found in Breck (*Brecche* 1136 YCh. 868, a lost place near Whitby, a similar place Breck (*Brecca* 12th century YCh. 910) in Catton (YER), two lost places in Skirpenbeck (YER) *Haibrec* (1175-86 YCh. 838) and *Bildebrec* (ib. also *Bylbrek* 1446 Whitby) 'Bildi's slope.' It is also found a number of times as the simplex Breck in the West Riding.

— ODan. **slanke**, ONorw. **slakki** "a hollow." The Dan. form *slank* is not found in Yorkshire, but ONorw. *slakki* is of common occurrence: at least 16 Slacks in the West Riding (e.g., Slack, near Quarmby, *Slac* 1275 Goodall); several in the North Riding, as *Waterslaskgille* (1265-78 Whitby) in Hackness; several lost places in the East Riding, as *Grenesdaleslack* (1175

¹ Goodall, South-West Yorkshire Place-names (Introduction), cf. OE *geþrunce* by the side of ON *drukinn*.

YCh. 1230) in Willerby, *Halleslac*, *Refholeslac* (1200-22 YCh. 1264) in Huggate.

nt — *tt*: ODan. **klint**, ONorw. **klett** 'a rock.' ODan. *klint* occurs several times as Clint (YWR, *Clynt* 1285 KI), Clints (YNR), and a lost place in Willerby (YER), called *Galeclint* (1172 YCh. 1228, *Galeclinth* 1175 YCh. 1230). ONorw. *klett* is not found in Yorkshire apart from a possible case in Cleatop near Settle (YWR), *Clethop* 13 Percy.

rs — *ss*: ON **fors**, ONorw. **foss** 'a waterfall.' ONorw. *foss* occurs several times in the North Riding, as Fossdale (*Fossdale* 1280 YI). The assimilated form *foss* probably enters into Catfoss (*Catefos* DB, *Catfosse* 5 Hy iv. *Bodl.* a. i. 339) and Wilberfoss (*Wilburfossa* c 1180-93 YCh. 913), both in the East Riding.

In the two OScand. dialects a number of words occur which are peculiar to one or the other dialect, and these may be of use in determining the extent of Danish or Norwegian influence on Yorkshire. But at the outset we must recognize that, whilst OWScand. is well represented in early literature and historical matter, Danish is comparatively poorly represented. In consequence, a word not found in ODan. and adduced in ONorw. may quite possibly have existed in Danish, though it happens not to be recorded. On the other hand, a word found in Danish but not in Norwegian is very probably peculiar to Danish.

The chief Norwegian test-words are "gill" and "scale." ONorw. **gil**, "a ravine, deep valley," does not occur in ODan. or in any Danish or Swedish dialect. In Sweden *gil* is found, but only in the north-west, where Norwegian influence is felt most strongly. The reason for the absence of *gil* in OEScand. is probably geographical: Denmark and Sweden contain few ravines or gills which can be compared with those of Norway.¹ The element occurs with frequency in

¹ cf. Noreen, *Svenska etymologier*, 36.

Yorkshire, but only in the deep valleys of the west and in the Cleveland Hills. Examples are Howgill (*Holegil* 1218 YF) 'hollow ravine,' Wemmergill (*Wymundergil* 1265 Giff) 'Vigmund's ravine' (from the ON personal name *Vigmundr*, genitive *Vigmundar*), Gaisgill (*Gasegill* 1285 KI) 'Gasi's ravine'; the only Yorkshire examples in Domesday Book are Raygill (*Raghil* DB) from ON *rá* "roe-(buck)" and Scargill (*Scracreghil* DB, *Scakregill* 1172 P 12th century VCH.i.41) from the ON byname *Skakari*. The word is not found in the East Riding.

The second test-word is ONorw. **skali**, "shanty, hut," which appears in Yorkshire south of the Nidd as Schole, and north as Scale. In the West Riding the chief examples are Brianscholes (*Brynscholes* 1337 WCR) from the OE personal name *Bryne* (? *Bryne* from OE *brūn*, 'brown'), and Scholes near Cleckheaton (*Scales* 1228 Gray) and elsewhere. In the North Riding it enters into *Burnolf scales* (13th century Guis.) in Guisborough (from ON *Brunolfr*), *Rauf scales* in Kildale (ib.) from the personal name *Ralph*, *Scalebec* (13th century Whitby) in Liverton, all in Cleveland, and into Gammersgill (*Gamelscale* 1388 IpmR) from the ON name *Gamall*, Scales, near Richmond (*Scales* 1137-46 *Easby*. fol. 321), and many other times in the western dales. ME derivative *skaling* appears in Scalefoot (*Schalingthawythe* 1301 LS) and Scaling (*Skalynge* 12th century Guis), both in Cleveland.

Of Danish test-words **thorp** 'village' is the most reliable. It is a common element in Danish and Swedish place-names, and though it occurs in Norway it is only in place-names adjacent to the Swedish border. In the north and west of Norway one or two isolated examples of the simplex *thorp* and in Iceland one example *þorpar* occur.¹ Thus, when *thorp* appears with any frequency in a district it may be regarded as

¹ *vide* Cleasby-Vigfusson, *Icelandic Dictionary*, s.v. *þorþ*

a sure sign of Danish settlement. The possibility of the rare OE *þrop* (*þorþ*) affecting this test in Yorkshire is negligible. In the north-west of England the element is rare; in Cumberland there is one (doubtful) example, in Westmoreland there are five (Sedgefield) and in Lancashire four (Ekwall). In Yorkshire, however, it is common; there are at least 160 examples, of which 60 are in the East, 65 in the West Riding south of the Aire and principally in the east, and the rest are in the North Riding but mainly in the central vale of York and along the Derwent valley near the East Riding borders. Incidentally, this distribution of *thorþ* gives a good idea of the general provenance of Danish settlements in the north of England.

There is also a certain class of place-names of value for our purpose. The terms 'Dane' and 'Northman' were used in OE in the tenth century to distinguish between the two groups of Scandinavian invaders. It is interesting to note that the distinction is first made in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the year after Ragnvald's invasion from Ireland, when large numbers of Norwegians came into Yorkshire. After the battle of Brunanburh "the *Northmen* departed across the deep sea to Dublin"¹; five years later, in 942, the Five Boroughs which "formerly belonged to the Danes, now submitted in their distress to the Northmen."² This distinction is preserved in place-names such as Danby (ON *Danabyr*), 'village of the Danes,' and Normanton or Normanby (OE **Norþmannatun*,

¹ ASC. s.a. 937:—

"Gewitan him þa Norþmen	nægled cnearrum
dreorig daraða laf	on dirges mere
ofer deop water	Difelin secan." (11 53-55).

² ASC. s.a. 942:—

Ligoracester	"burga fife,
and Snotingham,	and Lindcylene
and Deoraby,	swylce Stanford eac
under Norðmannum	Dæne uæran ær,
	nyde gebegde " (11, 5-9).

ON **Norþmannabyr*), 'village of the Norwegians.' In a Danish district the name Danby would have little distinction, for every farm or village might be called Danby, but in an Anglian or Norwegian district it would carry distinction. Consequently Danby indicates an isolated settlement of Danes. Similarly Normanton or Normanby indicates an isolated settlement of Norwegians in a Danish or Anglian district. Normanton occurs once in the West Riding and Normanby occurs four times in the North Riding, all under the stated conditions. Danby is found thrice in the North Riding, whilst Denaby (from OE genitive plural *Deniga*) and Denby (OE genitive plural *Dena*) are in the West Riding.

Lastly, a few personal names appear in Yorkshire place-names, which seem to be adduced in OE Scand only. Such are ODan. *Esi* (= OWScand. *Ási*), as in Easby, near Middlesborough (*Esebi* DB), and a lost village in Rainton (YNR) called *Eseby* in 1234 (Percy); ODan. *Eskil* (= OEScand. *Áskell*) in Exelby (*Eskilby* 1199 YF); ODan *Frithi* (not found in OWScand.) in Firby (YNR, *Fridebi* DB), Firby (YER, *Frytheby* 1303 KF); ODan. **Kiari* (not found in OWScand.), in Kearby (YWR, *Cherebi* DB) and Cold Kirby (YNR, olim *Kereby*); ODan *Malti* as in Maltby (YNR, *Maltebi* DB), Maltby (YWR, *Maltebi* DB). Björkman (*Nordische Personennamn in England*) suggests that the personal name *Muli* as in Mowthorpe (YNR, YER, *Muletorp* DB) is OEScand. only, but Lind (*Norsk-Isländska Personbinamn*) adduces ONorw. *Muli*; moreover, there was an OE personal name **Mula* (Searle) which reduces the value of ODan. *Muli* as a test of Danish influence.

NORWEGIANS FROM IRELAND.

One special feature of the Scandinavian influence on England is that which betokens a strong Irish trait.

Place-names of this type depend for their value in this connexion on whether Norwegians or Danes settled principally in Ireland and the Western Isles, and whether Scandinavians who settled in these parts of England were from Ireland.

The Scandinavian raids on Ireland began in the 8th century and were chiefly carried on by Danes, or, as the Irish Chronicles term them, the *Gaill* "foreigners." But in 836 the "Four Masters" notes the arrival of 60 shiploads of Northmen; in the same chronicle in the year 847 distinction is made between the *Dubhgaill*, "the dark foreigners" (*i.e.*, the Danes), and the *Fingail*, "the fair foreigners" (*i.e.*, the Norwegians). In 850 the *Dubhgaill* or Danes attacked Dublin and slew the *Fingail* or Norwegians. About this time the Norwegians began to settle, and their chief centres were Dublin, Limerick, and Wicklow. The extent of their settlements increased, but they never seem to have left the coastal district.

When this state of affairs was reached, the native Irish and the newly arrived Norwegian population naturally exercised mutual influence on their respective civilisations. The Irish adopted a number of Scandinavian words.¹ The Scandinavians were also affected; their language and sculpture betray very clear traces of Irish fashions, and the obvious conclusion is that the two peoples lived intimately together. From the evidence of the lasting impress of Ireland on the Norwegians who came to England, we must suppose that the Norwegians had lived amongst the Irish for a number of generations. As we have already seen, a few of these Norwegians from Ireland entered Yorkshire with Siefrið c.890-3, but the main body probably came in the years 919 to 952 after Ragnvald captured York, and constant communication was kept up between York and Dublin. Place-names and other

¹ Marstrander, *Bidrag til det Norske sprogs historie i Irland*.

sources which contain Irish elements we may ascribe to Norwegians who had come from Ireland.

The chief case in point is a place-name in which the usual order of elements is reversed. In the usual Germanic type of place-name, the order is (1) a defining element, and (2) the common element, as in such names as Engl. *Brighton* 'Brihthelm's farm,' *Bradford* 'Broad ford,' Germ. *Middendorf* 'dirty village,' Norw. *Djuþedal* 'deep valley' (Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne*, i. 97), etc. But in Celtic the usual order of elements is the reverse of this, as in Welsh names beginning with *llann* 'church,' e.g., *Llan san Bregit* (the Welsh name for Bridstow); *Tre-W'alchmai* 'the dwelling of Gwalchami (= Engl. *Gawain*), where *tre* is the common element. This mode of forming place-names was adopted by the Irish Vikings.¹ Their place-names in Ireland and the Isle of Man exhibit this feature—*Stillorgan* (Co. Dublin), earlier *Stathlorgan* is 'Lorcan's place' from ON *staðr* and the Irish name *Lorcan*; *Holm-Patrick* (I. of M.), 'Patrick's island' (from ON *holmr*). Similarly, in the English Lake District and North Lancashire such types are found, as *Aspatria* 'Patrick's ash,' *Leagrim*, earlier *Lathegrim*, 'Grim's lathe or barn,' etc.² The origin of the elements in these "inversion-compounds," judging from Ekwall's examples in the North-West of England, is clearly (1) OWScand., e.g., ONorw. *búð*, *gil*, and *skáli*, and (2) Goidelic, i.e., Irish, especially personal names like Irish *Colman*, *Patrick*, etc. In Yorkshire there are a few examples of this type:—

—— *Craven* (Ribblesdale) near the Lancashire border: two lost places *Stainþapan* and *Hillegrime*.

¹ *vide* Ekwall's important monograph on the question. *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, Lund, 1918.

² Ekwall (*Studier tillägnade Axel Kock*, 1929) now thinks that *Leagrim* is an ordinary compound composed of ON *leið* 'a road' and a common noun *grim* 'a mark made on a tree to indicate a road or boundary.' This, too, would explain *Legram Hill* (in Marton YWR), *Laythgrim*, 1316, YD.

Stainpāpan occurs in the Furness Chartulary; the first element is ON *steinn* 'a rock'; the second is probably an OIr. diminutive personal name **Pōpan* from OIr. *pōpa* 'teacher' (cf. Lackenby *infra*). *Hillegrime* occurs in the Percy Chartulary and consists of the element ON *hylr* 'a pool' and the name *Grímr*.

— Catterick (North Riding): Arrathorne (*vide infra*) and a lost place called *Myregrim* (13th century Marrick), which is from ON *mýrr* 'marsh' and the name *Grímr*. Arrathorne (*Ergthorn* 13th century Marrick, 117) is a doubtful example; it is from ON *erg* 'a pasture,' and ON *þorn* 'thorntree,' and the meaning 'pasture near the thorn-tree' seems preferable to 'pasture thorn-tree.'

— Cleveland (Teesdale); a probable example is a lost place in Ormesby called *Hillebrait* (12th century Guis), *Hille-*, *Illebrayth*, which is composed of the elements ON *hyll* 'a hill' and the ON personal name *Breiðr*; another is Sawcock (earlier *Salcok*) 'Cock's hall' (from ON *Salr*).

The first element in Arrathorne, ON *erg*, is of importance in this section of our study. Its ultimate origin is Gaelic *airigh*¹ 'a hill pasture,' cf. Irish *airgh* 'a place for summer pasture in the mountains.' This word was apparently unknown outside Scandinavian Britain, for in old Scandinavian literature it is found only in two passages in the *Orkneyinga Saga* relating to Caithness. In the first, *erg* is equated with ON *sel* 'a hut on a mountain pasture,'² and in the second passage, preserved only in a late Danish translation, *erg* is glossed by ON *sétr* 'a mountain pasture.'³ Yorkshire material is here more prolific than was the case with the "inversion-compounds":—

¹ Wrongly given as *airidh* in the dictionaries. cf. Henderson, *Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*, Glasgow, 1910, p. 164.

² Orkn. Saga ciii.: "*til audnaselia nokkurra, þeirra er heita Asgrimsærgin.*"

³ Op. cit. "*erg, det kalle vi setter.*"

— Upper Calderdale (near Huddersfield): Golcar (*Gudlagesarc* DB), from ON *Guðlaugr*.

— Craven: a number of *erg*-names are found, as a lost place *Stratesergum* (DB), first element probably a personal name; *Snellesherg* (Ekwall 83) from ON *Sniallr*; *Gamellesarges* (1232 Kirkst.) from ON *Gamall*; Feizor (*Feghesargh* 1299 Ekwall 83) from a personal name *Feg* (possibly from OIr. *Fiach*); and Batrix (*Bathirarghes* 1343 Moorman) from ON *Boðvarr* (as in Battersby, *Badresbi* DB), and possibly an unidentified *Startholfhisherix* late Hy iii. Puds.

— Catterick: Arrathorne (*vide supra*).

— Cleveland (Teesdale): Eryholme (*Argun* DB) and Airyholme (*Ergun* DB) 'at the pastures or huts,' and Coldman Hargos (*Colemanergas* 1119, etc., Guis.), from the OIr. personal name *Colman*.

— Near Whitby is Airy Hill (*Ergum* 1090-6 YCh. 855), and in Ryedale is Airyholme (*Erghum* 1138 Dugd. v. 350).

— East Riding: a lost place *Alderges* (1285 KI) and Arras (*Erghes* DB), both near Market Weighton; Argam (*Ergone* DB) near Bridlington, Arram (*Ergum* 1195-1912 YCh. 1211) near Beverley and Arram (*Argun* DB) near Hornsea.

A number of Irish personal names¹ are found in Yorkshire. Their evidence should be divided into two groups for the purpose of estimating Irish-Scandinavian influence. The first of these is the group of Irish names which are recorded as names of men living in the country. The following is a list of such names principally from Domesday Book:—

— **Colman** (13th century Kirkst. YWR), **Coleman** (1252 *Assize*. 1048, m. 4d, Cleveland): OIr. *Colman* from earlier *Columbán*; it is found as OWScand. *Kalman*, the name of one of the earliest

¹ The following notes on Irish names with some additions have been published in *Revue Celtique*, xliv., 1927.

settlers in Iceland. It is later used as a surname in Yorkshire (KI.).

— **Crin** (DB. TRE in Fremington YNR); a personal name based on OIr. *crín*, 'dry, withered'; it is found as an OIr. diminutive name *Crínan*, cf. Förster, *Keltisches Wortgut*, 61.

— **Fech** (DB. TRE in Giggleswick YWR): OIr. *Fiách* (Donegal).

— **Finegal** (DB. TRE in Langton on Swale YNR) OIr. *Fingail* 'white foreigner' (*vide supra* p. 14), which also enters into the name of a lost place in Easby, called *Finegalgraft* (13th century *Easby*). The district round Dublin, Fingall, earlier *Fine-na n-Gall* 'district of the foreigners,' contains this element *-gail*.

— **Ghille, Ghil** (DB, Catterick district YNR, Rillington YER): = OWScand. *Gilli* from OIr. *gilla* 'servant.' It was used later as a surname *Gill* (KI).

— **Ghilander** (DB, Pickering Lythe YNR), cf. Gael. *Gilleandrais* (MacBain) 'servant of St. Andrew.'

— **Ghilebrid** (DB, Leavening YER): cf. Gael. *Gillebride* 'servant of St. Bridget,' from OIr. *Brigit* (genitive *Brigte*), Gael *Bride*.

— **Ghilemicel, -michel** (DB, Kewick YNR), **Gilmychel** (12th century MS. *Faustina B.* VII. fol. 82d): OGael. *Gillemicel* (MacBain) 'servant of St. Michael.'

— **Ghilepatric** (DB, Wensleydale YNR), **Ghilpatric** (12th century MS. *Faustina B.* VII. fol. 73d): OIr. *Gillepatric* 'servant of St. Patrick.'

— **Glunier** (DB, York, North Leeds district YWR, Wensleydale YNR): Ir. **Gluniaran**, an Irish loan from ON *Jarnkné*.

— **Macus** (DB, Preston WYR): OIr. *Maccus*, an Irish adaptation of ON **Magnus**.

— **Malcolumbe** (Norman son of; DB, Colton YER): OIr. *Maelcolumban* 'servant of Columban or Colman.'

— **Melmidoc** (DB, Welbury YNR): OIr. *Maelmaedhog*.

— **Murdac, Murdoc** (DB, Owstwick YER), **Meurdoch** (DB, York), **Murdacus** (1160-71 YCh. 1243, Huggate, YER): OIr. *Muiredach*, Gael. *Murdock* (MacBain).

— **Neel** (1170-82 YCh. 814, in Bessacer YER): OIr. *Nel*, which appears in ASC as *Niel* (*vide supra* p. 5).

— **Patricius** (12th century Guis.): OIr. *Patrice*.

— **Sudan** (DB, Sinderby YNR): *cf.* OIr. *Maelsuthan* and OE *Suthen* (LVD. 15) from the same source.

— **Truite** (Robert; 12th century Riev., Pickering Marishes YNR); possibly from a hypothetical OIr. **Troit*, *cf.* Irish *troid* 'quarrel'; *vide* Ekwall 19.

The second group of Irish personal names comprises those which are found in Yorkshire place-names, and the superior value of these over the preceding group lies in the fact that we can estimate much more accurately the districts which were most affected by this influence.

— West Riding: near Huddersfield not far from Golcar is Fixby (*Fechesbi* DB), which contains **Fecc** mentioned in the above list. A few miles to the west in Halifax parish is Mankinholes (*Mankanholes* 1275 WCR), from the OIr. personal name **Manchan**. In Craven, Feizor probably contains **Fecc**.

— North Riding: in Wensleydale, Melmerby (olim *Melmorebi*) from OIr. **Maelmuire**; Melmerby in Halikeld (olim *Malmerbi*) is from ON *malmr*, genitive *malmar*, 'sand.' Yockenthwaite (*Yoghannesthweit* 1241 Percy), from a Scandinavian adaptation of OIr. **Eoghan** (Donegall).

— Near Catterick, not far from Arrathorne and Myregrim mentioned before, is Patrick Brompton from

OIr. **Patricc**, which also enters into a lost place near here *Paterik-keld* (13 Marrick) 'Patrick's spring.'

— Cleveland (Teesdale): Melsenby (*Malsenbi* DB) possibly contains OIr. **Maelsuthan** (cf. *Sudan* above), and Brettanby (earlier *Bretaneby* 12th century *Easby*. fol. 5d, 1219 *Assize Roll* (PRO) No. 1040, m. 8d) contains OIr. **Brettan** (Förster, *Keltisches Wortgut*, 101). Nearer the sea, in the district where the names *Hillbraith* and *Coldman Hargos* are found, are Coldman Hargos itself and Commondale (*Colemandale* 1273 YI). Lackenby (*Lachenebi* DB, (*Lachaneby* 1231 *Assize Roll* (PRO) No. 1042, m. 3d) is from the OIr. personal name **Lochan** (Donegal). As in *Stainpāpan* supra, the vowel *o* offers some difficulty, but OIr. *o* appears as *a* in *Kalman*, the OWScand. form of Irish *Colman*.

— Ryedale. The OIr. personal name **Duban** (cf. *Duuan* in the Lancashire portion of Domesday Book), a diminutive of OIr. *dub* 'black' is found in Dowthwaite (earlier *Duvanesthwat* c 1154-63 Riev.).

— York: Patrick's Pool (*Patrickpole* 1274 *Leo*. fol. 172, 1346 *Leo*. fol. 134d) is from OIr. **Patricc**. An isolated example in Bramham (between York and Tadcaster) is a lost place *Colemangate* (1160-75 YCh. 1023) from OIr. **Colman** and ON *gata*, 'road, way.' In the north of the East Riding is Duggleby (*Difgelibi* DB) from **Dubhgall** 'black foreigner' (cf. supra pp. 14, 18).

An isolated example of Irish influence is found in the Fountains Abbey Chartulary, where mention is made of a place called *Diuelinstanes*, which contains the OWScand. name for Dublin, i.e., *Dyflinn*.

Lastly, there was a Scandinavian nick-name *Iri*, which was used of a Norwegian who had come from Ireland. It enters into one or two Yorkshire place-names (YNR), such as Irton, near Scarborough¹

¹ On the Scandinavian foundation of Scarborough v. Professor E. V. Gordon's paper in *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, Copenhagen, 1928.

(earlier *Iretune* DB), and Irby (*Irebi* DB) near Northallerton; both these names mean 'farmstead of the Irishman.' They are of a similar type to Danby and Normanton (*supra*, p. 12), and where they are found they must indicate that, though Irish Vikings settled in that particular district, they were in isolated settlements. Such is the case with Irton and Irby; they are both in districts where there is little or no further trace of Irish influence.

THE EXTENT OF DANISH AND NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENTS.

Using all these tests as we have applied them to Yorkshire names we may gather some idea of the provenance of Danish and Norwegian settlements in Yorkshire.¹

The Danes settled largely in the East Riding, the eastern half of the West Riding and the south of the North Riding, judging from the distribution of *-thorpes* and such names as Folkton (from *Fulke*); that is, they settled in the level fertile districts of the Ouse valley. Most of these are due to Halfdan's settlement.

The Norwegians appear to have settled principally in the Craven district of the West Riding as betokened by such names as *gill* and *scale* and the Irish elements. This district is geographically part of Lancashire, and the settlement appears to be an extension of Norwegian settlements in that country. In the North Riding Norwegians are mainly responsible for the settlement of Wensleydale, which contains instances, such as Melmerby and Yockenthwaite, of Irish influence, probably due to Irish Vikings who came by way of Cumberland. The same may be said of the adjacent Catterick settlements, where we find Arrathorne, *Myregrim*, and Patrick Brompton. In Teesdale,

¹ A more detailed account of the Scandinavian settlement of the North Riding will be found in the author's *Place-names of the North Riding* (Engl. Place-name Society, Vol. V.), pp. xx.-xxix.

especially in Cleveland, there was a strong Norwegian settlement; *gill* is found all along Teesdale, *scale* enters into a number of places such as *Burnolfscapes*, *Raufscapes*, *Scaling*, and there are such Irish types as *Hillbraith*, Coldman Hargos, Commondale, Eryholme, Airyholme, and the type Normanby. In Whitby there are traces of both Scandinavian groups; the majority of place-names are of Scandinavian origin, and one or two such as Airy Hill, *Bursteadgill* (*Burstadgille* 13th century Whitby) *Waterslackgill*, Normanby (*Normanneby* 1100-15 YCh. 857), *Breck*, indicate a strong Norwegian element. Danby is the only name which shows definite Danish influence; the few traces of Danish influence may be due to the devastation of the district by Ingwar and Ubba the Danes (*vide supra* p. 3). In Ryedale, a few *thorpes* are found in the south of the Wapentake, such as Howthorpe (*Holetorp* DB), Coneysthorpe (*supra* p. 7), Laisthorpe (*Lechestorp* DB = 'Leik's village'), Easthorpe (*Estorp* DB), which really belong to the Danish settlement in Bulmer Wapentake. But in the rest of Ryedale Wapentake, Scandinavian names are numerous and betray considerable Norwegian influence, *e.g.* Airyholme, Normanby (*Northmannabi* SD), Dowthwaite, Laskill (*Lauescales* 1170 Riev. = 'low pastures') etc. In the East Riding are the various Arrams, Argam, Arras Scorbrough, Duggleby, etc. Geographical factors are against these eastern Norwegian settlements being extensions of the settlements in the Yorkshire Dales. The probability is that they arose from Irish Vikings who came by sea, possibly by way of Caithness, for all these districts are within easy reach of the sea. The names of York are, of course, very Scandinavian, but only a few can be ascribed to either Scandinavian group. Coney Street (*Cuningesstrete* c 1150-60 YCh. 232, *Cunengstrete* 13th century *Leo.* fol. 102 d) is from Dan. *kunung*, whilst Bootham (*Buthum* 1150-60 YCh.

260) from ONorw. *búð*, and Patrick's Pool from the OIr. name *Patricc* are Norwegian. The historical position of York under Danish rulers and under Irish-Norwegian rulers favoured the survival of one type no more than the other.

YORKSHIRE DIALECTS—NORWEGIAN AND DANISH.

The question of the influence of one particular Scandinavian language on Yorkshire speech is faced with many difficulties, and in particular we are faced with an insurmountable difficulty in the paucity of vernacular records from the earliest period down to the 14th century.

Some Scandinavian sagas show a direct connection of Yorkshire and Iceland. Kormak's Saga tells of the foundation of Scarborough by Þorgils Skarði about 967; Egill the poet visited York, where he wrote his famous poem "The Head Ransom" to save his life,¹ and he gives a Scandinavian version of the Battle of Brunanburh, in which Scandinavians from Ireland joined the Danes of Yorkshire in opposing the English king Athelstan; Gunnlaug Ormstunga (*i.e.*, 'the serpent's tongue') appeared at the court of king Ethelred the Unready and tells us that "there was one speech in England and Norway before William the Bastard conquered England" (*Gunnlaugs saga Ormstungu*, ed. Reykjavik, p. 18). This may indicate that an Anglo-Scandinavian dialect was spoken in England, though it may simply mean that Norwegian and Old Northumbrian were not sufficiently different to be mutually unintelligible.² There is an illuminating story in the *Heimskringla* (also in *Fagrskinna*, ed. Jonsson, p. 295) bearing out this last suggestion. After the Norwegian defeat at Stamford Bridge (near York) the Marshal of Norway fled towards the coast.

¹ Translated in part by Gordon, p. 13.

² *cf.* Björkman, *Scandinavian Loanwords*, p. 4, note 2.

The weather was cold and inclement at the time, and meeting a Yorkshire carter on the road, the Marshal said: "Will you sell your coat, farmer?" "Not to you," replied the carter; "you are a Norwegian; I know you by your speech."

This shows that there were certain well-defined features in ONorw. which were at least intelligible to the native English. A few traces of Scandinavian grammatical features, such as the modern dialect *at* for *that* (conjunction), *hanum*, the ON dat. pronoun 'him' in the Aldborough inscription c 1050-60 (*Ulf het aræran cyrice for hanum and for Gunwara saula*), are present in ME and Modern Yorkshire dialects, but nothing can be definitely ascribed either to Danes or to Norwegians. A number of words in common speech can be determined to be one or the other. Danish are the modern dialect words *amelle* 'in the midst' (ODan. *a melle*), *sum* in *whatsumiver* 'whatsoever' (ODan. *sum*), *thrave* 'a bundle' (ODan. *þrafe*). Norwegian are *baan*, *boon* 'bound for' (ONorw. *búinn*), *addle* 'earn' (ONorw. *øðla*), *graithe* 'prepare' (ONorw. *greiða*), *bane*, as in such expressions as *t' banest way* 'the quickest, shortest road' (ON *beinn*, which also enters into the river-name Bain; vide RNY p. 17). Irish-Norwegian are *cross* (OIr., ONorw. *kros*; vide Förster, p. 28ff.), which is also found in a large number of place-names such as Ralph's Cross, Lilla Cross (YNR) Staincross Wapentake (YWR) etc., and *capel* 'a horse' found in ME only (ONorw. *kapall* from OIr. *capall*).

A number of words and names appear in English which seem to have undergone late Scandinavian sound-changes. Shunner Howe (sometimes *Senerhou*, *Shonerhou*) must have arisen from the ONorw. form *Síonar* (genitive of *Síónr*), in which the vowel had undergone "breaking" and the stress had shifted from the first to the second element of the

diphthong (ON *Senar*—*Séonar*, which is the normal form borrowed in English as *Sener*; ONorw. *Siónar*) and underwent a ME sound-change of [sj] to *sh* (cf. A. H. Smith, *Review of English Studies*, i. 4, p. 437 ff). Mutation of *a* to *o* in ONorw. is evidenced also in such words as *hold* (cf. *supra* p. —), *hǫfuð* 'head,' common in such place-names as Middle Head (YNR, *Midelhovet*, *Middelheved*, 13th century Riev.) and Howden (YER, OE *to Hæafuddene* YCh. 4, *Houedene* 1086 DB), where OE *heafod* was later replaced by the late ONorw. cognate *hǫfuð*. Normally this class of words appears in English with *a*, as in Blansby (YNR, *Blandeby* DB) from the ON genitive case *Blǫndu*, earlier Norw. **Blandu*; cf. the nominative case *Blanda*. In late ONorw. *ht* was assimilated to *tt*, which is found in dialect *ettle* 'to intend'; the older form with *ht* is found as ME *eghtle*, North Riding *airtle*, and in *sleight* 'a level piece of ground,' ME *sleght* from ON **sleht*, later *slétta*. The Norw. change of *d* to *th* seems to have taken place in some place-names of English origin, such as Goathland (*Godelande*, *Gotheland*, 12th century Whitby) from OE **Godan-land* 'Goda's district,' where *Godan* underwent the same sound-change which distinguishes ON *góðr* 'good' from OE *gōd*, ON *guðr* 'god' from OE *god*, etc. Most of these sound-changes are probably due to Norwegians rather than Danes, for they were certainly the latest of Scandinavian settlers in this part of England.

LIST OF SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS.

(Italicised abbreviations are used to denote MS. sources).

ASC	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles</i> , ed. Plummer, Oxford, 1892.
Assize	<i>Assize Rolls</i> (Public Record Office, No's. 1040 ff).
Bodl.	<i>Bodleian Charters</i> for Yorkshire (Bodleian Library, Oxford).
Brit.	British.
DB	<i>Domesday Book</i> .
Donegal	<i>Martyrology of Donegal</i> , Irish Archeol. Society.

- Dugd. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1846.
- Easby *Easby Chartulary*, British Museum, Egerton, 2827.
- Ekwall. E. Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, Lund, 1918.
- Förster M. Förster, *Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen*, 1921.
- Gael. Gaelic.
- Giff. *Register of Archbishop Walter Gifford*, Surtees Society, 109.
- Gordon E. V. Gordon, *Scandinavian Influence on Yorkshire Dialects*, Yorks. Dialect Society Transactions, 1923.
- Guis. *Guisborough Chartulary*, Surtees Society, 86, 89.
- IpmR *Inquisitiones post mortem* (Record Commission), 1806-28.
- KCD Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*.
- KF *Knights' Fees, 1303*, Surtees Society, 49.
- KI *Kirkby's Inquest, 1285*, Surtees Society, 49.
- Kirkst *Kirkstall Coucher Book*, Thoresby Society, 1904.
- Leo *Registrum Cartarum Hospitalis S. Leonardi Ebor.* Brit. Museum, Cotton Nero D III.
- LS *Yorkshire Lay Subsidy, 1301*, Yorkshire Archeol. Soc., Record Series, 21.
- LVD *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*, facsimile edition, Surtees Soc., 1921.
- MacBain A. MacBain, *Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, 1915.
- Marrick *Charters of Marrick Priory. Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* (No. 820) v, London, 1838.
- ME Middle English.
- Norw. Norwegian.
- NV *Nomina Villarum, 1316*, Surtees Society, 49.
- ODan. Old Danish.
- OE Old English (= Anglo-Saxon).
- OEScand. Old East Scandinavian.
- OGael. Old Gaelic.
- OIr. Old Irish.
- ON Old Norse.
- ONorw. Old Norwegian.
- OWScand. Old West Scandinavian.
- P *Pipe Rolls*, Pipe Roll Society (in progress).
- Pat *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (in progress).
- Percy *Percy Chartulary*, Surtees Society, 117.
- PrGerm. Primitive Germanic.
- PrN Primitive Norse.
- Puds. *The Pudsay Deeds*, Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Record Series 56.
- Riev. *Rievaulx Chartulary*, Surtees Society, 83.

RNY	E. V. Gordon and A. H. Smith. <i>The River-names of Yorkshire</i> , Yorkshire Dialect Soc. Transactions, 1925.
Romeyn	<i>Register of Archbishop John le Romeyn</i> , Surtees Society, 123, 128.
SD	<i>Symeon of Durham</i> , ed. Arnald (Rolls Series), 1882.
Searle	W. G. Searle, <i>Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum</i> , 1897.
VCH	<i>Victoria County History of the North Riding</i> .
WCR	<i>Wakefield Court Rolls</i> , Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Record Series.
Whitby	<i>Whitby Chartulary</i> , Surtees Society, 69, 72.
YCh	W. Farrer, <i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> .
YER	East Riding of Yorkshire.
YF	<i>Yorkshire Feet of Fines</i> , Yorks. Archeol. Journal, and Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Record Series, 63.
YI	<i>Yorkshire Inquisitions</i> , Yorkshire Archeological Soc. Record Series.
YNR	North Riding of Yorkshire.
YWR	West Riding of Yorkshire.

INDEX OF PLACE-NAMES.

(Names printed in italics are unidentified with modern names).

Airy Hill 17, 22, Airyholme (Cleveland) 17, 22, Airyholme (Ryedale) 17, 22, *Alderges* 17, Argam 17, Arram (Beverley) 17, Arram (Hornsea) 17, Arras 17, Arrathorne 16, 22, Aspatia (Cumb.) 15, *Asvadbode* (ODan.) 8.

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Haibrec 9, *Halleslac* 10, *Hillbraith* 16, 20, *Hillegrime* 15, *Holdelithe* 4 (note), Holme (YER) 7, Holme (YNR) 7, Holm-Patrick (IoM) 15, Howden 25, Howgill 11, Howthorpe 22.

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Sawcock 16, *Scalebeu* 11, Scale Foot 11, Scales 11, Scaling 11, 22, Scarborough 20, 23, Scargill 11, Scholes 11, Scarborough 8, 22, Sewerby 8, Shunner Howe 24, Slack 9, *Snellesheig* 17, Staincross Wapentake 24, *Stainpapan* 15, Stillorgan (Irel.) 15, *Stratesergum* 17.

Tharlesthorpe (a lost town on the Humber) 8, *Tre-Walchmai* (Wales) 15.

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ICELANDIC FOLKLORE.

By HELEN THÉRÈSE McMILLAN BUCKHURST, M.A.

(Read February 16th, 1926).

IT was in the early years of the ninth century that Haraldr Hárfagr, Harald the fair-haired, one of the numerous Norwegian petty kings of the time, paid court to Gyða Eiríksdóttir, daughter of one of his own vassals; but she refused his suit with scorn, saying that she would never wed a man whose kingdom was but a few acres of land, and that it was a marvel to her that no man had ever made himself master of all Norway, "even as Gormr hath done in Denmark, and Eiríkr at Uppsala." The king, fired by this taunt, vowed that never would he cut or comb his hair till all Norway was his.

After years of fighting, he accomplished his desire; but meanwhile many chieftains, sooner than yield up their independence, had resolved to find new homes across the seas. Some fled to Scotland, some to Ireland; while others settled in the islands of the neighbouring seas, Orkney, Shetland and Faeroe. Others, still bolder, ventured farther north, where they found a land hitherto uninhabited, save for a few Irish hermits. A few Norwegian explorers had reached its shores a few years earlier, but no settlement had as yet been made.

It was early spring when the settlers arrived; the winter had been an unusually hard one, and there was drifting ice in all the fjords; so they named the land Ísland, the Land of Ice.

These Norwegian settlers naturally brought their religion and their legends with them . . . tales of the gods, Óðinn, Þórr, Baldr, Loki and the rest; tales of

the giants who dwelt in Jötunheim, far to the frozen north; tales of the A Ætt, or Elf-folk, whose homes were in the caverns below the earth; of the Dverggar, or Dwarfs, who lived in stones and rocks; and of countless other beings of whom we may read in the two great collections of early Norse literature, the Poetical and the Prose Eddur.

For though these legends had their origin, some in Scandinavia, some in central Europe before the great migrations of the early Germanic tribes took place, it was in Iceland, that most remote of all European countries, that they were longest preserved by oral tradition, and eventually committed to writing. The Elder, or Poetical Edda, deals in great part with the legends of the gods and heroes, while the younger, or Prose Edda, retells many of the same tales in prose.

Little by little, side by side with these old legends, there grew up a body of more purely Icelandic tradition. For this, the character of the country was very largely responsible. I want you to picture to yourselves an island rather larger than Ireland, consisting for the most part of desolate volcanic hills, some extinct, some still in full activity; a country where one may travel from morning to night over an endless waste of lava, contorted into the wildest and most fantastic shapes, with the weirdest and most unearthly colouring; a land often absolutely barren of vegetation; where glaciers and boiling springs exist side by side; whose rivers are fierce torrents born of the icefields and snowdrifts of the mountain fastnesses; where a valley is considered to be quite densely populated when farms are only ten or fifteen miles apart; where communication is practically impossible during the winter months, and difficult in many cases even during the brief summer.

To such a land came the Norsemen, already steeped in tradition and with minds ready to assign some supernatural origin to the natural phenomena which they saw

all about them. Little wonder then if they populated the wild hills with trolls; if ghosts and demons haunted the long nights of the Northern winter; if the fierce glacier streams were the homes of cruel water-spirits who dragged man and horse to death in the fords. The giants of the old legends, whose homes were the mountains and the ice-fields, and whose power included the dominion over both ice and fire, seemed very real to a people whose homes might any day be threatened either by an inundation of moving ice and snow or by a torrent of fiery lava from the hills.

Thus gradually the old legends in their original form became a kind of literary tradition; but they assumed a new and very lively vitality in the minds of the people in their new and definitely localised form. The giants became trolls; the Álfar became the Álfafolk, Elf-folk, whose homes were rocks and caves; and tales of the great heroes of olden time were likewise adapted, and assigned to heroes whom the people themselves knew. A striking instance of this tendency is afforded by an incident in the *Grettis Saga*, where the tale told of the troll-adventures of this 11th century outlaw is obviously the same as the tale of Beowulf, Grendel, and Grendel's mother; but as the connection between England and Iceland was exceedingly small at the time, and as a distance of several centuries separates the composition of Beowulf and the *Saga*, there seems to be only one explanation of the resemblance, namely, that the tale is an old legend dating from Germanic times, which has here been definitely localised and attached to a local champion.

The various spirits and monsters with which the imagination of the settlers peopled Iceland became known as 'landvættir,' or land-spirits. Some years after the settlement of Iceland, Haraldr Gormsson, king of Denmark, conceived the idea of exacting tribute from the Icelanders; he therefore summoned to his court a wizard of some renown, and bade him go disguised to

spy out the land; the wizard took the form of a whale, and swam to Iceland. But, says the story, "when he came to the land, then he went north. And he saw that all the mountains and hills were full of land-spirits both great and small. And when he came to Vopnafjörth, he tried to get to land; but down the dale there came a great dragon, followed by countless serpents, toads and adders, who breathed forth poison against him. Then he went away, all along the coast to Eyjafjörth, and swam up the fjord there; but there he was met by a bird, so huge that its wings reached the mountains on either side of the fjord, and by a flock of other birds, large and small. He had to turn tail, and fled round south to Breithafjörth, where he swam up the fjord. But there there came against him a monstrous bull, which waded out into the sea, bellowing most fearfully, followed by a host of other land-spirits. So he went thence to Reykjanes, and tried to land at Vikarskeithi. But there came against him a mountain giant with an iron staff in his hand, and so huge was he that his head towered above the mountains; and other giants followed him. Then he went eastwards along the coast . . . 'but,' said he, 'there was nothing but waste land, and a rocky coast without harbourage, and much surge; and it is useless for our ships to go thither.'" Thus was Iceland saved from invasion by the Land-vættir.

Witchcraft and sorcery were evidently practised from the earliest times; we find many references to such practices in the Sagas. But the fullest and most interesting account of a witch is found in a Saga dealing for the most part with the Icelandic colony of Greenland, which was founded by Eiríkr the Red in 986. The episode of the witch occurred four or five years after the settlement; a famine had threatened the little community, and it had been decided to call in the help of a witch.

"There was a woman in the colony named Thorbjörg; she was skilled in magic, and was called Little

Witch. She had had nine sisters, all of whom were witches, but she was the only one then left alive. It was her wont during the winters to go from house to house, and men often bade her to their feasts when they were curious to know the future and their own destinies. Thorkell now asked the witch to his house, and she was given a good welcome, as is customary when one has to do with people of this kind. A high seat was prepared for her, and a cushion placed on it; such cushions must always be filled with hens' feathers. When she and the man who had been sent to fetch her arrived, she was thus arrayed: she had on a blue cloak fastened with straps, and all decorated right down to the hem with stones; she had glass beads round her neck, and on her head a cap of black lambskin lined with white catskin, and in her hand a staff with a knob on it; this staff was made of brass, and the knob was set with stones; she had a girdle of touchwood, and a skin pouch fastened to it, in which she kept all the magic implements she needed for her craft. On her feet she wore shaggy calf-skin shoes, fastened by long leather thongs with big tin knobs at the ends. On her hands were catskin gloves, and they were white inside and shaggy. When she came in, all saw fit to give her seemly greeting; to this she replied according as the men were pleasing to her.

Thorkell took her by the hand and led her to the seat which had been prepared for her, bidding her cast an eye over household, herds and homestead. She was very silent about everything. In the evening the tables were set up, and you must now hear what kind of food was prepared for the witch. She was given porridge made of the milk of young goats, and a dish of hearts from every kind of animal on the farm. She had a brass spoon, and a knife made of walrus-tusk, mounted with a double ring of copper; and the point was broken off.

When the tables were taken down again, Thorkell came to Thorbjörg and asked her if she would deign to

look about her. He also asked her how soon she would be able to answer the question he had put to her, and which men were most anxious about. She said that she could answer nothing before morning, after she had slept through the night.

In the morning, when the day was well advanced, all the preparations she needed for her magic were made; then she bade them find her some women who knew the spell called *Varðlokkur*, which was necessary for her witchcraft; but these women could not be found. Search was made through all the homestead to see if there was any woman who knew the spell. Then said Guðríðr:—‘I am no witch-wife or wise woman; but out in Iceland Halldís my foster-mother taught me a chant which she called *Varðlokkur*.’ ‘Fortunate indeed is that knowledge of yours,’ said Thorkell. But she replied:—‘In such a business I refuse to help you, for I am a Christian.’ Thorbjörg said:—‘It might well be that you could help the folk here, and yet be no worse a woman than you were before; I for my part must do my best to get for Thorkell what he wants.’

Thorkell pleaded with Guðríðr, and in the end she consented to do as he asked. The women made a ring round the hall, round the raised seat on which Thorbjörg sat, and Guðríðr sang the spell with so clear and lovely a voice that those who stood by said that they had never heard it better sung. The witch-wife thanked her, and said that many spirits had now drawn nigh, and were well-disposed towards them since the spell had been so fairly sung. ‘Ere this, they were fain to flee from us and to grant us none of our prayers; but now many things are revealed to me which were hidden before and dark. This can I tell you, Thorkell: the dearth will not last longer than one winter, and the weather will mend with the spring. The sickness which hath lain heavy on you of late will soon pass

away. And to you, Guðríðr, shall come a meet reward for the help you have given us; all your destiny now lies clear before me. You will be wedded here in Greenland, and it will be an honourable match, though it will not endure for long. For your paths stretch out to Iceland, and from you shall spring a race both great and goodly, for over your offspring there shine rays so bright that I scarce have strength to look thereon. Hail to you, and farewell, daughter!'

After this, men began to ask the witch questions on all those matters about which they were most curious. She was rather good at prophecies, and what she foretold did not go far wrong. Then some one came to fetch her from the next farm, and she departed thither."

This is but one of the many passages in the Sagas which deal with the superstitions of the people; it is difficult to select from so much material; but our business to-night is not with classical Icelandic of the Saga age, but with more recent Icelandic folk-lore. The tales now extant may be conveniently divided into various categories, tales of Trolls, of Ghosts, of Elves, of Wizards and of Outlaws being the chief varieties. The tales generally may seem to us somewhat bald and primitive; but life in Iceland at the present day, except in the capital, still retains much of the simplicity and many of the hardships of earlier times; the character of the country makes many of the refinements of civilization quite impossible; life is, in many districts, a perpetual struggle against the forces of nature, in a climate and on a soil where bare existence is often all that is possible.

The first class of supernatural beings with whom I wish to deal to-night is that of the Trolls. The Icelandic Trolls, as depicted both in the Sagas and in more recent tales, are huge, misshapen creatures, bearing some resemblance to human form, but always hideously ugly. They make their homes among the mountains,

living generally in caves among the rocks or in the lava. They are almost always malignant in disposition, and frequently descend at night upon outlying farms in order to carry off sheep and horses, children, or even grown men and women, to devour in their mountain homes. Since the introduction of Christianity, the Troll race has gradually diminished in strength and in numbers. Attempts have been made to introduce fresh blood and vigour into the dying race by the transformation of human beings into trolls or by intermarriage with the human race. Several stories deal with attempts of this kind. One of the best-known is the tale of :—

Trunt-Trunt and the Trolls in the Mountains.

“Two men once went to the mountains to gather moss, and one night they were both lying in the same tent; one was asleep, but the other was lying awake. Soon the man who was awake saw the other man, still asleep, rise up and leave the tent. He went out too and followed him, but could hardly run fast enough to keep up with him. The sleeping man ran towards a great glacier. Then the other man saw an enormous troll-woman sitting on a ridge of ice on the glacier; and he saw that she was continually stretching out her arms and then drawing them back to her breast, and thus casting a spell over the man to entice him to her. The man never stopped, but ran right into her arms, and she rushed away with him.

Next year, some folk from his part of the country went moss-gathering in the same place; and one day they saw this man coming towards them; but so silent and gloomy was he that they could hardly get a word out of him. They asked him in whom he believed, and he replied that he still believed in God. Then he went away.

He came back a second year to the same party of

moss-gatherers. But he was so troll-like that they were terrified of him. Again they asked him in whom he believed, but he answered them nothing. This time he did not stay as long with them as he did before.

The third year he came to them again; but by this time he had become altogether a troll, huge and hideous to look on. Only one woman plucked up courage to ask him in whom he now believed. "I believe in Trunt-Trunt and the Trolls in the Mountains," said he. Then he vanished.

He was never seen again. But for many years no one dared to go moss-gathering in that place."

The next tale also deals with the kidnapping of a man by trolls; it also deals with that most peculiar of all the peculiar foods dear to the Iclander—that is, shark. Shark is prepared for the table by the simple process of burying it in the ground for a minimum period of two years—the longer the interment, the better the shark, says an Iclander—after which, it is resurrected and eaten. Once I was tempted to try it—but that is another story. The tale we have to deal with is that of:—

Loppa and her foster-child Jón.

"At Bleiksmýrardal, a mountain pasture in Fnjóskadal, there is a hollow on the west side of the river called Loppa's hollow. This hollow is said to be named after a troll-woman called Loppa, who lived in a cave there in the olden days; and this troll is said to have stolen a young and promising boy named Jón when he was out with some other children gathering moss.

Loppa took Jón to her cave, where she lived with her sister; but there were no other trolls near by. The sisters were both young, for trolls; and their plan was to keep Jón in the cave and marry him, so as to increase the troll-race, for since Christianity had spread over the land, the trolls were dying out. They did all they

could to make Jón grow and to make him like a troll. They had a kind of salve with which they smeared his body, and then each would take one end of him and pull him in order to stretch him; and in order to fill him with troll madness they would often scream into his ears. They never left him alone in the cave, and never went out except one at a time to get food. Several years passed by, during which Jón never saw the sunlight, and never managed to escape, though he always longed to do so; but he did not let the sisters guess this.

One day Loppa's sister disappeared, and Jón did not know what had happened to her; she went out one day to get food and never came back, and he thought she must have met her death in some way or other. Loppa was very much downcast over her sister's death, for she did not put much trust in her foster-son. She was now obliged to do all the work herself, and to leave Jón alone at times. But she never stayed away long enough to give him a chance to escape. At last he pretended to be ill, and said he was in a very bad way. Loppa thought this the greatest possible misfortune, and begged him to tell her of anything that might cure him. He then said that the only thing that might do him any good would be a piece of shark that had been buried twelve years; so Loppa promised to try and get it for him. So she got ready to set out, and left the cave; but when she had gone a little way, she came back to make sure that her foster-son was not trying to escape; she found him lying quiet, so she decided that there was no trickery on hand, and went on her way.

A little later Jón rose from his bed and hastened out of the cave and down to the river, where he found a stud of horses feeding in the valley; he took one of them and rode down by the stream. But he had grown so huge and so heavy that his weight was too great for any horse. By the time he reached Illugastaðr, he had

crushed three horses to death, and yet had had to go most of the way on foot.

Just as he reached the tilled land at Illugastaðr, he heard the voice of his foster-mother Loppa calling to him from the hills, and saying :—‘ Here is the shark, Jón—twelve years old at least—perhaps thirteen ! I found it on Siglunes ! ’

Jón by this time was nearly dead with weariness, but still he managed to hurry towards the church ; here he beat down the door with his fists, and cried out to the priest to ring the bell. Loppa had then reached the brook that runs through the hayfield a little to the south of the church ; but when she heard the sound of the bell she knew that Jón was lost to her, and turned back. Ever since that day, men have called that place the Troll-wife’s Field.

As for Jón, he had become so huge that his head touched the roof when he stood upright in the church. He managed to reach the priest’s house, but he only lived for three days. Men say that he died from exhaustion after his long run.”

Another tale of an attempt on the part of trolls to kidnap a human being is obviously a variant of the well-known Rumpelstiltskin story ; a number of such tales of foreign origin are to be found among the Icelandic folk-tales ; and it is rather interesting to note how they have in most cases been completely acclimatised and have taken on a purely Icelandic colouring. Such is certainly the case in the story of :—

Gilitrutt.

“ There was once a young farmer living in the east of Iceland under the great mountain Eyjafjall. He was very industrious and energetic, owned a good sheep-run and many sheep. He was newly wedded when this tale begins. His wife was young, but lazy and good for nothing ; she was too idle to do any work and gave little

heed to household affairs. The farmer was ill-pleased at this, but nothing he could say or do made any improvement. One autumn day he brought home a large quantity of wool, and told her to weave it into cloth during the winter, but she was most unwilling to undertake the task. So the winter wore on, and nothing was done, although the farmer often asked his wife how the wool was getting on.

One day a rather large and big-boned old woman came to the farm and asked the farmer's wife for food.

'Can you do something for me in return?' said the wife.

'Maybe,' said the old woman. 'What do you want me to do?'

'Make this wool into cloth,' said the wife.

'Give it to me,' said the old woman.

The farmer's wife picked up an enormous sack of wool and gave it to her. The old woman took it and slung it over her back, saying:—'I will bring the cloth on the first day of summer.' 'What payment do you want?' said the farmer's wife. 'Nothing to speak of,' said the old woman. 'You must guess my name in three guesses, and that will settle all accounts between us.'

The farmer's wife agreed to this, and the old woman went away. The winter wore on, and the farmer often asked his wife what she had done with the wool; but she told him to mind his own business, and that he should have it on the first day of summer. At last the farmer got tired of her nonsense, and took no notice of what she said.

The last months of winter now came, and the wife began to wonder what the old woman's name could be; but she could think of no way of finding this out. She became anxious and troubled about the matter, and at last the farmer, seeing her distress, asked her what ailed her. Then she told him the whole story. The

farmer was thoroughly frightened, and said that this time she had indeed done ill; for the old woman must certainly be a troll who intended to carry her off.

A few days later the farmer was out, and came to a rocky hillock at the foot of the mountains. He was thinking so deeply about his troubles that he hardly noticed what he was doing. Then he heard a noise of knocking in the hill, and followed the sound until he came to a cave. Peeping in, he saw a woman of enormous size sitting weaving. She was holding the web between her knees, and kept striking it and singing to herself:—

‘Ha ha! ho ho! The farmer’s wife doesn’t know my name!

Ha ha! ho ho! My name is Gilitrutt, ho ho! My name is Gilitrutt, ha ha!’

And this she kept repeating, knocking fiercely on the weaving loom all the time.

The farmer was very pleased at all this, for he was sure that this was the old woman who had come to his wife in the autumn. So he went home and wrote the name Gilitrutt on a piece of paper. He said nothing to his wife about all this; and now at length the last day of winter came. The farmer’s wife was so miserable that she did not get up or dress herself all day.

Then the farmer came and asked her if she knew her workwoman’s name yet. She said no, and said she thought she would weep herself to death. ‘I shouldn’t do that if I were you,’ said the farmer, and gave her the paper with the name on it, telling her all the story. She took the paper, shaking with fear lest the name should be wrong, and she begged the farmer to stay with her till the old woman came, but he refused.

‘You were alone,’ said he, ‘when you decided to give her the wool, so you had better be alone when you pay her her wages.’ Then he went out.

So when the first day of summer arrived, the farmer’s

wife was lying in bed all alone, and there was no one else in the house. Then she heard a tremendous roaring and rumbling and in came the old woman—and very unpleasant she looked this time. She flung down a large bundle of cloth upon the floor, and cried:—

‘Now then! Now then! What is my name?’

The farmer’s wife, more dead than alive with terror, answered:—‘Signý.’

‘That is not my name! That is not my name! Guess again, housewife!’ said the old woman.

‘Ása,’ said the wife.

‘That is not my name! That is not my name! Guess again, housewife!’ cried the old woman.

‘I don’t suppose you happen to be called Gilitrutt?’ said the farmer’s wife.

The old woman was so astounded at this that she fell down flat on the floor with a great thump. Then she got up and went away, and was never seen again.

Words cannot describe the joy of the farmer’s wife at having escaped so well from this monster. Henceforth she was another woman, became industrious and a good manager, and always after this she wove her own wool.”

Some kinds of trolls have no power except during the hours of darkness; during the day they must remain hidden in their caves, for the rays of the sun turn them into stone. Such trolls are called Night-Trolls. They are generally of a malignant disposition, and any human being who has the misfortune to meet such a demon may be driven mad by their hideous appearance. Such a troll is the central figure of the next story. I must apologise for the doggerel rhymes, and ask you to believe that they are much better in the original!

The Night Troll.

“At a certain farm it befell that whoever had to keep watch over the house on Yule night, while the rest of

the household was at Midnight Mass, was found either dead or mad next morning. Folk were troubled about this, and few were willing to sit at home on Yule night. One year a girl volunteered to look after the house, whereat the others were glad, and went to church. The girl sat down on the bench in the living-room, talking and crooning to a child she had on her knee. During the night there came a Thing to the window, and said :—

‘Fair in my sight is that hand of thine—
My brisk one, my brave one, sing dillido!’

Then she sang :—

‘Filth has it never swept from the floor
Foul fiend Kári, sing korriro!’

Then said the Thing at the window :—

‘Fair in my sight is that eye of thine—
My brisk one, my brave one, sing dillido!’

Then sang she :—

‘Evil it has never looked upon,
Foul fiend Kári, sing korriro!’

Then said the Thing at the window :—

‘Fair in my sight is that foot of thine,
My brisk one, my brave one, sing dillido!’

Then sang she :—

‘Nought unclean has it trodden upon,
Foul fiend Kári, sing korriro!’

Then said the Thing at the window :—

‘Day now dawns in the eastern sky,
My brisk one, my brave one, sing dillido!’

Then sang she :—

‘Dawn now hath caught thee, a stone shalt thou be,
And no man henceforth shall be harmed by thee,
Foul fiend Kári, sing korriro!’

Then the spectre vanished from the window; and when the people of the house came in the morning, they saw a great stone standing between the ridges of the roof; and there it has stood ever since. The girl told them what she had heard; but of what the troll was like

she could say nothing, for she had never looked towards the window."

Others of these night-wandering trolls, however, are quite gentle and harmless individuals, and are sometimes even distinctly of a pious turn of mind as the following tale shows:—

Old Man and Old Woman.

"Two trolls from Breiðafjardardal decided one night to go west across Breiðafjörðr to the islands round Flatey. They went there in order to fetch an island to give as a present to the church in Snoksdal; their plan was to carry it off with them to the pools of Snoksdal near Hvammsfjörðr.

The old man went in front, leading the island by a rein, while the old woman drove it on from behind. We hear nothing of how they fared till they crossed Breiðafjörðr and entered Hvammsfjörðr. Then, just off the mountain of Staðarfjall, they were caught by the daylight; and the island came to rest there, where it remains to this day and is called Lambey.

And at that same moment the old man and old woman were turned into rocks. The old man is on the landward side of the island, because he was going ahead of it, and the space between him and the island is so small that one can step over it; he is tall and thin, just as he was in life. The old woman became a rock on the seaward side of the island, and she is farther away from it than the old man. She is rather shorter than he is, but a good deal fatter. These rocks are still called Karl (Old Man) and Kerling (Old Woman)."

A similar tale is told of the island of Drangey, off the north coast of Iceland, which also has two rocks, one on each side of it; but in this case the island was originally a troll cow belonging to the old man and the old woman; and then all three were wading across

Skagafjörðr when the dawn caught them and turned them to stone.

Though the majority of trolls are thoroughly evil-minded and malicious beings, there are a few who are quite kindly disposed towards mankind. But they are often rather stupid and clumsy in their attempts to benefit humanity. Such was certainly the case with two trolls named Jörundr and Ásmundr, who dwelt each in his own mountain on either side of a valley in northern Iceland. Noticing that the inhabitants suffered greatly through snowstorms during the winter, they resolved to build a roof from hill to hill to keep the snow off; and it was not until the work was well in hand that they realised that the valley would be in worse case than before if it was deprived of sunshine.

However, there is one tale on record in which a troll was certainly more than a match for a man in repartee; that is the tale of:—

The Troll-Wife's Calendar.

“At one time, the people in the district of Bláskogi began to realise that their land was haunted by trolls. Men dared not pass that way, and the road over the mountains was deserted. When this state of affairs had gone on for two or three years, it so chanced that the people of Thingey became confused in their reckoning of time, and did not know on which day Christmas should fall. As this was a difficult and most important question, it was decided to send a man south over the mountains to the bishop at Skalholt and get him to set things right. Men were unwilling to go through the haunted mountains, but at last a man named Olafur, who was afraid of nothing, was chosen to go. He went up through Barðardal south to Sprengisandi, and was near Bláskogi late in the day. And when the sun had almost set, he saw a most enormous troll-woman standing on the great mountain

Blue Fell, under which he was riding. In a terrible voice she cried to him :—

'Olafur Ugly-mouth!
Dost think to fare to the south?
Twisted jaw, I tell thee plain
'Tis best that thou turn back again!
Thou'rt like a stick warped by the rain!
Blow thy nose! Run home again!'

But he, not daunted in the least, shouted back :—

'Stay where you are, safe and well,
Hallgerthur of Blue Fell!'

Then she shouted back :—

'Few have given me such a greeting—
So farewell, my sweetest sweeting!'

Then he rode on his way without further adventures till he came to Skalholt, where he got all his difficulties settled. Then he got ready to go back the same way that he had come. But when he came to Bláskogi, he suddenly saw the troll-woman standing before him; and she did not then seem to him nearly as awful as he had thought her before. She handed him a scroll, saying that it was the Troll-wife's Calendar, and said :—

'If Christ Mary's son had done as much for us trolls as you say he has done for you men, we would not have forgotten his birthday!' And that was the end of the hauntings in Bláskogi."

Such are a few examples of the hundreds of troll-stories extant in Iceland.

We now come to the stories of ghosts; and here it is necessary to draw a distinction between various kinds of ghosts—a distinction very clear to the Iclander; who has a special name for each type.

The first type of ghost is that known to all kinds of folk-lore—the ghost which of its own power and volition rises for some purpose or other from its grave, quite independent of any process of witchcraft or

sorcery. Such a ghost in Icelandic is called "draugur." These ghosts have none of the ethereal and transparent appearance so dear to the modern mind; they resemble in every way the living beings whose spirits they are. They are also fully endowed with all the physical strength of their late earthly owner—in some cases this strength is even increased.

Often the appearance of such a ghost to a man's friends or relatives is the first intimation of his death; many tales of such apparitions are extant, of which I will first take the tale called:—

Seldom doth a Dead Man use a Knife.

"Once upon a time there lived a prosperous man and his wife at a farm in the north country. Folk said that the husband was more careful about getting money than the wife, and that it was for that reason that he went south one autumn, intending to go fishing there all the fishing season till the Spring came; for he thought he would make more profit in this way than by staying at home.

The story tells us no more about the couple, after the husband had gone, until Thorlák's Mass, just before Christmas. The wife had just finished boiling a smoked sheep for Christmas; she had put it into a trough, and carried trough and all into her larder and put it on a shelf. Then she went for a few moments either into the living-room or somewhere else.

But when she came back to her larder, she saw her husband standing beside the shelf, in front of the trough of meat, holding a leg of mutton which he had taken from the trough, and tearing the flesh from the bone with his teeth. Neither spoke to the other for a moment, but the woman was greatly surprised, and very angry to see her meat being treated in such an uncleanly fashion.

When her husband began to tear a piece off with his

hands, she said:—‘Won’t you have a knife, my man?’

Then answered he:—‘Seldom doth a dead man use a knife; sooner will he stand over his meat and tear it.’

Then the man disappeared and the woman saw him no more. But the first news that came to her from the south was of the death of her husband. He had been drowned just before Christmas.”

The most famous ghost-tale of this description in all Iceland, however, is again a variant of a widely-spread tale—the tale of the dead lover whose ghost comes to seek his promised bride. Here again, as in the case of *Gilitrutt*, the atmosphere is typically Icelandic. This tale also illustrates a well-known point in Icelandic superstition—that ghosts and other evil beings cannot pronounce the name of God—Gúð—even when it is only the first element in the woman’s name—Guðrún.

The Deacon of Myrká.

“Once upon a time there was a deacon at Myrká in Eyjafjörður, but the story does not tell us his name. He had courted a girl called Guðrún, who lived, so men say, at Bægisá on the other side of Hörgá River, where she was one of the priest’s servants.

The deacon had a grey horse with a dark mane, which he always rode; he called his horse Faxi.

One winter, a few days before Christmas, the deacon went to Bægisá to invite Guðrún to the Christmas feast at Myrká, and promised to come and fetch her at an appointed time and escort her to the feast on Christmas Eve.

Now the day before the deacon went to give Guðrún this invitation, there had been heavy snow and much ice had formed; but the day he rode to Bægisá there had come a sudden thaw and the ice had loosened, and later on in the day the river became impassable, so great

was the rush of water at Bægisá. When he left the farm he did not give a thought to what had happened during the day, and thought that the river would be in the same state as before. Yxnadal River was still ice-bound, and he rode over it; but when he came to Hörgá, the water had broken through. He rode along the river-bank until he reached a point opposite Saurbær, the next farm to Myrká; there the river was still covered with ice. The deacon rode on to the ice, but when he reached mid-stream, the ice broke, and he fell into the river.

Next morning, when the farmer at Thufnavellir got up, he saw a horse, saddled and bridled, down below in his hayfield, and it struck him that it was Faxi, the deacon's horse from Myrká. He was rather surprised at this, for though he had seen the deacon going on his way the day before, he had not known that he had intended to return; and he soon began to suspect what had happened. He went down below the hayfield; and it was just as he had thought—there was Faxi, lame and dripping wet. He then went down to the river, to the spot called Thufnavalla Ness; there he found the deacon, dead, stranded just below the ness. The farmer went at once to Myrká and told his tale. When the deacon was found, all the back of his head was bruised and battered by ice-floes. He was carried home to Myrká and buried the week before Christmas.

From the day the deacon left Bægisá until the day before Christmas no news of this event had come from Myrká to Bægisá, for the rivers were in flood and full of loose ice, and therefore impassable. But the day before Christmas the weather grew calmer, and the river had gone down considerably during the night; so Guðrún had good hopes of being able to go to the feast at Myrká. Late in the afternoon she went to get ready, and when she was almost dressed she heard a knock at the door. Another woman who was with her

went to the door, but could see no one outside; the night was neither light nor dark; for though there was a moon, yet the sky was full of shifting clouds which covered it from time to time.

When the girl came back, saying she could see nothing, Guðrún said: 'It is just a trick he is playing on me; I shall go out and look for myself.'

By this time she was fully dressed, all except her cloak. She caught it up, slipped her arm into one sleeve, but threw the other over her shoulder and held it round her. When she came out, she saw Faxi standing by the door, and beside him a man whom she took to be the deacon.

He took Guðrún and placed her on the horse's back, and then mounted himself in front of her. So they rode for a time, and no word passed between them. Then they came to Hörgá, and there were great ridges of ice by the side of the river; the horse stumbled among the ridges, and the deacon's hat slipped forward, and then Guðrún saw right into the bare skull. Just at that moment the clouds were driven from the moon; then said he:—

'The moon is gliding,
The dead are riding—
Dost thou not see th- skull so white
Shining in the moonbeams' light,
Garún—Garún?'

But she was terrified and said nothing.

Others say that it was Guðrún herself who lifted up his hat and so saw the white skull; and that she said:—
'I see how it is.'

We know nothing more of what they said or how they rode until they reached Myrká, where they dismounted by the lych-gate. Then said he to Guðrún:

'Bide thou here, Garún, Garún,
While I lead my horse, my Faxi,
Past the churchyard, 'neath the moon.'

So saying, he went off with the horse; but she looked in at the churchyard. There she saw an open grave. Frightened as she was, she managed to seize the church bell-rope. At that moment she felt herself seized from behind, and lucky it was for her that she had not taken time to put both arms into her cloak-sleeves; for the grip on her cloak was so strong that it tore assunder at the shoulder-seam. But the last she saw of the deacon was that he cast himself down into the open grave, holding the torn cloak, and dragged down earth from both sides of the grave upon himself and it."

Ghosts often revisit the earth for purposes of revenge. Quite a number of the Icelandic ghost-stories deal with the practice of exposing weakly or unwanted children; this was of very common occurrence, as might be expected where life is so hard and the risks of detection small; cases have been known even in modern times. But though the risks of detection by natural means is small, the Icелander quite believes that there is considerable risk of betrayal by the ghost of the victim. One tale of this description will suffice.

Thou in the Sheepfold, Mother of Mine.

"Once upon a time there was a work-girl on a farm who had borne a child and left it out in the wilds to die. This was frequently done in this land when there were very strict penalties attached to illegal unions and births.

Some time later it so happened that a feast was to be held in the neighbourhood, of the kind called 'Vikivaki'; such was the custom in those days. This same girl was one of those invited to the feast. But she was poor, and had not got a dress fine enough for such entertainments, and as she very fond of finery, she was very unhappy about this, and very discontented at having to stay at home and miss the feast.

Now while preparations were being made for the

feast, this girl was sent with another woman to milk the cows in the byre. She was grumbling to the other woman about her misfortune in not having a dress to go to the feast; but just as she said this, she heard a voice from the wall of the byre say:—

‘Thou in the sheepfold, mother of mine,
No longer thus shalt thou peak and pine.
I will lend thee my winding-sheet,
And thou shalt dance so fine—so fine!’

The girl who had left her child to die knew at once that these words were meant for her; and so terrified was she thereat that she was mad all the rest of her life.”

In such a land as Iceland, where nine-tenths of the ground is barren lava and rock, tilled ground is extremely precious. For this reason, Icelandic churchyards, especially in remote country districts, are very small and overcrowded. Nevertheless, it is an exceedingly unsafe proceeding to tamper with the bones of the dead, no matter how pressing the need may be. Certain priests, bolder or more rash than the majority, from time to time attempted a kind of clearance in their churchyards; but misfortune generally followed, though not always quite so drastically as in the case of:

Sira Ketill of Húsavík.

“Up at Húsavík in the north country dwelt a priest named Ketill Jónsson. He said that his churchyard was over-crowded, and therefore had a number of old coffins dug up, saying that space was wasted on these coffins, whose bodies had become dust long ago.

One day three old women were in the kitchen, busy burning these coffins, when a great flame shot out from the fire towards one of the women; her clothing caught fire and so did that of the others, for they were all standing close together. So fiercely did the fire burn that all three were dead before anyone could come to quench the flames.

That night the priest dreamed that a thing in man's form came to him and said:—

‘You will never succeed in making more room in the churchyard by digging up our coffins; for now I have slain three old women in your house in revenge for your treatment of us, and they will take up a good space in your churchyard; and if you do not leave us in peace, I shall slay still more of your people.’

Then the man vanished; but the priest awoke; and never afterwards did he dig up a coffin from the churchyard.”

In a good many parts of Iceland, the people still believe that on New Year's Eve the ghosts of all those buried in the churchyard rise from their graves and attend a Midnight Mass in the church. The following story deals with this very curious superstition.

The Woman in the Red Hood.

“There was once an old woman on a priest's farm. She was often made fun of by the work-people, and one workman, named Jón was always playing tricks on her. A little while before she died she promised him that she would take vengeance on him one day for all his unkindness to her.

Shortly after the old woman's death, Jón was lost in the snow, and his body was not found till long after; then it was buried. But next night the grave was all torn up again and the coffin broken. A second, and even a third time was the body buried, but always met with the same fate; it could get no rest in its grave.

At last the priest took the body, put it in a bag, and left it behind the door in the church.

Some time later, one of the priest's servants, a woman named Guðrún, lost her snuff-box. In the evening she made such a commotion about the loss that the priest at last said that he would give her a new box and snuff to fill it, if she dared to go out to the church

and bring him the bag of bones from behind the door. She didn't let the grass grow under her feet, but went at once and fetched the bag.

That night came Jón's ghost to her and said:—

'You have done very evilly with my bones and ought to repay me in full for that; so now you must go on New Year's Eve to the church at midnight and say to the woman in the red hood:—

'Forgive the skeleton that lies behind the door.'

Guðrún did as she was bidden; she went to the church at midnight on New Year's Eve. It was full of people, none of whom she knew, attending Mass, but among them was an old woman in a red hood. Guðrún went up to her and repeated the words that had been said to her. In a cold voice, the old woman answered: 'Yes.'

Next morning Guðrún told the priest the whole story. Jón's bones were buried, and his grave was never disturbed again."

The majority of such ghosts are only powerful during the hours of darkness; like the night-trolls, they must vanish at the approach of dawn; but in a few cases, tales are to be found dealing with ghosts which walk in broad daylight. One of the most curious of these is the tale of:—

The Ghost's Cap.

"Amongst other folk at a certain priest's farm were a young boy and girl. The boy was very fond of trying to frighten the girl, but she had become so used to this that nothing could frighten her. For whatever she saw, she thought it was some trick of the boy's to frighten her.

One day it happened that the household washing had been put out to dry on the turf walls of the churchyard, and amongst the garments were a good many white nightcaps, which were much used in those days. In

the evening the girl was told to go and take in the washing, so she ran out and began to gather it together. When she had nearly finished, she saw a white ghost sitting on a grave in the churchyard. She at once thought that this was some trick of the boy's to frighten her. So she ran up to the ghost and snatched off its cap, thinking that it was one of the nightcaps which the boy had taken. Then she said—'You didn't manage to frighten me *that time!*'

Then she went in with the washing, and found the boy indoors. But when she began to sort out the washing, there was one cap too many; and inside it was all green with mould; then the girl was afraid.

Next morning the ghost still sat on the grave, and no one knew what to do, for none dared give the ghost back its cap. So they sent round all the neighbourhood for advice.

Now in that district there lived an old man, and he said that some dire evil would certainly befall them unless the girl herself took back the cap to the ghost and set it silently upon the ghost's head while the others looked on. They forced the girl to do so, to go with the cap and place it on the ghost's head. Very unwillingly she did so, and placed the cap on the ghost, saying as she did so:—'Now are you satisfied?'

But the ghost started up and smote her, saying:—'Yes. And are you satisfied?'

And with these words the ghost flung itself into the grave.

But the girl fell beneath the blow, and when the people ran to her and lifted her up, she was dead.

The boy was well punished for his habit of frightening her, for everyone agreed that he was the real cause of all the mischief. So he never frightened anyone any more.

And that is the end of *that story.*'

Another tale of a ghost which appeared while the day

was yet bright, also illustrates a fairly widespread belief in Iceland—namely, that a ghost cannot, face to face, attack a human being who shows no sign of fear.

The Ghost of the Hayfield.

“Once upon a time there was a workman at Hvítárvellir, but the story tells us neither his name nor that of his master. His work was to look after the hayfield and see to all the hay—a heavy task enough, for the farm was well stocked with cattle, both kine and bullocks. This man paid his court to a girl on the farm, but she refused him; the man became very depressed over this affair, and cut himself very much off from the company of the household; but he went on with his work as usual, until one day he was found hanging by his neck-cloth from a rafter in the hayloft. Everyone was sure that he had made away with himself through his grief at not getting the girl, who, just about this time, had been betrothed to another man.

On the eve of her wedding day the weather was fair and there was bright moonlight. The girl still had a good many things to do; amongst other things, she still had to make her bridal shoes. She asked another girl from the farm to come and sit with her in the doorway, so that she could sew her shoes there; for it was not yet time to light the lamps indoors, but the light was still good outside. The other girl did so, and there they sat for a time, the bride busy with her shoes and the other girl busy doing nothing.

After a little while, the bride's companion began to get sleepy and to yawn. So the bride told her to go in and go to bed, seeing that she was so sleepy; for it was no pleasure to have such a sleepy companion, and nothing could possibly frighten or hurt her in such fine, bright weather. The girl did as she was told, went indoors and went to bed; but the bride still sat there, finishing her shoes. When she had finished

them, she looked out over the fields, and there she saw a man come running up from below the hayfield; he gave her no greeting, but she accosted him boldly and asked him who he might be. The man said that he had business with her. Said she:—‘It is as well, then, that I had not gone to bed, since your business is with me. What may it be?’

‘I am come to kill you,’ said he.

‘Then I am afraid you will have to leave your business undone,’ said she. ‘Now must you do one of two things—either you shall go to the lowest and worst part of Hell, or else you shall go to the devil in the hayfield north of the farm, and stay there for ever and ever. But you will get nothing from me.’

‘A thousand times rather will I choose the hayfield,’ said the ghost, and at once turned and went thither; and second-sighted folk have often seen him sitting there since. But he never molested the girl again.

The wonderful thing about this ghost is that he is one of the very few who do good and not evil. Everyone knows that though there may be a high gale at Hvítárvellir, as is often the case in all that district, the hay in that northern field is never blown about, so long as it is not fastened down by ropes and stones. Men say they have the ghost to thank for this, for he lies on the hay and keeps it from all harm, so long as folk leave him alone in the business. But if men try to fasten down the hay with stones and ropes, it is all pulled loose and whirled all over the field. Once, when the weather was very rough, there were two haycocks in the field, one loose, light hay from the outer fields, all uncovered, and the other good, thick hay, very firmly fastened and covered up. But all the same, the covering of turf and stones was torn and stripped off that hay, and thrown broadcast, while the hay was whirled all over the field; but the loose hay was shaken not a whit.”

The last tale of this type of ghost that I shall take is a brief one, showing that tastes acquired during life do not always end with death. Witness the story of :

The Brandy Keg.

“ Once upon a time there were two friends, one young, the other old; the latter, they say, was very fond of drink, and the younger had invited him to his wedding feast. But before this could be held, the old man died. He was buried in the graveyard of the church where his friend was married, and the wedding-feast was held at the priest’s house.

That night the bridegroom dreamed that his friend came to him and said :—

‘ Pour I beg, one brandy-keg
O’er the grave wherein I lie;
These bones of mine for a taste of wine
Do crave most longingly. ’

The bridegroom immediately got up and went to his friend’s grave, over which he poured a four-gallon keg of brandy. And that was the end of his dreaming.”

Much more dangerous than these ghosts are those known in Iceland as “Uppvakningar”—“Ghosts wakened up.” These are spirits raised from the dead and clothed once more in mortal form by the power of witches and wizards. Many accounts are given of the various processes by which this is brought to pass; but one thing the wizard must have—some portion, however small, of the bone of the man whose ghost he wishes to raise. If he knows the magic art thoroughly he can then clothe this fragment in some semblance of human form, endow it with malignant powers, and send it to work ill to his enemies. Such a demon was often known to make wantonly malicious attacks on folk other than those against whom it had been sent. But although the evil powers of these demons were almost unlimited, they all had one vital point; if their

victim could manage to strike with an iron weapon the fragment of actual bone which the wizard had used to create his fiend, all was well; the demon then perished. One of the simplest of such tales is that of:—

The Neck-bone.

“Once upon a time a farmer was working in his hay-field late in the day when it was just beginning to get dark. Suddenly he saw something come into the field, and was so terrified all of a sudden that he threw away his rake in a hurry and ran away. However, he had to come back a little later to fetch hay to feed his cattle, so he went to look for his rake. When he found it, the neck-bone of a man was impaled on it. The farmer then knew that it must have been a ghost that had come into his field; for he knew from the tales of wise men that nothing but one human bone was necessary for a wizard to raise up a ghost, and that if a man could strike that one bone with an iron weapon, the ghost would be defeated.

The farmer thought himself very lucky to have managed unintentionally to do this; so he took up both the rake and the bone and guarded both carefully.”

Some legends describe such ghosts as being altogether black or dark in hue, save only for this one spot, which is white and gleaming. One tale relates how a man crossing a frozen lake one winter's night was attacked by a dark shadowy form wrapped in a long cloak. After a fierce struggle, the cloak was torn, and revealed a gleaming white spot on the breast of the ghost. The man struck at this spot with his knife, and with a crash the ghost vanished, leaving a fragment of human bone impaled on the knife's point.

A similar tale again emphasises the belief that no ghost, however powerful, can make a frontal attack on anyone who shows no sign of flinching.

The Bone of the Knife's Point.

“There was once a widow living on her own farm in the north. She was a rich woman and a strong, and had many suitors, among them a wizard from a neighbouring district with whom she would have nothing to do. Now this widow had the gift of second sight, and it was not difficult for her to be on her guard against dangers.

One evening not long after this she was out in her larder getting portions of food ready for her household; she had a knife in her hand, with which she was cutting a black pudding. Then she saw a ghost come along the passage and in at the larder door. The woman stood, knife in hand, and stared fixedly at the ghost without showing any sign of fear. The ghost hesitated, and tried to find some way to reach the woman sideways or from behind; for no unclean spirit can attack an unfrightened mortal face to face. Meanwhile the woman noticed that the ghost was black all over, save for one white spot. Into that spot she struck with her knife; there was a fearful crash, and the knife was wrenched from her hands. The ghost vanished, and search as she might, she could see no signs of her knife. But next day she found it on the flagstones outside the farm door, and impaled upon it was a portion of a man's backbone. Every door in the house had been bolted the night before.”

But ghosts in human form are by no means the most terrible or the most powerful demons that can be conjured up by a really skilled magician. Far more evil are those demons which the Icelanders call “fylgjur”—“followers”—which generally appear in the form of animals, and are said to haunt a family sometimes as long as nine generations. Belief in such family fiends is by no means extinct; I knew two brothers, well-educated men, in Revkjavík, who quite seriously believed that their family had been haunted

for seven generations by a fiend in the form of a large brown dog named Móri.

There are almost innumerable tales of such fiends, but I shall only take one, that of the most famous of all these demons:—

Thorgeir's Boli.

“There was once a man named Thorgeir, whom many folk called Geir the Wizard; his brother was called Stefán, and was nicknamed Stefán the Singer, for he had a gift for rhyming, and singing; their father's name was Jón. There was another man named Andrés, uncle to these twain; all belonged to Fnjóskadal, and spent the autumn out fishing at Hrísey in Eyjafjörthr. It was these three men, so folk say, who raised up the demon whom men call Boli. They say that Thorgeir got a new-born calf from a woman on the island of Hrísey, and cut it up in the way he thought best; then he flayed it, cutting the skin underneath and drawing it all off towards the tail; and then by his magic he made the body very huge. But the kinsmen did not yet think that enough had been done; so they set portions of eight things in the wounds—and these were the eight things:—air, a bird, a man, a dog, a cat, a mouse, and two kinds of sea-beasts; so, what with these and what with his original bull's nature, Boli had now nine natures. Therefore he could travel equally well by sea or by land, and could appear to men in any form whose nature he had, whichever he chose at the time. Even yet, though Boli was equipped so well, Thorgeir was still doubtful as to his invincibility; so he got a caul and threw it over him as a final protection.

This demon was called Thorgeir's Boli, because it was Thorgeir who had done most to equip him for his work, and Thorgeir therefore had first claim on his services.

Now as it happened, Thorgeir had paid court to a girl named Guthrún Bessadóttir, but she had refused him. So they sent Boli to attack her. It was some time before he got any power over her, but at last it came to be that she was never safe from his attacks, and when she went from one farm to another, six or eight men had to go with her, and no one got any peace when they were with her. Sometimes she was snatched from her horse and carried three or four furlongs away, even though she had a whole company of folk with her; and then perhaps she might be left in peace for a time. At last she died from the effects of Boli's persecution of her.

Once when she was in church, Boli tormented her so that she could get no peace; sharp shooting pains ran through all her body. At last a man went out of the church, and there on the turf-roof of the farm lay Boli; one side of the roof sloped towards the church, but Boli was lying on the other side, with his lips resting on the ridge of the roof so that the man could see his great gaping nostrils; and it seemed to the man as though there were a kind of grey string hanging from his nostrils, of which the other end was in the church. But when the man went round to look at the other side of the farm, he saw Boli's body just disappearing.

At the Farm called Sund, in Höfthahvörfr, lived a farmer named Magnús; his wife was called Helga, and was near of kin to Guthrún Bessadóttir. After the death of Guthrún, Boli turned his attention to Helga, and tormented her almost continually.

Now up at Klukir in Eyjafjörthr lived a wise man named Torfi. Torfi was asked to try and overcome Boli and set Helga free. So he came to Sund, and there he saw Boli; he was in the living-room of the farm, lying on the top of Helga, who meanwhile was complaining that there seemed to be a great weight pressing upon her, especially upon her feet, though to

all present they seemed to be uncovered; but Torfi could see that Boli was lying upon them. Torfi, however, could do nothing to overcome Boli, for he said he did not know whether the caul with which he was covered had been drawn upwards or downwards from the child; and it was the caul from which Boli drew most of his evil power.

Folk say that in the end Boli drove Helga to her death, and that afterwards he haunted her family.

Though Thorgeir's original intention when he brought Boli into being was to let him kill Guthrún, he also made use of him to plague other men for injuries done to him which he thought had not been fully avenged; for otherwise he found Boli continually at his own heels, and a sufficiently troublesome follower he was. Thorgeir often sent him to ride on other men's cows, and plague them and drive them astray; and often men heard him howling and roaring in mist and darkness.

Once Thorgeir was at a farm called Hallgilstathir; in the evening the farmer held prayers for his household, but Thorgeir went out before they began. When prayers were over, the farmer went out and joined him, and they saw what seemed to be a great belt of fog in the north near the mountains, though everywhere else it was bright and clear. Then said Thorgeir:—

‘He has grown accursedly long now!’

And men think that he was speaking of Boli, for they remember that one of his natures was that of air. Soon afterwards came a fierce storm of snow and wind, and all thought that it was Boli who brought it about, and it was not the only time that such a vision of him was the prelude to storms and other misfortunes. Folk in the north country say that Lalli, the fiend of Húsavík, and Skotta, the fiend of Eyjafjörthr, were in league with Boli, and scoured the whole of Fnjoskadal.

Men say that they saw Boli with Lalli and Skotta on his neck.

Whenever Boli was unsuccessful in the tasks Thorgeir set him, he would return to his master and attack him instead; he did him many a hurt, and was always trying to get the better of him. And Thorgeir, although he had no little skill in magic, found it more and more difficult to defend himself from Boli, and knew well that it would be a matter of life and death if Boli in one of his most evil moods should take it into his head to attack him. Once Boli attacked him and so nearly killed him that Thorgeir lost his head completely and fled from him into the farm to his wife. She had a child in her arms, and Thorgeir, in his terror, wanted to take it and throw it to Boli to try and appease him. But his wife begged him by all that was holy not to do so, but rather to fetch their cow from the byre and let Boli have that. So Thorgeir set the cow free and drove her out. But when they went out a little later on, they found the cow all torn to pieces close to the farm.

The story does not tell of any great harm done by Boli after that. He often chased cattle, and haunted the members of Thorgeir's family, until Thorgeir was so frightened that he made his two daughters, who were both called Ingibjörg, set runic letters on their aprons to defend them against Boli.

When Boli was seen by men he was sometimes in one form, sometimes in another, as has been said before; sometimes he was in the likeness of a man or of a dog, but generally in the likeness of a bull, horned, and flayed from the shoulders, with the blood-stained skin round his neck.

But whatever shape he took, he was always hideous, and most folk were afraid of him.

Folk say for the most part that Thorgeir never got the better of Boli before he died; and they say that

when he lay on his deathbed and had breathed his last, a grey cat, or as some say, a black dog, was seen crouching on his breast; and that, they say, was Boli in one of his many shapes."

This tale also illustrates another fairly widespread belief with regard to these fiends—namely, that a wizard, in raising them up, runs a very grave risk, as the fiend has an unpleasant habit at the last of turning upon its own creator.

Other fiends, known as "sendingjar"—"sendings," also the product of sorcery, may take any kind of shape or form their creator desires. Such a demon figures in the tale of a priest named:

Síra Jón of Tröllatunga.

"Björn Hjálmarsson was for many years priest at Tröllatunga in Strandasýsla. He had an only son named Jón, to whom he gave a good education and finally made him his assistant. Síra Jón was a man of a rather jocular disposition, and frequently made fun of the popular belief in witchcraft and superstition whenever he came across anyone who believed such things.

Now one summer there came a trader to Tröllatunga, a man from Arnarfjörthr, who gave himself great airs, like most folk from those parts, as knowing rather more than most men. But when the priest heard this, he began to tease the fellow, begging him to give him some manifestation of his powers, and irritating him beyond all bounds. At last the man grew angry and promised Síra Jón that he would send a fiend to him which would give him quite sufficient proof of his powers. But the priest only laughed, and challenged him to do his worst. A little while after this the man went back to the west country, and Síra Jón forgot all about him and his threats.

Next summer the priest's sleeping-quarters were in

a hut off the main building; and one night rather late in the summer he was awakened by feeling something groping about under the bed-clothes. He looked up, and saw a devil sitting on the edge of the bed. He lay down again and took no further notice. Presently the devil again began to poke about and tickle him. Then the priest sat up, and said :—

‘Go away—I’m not to be frightened by a miserable little thing like you!’

Then the devil disappeared.

But a little later the priest saw a kind of thick cloud of fog coming into the hut; and when it had all come in, he saw that it was a monster, so huge that it filled the whole hut. Then said he :—‘I’m not afraid of you; you are nothing but mere size. The fiend that is to be my match must have some marrow in him. Go away!’

So this ghost also disappeared.

But now the priest remembered the man from Arnarfjörth and his threats and prepared for further strange sights; but he was not in the least frightened.

Then, when he was least expecting it, a shape came gliding in at the door; it glowed like fire, and seemed to have three points, each armed with a sharp horn. At the same moment it seemed to the priest that all round the room were beds, and in every bed a man with breast bare and uncovered. Then the shape seemed to glide forward from the door and drive one of its horns into the breast of the man nearest to it; the priest saw the horn sink deep into the breast of the man, there was one cry of agony and the man lay dead.

Then the thing came to the next man and slew him in the same way, and he too died shrieking with pain. The fiend stayed not till all were slain. Lastly, the shape began to move towards the priest; then he sprang to his feet, bared his breast, and cried in a loud voice :—‘Come thou! But come in Christ’s

name!’ But no sooner had he uttered these words than all the phantoms vanished.”

So much for ghosts and demons; and it is a pleasant change to turn from these powers of darkness to the more kindly and genial race of Elf-folk. The Icelandic Alfafolk are in many ways peculiar. They are in all respects similar to human beings in appearance, and wear the usual costume of the country, though the texture of their garments may be a trifle finer and their ornaments more elaborate. Their homes are in secret recesses of the rocks and mountains or in an Elf-land below the earth or beneath the waters of the lakes. The Elf-communities are in almost every respect similar to those of mankind. They have their king and queen, their labourers, their churches and their priests; the only difference being that an earthly church is built from west to east, whereas an elf-church is from east to west.

When a man or woman undertakes work on an Icelandic farm, he or she is taken on for a definite period. These periods begin and end all over the country on certain fixed days, called “moving days”; and on these days great numbers of workpeople are moving from farm to farm in order to take up new employment. The elf-folk, too, have their moving days, of which New Year’s Eve is the chief; and on these days folk gifted with second sight can see little green lights moving among the hills as the elfin workers go on their way.

The most common name for the elf-folk in Iceland is “Huldufolk,” Hidden people—and this is how they came to be so called.

The Beginning of the Elves.

“Once upon a time, God came to visit Adam and Eve. They gave Him good greeting, and showed Him everything in their house. They also showed Him

their children, whom He considered most promising youngsters. But then He asked Eve if she had not more children than those she had shown Him; and she said no. But it so happened, that she had not yet had time to wash some of the children, and was so ashamed because they were so dirty that she would not let Him see them and had hidden them away. God knew this, and said:—‘Those that had to be hidden from God shall be hidden from men.’

These children now became invisible to mortal eyes, and made their homes in holts and heaths, hills and rocks.

From them the elves are descended, while from the clean children comes the race of men. Mortal men cannot see the elves unless they themselves wish it; but elves can both see men and let themselves be seen if they will.”

Like the fairies of other lands, the Icelandic elf-folk are often in the habit of stealing mortal children and leaving changelings in their places. In most Icelandic changeling stories, it is an elf-woman who takes this means of ridding herself of an aged or undesirable husband. It is never safe to leave a young child alone for any time, however short, unless the cradle is marked with the sign of the cross; for the elf-folk are always on the watch and are quick to seize their opportunity. One instance of such a tale will suffice:—

The Father of Eighteen Children in Elf-land.

“One summer’s day, on a certain farm, all the people except the farmer’s wife had gone to the meadows; she stayed behind with her little son, a child three or four years old, to look after the house. Up to this day the child had grown and shaped well; he could speak perfectly and was in every way bright and full of promise.

The woman had a good deal of housework to see to besides having to look after the boy, and had to leave

him for a little time while she went down to a brook near the farm to wash out the milking-pails. She left the child at the farm door, and was not away for more than a few moments. When she came back she found the child whining and crying much more peevishly than she had ever known it do; in fact, up to that day it had been a remarkably quiet, peaceable and well-behaved child. But from this day forth nothing was heard but continual howling and whining; the child seemed to have lost all power of speech, and to have become so naughty and so fretful that the poor woman did not know what to do. She could not understand why it had changed so and why it did not grow, but remained just the same, as small and as stupid as ever. At last she decided to go and ask the advice of a woman who lived near by, whom folk held to be wiser than the common run of mortals, and to tell her all her troubles. The wise woman questioned her closely as to when this change in the child took place, and what she thought to be the cause of it. The mother then told her all the tale.

But when the wise woman heard this she said: 'Don't you think, my good woman, that the child is a changeling. I think that your own child was stolen by the elf-folk when you left him at the farm door.'

'What would you advise me to do?' said the other.

'I should advise you,' said the wise woman, 'to leave the child by itself one day, and leave something strange and unusual where he can see it; then, when he thinks he is alone, he will probably say something to betray himself. You must hide somewhere so that you can hear what he says. Then, if the boy's words are in any way curious or suspicious, take him and beat him without mercy until something else happens.'

The wife thanked the wise woman for her counsel, and went home. Then she took her smallest porridge

pot and put it in the middle of the kitchen floor, got a number of sticks and tied them one to another, so that the top one reached right up to the chimney. She then tied the porridge-stick to the lowest one, and stuck it in the pot. When all this was ready she brought the boy into the kitchen and left him there, while she hid behind the door and looked through a chink into the kitchen. Soon she saw the child begin to toddle round the porridge pot, and look at it in a puzzled kind of way. At last it said:—‘Now am I old, as my beard shows—father of eighteen children in Elfland—but never yet have I seen such a long stick for so little porridge!’

The woman then ran into the kitchen with a good thick stick, seized the changeling, and beat him long and mercilessly, while he began to howl most dolefully. Then there came in a strange woman, holding a beautiful boy in her arms. Then she said angrily:—‘This is unfair; I lull your child to sleep, while you beat my poor husband!’ So saying, she handed back the child to its mother, snatched her old man away, and they both disappeared.”

The elves have their own sheep and cows, which resemble those of mortal race, but are of finer quality. Sometimes these animals stray on to the farms together with earthly cattle, and sometimes they are given as presents by the elf-folk to mortals whom they favour or who have done them some service. But it is highly dangerous to steal or tamper with the elf-folk’s cattle without their sanction, and such offences may incur a terrible punishment. But still more dangerous are the elfin-horses or “*Nykur*” as they are called. They are often seen feeding in all seeming innocence among other horses of earthly breed; but woe betide the hapless mortal who dares to mount one of them; the steed no sooner feels the unwonted weight of a human being than he is seized with frenzy, gallops at breakneck

speed to the nearest river or lake, and plunges with his unfortunate rider beneath the waters.

In all the classes of stories we have so far dealt with the powers have been purely supernatural; but no paper on the folklore of Iceland would be complete without some reference to the group of tales dealing with Outlaws. Outlawry was a common form of punishment from the earliest times. The victim of such a sentence had to take to the mountains and waste places for a fixed term of years, during which he might with impunity be attacked and killed by any man. The most famous of all Icelandic outlaws was Grettir Ásmundarson, whom we have already mentioned; he was outlawed for a term of twenty years, and had escaped the vengeance of his foes until the last year of his sentence, when he was at length tracked down and slain in the rocky isle of Drangey, off the northern coast.

Such outlaws naturally constituted a very real menace to the community. The barren rocky hills and lava wastes of central Iceland offered admirable hiding-places; but they afforded little or no means of sustenance. The outlaws therefore generally depended for their means of livelihood on sheep stolen from outlying farms, and such provisions as they might obtain by waylaying and robbing travellers on the lonely hill-paths. The great lava cavern of Surtshellir in central Iceland was for long the home of a band of outlaws, who became the terror of the whole district of Borgarfjörthr, and more particularly of the outlying farms of Húsafell and Kalmanstunga. Piles of sheep-bones are still to be seen in the caverns, and traces of the fires where the outlaws cooked their stolen meat. Not unnaturally legends soon began to attach themselves to such men. Outlaws often became regarded as men possessed of semi-supernatural powers, whose homes in the unexplored recesses of the hills were places of

fear and wonder. They served the Devil, and fed not only upon good wholesome mutton, but upon the horseflesh no true Christian might taste, or even upon the flesh of men. Dark tales were abroad of how lonely travellers were seized, carried off, and devoured; and of how women were stolen from their homes and made slaves of these evil-doers.

“Up my Six in Christ’s Name” is a typical outlaw tale.

“One autumn, six men went out to round up their sheep from the mountains. Their leader was a stout-hearted man and of great strength. They had gone a long distance, when they were overtaken by a great snowstorm, and lost their way; for the snow was so thick that they could not see where they were going. At last they found themselves in a little valley, and came to a farm; they knocked at the door, which was opened by a hideous man of very evil appearance. He cast an unfriendly eye upon them, saying that it was something new for folk to come to him for shelter, and asking them what their business was. The leader told him what had happened, and as the man made no signs of inviting them in, they finally pushed past him into the house. There they sat for a time until a girl came into the room; she was comely enough, but seemed very frightened and sad. She brought them a dish of meat, while the old man stood leaning against the door-post watching her. As she handed the dish to the travellers, she managed to whisper:—‘Only eat the meat on the side of the dish nearest to you.’ Then they saw that on that side of the dish was mutton, but on the other human flesh. In the evening, the girl showed them their sleeping quarters. Then she said in a whisper:—‘Be on your guard; do not take off your clothes and do not sleep.’

There was bright moonlight that night, but the bed

in which the leader was lying was in the shadow. He told his companions that they must pretend to be asleep and must take no notice of what went on until he called them.

A little later the ill-favoured man came into the room. He went to one of the beds, and felt the man's breast. 'Skin and bone!' muttered he. He did the same with the others, muttering to himself as he did so. At last he came to the leader. 'Ah! this is a fine fat one!' he said. Then he suddenly seized an axe from the corner of the room and hewed at the bed. But the leader of the travellers had seen his intent, and had quickly rolled over to the other side, so that the blow missed him. He then seized the axe from the outlaw, who cried:—

'Up, my twelve, in the devil's name!'

But the traveller then brought down the axe on the outlaw's head and killed him, shouting as he did so:—

'Up, my six, in Christ's name!'

At that moment, a trapdoor opened in the floor of the room, and a man's head came up. The traveller struck it off. Then he found that there were twelve outlaws in the cellar beneath the floor, but he and his companions killed them all. Then they went to find the girl who had warned them overnight.

She said she was a farmer's daughter from Eyjafjörthr, whom the old outlaw had stolen away. He had tried to force her to marry his eldest son, but she had refused, for all these outlaws were hateful to her, chiefly because they killed all travellers who came that way, and devoured them. She had been made their slave."

Such are the main divisions into which the folklore of Iceland may be said to fall. There are numerous other tales which do not exactly fit into any of these categories, but it would take far too long to deal with them all. I will therefore conclude by reading just

one of the numerous stories which give a popular explanation of some natural phenomenon.

The lava rocks of Iceland are often marked with strange white and yellow spots, caused by a tiny lichen. But according to legend this is how they came to be there :—

The Old Woman's Spindle-Top.

“ Once upon a time an old man and his wife lived in a little cottage; they were so poor, that the only thing of any value they possessed was a golden top to the old woman's spindle. Every day the old man would go out hunting or fishing to get food for the day.

Not far from the cottage there was a high hill, and folk said that it was the home of a wizard named Kithhús, with whom the less one had to do the better.

One day, as usual, the old man went out hunting, and, also as usual, the old woman stayed at home. As the weather was fine, she went out of doors with her spindle, and worked at her spinning for some time. But all of a sudden the golden top fell off the spindle, and rolled away so far that the old woman could not see it anywhere. She was most unhappy about this, and searched high and low, but to no avail; she could not find that spindle-top anywhere.

A little later the old man came home, and she told him of her misfortune.

‘ Kithhús must have stolen it,’ said the old man. ‘ That is just the kind of thing he would do ! ’

So he got ready to go out again, telling his wife that he intended to go and ask Kithhús for the spindle-top back or for something in exchange for it. And when she heard that, the old woman was a little bit comforted.

The old man went along to Kithhús' hill, where he banged for a long time without stopping with a big stick. At last Kithhús called out :—

‘ Who is banging at my door ? ’

The old man replied:—

‘The old man is knocking and doesn’t mean to stop.
Till his wife is paid for her spindle-top!’

Kithhús asked him what he would take in payment; so the old man asked for a cow that would fill a ten-gallon pail every milking time; and Kithhús gave it to him. So the old man went back with the cow to his wife.

Next day, when she had milked the cow both morning and evening, and had filled every tub in the house with milk, she took it into her head to make porridge; but then she remembered that she had no meal. So she went to her husband and told him to go to Kithhús and ask him for some meal. The old man then went and banged on the hill with his stick as he had done before.

Then said Kithhús:—

‘Who is banging at my door?’

Then the old man replied:—

‘The old man is knocking, and doesn’t mean to stop,
Till his wife is paid for her spindle-top.’

Kithhús asked him what he wanted this time. The old man asked him to give him a little meal in his saucepan, because he and his wife wanted to make porridge; but Kithhús gave him a whole barrel of meal. So the old man went home with the barrel, and the old woman made the porridge.

When it was cooked, the old man and his wife sat down to it and ate till they could eat no more. But when they had eaten as much as they possibly could, there was still quite a lot left in the pot. Then they began to wonder what they could possibly do with it; and at last they agreed that the best thing would be to take it to the Blessed Virgin Mary; but it was not long before they found that it was no easy matter to climb up to the place where she lived. So they decided to

ask Kithhús for a ladder that would reach up to Heaven, saying that after all it was not too dear a price for him to pay for their spindle-top. So the old man again went and banged on the hill.

Then said Kithhús:—

‘Who is banging at my door?’

Once more the old man replied:—

‘The old man is knocking, and doesn’t mean to stop,
Till his wife is paid for her spindle-top.’

But when Kithhús heard this, he flew into a rage, and said:—

‘Will that accursed spindle-top never be paid for?’

But the old man only begged the harder, saying that they intended to take the remnants of their porridge to the Blessed Virgin Mary in a pail. At last Kithhús gave way, got the ladder, and even set it up for them.

The old man was delighted, and ran home to tell his wife. They then dressed themselves for their journey, and took the pail of porridge with them.

But when they had climbed tremendously high up on the ladder, they turned giddy; and the end of it was that they both fell down, and broke their skulls to little pieces. And bits of skull and specks of porridge were scattered over the whole world.

Now, wherever the bits of skull fell upon the rocks, they turned into white flecks; and the bits of porridge turned into yellow flecks; and you can see them on the rocks to this day.”

A NORSE CAMP AT BRANDON, SUFFOLK.

BY CLAUDE MORLEY, F.Z.S., ETC.

(Read January 4th, 1927).

A FIGHT between the Norsemen and the Local Saxons may be true or quite imaginary, but may well have taken place during the autumn of 870, while Ivar Lodbrogson was holding Thetford against King Eadmund of East Anglia's forces. But that the Vikings met a pretty rough handling on this particular islet at Brandon, I will endeavour to show.

For a thousand years the slaughtered lay forgotten, till, in January, 1860, the Quarterly Journal of the Suffolk Institute reported, at p. 51, "a letter relative to some human remains, etc., that had been found in a field between Brandon Church and the river," unfortunately with no details. But in the town it is still remembered that many skeletons of tall, fine-limbed men were unearthed during 1878-80 in the water-meadow just south of the Staunch, formerly in the river's bed, along with their swords and head-pieces, but that most of these were at once reinterred *in situ*, though some were then, and perhaps are still preserved at Brandon Hall. So numerous were these gruesome relics, that boys collected and brought away as many skulls as they could carry.

Now, I have recently had the good fortune to meet one of these boys, and he tells me at first hand that he well remembers the skulls, with their excellent teeth perfect, and various other bones to have been in such quantity, that the Farmer (Balding) of the Old Manor

Farm, by the Church, at Church End, was summoned for manuring his fields with them, though I suspect ecclesiastical intervention to be more probable. The preserver of some skulls was "Henry, Baron de Barreto," who died on 17th May, 1890 (marble slab now in churchyard, moved from private mausoleum), of Brandon Park. The only weapon remembered by this "boy" was a sword or dirk, some two feet in length (hand guard doubtful); and that this was of steel, not bronze, is proved by its continued use as a carving knife, though now lost, in the family of Boughen (the "boy"), who further indicated to me the exact spot where the skull was discovered in a pasture, untouched since 1872, which he considered the date of disinterment.

This is the highest point of a slight elevation, some four feet above the river's level, and about a hundred and fifty yards south of its present course, lying upon valley-gravel and not sand. An examination of the site shows that it has been irregularly moated on all sides. The east is 116 paces in length, due north and south, thence semicircularly for 60 paces westward. Here the west side of 80 paces runs N.N.E., leaving the north side only 55 paces broad. But this north side has been cut away, quite possibly at the same period, for docking boats, for 48 paces, and is now bog like the remainder of the ground northward to the river.

Mr. W. H. Pepworth, who alone has recorded this battle (*Bury Free Press*, February 18th, 1905), considered "that heavy fighting took place near Brandon many years ago, is proved by the fact that in a meadow near the river human skulls and other bones were dug up from the sandy soil; and general opinion is, that the fighting took place here during the operations against Ely" and Hereward's Camp of Refuge there in the year 1071. But this rectangular camp, which has not hitherto been recorded, so exactly

resembling that at Thetford, near Red Castle, as noticed by Asser and the Saxon Chronicle, and detailed in Armitage's *Norman Castles*, 1912, p. 56, pretty clearly shows it to be contemporary with the death of the grand old Viking, whose armour from just opposite Santon Downham, between the two camps, is described by Canon Greenwell in *Proc. Suffolk Institute*, iv., 1874, p. 208; and of this the superior stature is corroborative.

RORIK OF JUTLAND AND RURIK OF THE RUSSIAN CHRONICLES.

BY COLONEL N. T. BELAIEW, C.B.

(Read March 29th, 1927.)

THE narrative of Ohthere (Ottar) of Halogaland, preserved by King Alfred the Great in his translation of Orosius,¹ gives us a clear and trustworthy account of the political and economic conditions of the northern lands bordering on the Baltic at the beginning of the Viking age. This narrative, taken together with that of Wulfstan, may be considered as a veritable "Periplus" of the Baltic, this *Mediterranean of the North*, and indeed it bears that very name in an old edition of "Arii Thorgilsis filii."² Its simple and matter-of-fact language has been long ago recognised as a true witness of its veracity.³

The conditions depicted in that narrative existed in the second half of the ninth century, and were thus contemporaneous with the exploits of Roric of Jutland and with the foundation of the Russian empire. By that time the fusing of various northern tribes, the Svears, Gothars, "South-" and "North-Danes," Raums, Hords and Thronds, into the three main branches of Swedes, Danes and Norwegians, whilst well on the way, was by no means an accomplished

¹ "A Description of Europe and the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, written in Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred the Great," by J. Bosworth. London, 1885.

² "Periplus Ohtheri Halgolando-Norwegi ut et Wulfstan Angli," by A. Bussæo. Havniae. 1733.

³ "The Biarmians told him" (Ohthere) "many stories both about their own country and about the countries which were around them; but he knew not what was true because he did not see it himself." Bosworth. *Ibidem*, p. 9.

fact. Their local national consciousness was very much alive. It is clear from the sagas that they still kept a quite distinct national existence under an allegiance to a particular assembly or "Thing," and under the rule of a Konung or chief belonging to one of the noble families of Inglings, Skioldungs or Saemings. Thus in the Saga "Af Halfi ok Halfsrekkum"⁴ are mentioned—konungs of *Rogaland* and of *Hordeland*. Similarly, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in its entry in 787 on "Danish men that sought the land of the English race," calls them "Northmen from *Herethaland*." Ohthere, whilst using the words "Norðmen," "Norðmannaland" and "Norðwege," definitely states that he comes from *Halogaland*. King Alfred lays stress on the difference between the inhabitants of Jutland and those of the Danish islands and Skane, whom he calls respectively the North and South Danes.⁵

On the other hand, they all used one and the same language, the so-called Ur-Scandinavian, which began to split up into Norse and Danish-Swedish only about 800 A.D. As to the latter language, throughout the whole of the Viking age, and even as late as 1200, the old Danish hardly differed from the old Swedish. Neither was there any difficulty, on linguistic grounds, in intercourse between the Northmen, the Saxon and the English. From the accounts of the early missionaries, from the sagas, and from the narrative of

⁴ "*Antiquités Russes*," Kongeligt Nordisk Oldskrift Selskab (edited by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of the North). t.1.; Copenhagen, 1850. p. 86. This saga deals with events previous to Harald Harfagre. The editors, Rafn and Munch, lay stress on its veracity. In the paragraph cited above are also mentioned Bjarmaland and "Sunnaverðri Finn-Mörk" (The country of the Southern Finns).

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 1. "King Alfred's preface to the narrative of Ohthere." It is clear from the narrative and other contemporaneous sources that in the Ninth and Tenth centuries the Baltic was thought to extend not from North to South, but from North-east to South-west, or even from East to West. This view was also held by the author of the Russian chronicle ("Nestor"); see Bosworth *Ibidem*, p. 3 and N. Barsov, "*Sketches of the Russian historical geography*," Warsaw, 1885.

Ohthere, it is evident that where such people met, as they usually did at some trading centre like Duurstede,⁶ Sciringesheal⁷ or Birka,⁸ they had no difficulty in understanding one another. If for the main masses of population intercourse was difficult indeed, it was on account of the absence of regular communication between landlocked valleys, through mountain ranges, and primæval forests. On the other hand, islands or even opposing parts of the mainland were easily reached across the waters. Thus, since early days, the islands of Zealand, Laaland, and Funen formed one complex with Skane in southern Sweden, and similarly Jutland and Vestfold, the country round the Oslo-fjörd, not infrequently came under one rule, either that of the Inglings from Vestfold, or of the Skioldungs in Jutland.

On the mainland of Scandinavia, especially in the northern or mountainous regions, whole districts are very sparsely populated even now. Much more so in the Eighth and Ninth centuries, when there was no continuity of settlement, and the Thronds, Hords, or Svears, clustered round fjörds, valleys or lakes in locked up communities. From these as centres streams of colonists began to spread up the valleys, clearing the forests and wastes. This explains why many kings of that period were known as "clearers" or "tree-fellers," as, for instance, Onund the "Land-clearer," father of Ingiald Illradi and his grandson Olaf Tretelgja.

Besides settlers, there always were many trappers, hunters and merchants in quest of furs and of new avenues for trade. From the narrative of Ohthere and

⁶ Dorestadt, the chief trading centre of the Frisians. Later a fief of Roric.

⁷ "Sciringesheal" of Ohthere (*Ibidem*, p. 14) or "Skiringsal" of the Inglinga Saga. See "*Heimskringla*," ed. by S. Laing, 1889, London, v. I., p. 325. It lay in Vestfold, Norway, close to Tunsberg.

⁸ On the lake Mellar in Sweden.

from the Egil's Saga we know that these came mainly from Halogaland. By the second half of the Ninth century they had established a regular trade with the Finns round the gulf of Bothnia, the so-called Quens of Kvens,⁹ with the Karelians farther south, in the country of the great fresh water lakes,¹⁰ and with the Ter-Finns¹¹ and the Biarmians on the shores of the White Sea.

These intrepid Halogalanders must have been brought inevitably sooner or later into contact with another stream of traders and colonists, this time from Sweden, where Birka on the lake Mellar was their great trading centre. Pushing slowly forward along the thousand islands of the Finnish gulf, they were also nearing the country of the fresh-water lakes.¹² Both streams were converging towards the country of Holmgard, or Novgorod. Still, as Novgorod is not mentioned by either Ohthere or the Egil's Saga, we have to infer that their narratives registered a state of things immediately preceding the formation of this future nucleus of the Russian state.

Another line of penetration from Sweden lay in a

⁹ From the Finnish "Kainuu-maa," meaning the Low Country; hence the Russian "Kayanska Zemla," and "Kayany," also Kvens, Cwenas, Kwener and Quens and Quaener. The Northmen usually designated all the Finnish population in Finland by that term; on the other hand, the Swedes, spreading along the Finnish coast came in contact with the Southern Finns and used the word "Suomi," Russian "Sum."

¹⁰ Says Ohthere: "There are very large fresh water meers beyond the wastes; and the Cwens carry their boats over land into the meers." *Ibidem*, p. 9.

The Land of the Karelians is also mentioned in the Sögubrot as "Austr Karjalabotna." See "*Antiquités Russes*," "Sögubrot, etc," v. I., p. 73.

¹¹ "ac para Terfinna land." (Ohthere, *Ibidem*, p. 10. Also "*Antiquités Russes*," v. II., p. 461). Ter-finns inhabited the west coast of the White Sea and were called by the settlers from Novgorod "Terskoï Lopari." The south coast of the Kola peninsula is called up to this day "Terski Bereg," whilst the north coast bears the name of "Murmanski Bereg," or the "Norman Coast."

¹² Archæological and especially the numismatic evidence corroborates the statements of the sagas and shows that a steady influx of colonists was in evidence as early as the Eighth century. See T. J. Arne, "*La Suède et l'Orient*," *Archives d'études orientales*, vol. 8, 1914. Upsala. and O. Montelius, "*Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*," 1906, Leipzig.

more southerly direction, via the island of Gothland towards the East-shore, the land of peoples called in the saga Aestii, Osti or Esti. The Inglinga saga tells us of many raids by the Svears, for instance, by Ingvar and his son Onund, the Land-clearer.¹³ As Onund was the father of Ingiald Illrade, these events took place most probably a century before the battle of Bråvalla, i.e., in the course of the Seventh century.

The sagas have preserved a certain reminiscence of much earlier relations still; for instance, the Inglinga says that "Odin . . . with all the gods and a great many other people wandered out, first westward to Gardaríke and then south to Saxland."¹⁴ Gardaríke, the present Russia, is called "Svithiod the Great," or Godheim, whilst their own Svithiod they styled only Manheim.¹⁵ Kings of Gardaríke play a considerable part in the early history of Sweden. Thus Ivar Viðfaðme of Skane, who displaced the Ingling dynasty from Upsala, and from whom the subsequent kings of Sweden and Denmark descended, had a daughter, Auðr; she married Raðbarðr (Radbar) King of Gardaríke,¹⁶ and had a son Randver, the father of the famous Sigurd Ring (Sigurðr hringr).

Sigurd Ring, as a young Swedish king, fought and won the battle of Bråvalla from his uncle Harald Hilditönn, son of Hroerekr (Rorik),¹⁷ and a grandson of Ivar Viðfadmi. As family traditions were jealously kept by the royal Norse families, the Gardaríke tradition must have been a very live one, and the grandchildren of Harald Hildetönn, Harald Klak and his younger brother Rorik must have been aware of it.

¹³ "*Heimshríngla*," *Ibidem*, v. I., p. 311.

¹⁴ *Inglinga Saga*, *Ibidem*, p. 274.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 280.

¹⁶ "*Sögubrot*, etc." "*Antiquités Russes*," t. I., p. 14, and p. 66-73; see also p. 487, where a genealogical table is given.

¹⁷ "*Sögubrot*," *Ibidem*, p. 67. Saxo also mentions a "*Roricus slyngebaand*."

The battle of Bråvalla left a lasting impression on the memory of the northern nations, and may be considered as a chronological era. Rafn and Munch¹⁸ place that battle about 750 A.D., but Kunik in an exhaustive research suggested a somewhat later date, about 770.¹⁹ This date was accepted by Sir Henry Howorth in his paper read before this Society on "*Harald Fairhair and his Ancestors.*"²⁰ Harald Hildetönn, who had a long and prosperous reign, fell in that battle, and his young nephew Sigurd Ring became, at least temporarily, King of Sweden and Denmark. Up to that time the annals of the neighbouring nations did not refer to the northern rulers. After that date references became more and more numerous. One feels that a new and powerful factor has come into play.

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The first references, both from Greek and Frankish sources, seem to be related to the battle of Bråvalla. Thus, a certain King *Bravlin*, who ravaged southern Crimea and took by storm the town of Suroge, is repeatedly mentioned in the early Russian chronicles, where his name appeared either in its shorter slavonic form of Bravlin, or in the fuller one of Bravallin.²¹ Various suggestions were put forward to explain the origin of this name,²² and even to slavicise it.²³ I would like to suggest that it might have been originally

¹⁸ "*Antiquités Russes.*" Vol. I. See also P. Du Chaillu, "*The Viking Age*," London, 1889, II., 436-440.

¹⁹ "*Remarques critiques sur les Antiquités Russes, etc.*" Bull. Academia Imperialis Scientiarum, 1850, v. VII., p. 143.

²⁰ "*Saga-Book*," 1920. Vol. IX., part I., p. 66.

²¹ F. C. H. Kruse. "*Chronicon Nortmannorum, etc.*" Dorpati, 1851, p. 289; for further details see Vasilyevsky, "*The Life of St. Stephen of Suroge*," Journ. of the Min. of Nat. Education, 1889, pp. 97-164 and 391.

²² Kunik in "*Die Berufung der Schwedischen Röslen durch die Finnen und Slawen*," St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 140, suggests "*Bra-Vallin.*"

²³ "*Branliv*," meaning "*Fighter*"; see Vasilyevsky, *Ibidem*, p. 100.

an adjective, and a reminiscence of Bråvalla, where its bearer might have fought and distinguished himself.²⁴

The somewhat obscure nature and chronology of these raids was cleared up some time ago by Professor Vasilyevsky in a series of essays on the lives of St. George of Amastrida and of St. Stephen of Suroge.²⁵ He showed there that the raids took place within a few years of the death of St. Stephen which occurred late in the Eighth century. Thus, the raids themselves are brought within a decade or so of the battle of Bråvalla. If we consider that about the same time vikings from Sweden had founded the stronghold of Seeburg²⁶ at the mouth of the Dvina, not far from present-day Riga, we could link up these events together and suggest that Bravlin reached the coasts of the Black Sea via the rivers Dvina and Dniepr. It does not seem improbable either that, as an outcome of such raids, some Scandinavians might have settled down in Kiev,²⁷ and even might have used it as a jumping-off ground for further raids, as for instance, those mentioned in the Life of St. George of Amastrida (written before 842²⁸), but as it follows from the story of the embassy of the Swedish "Rhos" to Louis the Pious in 839,²⁹ the communications with Novgorod and the whole circular

²⁴ "Links between Vikings of England and Russia," by Colonel N. Belaiew. (An address to the Anglo-Russian Literary Society). Extr. "Slavonic Review," 1926, IV., pp. XI, X.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, Journal of the Ministry of National Education, 1878 and 1889; and *Proceedings* ("Letopis") of the Archæographic Commission, v. IX, 1893 (Russian).

²⁶ "Seafaring and Shipping during the Viking Age," by Prof. A. Bugge. *Saga-Book*, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 17; also Arne, *Ibidem*, p. 5.

²⁷ This and allied questions have been specially dealt with by Professor Shakhmatov in the *Encyclopædia for Slavonic Philology* in his *Treatise on the oldest Russian Chronicles* ("Rosyskaniya") and in other writings.

²⁸ See, Vasilyevsky, *Ibidem*. The "Rus" there are mentioned as a people "whom all know."

²⁹ *Annales Bertiniani* pars. secunda: ad a. 839 (*Prudentii Trecentis Ann.*) "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," Scriptorum, t. I., p. 434. Ed. G. N. Pertz, Hannoveræ, 1828.

route "from the Varangians to the Greeks" had not yet been either opened up or fully explored.

Another reference comes from Einhard, the Franco-nian Chronicler and secretary of Charles the Great. Under A.D. 777 he made the often cited entry: *Widichindus ad Sigifridum Danorum, repartibus Nordmanniæ confugium fecit . . .*.³⁰ This Witi-kind, or Widukind, is the famous Saxon chief who defied the Emperor at the synod of Paderborn, and fled to his brother-in-law the Danish King Sigfrid or Sigurd, most probably Sigurd Ring of Bråvalla.³¹ Thus the Frankish Empire, in its ruthless campaign against the Saxons, was brought face to face with another and still more formidable enemy—the Northman.

A third and very complicated factor was the Slavonic nations, who by that time occupied the whole of the Baltic coast from the Elbe up to the Vistula or Wisla. King Alfred places the westernmost Slavs, the "Afrede," close to the Angles and Old Saxons, and next to them the "Wylte."³² The former are the so-called Obotriti (Lat.), or Bodrichi (Slav.), and the latter the Wilsî (Lat.), or Veleti-Lutichi (Slav.).³³ Farther South on the Spree, Alfred places the Gavo-lyane, whom he calls "Hæfeldan," then their neighbours, the Moravians, and to the east of the country of Moravia the country of the "Wisle" (Poland).³⁴

The Bodrichi, or Obotriti, were the immediate

³⁰ "Nam cuncti ad eum venerunt præter *Widichindum*, unum ex primoribus Westfalaorum, qui multorum sibi facinorum conscius, et ob id regem veritus, ad *Sigifridum Danorum repartibus Nordmanniæ confugium fecit* una cum sociis suis." *Einhardi Ann. A. 777* (Pertz, I., 157, 158) and "Saxones convenerunt, excepto quod *Widochindis* rebellis extitit cum paucis aliis . . ." *Ann. Laur. Ibidem*, p. 156, A. 777.

³¹ *Harald Fairhair and his Ancestors*," by Sir Henry Howorth. *Saga-Book*, Vol. IX., part I., p. 65.

³² King Alfred's description of Europe. Bosworth, *Ibidem*, pp. 1-3.

³³ From Slavonic "luti" or fierce.

³⁴ Bosworth, *Ibidem*, p. 3.

neighbours of the Saxons, and when in 780³⁵ Charles the Great crossed the whole of their land and appeared on the Elbe, he came immediately in touch with the Slavs. There existed an ancient rivalry between the military confederation headed by the Obotriti, and another headed by the Veleti. These latter were allies of the Saxons, and most naturally the Obotriti became allies of the Franks. Since that time they are referred to in the annals as "Sclavi nostri, qui dicuntur Abodriti."³⁶ With the help of the Obotriti, Charles succeeded in finally defeating even the Transalbingian-saxon, and then started the policy of wholesale deportation of the vanquished to other Frankish territories. The waste districts between Elbe and the Weser³⁷ were granted as a reward to the faithful Obotriti, who thus obtained a foothold on the Northern sea, and formed a kind of wedge between the Danes of Jutland and the Frisians and Saxons.

The Frisians were finally subjugated by Charles the Great as early as 785.³⁸ As they carried on a considerable sea trade, not only with the west coast of Scandinavia, but also with the Baltic littoral, the famous Birca on the lake Maellar being one of their colonies, their

³⁵ Profectus inde ad Albiam . . . tam ad res Saxonum qui citeriorem, quam et Sclavorum qui ulteriorum fluminis ripam incolunt componendas operam impendit." *Einh. Ann.* Ad. a. 780 (I., 161). And "Tunc domnus Carolus rex . . . ad locum ubi Lippia consurgit, ibique sinodum tenens, inde . . . Albiæ fluvii et in ipso itinere omnes Bardongauenses et multi de Nordleudi baptizati sunt . . . et pervenit usque ad supradictum fluvium, ubi Ora confluit in Albia, ibi omniaque disponens tam Saxoniam quam et Sclavos . . ." *Ann. Laur.* Ad. a. 780 (I. 160).

³⁶ "Et interim congregati sunt *Sclavi nostri, qui dicuntur Abodriti*, cum missis domni regis ad illos Saxones congregaverunt se in unum." *Chronicon Moissiacense*, ad. a. 798. Pertz. I., p. 303 (23).

³⁷ "Et inde misit imperator scaras suas in Wimodia et in Hostingabi et in Rosogabi, ut illam gentem foras patriam transduceret; nec non et illos Saxone qui ultra Albiam erant, transduxit foras, et divisit eos in regnum suum ubi voluit." *Chron. Moiss.* (Cod. Colbertini). Anno 804. Pertz. II., 257. And *Chron. Moiss.* (I. 307) where *Rosogavi* is put instead of *Rosogabi*.

³⁸ "Et Tunc rebellati sunt iterum Saxones solito more, et cum eis pars aliqua Frisonum." *Ann. Laur.* Ad. a. 784, 785 (I. 166).

subjugation by the Franks was doubtless keenly felt by the northern rulers. The appearance of the Obotriti close to Slesvic and Ribe³⁹ was, however, a much more serious menace, as on one hand it cut them off from their Saxon allies on the continent, and on the other endangered their maritime communications with the Frisians and jeopardised their control of the Baltic trade.

The first years of the Ninth Century were not marked, however, by any hostilities on the part of the Danes. Sigifridus (Sigurd) is last mentioned in 797, and then, in 804, the annals speak of another king—of Godofredus. This Godofredus has been identified by Munck and Howorth⁴⁰ with Gudrod the Ingling, the “Godrödr inn Gaofoglati” of the *Inglinga-tal*.⁴¹

According to the *Inglinga Saga*,⁴² Gudrod was a grandson of the last Upsala Ingling, Olaf Tretelgja, who after the death of his father Ingiald, moved first to Vermeland and then to Vestfold, on the shores of the Oslo fjörd. By the time of Gudrod the kingdom of Vestfold had become a powerful one, and its maritime trade with Slesvic and Dorestadt, centred in Skiringssal, was considerable. Therefore the loss of independence by the Frisians and the appearance of the Frankish allies, the Obotriti on the Weser, must have been keenly resented by Gudrod. His opportunity came in 808, when the Emperor Charles was at Aachen. He ravaged the lands of Obotriti and inaugurated a series of raids on the borderland of the empire. Charlemagne retaliated by sending an army

³⁹ “*Pages of Early Danish History, etc.*” By A. V. Storm. *Saga-Book*, Vol. II., p. 340. Ribe was situated on the west coast of Jutland, and the goods were conveyed there from Haddeleg (Slesvic) on their way from the Baltic to Holland, England and France.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, *Saga-Book*, Vol. IX., p. 65 and Note II., pp. 246-248.

⁴¹ “*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*,” by G. Vigfusson and F. York Powell. Oxford. 1883. Vol. I., p. 250.

⁴² “*The Heimskringla*,” transl. by S. Laing. *Inglinga Saga*, Vol. I., p. 327. See also “*Antiquités Russes*,” Vol. I.

under his son Charles to ravage the land of the Veleti, Gudrod's allies.

The Frankish Empire adopted at that time also the policy of giving shelter to exiled kings and pretenders of rival dynasties. The coming to Jutland of Gudrod the Ingling meant expulsion of the Skioldungs, and one of them—Halfdane—came over with a considerable following to the Emperor, and was granted the country of the Frisians as an appanage. This "Northman-norum dux Alfdeni dictus"⁴³ was most probably a son of Harald Hildetönn, and the father of Harald, Hemming and Rorik. He seems to have acted as a special envoy of his cousin Sigurd—Sigifrid,⁴⁴ and after the latter's death apparently had to leave Jutland. He is the first Norse "Margrave" of Frisia, and as we shall see later was succeeded there by his sons Harald and Rorik. Charles the Great, as later Louis the Pious, deemed it a good policy, and expected a Norse sea-rover to be a good protection for their sea-boards against viking encroachments. As a matter of fact, as early as 810 Gudrod descended upon Frisia with a considerable fleet, and ravaged the country.⁴⁵ The policy of the Frankish Empire began to bear its fruit, and from 810 on we see one northern fugitive king after another at Walcheren, or at Dorestadt, and also a whole series of viking raids, first on Wendland and Frisia, and then on the Empire itself, until by the middle of the ninth Century the whole of what is now France and Western Germany was utterly devastated. Even in the lifetime of the great Charles, the Northmen ceased to dread its

⁴³ *Poeta Saxo*, ad a. 807. Pertz. I., p. 263 (19).

⁴⁴ "Ibique omnes Saxones venientes, excepto rebellis Widochindus, etiam illuc convenerunt Nordmanni missi Sigifridi regis, id est Halptani cum sociis suis." *Ann. Laur.* ad a. 782. Pertz. I., 162. And

"Ubi inter cetera negotia etiam legatos Sigifridi, regis Danorum . . . et audivit et absolvit." *Einh. Ann.* ad a. 782, Pertz. I., 163. Kunik uses this passage to suggest the identity of Halfdan with Sigurd. See "*Remarques Critiques*," p. 150.

⁴⁵ On this occasion Gudrod had a fleet of 200 ships: ". . . ducentarum navium de Norðmannia Frisium appulisse . . ." *Einh. Ann.* ad a. 810. z., I., 197.

might, and we are told by Einhard that Gudrod became so insolent as to threaten Charlemagne in his own capital.⁴⁶ However, all immediate danger to the Empire was removed by the death of Gudrod, who, as narrates the *Inglinga-tal*, "was struck down by treason."⁴⁷

A long strife begins now again between the Inglings, sons of Gudrod and the Skiöldungs, Hemming, Harold and later, Rorik, grandchildren of Harald Hildetönn. At first the Skiöldungs get the upper hand, and the "filii Godofridi"⁴⁸ are exiled to Scandinavia. Battles are even waged in Vestfold,⁴⁹ but eventually Gudrod's son Erik becomes king of Denmark. The position of their enemies is not quite clear, however. It seems that they are able, for long periods at least, to maintain themselves in south Jutland and in Slesvic. So we hear, for instance, that Bishop Ebo is allowed by Harald to preach Christianity there in 823. It is perhaps on this account, however, that he is very soon forced to leave the country. Rimbert, in his "*Vita Sancti Anskarii*,"⁵⁰ thus describes these events: "After this happened that a king named Harald who ruled over some of the Danes was assailed by hatred and malignity and was driven out from his kingdom by the other kings of the same provinces,"—a clear reference to the struggle between Harald and the "filii Godofridi." Harold went to Louis and asked for his help,

⁴⁶ "Quorum Rex Godefridus adeo vana spe inflatus erat, ut sibi totius Germaniæ promitteret potestatem." *Einhardi Vita Karoli Imperatoris*, Pertz., II., 450 (19-21); " . . . Vanissima spe victoriæ inflatus . . ." *Einh. Ann.* Ad a. 810. Pertz., I., 197 (35).

⁴⁷ "*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*," *Ibidem.*, I., 250.

⁴⁸ *Einh. Ann.* ad a. 813 (Pertz., I., 200, 29), a. 814 (*Ibidem*, 201, 26), a. 815 (p. 202, 9), a. 817 (p. 202, 35).

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, ad a. 813, p. 200 (25-35).

⁵⁰ *Vita Sancti Anskarii a Rimberto et alio discipulo Anskarii conscripta.*" (Incipit Libellus continens vitam vel gesta seu obitum domni Anskarii primi nordalbingorum archiepiscopi, et legati sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ ad Sueones seu Danos nec non etiam Slavos et reliquas gentes in aquilonis partibus sub pagano adhuc ritu constitutas). Pertz., *Monumenta*, II., pp. 689-725. (cit. p. 694).

"so that he might be able to regain his kingdom."⁵¹ Louis urged him "by personal persuasion and through the instrumentality of others, to accept the Christian faith because there would then be a more intimate friendship between them, and a *Christian people would more readily come to the aid of his friends if both peoples were worshippers of the same God*. At length . . . he brought about his conversion, and when he had been sprinkled with holy water of baptism he himself received him from the holy font and adopted him as his son."⁵²

The baptism took place at Ingelheim, near Mainz, where Louis had a gorgeous palace overlooking the Rhine, close to the church of St. Alban. Harald came down the Rhine with his wife, his son (or sons), his brother Rorik,⁵³ and a large retinue in one hundred ships. The conversion of a northern king and his family made a lasting effect on the imagination of the contemporaries, and besides detailed entries in the annals⁵⁴ a whole poem describing the event has come down to us by a monk Ermoldus Nigellus, himself, apparently, an eye-witness of the baptism.⁵⁵ Harald

⁵¹ "Anskar, the Apostle of the North." By C. H. Robinson, transl. from the *Vita Anskarii* by Bishop Rimbert, his fellow missionary and successor. 1921. London

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 38. See also J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, "Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern." Innsbruck, 1908, pp. 325, 326.

⁵³ Van Bolhuis, "De Noormannen in Nederland," Utrecht, 1834, I., 57. W. Moll, "Die Vorreformatatorische Kirchengeschichte der Niederlande," Leipzig, 1895, p. 210. Kruze, *Chronicon Nortmannorum*, ad a. 826 p. Sir Henry Howorth, "Harald Fairhair," *Saga-Book*, 1920, IX., 98.

⁵⁴ "Sequenti vero anno erat in palatio regio Ingilnheim, et ibi ad eum venit H-riolt de Danais, quem dominus imperator elevavit de sacro fonte baptismatis . . . Tunc dominus imperator magnam partem Fresonum dedit ei, et honorificis donis ornavit eum, et cum legatis suis dimisit eum ire cum pace." *Thegani Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*, Pertz, II., 597 (33). "Vita Hludowici Imp." *Ibidem*, II., 692. *Einhardi Annales*, ad a. 826, *Ibidem*, I., 214, *Ann. Xant.* ad a. 826, *Ibidem*, II., 225.

⁵⁵ *In Honorem Hludowici Christianissimi Casaris Augusti Ermoldi Nigelli exulis elegiaci carminis liber incipit primus.* Lib. III. and IV., Pertz, II., 467.

See also C. H. Kruse, *Chronicon Nortmannorum*, pp. 90-96, where an extract of Lib. III. and IV. is given, by putting together all relevant quotations. These events are examined in detail by Sir Henry Howorth in "Harald Fairhair," pp. 96-102.

and his wife received valuable gifts from Louis and his young queen Judith. The Emperor granted him, moreover, the maritime district on Frisia *Rustringen*⁵⁶ and some wine-growing district on the Rhine.⁵⁷ The "*Vita Anskarii*" observes that the place was given "so that if it were necessary he might halt there"⁵⁸; the same remark is also made by Thegan in his "*Vita Hludowici*," and, in fact, when Harald, accompanied by Anskar passed Dorstadt and came to the Danish borders, he "could not for the time obtain peaceful possession of his kingdom" and they had to remain in *Rustringen*. According to Einhard, Harald was expelled by the sons of Gudrod from a kind of joint Kingship: "*fili videlicet Godofridi, Herioldum de consortio regni eicientes*,"⁵⁹ says he. He had to remain at his new fief of *Rustringen*; it seems, however, that in his hands and in the hands of his brothers Hemming and Rorik was not only the "gau" of *Rustringen*, but the whole coast from the isle of *Walcheren* in the *Scheldt* and up to the Danish border on the *Eider*, including thus, at least in part, his former possessions in *Slesvic*. At any rate, we learn that Anskar went in 826 from Dorstadt to *Haddeby* (*Slesvic*) and remained in the Danish border for the two following years. Thus a rival and enemy state is appearing on the borders of *Jutland*, under a *Skioldung*. The sons of Gudrod must have been growing

⁵⁶ "*Dedit ei quendam comitatum in Fresia, cuius vocabulum est Riustri, quo se suosque, si necessitas exigeret, tuto recipere posset.*" *Vita Hludowici Imp.* ad a. 826. Pertz, II., 629 (39, 40). In "*Thegani Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*": "*Tunc domnus imperator magnam partem Fresonum dedit ei.*" *Ibidem*, II., 597 (27). See also Howorth, *Ibidem*, p. 101 and W. Vogel, "*Die Normannen und das Fränkische Reich*," 1906, Berlin, p. 60.

⁵⁷ "*Loca vinifera*," *In Honorem Hludowici*, etc., Pertz., II., 630. It is interesting to compare this notice with the episode of the "*vinvidr*" in the Sagas on *Vinland*. See also Langlois, "*La Découverte de l'Amerique par les Normands*," Paris, 1924, chapter on "*vinvidr, vinber*," pp. 126-128.

⁵⁸ *Vita S. Anskarii*, *Ibidem*, p. 696 and translation, *Ibidem*, p. 43.

⁵⁹ *Einh. Ann.* ad a. 827, Pertz., I., 216 (30, 31).

more and more apprehensive of this situation and very soon began a series of raids on Dorstadt, Harald's most important, but also most vulnerable centre. They ravaged it in 834, 835, 836,⁶⁰ when they also burnt Antwerp; in 837 they also plundered Walcheren⁶¹ and killed Harald's brother Hemming, "Dux Christianissimus."⁶² In 838 their fleet was dispersed by storm, but in 839 they ravage Dorstadt again. There is a remarkable persistence in these raids on the Frisian coast, and especially on Dorstadt. One can but think that there must have been something more vital and important in their continuity than the dragging out of the old Skiöldung-Ingling feud, and perhaps we would be justified in considering them as a *struggle for the Frisian trade and Frisian trading stations*. Thus, after the piratical raids on Dorstadt just mentioned, Eric sends an embassy to Louis to inform him that he had ordered the vikings to be severely punished, but, in the same breath, he is asking for *Frisia and the land of Obotriti*, thus making it clear that Frisia must be theirs, either by treaty or by force.⁶³

The same persistence is shown also by Rorik, of whom we begin now to hear more and more: "Rorih (Roruc) natione Nordmannus, qui temporibus Hludo-

⁶⁰ "Danis veniens in Frisiam, aliquam partem ex illa devastavit, et inde per Vetus—Traiectum ad emporium quod vocatur *Dorestadus* venientes, omnia diripuerunt," ad a. 834. *Prud. Trec. Ann.*, Pertz., I., 428.—"Nordmanni *Dorestadum* vastaverunt," ad a. 835. *Einh. Fuld. Ann.* I., 360.—"Nordmanni *Andwertam* civitatem incendunt," ad a. 836, *Ibidem*, I., 360.—"Normanni tributum exactantes in *Walchram* insulam venerunt . . . et *Dorestadum* vastaverunt, acceptoque a Frisonibus tributo, reversi sunt," ad a. 837. *Ibidem*, I., 361.—"Tempestate Nordmanni . . . ad *Dorestadum* eadem furia pervenerunt, ad a. 837, *Prud. Trec. Ann.* I., 430. Also *Ann. Xant.*, ad a. 834, 835, 836 and 837. Pertz II., 226. On *Dorestadt* see Howorth, *loco cit.*, pp. 109-110.

⁶¹ *Ann. Xant.*, ad a. 837, Pertz, II., 226. *Thegani Vita Hludowici Imp.* Pertz, II., 604.

⁶² "Illi vero Danai nave venientes ad unam seditionem, et interfecerunt ibi innumerabilem multitudinem christianorum; et ibi cecidit Hemminch qui erat ex stirpe Danorum, dux Christianissimus . . ." *Ibidem*, II., 604.—It is on this sad note of plunderings and ravages that Thegan has to close his *Vita Hludowici*.

⁶³ *Prudentii Trecensis Ann.* ad a. 838. Pertz, I., 430 (8-14), 432 (16-18).

wici imperatoris cum fratre Herioldo vicum Dorestadum iure beneficii tenuit”⁶⁴ From 829 on Louis was in constant warfare with his elder sons, and in 837 and 838 his position was still very difficult indeed; yet he declined the request with firmness; however, the very fact that one northern king or chief after another treats Charlemagne’s successor in this way, shows how little remained of the prestige of the empire in the late years of Louis’ reign.

After the death of Louis the position goes from bad to worse; Lothair took the fatal step of getting the Northmen to take sides; he subsidised them and incited them to make piratical attacks on his rivals, and even invited or allowed them to relapse into heathenism.⁶⁵ Harald, however, remained faithful to Lothair to the end, but the position of Rorik is not quite clear. It seems that he relapsed into paganism, as since that time he is referred to by the chroniclers as *fel christianitatis*, but at the same time he quarrelled also with Lothair and fled to Louis the German. Most probably Lothair decided to deprive Rorik of his fief, as, according to the treaty of Verdun (843), Friesland was to form part of his possessions. At any rate, since that time and until 850, when finally Dorstadt and Friesland were returned to him, Rorik continues to descend upon his former possessions. First, he organised his forces somewhere in lower Saxony,⁶⁶ and then having collected

⁶⁴ *Ruodolfi Fuldensis Ann. ad a. 850*, Pertz, I., p. 366 (25).—*Mag. Adami Gesta Hammenburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, Pertz, *Scriptorium VII.*, 291 (40), 292 (1).—Kruse holds the opinion that Roric was in possession of Dorestad before 834, when we learn of the first raids, but after 828, the final expulsion of Harold from Jutland (*Chronicon Nortmannorum*, p. 139, footnote 10). The narrative of Adam of Bremen seems also to be based on a similar interpretation of the chronicles. Sir Henry Howorth is of the same opinion, *Loco cit.*, pp. 98, 102, 116 and 120.

⁶⁵ *Prudent. Trecent.* Pertz, I., 437, 438. See also Kruse, “*Chronicon Nortmannorum*.” For the details of the viking raids see C. F. Keary, “*The Vikings in Western Christendom*,” 1891, p. 271 and foll., Sir Henry Howorth, *Loco cit.*, pp. 86-120, and W. Vogel, “*Die Normannen und das Fraenkische Reich*,” 1906, p. 80 and foll.

⁶⁶ *Ruod. Fuld. Ann.*, ad a. 850. Pertz, I., 366.

"*Danigenarum non modica, manu coepit piraticam exercere.*"⁶⁷ These expeditions of Rorik coincide with the terrible viking raids on Germany, France and England in 840-850,⁶⁸ when not only the Frisian coast was ravaged, but, as for instance in 842, Quentovic⁶⁹ and the country round Rochester and London,⁷⁰ and in 845 Hamburg and Paris were also plundered and devastated.⁷¹ These ravages are usually associated with the names of the semi-mythical Hasting and of the famous Ragnar Lodbrok and his sons, but nearly always we find in the annals the name of Rorik too. Thus in 845 Rorik, at the head of a fleet of 600 ships, enters the Elbe⁷²; the same year he is in France, and during the

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, 366 (31).

⁶⁸ Vogel, *Ibidem*, pp. 80-127. Keary, *Ibidem*, pp. 271-276. Kruse, *Ibidem*, pp. 139-196.

⁶⁹ "Ea tempestate Normannorum classis in emporio quod Quantovicus dicitur, repentino sub lucem adventu deprædationibus, captivitate et nece sexus utriusque hominum adeo debacchati sunt, ut nihil in eo præter ædificia pretio redempta relinquerunt." *Prudent. Trec. Ann.* ad a. 842. Pertz, I., 439 (11-14). Quentovic (Canche=wick) lies in the mouth of La Canche and was one of the principal trading centres and a rival to Dorstad. Thus the Northmen after having set foot in Frisia take the principal Frankish port Quentovic.

⁷⁰ *A.S. Chronicle* ad a. 839. But Keary (*Ibidem*, p. 249) would put this ad 842, together with the raid on London.

⁷¹ *Prud. Trec. Ann.* ad a. 845. *Ibidem*, I., 441. *Ruod. Fuld. Ann.* ad a. 845, I., 364.

⁷² "Northmannorum rex Oricus sexcentas naves per Albim fluvium in Germaniam adversus Hludovicum dirigit." *Prudent. Trec. Ann.* ad a. 845, Pertz, I., 441 (26-28). "Anno Domini 845. Northmannorum rex Roricus sexcentas naves per Albiam fluvium in Germaniam adversus Ludovicum dirigit." *Chronicon de Gestis Normannorum in Francia*, Pertz, I., 533. These two quotations can be taken also as an example of how easy it was for a Frankish chronicler like Prudentio to confuse the Norse names of Hrœrekr—Roric with Hærekr—Horic—Eric. On the other side the author of *De Gestis Normannorum* spells Roric's name correctly. Kruse (*Chronicon Northmannorum*, p. 165) says: "Roricus genuina est lectio." Karamzin ("The History of the Russian Realm," 1816, v. I., footnote, p. 321) also accepts the reading Roric. Authors who accept the reading Horic for Oricus have a great difficulty in explaining the fact that Eric being at peace with Louis throughout the whole period of 828-845 quite suddenly dispatched against him a whole fleet (Vogel, *Ibidem*, p. 101; Keary, *Ibidem*, p. 255). On the other hand we have the unequivocal statement of the chronicler that "Rorih . . . coepit piraticam exercere, et loca regni Hlotharii septentrionalis oceani litoribus contigua vastare." (*Ruod. Fuld. Ann.* ad a. 850, *Ibidem*, I., 366). I consider that on the formal evidence of *De Gestis* and on the internal evidence of the general attitude of Eric and Roric, the correct reading must be Roricus.

mysterious plague again shows some sympathy towards Christians and Christianity by releasing Christian captives and by ordering his army to abstain from meat for fourteen days.⁷³ It is also Rorik who prepares the fleet of 350 sail which harried England and nearly took London.⁷⁴ One would almost say that his master-hand is behind all these expeditions, and that he organises and directs them from somewhere in his domains.

These raids, however, are different from those of the previous decade, both in scope and in their effect on western Christendom in general. The former were directed mainly against Frisia or some other seacoasts, *i.e.*, against some fiefs of the empire but not exactly against the empire proper; the latter devastated the most prosperous and populous parts of France and Germany, thus bringing war and misery to the very doors of the capitals of Charlemagne's successors. The effect on western Christendom was terrible; as Keary puts it,⁷⁵ *the defences of the empire were broken*, it was almost lying at the mercy of the invaders, and the years 850 and 851 were years of peculiar misery for northern Europe. And amidst all this misery and desolation Rorik continues to press towards one single objective, *i.e.*, towards the recapture of his Frisian domains. This time Rorik is assisted by his nephew,

⁷³ "Tunc rex eorum nomine Rorik una cum omni populo gentilium 14 dies a carne et medone abstinuit, et cessavit plaga, et omnes christianos captivos quos habebant, ad patriam propriam dirigunt." *Ann. Xant.*, ad a. 845, Pertz, II., 228 (21-23). On this occasion Rorik is called rex, just as *Oricus* was called by Prudentius in his annals on the same year (*Ibidem*, I., 441). Keary (*Ibidem*, p. 200) discusses the whole episode at some length and would put it together with the story of the attack on St. Bertin's monastery, when, according to Prudentius, "ita divino iudicio vel tenebris coecati et insania sunt percussi" (*Ibidem*, I., 441 (43)), and Saxo Grammaticus' account of the mysterious fog in Bjarmaland.

⁷⁴ "Roric nepos Herioldi, qui nuper a Lothario defecerat, assumptis Nortmannorum exercitibus, cum multitudine navium Fresiam et Batavum insulam . . . devastat . . . pars Britanniam insulam Anglosque impetentes . . ." *Prud. Trec. Ann.*, ad a. 850. *Ibidem*, I., 445. Also *Ann. Xant.*, *Ibidem*, II., 229. See also Keary, *Ibidem*, p. 272, 273, Cit. *A. S. Chron.* ad a. 851 and Vogel, *Ibidem*, pp. 128, 129.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 264, 271.

Godfred, Harald's son. They descend again upon the mouth of the Rhine, Friesland and the Batavian isles, and devastate what was still left from the previous raids. This time Lothair sees the futility of further resistance, and finally returns Dorstadt and Friesland to Rorik⁷⁶ on the old condition of keeping faith to the empire and of warding off piratical raids by other Northmen.⁷⁷ Godfred then sails up the Seine and forces Charles the Bald to give him a domain⁷⁸ and to accept him "in societatem regni."⁷⁹

It seems that here we can get a glimpse of the consequences and of the reasons of the viking raids both from outside, *i.e.*, from the point of view represented by the Frankish chronicler, and also from inside, from that of the "viking." Rorik's career developed under our eyes, from his boyhood in 826 at Ingelheim, through his early manhood at Dorstadt, where as a "Landvaermen" or Margrave he defended the borders of the Empire, and up to the fateful years of the middle of the century, when he turned out a most dreaded viking; he, Rorik, the son of the first Norse Margrave Halfdan and the brother of Louis' godson Harald. Not only do the Frankish annals call him *fel christianitas*,⁸⁰ but the later historians⁸¹ are also hard on him. And still that viking of vikings was faithful

⁷⁶ "et cum a Hlothario principe sine periculo suorum non posset expelli, cum consilio senatus, legatis mediantibus, in fidem receptus est . . ." *Ruodolphi Fuld. Ann.* ad a. 850. *Ibidem*, I., 366 (33-35). "Quem Lotharius cum comprimere nequiret, in fidem recepit, eique Dorstadum et alios comitatus largitur." *Prud. Trec. Ann.* ad a. 850. *Ibidem*, I., 445 (7, 8).

⁷⁷ " . . . ea conditione, ut tributis cæterisque negotiis ad regis ærarium pertinentibus fideliter inserviret, et piraticis Danorum incursionibus obviando resisteret." *Ibidem*, I., 366 (35, 36).

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, I., 366 (37).

⁷⁹ " . . . Karolus, clam mutato consilio Godafridum cum suis in societatem regni suscepit, et terram eis ad inhabitandum delegavit." *Ibidem*, I., 366 (39, 40).

⁸⁰ *Ann. Xant.*, ad a. 873, Pertz, II., 235 (22).

⁸¹ Vogel, *Ibidem*. "Rorik, der alte Heide . . ." Keary, *Ibidem*, p. 271: "Rorik, that brother of Harald the baptised . . . Rorik the *fel Christianitas* was plundering in Frisia and had to be bought off."

to the empire when that empire was undivided and had a single purpose in its policy, however distasteful this policy might have seemed to a proud Skiöldung and a descendant of Harald Hildetönn; and, later, after all his depredations, he contented himself with getting back from Lothair his Frisian possessions; turns his attentions to the consolidation of his domain, and, if we accept Prof. Kruse's suggestion, becomes the builder of a mighty empire.

The *Vita Anskarii* furnishes us with a detailed description of happenings in Sweden in 852, which have a bearing on the following events. The life of Anskar, the apostle of the North, and that of Rorik the Skiöldung are strangely interwoven from time to time, and even influencing one another. Thus Rorik must have come under Anskar's influence in his youth, in the years 826-828, when Harald and he returned to Dorstadt from Ingelheim in the company of Anskar. Frisia and Frisian trading centres attract both of them, but differently, and for different reasons. So Anskar goes from Dorstadt to Slesvic and from Slesvic to Birka, on the lake Maellar in Sweden, all of them Frisian colonies and centres of Frisian trade. And now the events in Birka begin to have a repercussion on Dorstadt and Jutland.

About this time, says Rimbart,⁸² "a certain Swedish king, Anoundus, had been driven out of his kingdom and was in exile among the Danes. Desiring to regain what once had been his kingdom, he sought their aid and promised them, that if they would follow him, they would be able to secure much treasure. He offered them Birka," the town already mentioned,

⁸² "Anskar the Apostle of the North," *Ibidem*, p. 65.

⁸³ For a description of Birka see *M. Adami Gesta*, Pertz, Scriptorum, VII., 304, 305. Adam says *inter alia*. "Ad quam stationem, quia tutissima est in maritimis Suevoniæ regionibus, solent omnes Danorum vel Nortmannorum, itemque Sclavorum ac Semborum naves, aliique Scithiæ populip pro diversis commerciorum necessitatibus sollempniter convenire."

because it contained many rich merchants and a large amount of goods and money. He promised to lead them to this place, where without much loss to their army, they might gain that which they wanted. Enticed by the promised gifts and eager to acquire treasure, they filled twenty-one ships with men ready for battle and placed them at his disposal; moreover he had eleven of his own ships. These left Denmark and came unexpectedly upon the above-mentioned town. It so happened that the king of the town was absent,"⁸⁴ and the inhabitants were unable to offer any effective resistance. Onund, however, made a secret agreement with the inhabitants, and then proposed to the Danes "that they should enquire by casting lots whether it was the will of the gods that the place should be ravaged by them as his words were in accord with their custom they could not refuse to adopt his suggestion they asked further where they should go in order to obtain money for themselves so that they might not have to return home without having gained that which they had hoped. They ascertained by the casting of lots that they ought to go to a certain town which was situated at a distance on the border of the lands belonging to the Slavonians"—*"in finibus Slavorum."*⁸⁵ "The Danes then, believing that the order has come to them from heaven, retired from this place and hastened to go by a *direct route* to that town. Having made a sudden attack upon its people, *who were living in quiet and peace*, they seized it by force of arms, and having captured much spoil and treasure, they returned home."⁸⁶

As Kruse suggested long ago, this "certain town on the borders of the lands belonging to the

⁸⁴ King Björn. *Ibidem*, p. 65.

⁸⁵ "*Vita St. Anskarii.*" *Ibidem*, Pertz, *Scriptorum*, II., 704 (1, 2): "*Ceciditque sors, quod ad urbem quamdam longius inde positam in finibus Slavorum ire deberent*"

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 704 (3-6).

Slavonians," most probably was Novgorod.⁸⁷ The evidence for such identification is very strong indeed. As we have already mentioned, Birka was a Friesian colony,⁸⁸ the name, according to Professor E. Wadstein,⁸⁹ meaning not a birch-tree but a district with special rights and privileges. It is interesting to note that in the Russian language the word *birka* means *tally*, and thus seems also to be connected with trade and trading transactions.⁹⁰ It seems not improbable that it is a loan-word from Frisian through intercourse with the town of Birka and its further outposts in the Finnish gulf. As Professor Bugge reminded this Society some time ago in his paper on "*Seafaring and Shipping during the Viking Age*,"⁹¹ the Novgorod territories commenced at a small island of Berkö or Björkö, thus bringing into relation Novgorod and Birka once more. As to direct relations between Novgorod and Sweden, these were by that time at least half a century old, as can be seen from the fact that the stronghold of "Old Ladoga"—"Aldeigjuborg" was founded or visited by the Swedes not later than A.D. 800. This is also corroborated by various archaeological evidence.⁹² Perhaps an indirect indication

⁸⁷ *Journ. of the Ministry of Education*, 1836, p. 63 (Russian); also "*Chronicon Nortmannorum*," ad a. 852, and "*Geschichte des Estnischen Volkstammes*," Leipzig, 1846. pp. 450-470.

⁸⁸ "*The Viking Age*," by Prof. Allen Mawer, in *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, London, 1926, p. 73.

⁸⁹ "*Birka och bjälzörätt*," *Namn och Bygd*, v. II., pp. 92-97. I owe this information to the kindness of Professor A. Mawer.

⁹⁰ "Birka" in Russian means also some times a coin. There is also a saying recorded by Dahl ("*Tolkovy Slovar*, etc." I, p. 215). "The ships are a sea and the tally (Birka) is at the neighbour's."

⁹¹ *Saga-Book*, VI., pp. 13-27.

⁹² Arne, "*La Suède et l'orient*," *Ibidem*, p. 5.—The connections between Birka, Björkö and Novgorod, thus dating back to the time of Frisian preponderance in the Baltic, may help to explain the fact, why in later years not only Svears but Northmen as well, f.i. Oervarr-oddr, did use this route in preference to the Dvina one. Kunik was interested in this problem and, lately, Prof. Florovsky (*Slavia*, 1925, III., p. 743) mentioned it in his article on Fritzler's.

can be found in the mentioning by Rimbart of the *direct route*, suggesting the existence of an also frequented indirect route. I think that the latter is the land-route around the gulf of Bothnia, and the former, the sea-route from Birka across the Baltic to the "thousand islands," and, incidentally, to the island of Björkö and thence to Novgorod-Holmgard.

A confirmation of a raid on Novgorod about 852 is also to be found in the Russian Chronicle. It is mentioned there, under A.D. 859, that the Normans "from oversea" (Varangians) were levying tribute on the Finns and Slavonians,⁹³ but were driven away in 862. Now, Professor Kluchevsky, accepting 860 as a correct date for the raid of Ascolt on Constantinople, instead of the previously held 866, argues that previous events like the two already mentioned ought to be put back also, say to the middle of the century.⁹⁴ That would bring the levying of tribute to about 853-856. Thus it is quite likely that one and the same event was described by Rimbart and by the Russian chronicler.

Up to now Rurik's name had not been mentioned, and we cannot say whether he had been among "The Danes" who followed Anund, but it is highly probable that this expedition, if not actually organised by him, as the previous ones in the West, did not at any rate escape his notice. This is the more probable, as in 854 died Erik in Denmark, and in the same year Lothair

⁹³ "On the Chud and on the Slovene . . ." *Russian Chronicle, Codex Laurenticus* ("Letopis po Lavrentievskomu Spisku.") Edited by the Archæographic Commission, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 18. See also Shakhmatov, "*Studies of the oldest Russian Codices*," ("Rozyskaniya o drevneyshikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh.") St. Petersburg, 1908. On pp. 611 and following Shakhmatov gives his reconstruction of the oldest text of the Novgorod version. See also "*The Chronicle of Novgorod*," London 1914 in the *Camden Third Series*, vol. XXXV., p. XXII. and on pp. XXXVII.-XLI., Professor Shakhmatov's account of the text.

⁹⁴ "*Text-book of Russian History*" (*Kurs Russkoy Istorii*) being a course of lectures by Prof. V. O. Kluchevsky at the University of St. Petersburg, Petersburg, 1920, v. I., p. 101. Here Kluchevsky accepts and enlarges on the evidence brought forward mainly by Shakhmatov and Vasilyevsky.

divided his domains between his sons. It seems that both Rorik and Godfred got embroiled with Lothair's successors over their Frisian possessions⁹⁵ and sought to compensate themselves in Denmark. At any rate we learn subsequently that Rorik obtained from Erik the younger South-Jutland.⁹⁶ Thus he became again master of the sea passages from the North Sea to the Baltic, and held once again in his hands Slesvic on the Frisian trade route.

News from Birka and from Novgorod would be particularly welcome to him at this juncture, as Western Europe was utterly ruined and Dorstadt itself without its former glory.⁹⁷ It would now have been but natural to think of establishing new trade routes, and of trying to divert the ancient Frisian trade to new channels. The furs and other commodities from the north were brought to Slesvic and Birka mostly by Halogalanders⁹⁸: the eastern wares from Constantinople, instead of following the old Rhine-route, could also have been forwarded to some place closer to Birka. Such place suggested itself in Novgorod, as after the exploits of Bravlin and his companions, the Dniepr system was within reach of the Normans.⁹⁹ And it is at this very time that the Russian chronicler speaks of the arrival of Rurik and his people and of the founding of the Russian state.

The identification of Rorik of Jutland and of Rurik of Russia almost suggests itself to one in this light. It has been actually made in the middle of last century

⁹⁵ "Lotharius totam Fresiam filio suo Lothario donat; unde Roric et Godefridus patriam, id est Daniam, repedant spe potestatis regie nanciscendæ . . . Roric et Godefridus, nequaquam ardentibus sibi successibus, Dorestado se continent, et parte maxima Fresie potiuntur." *Prud. Trev. Ann.*, ad a. 855, Pertz, I., 449 (3, 4—28, 29).

⁹⁶ "Rorih Nordmannus, qui præerat Dorestado, cum consensu domini sui, Hlotharii regis, classem duxit in fines Danorum, et consentiente Horico Danorum rege, partem regni quæ est inter mare et Egidoram cum sociis suis possedit." *Ruod. Fuld. Ann.*, ad a. 857, *Ibidem*, I., 370 (17-19).

⁹⁷ "*Vita Anskarii*," *Ibidem*, p. 71.

⁹⁸ Bugge, *Ibidem*, p. 14.

⁹⁹ See Vasilyevsky, "*The Life of St. Stephen of Suroge*," p. 445.

by Professor Kruse, of the University of Yuriev (Dorpat), in a series of articles in the Journal of the Ministry of Education,¹⁰⁰ and more especially in his monumental work bearing the title of "*Chronicon Nortmannorum, Wariago-Russorum nec non Danorum, Sveonum, Norwegorum, etc.*"¹⁰¹ In spite of the great erudition of the author, and of the wealth of evidence examined, it did not on the whole meet with a favourable reception. Pogodin¹⁰² rather non-committally observed that the time had not yet come to make such deductions on the strength of evidence then obtainable; Butkov¹⁰³ tried to prove that the chronicles refer not to one notable figure but to many, and of lesser importance; finally, Kunik,¹⁰⁴ taking together the *Chronicon* and the recently published "*Antiquités Russes*," gave an exhaustive study of the Frankish chronicles and of some of the sagas. He established some very important chronological data, as for instance, that of the battle of Bråvalla (ca. 770 (H))¹⁰⁵; then he suggested the identity of Halfdan, Harald's father, with Sigurd,¹⁰⁶ and laid stress on the fact that Rorik was a nephew and not a brother of Harald,¹⁰⁷ and on the whole expressed himself for the rejection of Kruse's views. These views met, however, with

¹⁰⁰ The Russian title of the Journal is: "*Journal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvescheniya*." The first article "*On the Origin of Rurik*," was published in 1838, Vol. IX., pp. 43-73. The next, "*On the Boundaries of Normannia and on the names of Normans and Rus*," in 1839, v. XXI., pp. 1-77; the third "*On the Relation of the Rus who came to Spain in 844 and plundered Seville, to Russia*," in 1839, v. XXI., pp. 159-170. See also "*Urgeschichte des Estnischen Volkstammes*," Leipzig, 1846. A full bibliography is given by Kunik in his "*Remarques critiques, etc.*," *Ibidem*, p. 135.

¹⁰¹ Published in 1851 in Hamburgh, Gotha and Dorpat. Dedicated to the Emperor Nicholas the First.

¹⁰² "*Lectures, etc.*," II., 157, Moscow, 1846, v. II., p. 157.

¹⁰³ "*Oborona Letopisi Nestora*" ("The Defence of Nestor"), 1840.

¹⁰⁴ "*Remarques critiques sur les Antiquités Russes de M. Rafn*," Bull. Academia Imperialis Scientiarum, Tome VII., p. 129. St. Petersburg, 1850.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 143, 147.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 150.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 201.

more favourable reception in the Northern countries, where Depping¹⁰⁸ accepted them, and Rafn and Munch were rather in sympathy with them. Still, the large body of the learned world took little notice of Kruse's work and it was more or less forgotten.

During the last decades, however, much evidence, even though of an indirect character, has been brought to light which, as it seems, tends to support the identity of the Ruriks. There is first the general consideration that a task of such magnitude as the organising of a new state and of a new trade route—from the Varangians to the Greeks—could not have been undertaken by some unknown viking of no importance; the task was immense, and required the equipment of large bodies of men and of a large fleet of many hundred vessels. Such a task could only be successfully accomplished by a konung of noble lineage and of great wealth. *Rorik is a Skiöldung and the organiser of all the principal raids during the decade immediately preceding the coming of the Northmen to Russia.*

Then comes next the name he bears: he is a Hrarekr-Rurik, and that is a family name of the Skiöldungs, and repeats itself many times among the descendants of Ivar Vidfadme¹⁰⁹; Rurik's son is Igor-Ingvarr, and again, if we are to assume with Mawer¹¹⁰ that Ingvar may stand for Ivar, we may see here a strong adherence to family tradition, and down to countless generations to come the Russian princes will proudly bear the names of Igor and of Rurik. I would like to observe that not once in the many hundreds and hundreds of Rurik's descendants do we meet with a Truvor, or a Sineus, as are given in the chronicle the names of

¹⁰⁸ "Histoires des expéditions des Normands," Paris, 1843, p. 207.

¹⁰⁹ The father of Harald Hildetönn was a Rorik and so was one of his sons from whom one of the noted Icelandic families descended. See "Antiquités Russes," Passages parallèles généalogiques, v. I., p. 48) and foll.; also Howorth, *Ibidem*, p. 68.

¹¹⁰ "Ragnar Lothbrok and his sons," *Saga-Book*, VI., 78.

Rurik's brothers.¹¹¹ Truvor has, however, a distinct northern flavour and suggests, if we follow Kunik and Thomsen,¹¹² Thorvardr; but Kunik has shown that a name like this is to be met but once in the northern literature, *i.e.*, in Sögubrot,¹¹³ and that it is used as an adjective. As to Sineus, with its Latin ending—a Signiutr has been suggested. I think, however, that the most likely explanation is that both names are but corruptions by one of the scribes of some early Norse versicles, like the Ynglinga-tal narrating the coming of Rurik with his faithful household and warriors.¹¹⁴ This would account for the fact that these non-existent names never occur in the Rurik's family, and also for the reason that the only thing the chronicler has to say about Sineus and Truvor is to report their death under the same year as their coming to Russia.

A most interesting set of conjectures seems to arise in reference to the Frisian place-names and Frisian influence generally. We already have followed the connection between Rorik's activities and the Frisian trade routes. These routes have finally brought us to Birka, a most—or *the* most—important trading centre, around which no doubt an early and large Frisian settlement had arisen. Now, the Frisians call themselves Fresen or Frêsa, with an open "e."¹¹⁵ The Finns, with whom they came in contact both in the provinces to the north of Birka and along the Finnish gulf, according to the peculiarities of their pronuncia-

¹¹¹ "*The Beginnings of Russia*," by N. T. Belaiew, London (Russ.) 1924, p. 25.

¹¹² "*The Relation between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia, etc.*," 1877, p. 71.

¹¹³ "*Die Berufung der Schwedischen Rodsen, etc.*," 1844, p. 132.

¹¹⁴ Errors like the one suggested are rather common. For instance Sir Henry Howorth cites on p. 66 "*socii*" for "Osmund," and on p. 71 "*Rurik*" from the place-name of "*Reric*" (Rareg). See also Kunik (*Remarques Critiques, etc.*) *Ibidem*, p. 177: "Kenner der Mittellalterlichen Geschichtsquellen brauchen nicht auf analoge Falle hingewiesen zu werden, wo durch Missverständniss aus dem Beinamen einer Person ein neuer Namen entstand." Also Karamzin, *Ibidem*, I., 570 (277).

¹¹⁵ Thus the name of the celebrated Frisian chief "*Rêdbâd*" is usually transcribed as Radbod.

tion of foreign names, most probably would have dropped the first labio-dental "F" and thus arrived at a name like "Rês." This latter is exactly the most discussed equivalent of "Rus," and one is tempted to suggest that the *Ruotsi*, i.e., the Finnish name for the Swedes, the "Rus" of the Russian Chronicler, the Rhos of the later Arabian writers and the province of Roslagen in Svealand, all have a common origin with the Frêsa-Frisians. I think that the story of the coming of Rurik to Russia, as narrated by "Nestor" bears an indirect proof of such identification; there A.D. 862 we read: ". . . . And they went to the Variags, to the Rus, as these Variags call themselves Rus, just as the other are called Svears and others Northmen, Angles, and others Goths, thus these too And three brothers went to go with their people, and they took with them the whole of Rus and came."¹¹⁶ Thus, besides their own people, they took with them the Rus. The distinction which is made here suggests that the *Rus* are of a different stock than the *konungs* and that the envoys came to these particular Rus. On the assumption already made, these facts seem to fit perfectly. They also fit with Rurik's lifelong associations with Frisia and Frisians.

In the Saga of Olaf the Holy there is a story which confirms in an indirect way the importance of Rurik's descent and lineage. It is the story of Ingigerd, the daughter of the proud Swedish King Olaf, the *Scotkonung*. Ingigerd, a very wilful lady, fell in love and was even engaged to the young Norwegian King Olaf the Big (the future Olaf the Saint). Her father considered this marriage beneath her rank, and, in spite of the most strong opposition from his own people who feared a war with Norway, forbade her this seemingly

¹¹⁶ *Russian Chronicle*, Codex Laurenticus, *Ibidem*, p. 19 (5). In old Russian this passage is: "poyasha po sobe vsu Rus." See also Shakhmatov, *Ibidem*, p. 612, who would omit this passage and have instead in his proposed Novgorod version: "i poyasha s soboyu drujinu mnogu."

most suitable match. Said Olaf the Swede: "For I shall wed thee to such a Lord as I shall deign to have friendship withall."¹¹⁷ Next came "messengers from King Jarisleif from Holmgarth in the Eastlands,"¹¹⁸ and then "King Olaf took it up as a matter most likely" "and said it was his will that she should wed King Jarisleifr."¹¹⁹ I often wondered what could be the Swedish king's reasons for such a fierce opposition to an alliance with Olaf. It seems to me that the reason may be found again in the old feud of the Skiöldungs and the Ynglings: the Swedish king was a Skiöldung and considered Jarisleif, Rurik's great-grandson, also as a Skiöldung, whereas Olaf was but an Yngling of Norway, with a rather doubtful pedigree from Olaf Tretelgja.

There are but few facts related to Rurik in the Russian chronicle, but one of them is especially worth mentioning; that is his relations with the famous Oleg, his kinsman; to that Oleg Rurik handed over his realm and to him he entrusted his child Igor.

In the so-called "Chronicle of Ioakim," preserved in excerpts by Tatischev but not universally accepted,¹²⁰ Oleg is called the brother of Rurik's wife Alfvind¹²¹; this Alfvind is also said to be the daughter of a Northman king. Here again we have a most interesting set of facts brought together. First, Oleg, as it has been sometimes suggested,¹²² and quite recently proved by Professor Liaschenko,¹²³ can be identified with the

¹¹⁷ "*Heimskringlā*," II *The Saga Library*, vol. IV., p. 141.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 148.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 153.

¹²⁰ "*Russian History from earliest times*," by V. N. Tatischev. Moscow, 1768, pp. 29-40.

¹²¹ Tatischev renders the name as "Efanda," "the daughter of a Norman (Murman) Prince," *Ibidem*, p. 34.

¹²² For instance by Kunik.

¹²³ "Proceedings ('Izvestia') of the Russian Academy of Science," 1924, pp. 254-288, the title of the paper is:—"Letopisniya Skazaniya o smerti Olēga Vēsčago" ("The Chronicles Narrative on the Death of Oleg the Wise").

famous Halogalander Orvaroddi; thus Rurik the Skiöldung is brought in relation to another stream of colonists and traders we have already mentioned—Northmen from Halogaland.

There is a curious analogy in some organisations of Novgorod the Great with those of the Halogalanders; most especially the whole control of the fur trade and the relations of the metropolis to the Finnish tribes remind one of what one reads in Egil's saga of Thorolf and Thorgils and their excursions to Finnland. It seems as if Novgorod grew to what it was in the following centuries on the basis of trading relations with Finnish tribes as first started by Northmen from Halogaland. These relations were of course based on a sound business footing, but on the whole, as we see from Ohthere and the sagas, were human and equitable. This strain of Northern blood and influence was, so it seems, brought by the followers of Orvaroddi, and the importance of their share in the building of the new Russian state is testified by the rôle assigned by the chronicle to Oleg.¹²⁴

Thus, Danes, Swedes and Frisians, under the Skiöldung Rurik, Northmen from Halogaland under Oleg, all had a share in the building of the future Russian state in Holmgard on the Ilmen. There were other Northmen under Ragnwald in Polotsk and under Askiold in Kiev; the former most probably a descendant of Harald Fairhair by Snowfair,¹²⁵ the latter,

¹²⁴ From Professor Shakhmatov's reconstruction of the oldest fragments of the Russian Chronicle it would follow that the rôle of Oleg was very important, if not predominant in the building of the Russian state. See *Ibidem*, p. 541 (for the Kiev version), and p. 612 (the Novgorod version); also Chapter XIII., p. 289-340. Shakhmatov considers that there were two waves of Northern invaders; the first one came in the VIII-IX. century and settled down mainly in the South, around Kiev—they were called *Rus*. The following wave came later, mainly to Novgorod, and was associated with the name Variagi (*Ibidem*, pp. 326-327). See also Vassilyevsky, *Ibidem*, p. 445.

¹²⁵ The Saga of Harald Fairhair relates that wizardry, usually associated with the Finns, was practised by Snowfair's son Rognwald Spindle-shanks. The Russian Chronicles and "*Slovo*" make the same allegation of the Russian "Rogvolodovich" at Polotsk.

maybe, one of Bravlin's successors. Rurik died about 879,¹²⁶ and Oleg and the later princes brought all these possessions under the rule of the Skiöldungs. For centuries the ruling house of Russia was in most intimate relations with the other reigning houses, most especially with those of Scandinavia and England; so for instance, Gyda, the daughter of the last Saxon King Harald, found refuge at the court of the sons of Jarisleif, and eventually married his grandson Vladimir Monomachus.¹²⁷

As we already have mentioned, the Russian chronicles do not tell us much of the late years of Rurik; neither do the Frankish annals. Still, there is an interesting entry by Hincmar Remensis and by others, under the year 873. They relate that Rorik and his nephew Rodulph paid a visit to Charles the Bald. They parted on most friendly terms, which were not very much to the liking of the chronicler.¹²⁸ The Emperor returned to Rorik all his fiefs, and thus he regained his Frisian domains. His life work is accomplished, and after that year we hear no more of Rorik.

¹²⁶ *Russ. Chron.* Ad a. 879. *Ibidem*, p. 19.

¹²⁷ "Links between the Vikings in England and Russia," by Colonel N. Belaiew. *Slavonic Review*, 1926, V., IV., pp. X., XI. See "*Antiquités Russes*," v. I., p. 481.

¹²⁸ "Ibique cum suis secretum habuit colloquium, et Rorichum per obsides ad se venientem in suum suscepit dominium," *Ann. Fuld. Pass. Tertia*, ad a. 873, *Pertz*, I., 386 (13, 14). "Venit ad eum Ruorich, fel christianitatis, tamen ei repositis obsidibus plurimis in navi, et subditus effectus est regi, ac iuramentis constrictus, inconcussam ei servare fidam." *Ann. Xant.* ad a. 873, *Pertz*, II., 235 (22-24). Also *Hincmari Remensis Ann.*, *Pertz*, I., pp. 493-497.

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