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Errata.—P. 1, lines 8 and 9; correct the following slip in the Synopsis, after 'Thule was,' for 'called Iceland' read 'described,' and after '825 A.D.' add 'was called Iceland by Flóki about 867 A.D.'

EARLY MAPS OF SCANDINAVIA AND ICELAND.

SYNOPSIS OF A LECTURE BY EDWARD LYNAM.

THE Scandinavian countries were little known to the world in early times, partly at first because of the narrow and dangerous entrance to the Baltic Sea, the Mediterranean of the North, and later because of the jealous secrecy maintained about them by the Hanseatic League. The place which Pytheas of Marseilles discovered on the north-west coast of Norway about 330 B.C. and named Thule was called Iceland by the Irishman Dicuil in 825 A.D., with the result that for centuries afterwards both Thule and Iceland appeared as islands on many maps. Ptolemy, in constructing his map about 150 A.D., drew both on Pytheas and on the information supplied by the Roman expedition which visited the Cimbric Chersonese (Jutland) in 5 A.D. Apart from Jutland and the islands, he showed the S. extremity of the Scandinavian peninsula as an island called *Skandia*, and three of its tribes, the Gutae, Chaedini and Daukiones—probably the Götar, Heiðnir and Dani. Thule or Tile he placed on the edge of the world, in 60° N. Lat. Unfortunately, he put the whole of Scandinavia too far north, and his mistake was not entirely corrected for some 1500 years.

After 800 A.D. Scandinavia began to be better known through the activities of the Vikings, of Frisian and English traders, and of Christian missionaries, as well as through the works of Alfred the Great and Adam of Bremen. Yet the famous "Anglo-Saxon map" of *circa* 1100 is practically useless for those regions. A map prepared in 1154 for Roger II. of Sicily by Al-

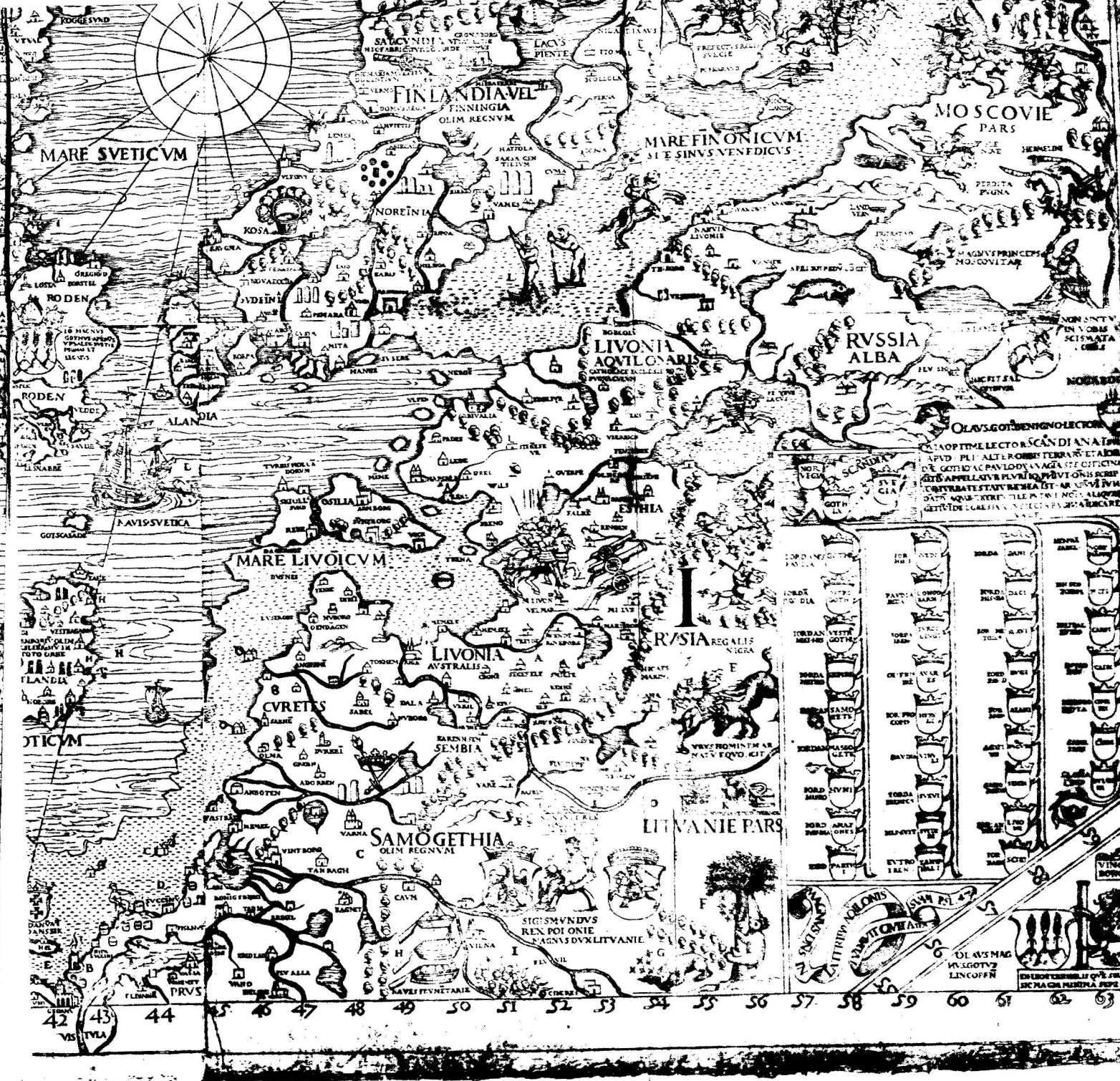
Edrisi, a Spanish Moor, showed a familiarity with Scandinavian ports which was probably gained from intercourse with Normans and Danes at Roger's court. In Denmark Edrisi shows Slesvik, Horsens, Als, Tönder (at that time a place of importance), and Copenhagen; in Sweden, Lund, Sigtuna and Kalmar, then three of the most important towns, as well as the Göta river; in Norway Trondhjem and Oslo. Iceland and Bornholm are not at all badly placed.

During the 14th century the northern regions were shown on many charts made by Italians and Catalans, whose ships and traders were constantly in the English Channel and the North Sea. They all perpetuated an error which originated in Adam of Bremen's History of the Archbishopric of Hamburg,—they showed the Baltic Sea as lying West-East. Through faulty observations, they also extended the W. coast of Norway far too much westwards. The map drawn in 1427 for Ptolemy's *Geographia* was the first which showed Greenland—eighteen years after Greenland had become no more than a memory. Its author, Claudius Clavus, or Claus Claussen Svart, was also a Scandinavian, a wandering Dane who spent some time at Rome. In his 1467 revision of the map he brought the peninsula some degrees southwards, twisted the Baltic into something like its true shape, and added *Pillapelanta*, a huge mass of land in the Arctic regions, joining Greenland to Russia. But as he was totally ignorant of topography and unscrupulous to boot, he used the words of old folk-rhymes for place-names in Greenland and even in Sweden, and the names of the Runic characters for places in Iceland. Yet he broke away from the time-honoured axiom that the world was surrounded by water, his map of Iceland fixed a type which survived for a long time, and his map of Scandinavia, as revised by Nicolaus Germanus and Henricus Martellus and included in editions of Ptolemy's

Geographia, had a great though misleading influence. Germanus reduced Clavus's *Wild Lappen Lant* to a huge rounded peninsula N. of Norway, which he named *Engronelant* and which appeared, together with Greenland, on many later maps.

In 1539 Olaus Magnus, the exiled Archbishop of Uppsala, published at Rome a *Carta Marina* which was by far the best map yet made. It shows both the Gulf of Bothnia and the Gulf of Finland fairly accurately, the Danish islands are mapped better and in greater detail than ever before, and there is a host of new places and names. Olaus moved Clavus's Greenland northwards, but because they had appeared in Ptolemy's atlas he did not dare to omit Engronelant and Thule, the latter with a legend, *This island has 30,000 inhabitants and more*. But his Iceland is better than that of Clavus. The names *Terra nobilium* for Halogaland (moved out to the island of Vikten) and *via Montanorum* for the old track from Trondhjem into Jemte-land, which had been used by Arnljot Gelline and St. Olaf, recall the *Heimskringla*. Among the many delightful engravings on the map there is a good one of the Dannevirke. This was the last of the unscientific maps of Scandinavia. Like that of Clavus, it owed much to Italian inspiration. By the beginning of the 16th century Flemish ships had taken the place of Italian in northern waters, and the publication of books of sailing-directions in Flanders, which began about 1532, led in time to the compilation of the large maritime atlases which made the Netherlands the great factory of charts for sailors of all nations. In 1543 a Dutch pilot, Cornelis Anthoniszoon, published an original chart of Scandinavian waters and countries. the *Caerte van Oostlant*, which for configuration and relative accuracy of placing was very good indeed. It illustrates the general superiority of 16th century charts over land-maps, due partly to greater care in taking

observations, partly to greater facilities for taking them. Anthoniszoon erred in putting everything about one degree too far north and in copying the westward extension of Norway and the N.N.W. run of the west coast of Jutland from the Italians. His map was soon taken up by publishers, and was the unacknowledged source of many important maps, including several by Mercator and Ortelius. The lecture concluded with an account of the fateful mistake committed by the Dutchman Joris Carolus in his map of Greenland of 1626, when he placed the old Eastern Settlement of the Norsemen on the east instead of the south-west coast. This mistake was copied by map-makers for two centuries, and caused the failure of many expeditions to east Greenland. Lantern-slides of twenty-five maps were shown.



ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SCANDINAVIANS AND FRISIANS IN EARLY TIMES.¹

BY PROFESSOR DR. ELIS WADSTEIN.

(Read April 13th, 1932).

THE Early Frisians, who dwelt in the lands bordering the eastern shores of the North Sea, with their principal concentration in the area known subsequently as the Netherlands, were for several centuries (*i.e.*, from about 500 to about 900 A.D.) the foremost of the West Germanic seafaring and trading peoples.²

That the Frisians had been able to attain to this leading position was essentially due to the circumstance that at a very early date they had come into contact with the Romans, from whom they had learnt a great deal. At a date some years preceding the birth of Christ they had become a subject people under Rome, and their intimate connection with Roman culture continued for many centuries.

In the course of time, however, the Frisians succeeded in recovering their independence and in expanding their territory to such an extent, that by about the middle of the seventh century Frisland embraced the country from the River Weser in the North to the Swin in the South. (The Swin or Sinkfal at that date was a small creek in

¹ This article consists of a summarized report—with a few recent complementary additions—of the author's investigations respecting the relations that existed in early times between Scandinavians and Frisians and is at the same time a somewhat extended recast of his paper entitled: *Våra förfäder och de gamla friserna*, published in *Historisk Tidskrift*, Stockholm, 1932. As to the said investigations see further: E. Wadstein, *Friserna och forntida handelsvägar i Norden* (Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhetssamhällets Handlingar, 5:te följdén, Gothenburg, 1921), *Norden och Västeuropa i gammal tid* (Populärt vetenskapliga föreläsningar vid Göteborgs Högskola, Ny följd xxii., Stockholm, 1925), and also the author's other papers that are cited in the foot-notes on the following pages.

² Cfr. W. Vogel, *Geschichte der deutschen Seeschifffahrt*, I., p. 74.

Northern Flanders; in later times it became silted up). The principal town in Frisland was *Dorestad*, situated at a point in the course of the Rhine where it branches into two arms. In the eighth and ninth centuries *Dorestad* was one of the principal trading towns in Western Europe.

The preaching of Christianity began in Frisland as early as the close of the seventh century, and the conversion of the whole population would appear to have been accomplished in the course of about one hundred years.

Frisland, however, was not destined long to enjoy a peaceful development in a state of independence, for the country, after a protracted but finally unsuccessful defensive struggle, was incorporated as a whole into the Frankish Empire by the Emperor Charlemagne. That change, however, in the status of the country does not seem to have had any restrictive influence on Frisian trade, which indeed appears rather to have extended and increased as a consequence of the country's incorporation into the wide Frankish dominions. In the records of the eighth and ninth centuries the references to Frisian trade become gradually more numerous.

The principal basis of the trade done by the Frisians was the skins and the wool which they had to dispose of in large quantity as a product of the cattle-breeding and sheep-rearing that they carried on in the fertile marsh-lands of which their country so largely consisted. The wool they produced they made up into woollen cloth, that was one of the staple commodities in which they traded. *Mantles*, made from such cloth and often dyed in bright or gaudy colours, won high estimation far and wide. We are told that Charlemagne himself on one occasion had some of those mantles sent as a present to the famous Haroun al Raschid, Kaliph of Bagdad. Another domestic product in which the Frisian did a large trade was salt.

Moreover, as time went on they began to trade in articles of other kinds, whereby their dealings became more and more extensive. Indeed there is reason to believe that an important part of the trading that had sprung up along the Rhine waterway by degrees fell into the hands of Frisians, a supposition which is corroborated by the circumstance that there are known to have been considerable groups of Frisians who settled in the course of the ninth century in a number of towns on the banks of the Rhine. Thanks to the geographical situation of their country, the Frisians also became intermediaries on an increasing scale for the expanding and important trade that had established itself between the districts bordering the Rhine and England.³ In those days the English, who were afterwards destined to become such a great maritime nation, were handicapped by a shortage of ships and sailors. So much was that the case, that the fleet, for instance, that King Alfred the Great fitted out to resist the invasion of the Danish vikings, was to a considerable extent manned by Frisians.

The sea voyages undertaken by the Frisians, also took a northerly direction. In those waters there were no maritime and commercial routes, already established by the Romans, and so the Frisians had to open them up for themselves. On those coasts there were no old-established towns surrounded by walls, where the traders might store their goods, and so new towns had to be founded. That Frisians had some part in the foundation of Bremen is quite certain. It is also very probable that they had a hand in the establishing of Hamburg and certain other ancient towns on the Elbe.⁴

³ Respecting the long-standing and undoubtedly very intimate relations that existed between England and Frisland, see E. Wadstein, *On the Origin of the English* (Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundets i Uppsala Skrifter 24:14, Uppsala, 1927), p. 33 et seq.

⁴ For further details on the ancient history of Frisland see the lit. cited in Wadstein, *Norden och Väst Europa*, etc., p. 167 ff and J. H. Holwerda, *Nederland's vroegste geschiedenis* (1925) and P. C. J. A. Boeles, *Friesland tot de elfde eeuw* (1927).

The Frisians also extended their trading expeditions to Scandinavia.⁵ What they were after there were, among other things, furs; at a very early date furs were already being sent by the ancestors of the Swedes as far as to Rome, as witnesses a statement by Jordanes, dating from the sixth century.⁶ Anskar, the "apostle of the North," on his first missionary journey in the earlier part of the ninth century passed through Dorestad, the capital of Frisland, and from there went on to the southern borders of Denmark. On that journey Anskar undoubtedly followed a customary trading-route. In the vicinity of the said Danish borders, on the Slefirthe, there was situated the Danish trading centre of Sleswick or Hedeby, as the Danes themselves called it. That Hedeby-Sleswick at an early date was in communication with Frisland, is obvious from the statement of Rimbert, the biographer of Anskar, to the effect that there were Christians in that town who had been baptised in Dorestad. Certain circumstances also indicate that Frisian traders had a hand in the foundation of the Danish emporium. It is even very probable that Sleswick, the foreign name of this town, is of Frisian origin and contains in its second syllable Fris. *wik*, "place, town," a loan-word from Lat. *vicus*, that, e.g., still survives in *Wijk te Duurstede*, a later name for the Frisian town *Dorestad*.⁷

The Frisians, who were such skilful navigators, did not stop short at Hedeby-Sleswick. That Frisians as early as the first part of the ninth century had got into the way of proceeding into the Baltic Sea we may see from an episode narrated in Anskar's biography, which proves that there were even Frisian wives to be found among the inhabitants of *Birka*. *Birka* was

⁵ Cf. K. Stjerna, *Historisk Tidskrift för Skåneland* iii., p. 208 et seq.

⁶ Jordanes, *de origine actibusque Getarum*, Lib. iii., Cap. xxi.

⁷ Cf. on the names *Hedeby*, *Sleswick*, E. Wadstein, *Fornvännen*, 1932 p. 226 ff. and lit. cited there.

the earliest town established in Sweden; it was situated on the island in Lake Mälaren, now known as *Björkö*. The fact that there were Frisians living in Birka has its counterpart in the existence of the groups of Frisian settlers in the trading-towns on the banks of the Rhine, as related above. To this very day there exists a reminiscence of the ancient Frisians' sojourn in *Björkö*, viz., in *Kugghamn* "cog-haven," the name of a creek at the place, where Birka stood in olden times. The first part of this name is Fris. *kog*, which appears in Scandinavian languages in the forms *kog(ge)* and *kugg-*, and denotes a sort of vessel used by the Frisians.

It is very likely that it was Frisian merchants who caused a special jurisdiction to be established in the trading-place Birka; that happened very probably for the sake of protecting and regulating the trade of the place. This may be inferred from the very name *Birka*.

One is prompted at the first glance to assume that the names *Birka* and *Björkö* are derived from the name of a tree, viz., Mod. Swed. *björk* "birch." This is the more tempting as there is actually a fine birch wood in the island of *Björkö*. This wood, however, is of comparatively recent origin, for a survey of *Björkö* dating from the middle of the eighteenth century⁸ contains the information that at this time there was no wood of deciduous trees on the island. The present name-form *Björkö* too is of a comparatively late origin; it is a transformation of an earlier *Börkö*, due to analogy form Mod. Swed. *björk* "birch"; *Börkö* had itself arisen out of the old form *Birkö*.

Instead of having any connection with the tree-name⁹

⁸ See G. Boding, *Charta öfwer Biörckön uti Mälaren . . . Afmätt i Julii ock Aug. 1747* (in Stockholms läns lantmäterikontor); cfr E. Wadstein, *Namn och Bygd*, 12, p. 137.

⁹ The opinion that *Biærkö*, a form occurring in Old Swedish alongside *Birkö*, *Byrkö* and containing the word *biærk*, earlier **berk-* "birch," represents the original form of the name has been put forward by E. Wessén, *Namn och Bygd* 11, p. 135 ff., 13, p. 39 ff. W. has, however, him-

it is most probable that *Birka* embodies the word *birk*, which still survives in Danish in the sense of "district under a special jurisdiction"; in Old Danish this word signified specifically "town jurisdiction-district." The original sense of this *birk* may very well be "jurisdiction," a sense that appears to be present in O. Dan. *biærke-ræt*, "right to have a special jurisdiction."¹⁰ The same *birk* in varying forms (*birk*-, *berk*-, *biærk*-, etc.) is embodied in old Scandinavian denominations for town-laws. Now this *birk* is obviously connected with the M. Dutch word *berec*, which is met with in a border-land of ancient Frisia (Flanders), and signifies "jurisdiction." M. Dutch *berec*, just as the cognate and (partly) synonymous M. Dutch *be-recht*, contains the prefix *be*- which had a collateral form *bi*-; alongside *be-rec* there thus existed a form *bi-rec*. After the syncope of the *e* in the second syllable had taken place these **bi-rec*: *berec* would present the actual Scandinavian forms *birk*: *berk*-. As the prefix *bi*-, *be*- did not originally exist in the Scandinavian languages, Scand. *birk*: *berk*- cannot be native words corresponding to the said **bi-rec*: *be-rec*, but *birk*: *berk*- may very well be borrowed from those West Germanic forms. The Scandinavian *birk* also agrees with the M. Dutch *berec* in having the same neuter gender. Thus the name *Birka*, a latinised *Birk-ö* (Swed. *ö*=island), may very well mean

self produced a weighty argument against this opinion by an investigation of his upon Swedish compound place-names containing the said **berk*-. "birch," for that investigation showed (see op. cit. II, p. 159) that "place-names compounded with 'birch' . . . have . . . the form *birki*-, " from which we deduce that the regular Old Swedish compound, formed from "birch" and *ö*, would be **Birki-ö*, not *Biærk-ö*. *Biærk-ö* "birch-island" is, thus, proved not to be an original form. The original form of the name is certainly represented by Rimbert's *Birka* (Old Swedish *Birkö*) which is several centuries older than the form *Biærk-ö*; the occurrence of the form *Biærk-ö* is easily accounted for as being a transformation of *Birk-ö*, due to analogy from *biærk* "birch."

¹⁰ Cf. O. Swed. *laghsagha*, properly "jurisdiction," but also "jurisdiction-district" and Germ. *Weichbild* (from *wīk* "town," lat. *vīcus*) in the oldest records "town-jurisdiction," but later also "town-district."

an island that constitutes a *birk* (a district having special jurisdiction) and go back to the ancient Frisians.¹¹

But even if the name *Birka* were not of Frisian origin, as it most probably is, the fact that Frisians were living in Birka and that inhabitants of that town visited Frisland and were christianized there, is of itself sufficient to make it evident, that in the earlier part of the ninth century the relations between Birka and Frisland had already become very close and intimate.¹²

These relations between Frisland and the country of the ancient Swedes did not cease with the destruction of Birka, that probably came to pass about the year 1000. In Sigtuna, the town that succeeded Birka as the trading-centre of the country, we find Frisians as it would seem co-operating intimately with Swedes. This is rendered obvious by the inscriptions on two runic stones in Sigtuna that date from the eleventh century, for they say that the stones were set up by "the guild-brethren of the Frisians." Thus there existed in Sigtuna a Frisian mercantile guild.¹³ The names occurring in the inscriptions indicate, that the said guild must have had both Swedish and Frisian members. Probably in Sigtuna, as in Birka, there were Frisians who were settled in the town.

Frisians, moreover, certainly made their way to other places in the North besides Birka and Sigtuna, especi-

¹¹ As to this derivation of *Birka* and *Björkö* see E. Wadstein, *Namn och Bygd*, 1914, p. 92 ff., 1924, p. 127 ff., and 1926 p. 1 ff.; cf. the fact that the names of the towns that alongside *Birka* are the oldest in Scandinavia, viz. *Sleswick* and *Ribe*, also undoubtedly contain foreign words (Lat. *vīcus* "place, town" and—according to a derivation, suggested by Dr. G. Schütte that appears to be a very likely one—Lat. *ripa* "shore") which constitutes evidence of persons from outside Scandinavia having been instrumental in the foundation of the towns in question.

¹² The intercourse between Birka and Frisland is also illustrated by old finds in Birka that show close agreement with similar ones in Dorestad, see T. J. Arne, *Hallands hembygdsförenings skriftserie I*, p. 17 ff. and J. H. Holwerda, *Dorestad en onze vroegste middeleeuwen*, p. 64 ff.

¹³ See O. von Friesen, *Ur Sigtunas äldsta historia. Ett frisiskt handels-gille i Sigtuna på 1000 talet* (Upplands Fornminnesförenings tidskrift, vi., p. 11 et seq.), see also op. cit., vii., p. 364 ff.

ally to places where articles that they were desirous of securing could be acquired by direct means. There are several trading-places that bear a similar name to *Birka* or actually the same name.¹⁴ At those places, too, special jurisdictional regulations had most probably been set up,¹⁵ and it is very possible that Frisians may have taken part in the foundation of such places and in bestowing names upon them. Among these places the following are especially noteworthy: *Birkö* at the most northern point of the Gulf of Bothnia, *Berkøy* (or *Biarkøy*) in North-Norway, two trade centres in the Lapp territories which constituted very profitable hunting-grounds, and *Berkö* in the innermost part of the Gulf of Finland, which was an important halting-place on the trading route between Birka and Russia. A testimony to the Frisians having penetrated to Russia is afforded by the fact that the name of an old Russian token coin, which in itself properly speaking signified a species of fur, came to be used as a coin-name in Frisland.¹⁶ For other names: *Birkö*, *Björkö*, etc., which probably also denoted early trading-route halting-places, see Map.¹⁷ The situation of those places give

¹⁴ See H. Schück, *Birka*, in *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, 1910, p. 26 f.

¹⁵ Cf. that the Norwegian *Biarkeyiarréttir* was also applied to trade in other places than towns (see *Norges Gamle Love*, udg. ved R. Keyser og P. A. Munch, i., p. 312).

¹⁶ See E. Wadstein, *Ett vittnesbörd om gammal frisisk förbindelse med Rysland* (in *Festskrift til Hjalmar Falk*, Oslo, 1927, p. 289 ff.).

According to T. C. H. Kruse the Dane *Rorik* who long held parts of Frisland as a fief is identical with *Rurik*, the founder of the Russian empire, see N. T. Belaiew, *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, X., p. 290 ff. B. agreeing with this view, suggests (*ibid.* p. 293 ff., cf. also the latter author, *Journ. of the Brit. Archæol. Assoc.* xxxvii., part ii., p. 207) that the name of Rurik's people, the *Rus*, *Rhos*, is derived from *Frês-* in *Frêsa* "Frisians" which, as he thinks, when pronounced by Finnish mouths became "*Rês* or *Ros*." But the identification of the "Frisian" *Rorik* and the Russian *Rurik* is rendered incredible by the mere circumstance that the latter is stated as being still living in Frisland in 863 and 873. Moreover as regards the suggested development of *Frês-* into *Ros* the change of vowel has not been accounted for in any satisfactory way.

¹⁷ Besides the places with the name *Birkö* on the map there was a *Birkö* in Halland probably on the river Nissan or on some one of its affluents, see E. Wessén, *Namn och Bygd* II, p. 155 f. This *Birkö* may have been an early trading-station on the route to *Finnheden*, an extensive hunting-area in South-Western Småland.

which they made their raids.¹⁸ That trading to the lands of the North was kept up during the Viking Age is obvious from several passages in early documents.

The close relations between Scandinavians and Frisians were not restricted to such as took place on the visits of Frisian traders to the North. Relations of various kinds were also established on the occasion of visits to Frisland paid by Scandinavians. As is well known, Scandinavians in olden times not only for hostile but also for peaceful purposes not unfrequently found their way to Frisland.

* * *

The early and protracted relations between the Frisian trading-people and the Scandinavians involved, as a matter of course, that a considerable number of articles and ideas that had previously been unknown in the North were introduced there, and that, at the same time, also the Frisian names for these articles and ideas made their way into Scandinavia. Hence among the West Germanic loan-words of the Scandinavian languages there are undoubtedly a great many—formerly assumed to have come in from German or English—which were derived from Frisian.

To enable us to detect these Frisian loan-words there exists an important historical criterion that has hitherto been neglected, while in respect to certain words guidance is afforded by linguistic peculiarities.

¹⁸ It is possible that "viking," O. Engl. *wicing* "sea-robber" is a formation of *wik* "town," and originally had the sense of "inhabitant of a town," cf. O. Engl., *Eoforwicingas* ("inhabitants of *Eofor-wic*"), that contains this *wik*. This formation may have acquired the sense of "robber" because armed and daring traders, who went by the name of *wicingas* on account of their being residents of a *wik* "town," in olden times not infrequently preferred to take goods by force and robbery rather than to acquire them by purchase. The word "viking" was in fact, current in England before the so called Viking Age. See E. Wadstein, *Le mot viking* (in *Melanges Vising*, Gothenburg and Paris 1925 p. 381 ff.). The word found its way also into the Slavonic languages. According to K. Knutsson, *Zur Etymologie von Slav. vitędzь* (Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund årsberättelse 1929-1930, II p. 18) the earliest sense of the word to be traced in Slavonic is "knight, nobleman." This sense may very well have been developed out of the sense "(armed) trader," but hardly out of the sense "robber, pirate."

The said historical criterion is the following. The relations between the Frisians and the Scandinavians having been firmly established and having developed into a considerable degree of intimacy at a date preceding the time at which any German or English influence of importance can possibly have been brought to bear upon the peoples of the North, it is to be inferred that the Frisians have introduced, at least in some parts of the North, those West Germanic words that are names for such articles and ideas as they brought with them thither in the period during which they had no other West Germanic competitors in Scandinavia or for articles and matters that the Scandinavians who went to Frisland in those early days got to know in that country.

I propose now to enumerate some such loan-words in the Scandinavian languages as may be set down as having been adopted from Frisian on the strength either of this above-mentioned historical criterion or of some linguistic peculiarity present also in Frisian.

To begin with I call attention to some nautical terms designating things that the Frisians no doubt brought with them to the North early on and in some cases on the occasion of their first visits there. First of all I take O.W. Scand. *kugg-*, O. Swed. *kogge*, O. Dan.¹⁹ *kog*, later Dan. *kogge*, *kugge*: O. Fris. *kog*²⁰ (Dutch *kog*, *kogge*) "a kind of ship or boat." That the Frisians used "cogs" on their visits to Birka is obvious from the name *Kugg-hamn* cited above, p. 9; cf. the fact that on some of the oldest Scandinavian coins dating from as early as the ninth century there are to be found reproductions of Dorestad-coins on which is to be seen a short ship with high bulwarks and with its stem and stern both rising high, obviously a cog.²¹

¹⁹ O. Dan. = "Gammeldansk i videre Forstand," J. Brøndum-Nielsen, *Gammeldansk Gram.* § 1.

²⁰ See W. Vogel in Hoops' *Reallexikon* IV. p. 122.

²¹ See P. Hauberg, *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146*, Tab. I. 4, 5, 6 and cf. p. 106.

--These "cogs" were no doubt furnished with anchors which the Frisians must have learnt how to use from the Romans at a very early date. Hence O.W. Scand. *akkere*, O. Swed. *ankare*, O. Dan. *akkaræ*, Dan. *anker*: O. Fris. *anker*, "anchor," was no doubt an early word to be adopted by the languages of the North brought thither by the Frisians, possibly on occasion of their first visits there. An anchor was at any rate made use of by Scandinavians at a date as early as about 800, for an iron anchor was found in the Oseberg-ship.²² The occurrence of the forms *akkere*, *akkaræ*, with *kk* in place of *nk*, which is due to a Scandinavian sound-development, indicates that Scandinavians made use not only of the article anchor but also of its foreign name in the Viking age.²³ The Frisians themselves had obtained the word from the Latin (originally Greek) *anchora*.—A nautical term which was for a time the only Frisian loan-word in the Scandinavian languages that was recognized as such, is the O.W. Scand. *bākn*, Swed. *båk(n)* (developed out of *bākn*), Dan. *bagn* (also < *bākn*) corresponding to O. Fris. *bāken* (Engl. *beacon*). The vowel-form of the word was originally *au* as is shown by the corresponding O.H. Germ. *bouhhan* and O. Engl. *bēacon*. The ground for the conclusion that the Scandinavian forms with *ā* have come from Frisian is that Frisian is the only Old Germanic language in which the diphthong *au* is shown to have developed into *ā*.²⁴

I now pass on to deal with loan-words connected with trade. As one of the principal Frisian trading articles was cloth (see above, p. 6), it is no more than might

²² See Brøgger-Falk-Shetelig, *Osebergfundet* I. p. 319.

²³ As to the date of the assimilation *nk* to *kk* see A. Noreen, *Altnord. Gram.* 14, §266 and J. Brøndum-Nielsen, *Gammeld. Gram.* 2, p. 30 f.

²⁴ According to E. Rooth, *Niederdeutsche Studien*, Festschrift . . . für Prof. C. Borchling (1932) the development *au* into *ā* also occurred in Old Saxon. This requires further confirmation more especially by the adducing of examples to indicate the same development in Saxon place names.

we expected that the Frisian name of that article should have left traces in Scandinavia. The forms in the Scandinavian languages that correspond to O. Fris. *klēth*, "cloth," are O.W. Scand. *klæðe*, O. Swed. *klāþe* and O. Dan. *klæthe*. The *æ* of these forms cannot be of Scandinavian origin, as the original Germanic vowel-form was *ai* (cf. M.H. Germ. *kleit*, O. Engl. *lāþ*) which in native Scandinavian words developed in O.W. Scandinavian into *ei*, in O. Swedish and O. Danish into *ē*, and not into *æ*. The *æ* of the Scandinavian forms therefore was undoubtedly due to O. Fris. *klēth* (pronounced *klæth*). In Old Frisian there was also a form with an *ā*: *klāth*, "cloth"; this *ā*, too, appears in the Scandinavian North, viz., in Lappish *aððe* (< **klap*-) "cloth."—Another word of a similar sense that has also a vowel indicating Frisian origin, viz. *ā* in place of an earlier *au*, is the O. Swed. *skāt*, later *skåt*, "a kind of cloth, a piece of a garment." This coincides with O. Fris. **skāt*, a form corresponding to O. Engl. *scēat* (< **skaut*) "a piece of cloth" and O.W. Scand. *skaut*, "hem of a garment, square piece of cloth, etc."²⁵—As has been pointed out above (page 6) the mantles sold by the Frisians were highly esteemed far and wide. The name for this article of clothing: O.W. Scand. *mōttol*- (< **mantul*-), O. Swed. *nantel*, O. Dan. *mættel* (< **mæntel*-), Mod. Dan. *mantel*, "mantle" (kind of cloak) that corresponds to O. Fris. *mantel*, *mentel* (originally a Latin word) was certainly introduced into the North by Frisians at the same time as the article itself. That the word was to be found in Scandinavia in the Viking Age is shown by the assimilation of *nt* to *tl* in *mōttol*-, *nættel*, which took place at the period mentioned.²⁶—The simplest and perhaps the commonest way of

²⁵ See E. Lidén in *Festskrift tillägnad Hugo Pipping*, Hålsingfors, 1924, p. 323.

²⁶ See A. Noreen, *Altnord. Gram.* I., § 266, J. Brøndum-Nielsen and Hammeldt, *Gram.*, 2, p. 30 f.

making such mantles was to cut the cloth into square pieces, which were wrapped round the body and thus served as a kind of cloak. The Old Frisian word for "cut (cloth, etc.);" was *skrēda*. The *ē* in this verb was evolved from *ā* by *i*-mutation; this *ā* goes back to *au*, as is shown by the corresponding forms O. Engl. *scrēadian*, "pare, cut off," and from O.H. Germ. *scrōtan* (both developed out of **skrauð-*). O. Swed. *skrædha*, Norw. Dial. *skræda* and Dan. (now obsolete) *skræde*, "cut, etc.," coincide with the said O. Fris. *skrēda* "cut (cloth)," and have most probably been introduced in connection with the importation of Frisian cloth. These forms cannot be original Scandinavian, for if so, they would have the vowel *ö*, not *æ*. A substantive formed from this foreign *skreda*, *skrædha* is O. Norw. *skreddere*, O. Swed. *skredare*, *skræd(d)are*, O. Dan. *skredder*, "tailor," properly "cutter" (cf. *tailor*, also properly "cutter"). As there can hardly have existed any professional tailors in Scandinavia until some part of the Middle Ages had passed by, the Scand. *skræd(d)are*, etc., was probably introduced later than the verb.—A loan-word which certainly also was introduced in connection with the Frisian trade is the O. Norw. *lest*, "a measure for a ship's burden, a certain weight," O. Swed., O. Dan. *læst* with a similar sense. This word coincides with O. Fris. *hlest*, "a last, onus" (initial *h* is dropped before *l* in O. Norwegian, O. Swedish and O. Danish) and is mentioned in connection with Frisians in the old townlaw of Sleswick.²⁷ The same word also spread from the Frisians to their southern neighbours; thus, it is met with in O. French *lest*, "sort de mesure pour les solides," and has survived in modern French in the sense of "ballast."²⁸—An instrument that was no doubt used by the old Frisians for the trans-

²⁷ See Slesvigs Gamle Stadsret § 30 (Stadsretter udg. ved P. G. Thorsen, p. 11) "Frysones . . . pro læst salis xii., denarios."

²⁸ See W. Meyer-Lübke, Roman. Etymol. Wörterb., 4922.

portation of trading articles on land is a vehicle called in late Latin *carra*, in O.W. Scand. *kerra*, O. Swed. *kerra*, *kærra*, O. Dan. *kerra*. The form with *e* (*æ*) in place of *a* being otherwise only known from Middle Dutch, *i.e.* from dialects spoken in districts formerly Frisian, the Scandinavian word most probably came from that quarter. The "*kerra*" was perhaps used for the first time in the North when the Frisians began to carry their boat-loads of trading articles over land between the North Sea and the Slefirth.—Another word that has a connection with Frisian trade is the O. Swed. (Runic) *kiltar*, *i.e.*, *gildar*, "guild-brethren." The word occurs on two rune-stones, which show that in the eleventh century there was a Frisian guild—no doubt of tradesmen—in Sigtuna (see above, p. 11). Thus the guild-institution was first introduced into Sweden, and probably also into other parts of Scandinavia, by Frisians. Consequently it may be confidently assumed that such words as O. Swed. *alderman*, O. Dan. *aldærmann* (: O. Fris. *aldirmon*, from *-man*), "guild-master," and O. Swed. *giældbrodher* (: O. Fris. *iældbrother*), "guild-brother," came in at the same time.

As has been pointed out above, there are circumstances tending to show that the Frisians had a hand in the foundations of the first Scandinavian towns. In connection with the establishment of these towns several foreign words are likely to have been introduced into Scandinavian. Such words are the following: O.W. Scand. *múr*-, O. Swed. *mūr*, Dan. *mur*: O. Fris. *mure* (Mi. Dutch *muur*), "wall," originally from Latin *mūrus*. The oldest parts of the walls of Hedeby were built in a way similar to those of Dorestad.²⁹—In O.W. Scand. *þál*-, O. Swed. *þāl(e)*, Swed. Dial. *þäl*, Dan. *þæl*, "pale, pile," the variant vowels correspond to *ā*: *ē* in the old Frisian synonym *þäl*,

²⁹ Cf. E. Wadstein, *Fornvännen*, 1932, p. 242 and lit. cited there.

þēl (that has come from Latin *palus*, "stake, pale"), which indicates that the Scandinavian forms (at least the *ē*, *æ*- form) came from Frisian. The word was probably introduced as early as when Birka was in existence. Remains of a row of ancient pales standing upright in the lake were found there; these pales seem to have formed a kind of palisade, intended to prevent hostile ships from getting to the shore.—O.W. Scand. *stræte*, O. Swed. *stræte*, O. Dan. *stræte*, that entirely coincides with O. Fris. *strēte*, "(paved) road, street" (originally from Latin *strāta*, "strewed, paved"), may also very well have come from Frisian (and not from the O.Engl. monosyllable *stræt*); in Hedeby thus excavation work has laid bare a piece of paved road.³⁰ As stated above, the forms *berk-*, *biark-*, etc., which are met with in early Scandinavian names of town-laws, came most probably from the Frisian language. That is also the case with the word *-kyre*, *-kere*, etc., in the Scandinavian name of a town-reeve, viz., O.W. Scand. *giald-kyre*, *-kere*, O. Swed. *giæl-kyre*, *-kæræ*, O. Dan. *gæl-kyræ*, *-kæræ*. It is obvious that *-kyre*, *-kere* is a foreign word, firstly from the secondary form *-kere*, of which no satisfactory explanation is afforded by Scandinavian sound-laws, and secondly from the fact that the cognate native Scandinavian words do not present any senses coinciding with those of *-kyre*, *-kere* in *giald-kyre*, *-kere*. The functions of this town-reeve consisted in collecting dues and fines (O. Scand. *giald* bears the sense "payment, fine"), and in general in administering the law in a town-area. Now Old Frisian contained both these forms *-kyre* and *-kere*, the latter developed out of the former in accordance with a normal Frisian sound-change, and in Middle Dutch, *i.e.* a language spoken by people living on Frisian soil, the corresponding word *kore*, *keure* (properly = "choice, election") also carries the sense of "a person elected

³⁰ See F. Knorr in Schleswig, Heimatbuch, I., p. 31, Abb. 11.

(to a task), a board of persons, to whom the administration of law in a town has been entrusted,"³¹ that is to say it has significations similar to those of Scand. *giald-kyre*, *-kere*. As the corresponding O. Engl. *cyre* only signifies "choice, will," and Mi. Low Germ. *kore*, *küre* does not show any parallel form with an *e* in the first syllable, there seems to be every justification for concluding that the Scandinavian word in question was derived from Frisian.

In Hedeby and Birka there were in the ninth century people who were christianized in Dorestad. These people, of course, got to know at any rate a few of the words belonging to Christian nomenclature, such as O. Fris. *kristen*: O. Swed. *kristen*, O. Dan. *cristæn*, "Christian," O. Fris. *prester* (originally from Greek-Latin *presbyter*): O. Swed. *präster*, O. Dan. *prest*, "priest," O. Fris. **kir-, kerke* (originally Greek): O. Swed. *kirkia*, *kerkia*, O. Dan. *kirkia*, "church," O. Fris. *wīn*: O. Swed., O. Dan. *wīn*, "wine" (that wine came early on to the North in connection with the holy communion is obvious from a passage in Anskar's biography).³²

Among other West Germanic loan-words in the Scandinavian languages there are a great many which have the same form in Frisian as in English or German. Hence, they may just as likely be of Frisian origin as of English or German. Such loan-words may in some cases have come from more than one quarter. Thus some of them may have been introduced into part of Scandinavia in the first instance by Frisians who were, it must be remembered, the first of the West Germanic peoples who had for a long time been under the influence of South European culture that the Scandinavians

³¹ Cf. "*Core . . . keure . . . persoon die men kiest . . . verordening door eene stad vastgesteld . . . het college waaraan de handhaving der keuren is opgedragen*," *Middelnederlandsch Handwoordenboek*, bew. door J. Verdam, p. 307.

³² Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* Cap. 20.

came into any intimate contact with. Later on the same words may have been introduced into other parts of the North by Englishmen or Low Germans. As regards loan-words from Old English it is rendered most probable by historical circumstances that they are more numerous in West Scandinavian and Danish than in Swedish.³³ At any rate no appreciable English influence on Scandinavia is likely to have set in previous to the time when the English and Scandinavians came into a peaceful contact with each other, which did not take place until at least a century after Frisian influence began to assert itself in Scandinavia. And as regards loan-words from Low German it is to be borne in mind that no influence of any importance could come from that quarter until the Low Germans (Saxons) themselves had been more influenced by South European culture and become, as the Frisians long before them, a prominent trading people. Moreover, even after the Germans had in the twelfth century secured a trading-station of their own on the Baltic, viz., Lübeck, and had gradually acquired predominance in the Scandinavian market, the Frisians still continued trading there. If we take into consideration the long space of time during which the Frisians were active as traders in Scandinavia—at first without other West Germanic competitors—we shall realise that in the course of that time an important part of our older West Germanic loan-words must most probably have been introduced by them.

I will now give a few instances of loan-words which in view of their form may as likely be Frisian in origin as Low German or English, or which may, at least, have been first introduced into some districts in the North by Frisians. *Nautical* words: O.W. Scand. *bát-*, O. Swed. *bāt-*, Dan. *baad*: O. Fris. **bāt* (the old form of Fris. Dial. *buat*, etc.), "boat"; Swed. *stäv*,

³³ Cf. on English loan-words in Swedish E. Hellquist, *Det svenska ordförrådets ålder och ursprung* p. 808 ff.

Dan. *steffuen* (pronounced *steven*, now obsolete), *stævn*: O. Fris. *stevene*, "stem, prow of a vessel."—Trade words: O.W. Scand. *penning*-, O. Swed., O. Dan. *pænning*(-): O. Fris. *penning* (Engl. *penny*); O. Swed. *pant*, O. Dan. *pand*: O. Fris. *pand*, "pledge"; O.W. Scand. *toll*-, O. Swed. *tol*, O. Dan. *toln*: O. Fris. *tolne*, "toll" (originally Greek-Latin); O.W. Scand., O. Swed., O. Dan. *pund*: O. Fris. *pund*, "pound" (originally Latin); O. Swed., O. Dan. *wicht*, *vikt*: O. Fris. *wicht*, "weight"; Swed. *fjärndel* (Old Swed. **fiarndel*): O. Fris. *fiarndel*, "forth part"; O.W. Scand. *sekk*-, O. Swed. *sækk*-, O. Dan. *sæc*: O. Fris. *seck*, "sack" (originally Hebrew-Phenician); O. Swed. *tunna*, *tonna*, *tyнна*, O. Dan. *tunne*, *tynnæ*, Norw. Dial. *tunna*, *tyнна*: O. Fris. *tunne*, *tonne*, Fris. Dial. *tæn* (< **tyn*-) "tun, cask" (from late Latin).—Words belonging to Christian nomenclature: O.W. Scand., O. Swed. *altare*, O. Dan. *altæra*: O. Fris. *altare*, "altar" (originally Latin); O.W. Scand., O. Swed., O. Dan. *font*(-), *funt*(-): O. Fris. *font*, *funt*, "baptismal font" (originally Latin); O. Swed. *klokka*, O. Dan. *klokke*: O. Fris. *klokke*, "bell"; O. Swed. *missa*, *mæssa*, O. Dan. *missæ*, *mæssæ*: O. Fris. *missa*, **messa* (M. Dutch *messe*), "mass"; O. Swed., O. Dan. *offer*: O. Fris. *offer*, "offering" (originally Latin); O. Swed. *hælghon*, O. Dan. *hellugen*, *hælghon*: O. Fris. *heligon*—"saints"; O. Swed. *sial*, *siæl*, O. Dan. *sial*, Mod. Dan. *sjæl*: O. Fris. **siala*: *siele*, "soul."—Other words: O. Swed. *fre(a)-dagh*-, O. Dan. *fre-dag*: Fris. *fre-de* (< **fraui*-, cf. O. Icel. *Freyiu-dag*-), "Friday" (Latin pattern: *dies Veneris*); O. Norw. *synno-dagh*, O. Swed. *synnu-dagh*-, O. Dan. *syn-dagh*: Fris. *sæn-di* (< **syn*-), "Sunday" (Latin pattern: *dies solis*); O.W. Scand. *duk*-, Swed. *dök*-, *dūk*-, O. Dan. *dūk*: O. Fris. *dök*, *duek*, "cloth, etc."; O.W. Scand. O. Swed. *kāl*, Dan. *kaal*: Fris. Dial. *kól* (< **kāl*,

originally Latin), O.W. Scand. *skrifa*, O. Swed. *skrīva*, O. Dan. *skrīvæ*: O. Fris. *skrīva*, "write" (originally Latin), O. Swed., O. Dan. *blæk*: O. Fris. **blek* (M. Dutch *blac*), "ink"; O.W. Scand. *brēf*, O. Swed., O. Dan. *brēf*: O. Fris. *brēf* "(short) writing" (originally Latin); O.W. Scand. *ketel*, O. Swed. *kætil*, O. Dan. *kiæthel*: O. Fris. *ketel*-, "kettle" (originally Latin); O.W. Scand., O. Swed. *kista*, O. Dan. *kistæ*: O. Fris. *kiste*, "chest" (originally Greek-Latin); O. Norw., O. Swed. *planka*, O. Dan. (latinized) *planka*: O. Fris. *planke*, "plank" (originally Latin); O.W. Scand. *spegel*-, O. Swed. *speghil*, O. Dan. *speghæl*: O. Fris. *spegel*, "mirror" (originally also Latin).⁸⁴

Several of the prefixes and suffixes in the Scandinavian languages that have hitherto been considered as being borrowed from Low German may also have come from Frisian. Such are: *bi*-, *be*-, f.i. in O. Swed. *bi*-, *be-skrīva*, O. Dan. *be-skrive*: O. Fris. *bi*-, *be-skriva*; O. Swed. *bliva*, O. Dan. *blive*; O. Fris. *bi*-, *b(e)-liva*; O. Swed. *be-vising*, *by-visning*, O. Dan. *be-visning*: O. Fris. *bi*-, *be-wisinge*; O. Swed., O. Dan. *birk*, *berk* < **bi*-, *be-rec* (see above, p. 10);— *for*-, f.i. in O. Swed. *for-dærva*, O. Dan. *for-dærve*: O. Fris. *for-derva*; O. Swed. *for-fara*, O. Dan. *for-faræ*: O. Fris. *for-fara*;— *und*- f.i. in O. Swed. *und-fa*, O. Dan. *und-faa*: O. Fris. *und-fa*; O. Swed. *und-koma*, O. Dan. *und-komme*: O. Fris. *und-kuma*;— *-else* f.i. in O. Swed. *vigh-else*, O. Dan. *vig-else*: O. Fris. *wig-elsa*;—O. Swed. *-skæp*, *-skæp* (see A. Noreen, *Altschwed*, Gram. § 409, 3, a): O. Fris. f.i. in *sel-sceþ*, *wit-sceþ*;

⁸⁴ It is no great cause for wonder that such a large number of Latin words should have been introduced into Old Frisian seeing that the Frisians had for many centuries been in direct contact with Roman culture. As regards the principal centre for Latin loan-words in the Old Germanic languages cf. F. Kluge, *Pauls Grundr.* ²¹I, p. 348: "das Hauptcentrum" (dieser Entlehnungen) "war nicht sowohl der Oberrhein . . . als vielmehr der Mittelrhein . . . und besonders der Niederrhein" (spaced by the present author); cf. also Th. Frings, *Mitteldeutsche Studien*, Beiheft 4, p. 37 (and the authors cited there), 133 ff.

—*-dan*, f.i. in O. Swed. *swa-dan*, Mod. Swed. *så-dan*, O. Dan. *swa-dan*, *saa-dan*, *saa-den*: Fris. *sa-den*; O. Swed. *huru-dan-*, O. Dan. *hure-dan*: Fris. *hu-dan*.⁴⁵

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As certain Frisian loan-words in the Scandinavian languages indicate our forefathers were influenced by the Frisians in manifold spheres. Thus the Frisians for instance taught Scandinavian sailors to secure their vessels by *a n c h o r s* and to mark fairways by *b e a c o n s*. The Frisians too introduced into Scandinavia new materials for the making of *c l o t h e s* and other articles which till then were unknown there. They were most probably instrumental in the founding of the first Scandinavian *t o w n s*. The Guild-institution was introduced into the North by them. The Frisians were also the first to introduce Christianity into Scandinavia.

It is no wonder that the Frisians had so much to teach the Scandinavians, for they were the first people with whom our forefathers came into close contact that had enjoyed for a considerable period of time the advantages of direct influence from Roman culture. In short, the Frisians were *pioneers* in enabling Southern European culture to find its way on a really appreciable scale into the countries of the North.

⁴⁵ For further details respecting Frisian loan-words in Scandinavian languages see E. Wadstein, *Friesische Lehnwörter im Nordischen* (in Kungl. Human. Vetensk:s Samf:s i Uppsala Skrifter 21:3) and *Frisiska lånord* (in Arkiv för nordisk filologi, tilläggsband, 1929). Cf. E. Hellquist, *Det svenska ordförrådet*, etc., p. 802 ff.

AKI QRLUNGATRAUSTI.

BY PROFESSOR KEMP MALONE.

ONE of the characters in the *Þiðrikssaga* is the hero Aki, brother of Ermanric and lord of a city called Fritila, *er Væringjar kalla Fridsælu* (ed. H. Bertelsen, p. 30). According to Bertelsen (p. 404), this Fritila-(borg) was Vercelli.¹ The saga goes on to say that Aki had the surname Qrlungatrausti (*i.e.*, 'helper of the Harlungs'). His sons Aki (the younger) and Egarð were the Harlung brothers, famous in Germanic story. Boer believed that the elder Aki was an old saga-figure, and went so far as to say, *wir haben keinen grund, an der mittheilung, dass er ein bruder Ermanarichs war, zu zweifeln*.² He was unable, however, to prove a historical relationship, and in consequence his views have won little favour. In the present paper I will try to show that Boer had a better case than even he was aware of, although Aki and Ermanric prove not to be brothers.

Aki and his son Egarð answer to the Hāche and his son Eckehart of later German story. The name Aki itself, along with the *Þiðrikssaga* as a whole, came to Norway from North Germany, and once began with an *h* (a point on which, strange to relate, the authorities are agreed). In this respect at least, then, the extant High-German form *Hāche*, although later in date than Aki, more nearly preserves the original name of the hero, a name which has for its base the Germanic name-element *hanh* > *hāh*.³ On the other hand, *Hāche* seems to lack

¹ Cf. E. C. Werlauff, *Symbolae ad Geographiam Medii Ævi, ex monumentis Islandicis* (Copenhagen, 1821), pp. 8, 18 f., 40.

² R. C. Boer, *Die Sagen von Ermanarich und Dietrich von Bern* (Halle, 1910), p. 78.

³ On this element see E. Förstemann, *Altd deutsches Namenbuch* I² (Bonn, 1900), 720 ff.

the *k*-suffix present in *Aki*. It is possible, however, to derive *Hāche* from a primitive German **Hāhiko* if we suppose early syncope of the medial *i* on Low-German soil; cf. F. Kluge, *Englische Studien* XXI. (1895) 447. On this theory *Hāche* would go back to an earlier High-German **Hāhho*, itself derived from a Low-German **Hāhko*. From this same Low-German form the *Aki* of the *Þiðrikssaga* is derivable.

We have seen that *Aki* in the saga is said to have been a brother of the Gothic king Ermanric. If now we turn to the genealogy of the Ostrogothic kings, as recorded in the *Getica* of the sixth-century historian Jordanes, we find only one name with which *Hāche* can be connected: *Achiulf*, the name of the father of Ermanric. If the *Achiulf* of the record represents an actual Ostrogothic **Hachiwulf*, then the German *Hāche* (and so the Norse *Aki*) may be interpreted as a hypocoristic form of the name of the Gothic prince. Since the initial *h* was not infrequently mistreated by Latin and Greek scribes (as everybody knows), it is quite possible that the *Hāche* (*Aki*) of Germanic story was indeed the father of Ermanric. The reading *achiulf* of the Jordanian text (ed. Mommsen, p. 77) is usually emended, however, not to *Hachiulf* but to *Agiulf*. Thus, Schönfeld remarks, *das ch ist aus g verderbt*.⁴ But the codices nowhere else substitute *ch* for a medial *g*, and it seems much sounder textual criticism to presume the loss of an initial *h*, one of the commonest of scribal errors in these as in most Latin MSS. My reading *Hachiulf* may be looked upon as doubtful, however, for another reason. The Amalung family in their name-giving seem to have paid much heed to the requirements of alliteration. Most of the names begin with a vowel, and one may therefore prefer *Agiulf* to *Hachiulf* in spite of the far greater violence to the text involved in

⁴ M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 4.

the former reading. But many of the names in the genealogy begin with consonants. Thus, if we begin with Hachiulf and his son Ermanaric, the line of descent proceeds through Gesimund, Hunimund, Thorismud and Berimud to Videric. Moreover, of Hachiulf's four sons, three have names that begin with a vowel, but Vultvulf's name begins with a consonant. The grandfather of Amal himself, indeed, had a name beginning with *h*. One may conclude, then, that the reading *Hachiulf* is not inconsistent with the system of name-giving followed by the Amalung family.

Further support for my connexion of Aki (Hâche) with the father of Ermanric is to be found, I think, in the Old-English poem *Widsith*. The Third Thula of this poem begins (line 112) with a list of Gothic worthies, and the first name on the list is *Heðcan* (acc.sg., answering to a nom.sg. *Heðca*). The name as it stands in the text can be given no connexion of any kind, and Chambers accordingly marks this worthy as "unknown."⁵ Here, if anywhere, then, emendation seems called for. I conceive that in the seventh-century original text of the poem, with its archaic spelling (traces of which are preserved in our tenth-century MS., although for the most part the spelling has been modernized), the hero's name was spelt *hoichcan* (acc.sg.), from primitive English **Hōhican*, cognate with the primitive German **Hāhiko* cited above.⁶ At a later time, some modernizing copyist misread *ch* as *th* (an easy error, of course), and therefore put *hoichcan* into current West Saxon as *heðcan* instead of *hehcan*. If my emendation is sound, the Third Thula of *Widsith* began with the name of Hēhca, father of Ermanric, the [H]āchiulf of Jordanes and the Hâche (Aki) of Continental story. That *Hēhca* was a person of importance

⁵ R. W. Chambers, *Widsith* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 218 bottom.

⁶ On the well-known archaic spelling *ch* for the *h* of classical Old English, see especially E. Sievers, *AgS. Grammatik*³ (Halle, 1898), 221, Anm. 1 and § 222, Anm. 4.

is indicated by the fact that his name begins the Thula. My identification of him explains his position, at the head of the list of names: the father of Ermanric was most appropriately given the most honourable place in a Thula largely devoted to Gothic kings and heroes. Again, Aki's surname Qrlungatrausti points to a connexion with the Hehca of *Widsith*: in the English poem Hehca and the Herelingas (*i.e.*, Harlungs) are mentioned in the same line, and this means that in the mind of the English poet Hehca and the Herelingas were associated in some way. This is not the place to discuss the vexed question of the Harlungs. It will be enough to say that Aki's antiquity as a member of the Harlung group cannot be gainsaid if I am right in identifying him with the Hehca of *Widsith*.

EARLY NORTHERN NICK-NAMES AND SURNAMES.

By A. H. SMITH, Ph.D.

(Read March 6th, 1928).

JUST as place-names have always been a source of interest and curiosity to learned and popular writers from Bede's days down to the present time, so personal names have had their charm for writers of all descriptions. Camden, for example, in his *Remaines concerning Britain* treats the subject in an entertaining and not altogether unscholarly way—he was Clarendieux King of Arms and so had excellent material at his immediate call.

In more recent times, particularly in the 19th century, attempts have been made to deal in different ways with the vast amount of material available. Isaac Taylor, for example, was one of those whose work on surnames, if not strictly accurate, proved entertaining, and by satisfying a very common curiosity he began the serious study of names. Brewer in his *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* also deals empirically and in a general way with a good number of names, but his work, like that of other writers of the period, was characterised by a kind of virtuous outlook. His own name, Brewer, for example, he considered to be derived invariably from Fr. *bruyere* 'heath' and not from O.E. *brīwan* 'to brew.' As Weekley says, "Brewer is occasionally an accommodated form of the Fr. name *Bruyere* . . . , but is usually derived from an occupation which is the high road to the House of Lords" (p. 176). The only other work of a general type is Professor Weekley's *Romance of Names*, which in its popular treatment loses nothing of the erudition and scholarship which mark this author's writings.

¹ For abbreviations used v. Index I., *infra*.

The other way in which the subject has been dealt with is the dictionary method. Bardsley's *Dictionary of English Surnames* (1901) was the first important study by this method—its fame is too wide to warrant much comment. Bardsley's methods were historical but at times uncritical. Pullen, for example, he connects with early English *pullen* 'poultry, whereas his own early forms *le pulein*, etc., must clearly be derived from OFr. *poulein* 'colt.' The chief fault, however, is in his omissions: a name like *Tyas* (*le tyeis*) is frequently found in ME in the Latin form *Teutonicus*, which shews that the name is from OFr. *le tieis* 'the Teuton or German.' Many names are omitted altogether, so that there was a good deal of justification for Mr. Harrison's *Surnames of the United Kingdom*, which I have noticed in the Society's *Year Book* (1914-1924, p. 64).

The study of surnames is therefore not a new one. But there are many problems which remain to be solved. I propose to deal with some general problems as to the origin of earlier names, and in particular with the different sources of mediæval nomenclature in the north, and to ignore any modern names which are survivals from the period with which I deal. Roughly speaking, this period corresponds with the M.E. period of the language, from the 11th century to the 15th. The names I shall deal with are nicknames and surnames. By a *nickname* I mean any word affixed to a Christian name to express any personal characteristic of the bearer of that name; by a *surname* I mean any word or name added to a Christian name to denote occupation, trade, profession, relationship in any form to other people, place of abode or haunt, and old nicknames which have become traditional and are handed down from father to son without reference to the apt-

¹ All names are quoted in the nominative form, irrespective of the forms in the various texts.

ness of the epithet. As illustrations, I consider names like *John le Rede* (Percy 44n), *Gilbert Proudfoote* (1303 KF) to be nicknames, and names like *William Lyme-brenner* (END 172), 'the lime-burner,' *Ricardus le carpenter* (YCh 321), *Lambertus medicus* (YCh 295), *Ricardus Nuneman* (Percy 472) 'the nun's servant,' *Maud la Vef* (Percy 476) 'the widow,' *Willelmus Wydouson* 'the widow's son,' or the common name *White*, I consider as surnames.

THE SOURCES OF NAME MATERIAL.

One of the first problems that presents itself, and one that is not usually dealt with, is that of the type of name prevalent amongst any class; this is a problem which must be settled before we can account for the origin and history of the different methods of nomenclature, and it presents a further problem, as the only indication of names being used predominantly in any class of society is in the nature of the documents from which the material is drawn.¹ In the north, OE material of any kind is rare. Domesday Book, which records the names of the upper landed classes and tenants, for the north at any rate contains little in the way of nicknames or surnames. In the 12th century the bulk of the material is drawn from charters and other deeds by which land was granted to the various monastic foundations, and *ipso facto* the names mentioned as grantors are usually those of the landed classes. The witnesses in these documents usually correspond in class to the grantors: thus a charter of Stephen is witnessed by Turstan the Archbishop, Alexander the Bishop of Lincoln, Nigel bishop of Ely, Henry the king's nephew, and Robert de Olli (YCh 219); one of Alan son of Roald, the constable of Richmond (1180-91, YCh 269), an important tenant in Yorkshire, was witnessed by other great landholders,

¹ Apart from such sources as FY, where occupation is stated.

Ricardus abbot of Alnwick, Roald Alan's son, Rogerus de Lascelles, Robert de Tanesofre, and Willelmus (duke) of Norfolk. In the 13th century the inquisitions of various kinds such as Kirkby's Inquest and the Feudal Aids bring us also in contact with the non-landed classes, or at least with the classes who were at most little more than small sub-tenants. In the 14th and 15th centuries, sources like the local court rolls, the Poll Tax Returns, Rentals, and lists of Freemen, deal explicitly with the peasant and labouring classes. In dealing with the history of surnames in this period, we must, therefore, remember the two important facts, (1) that most of the names recorded in the 11th, 12th, and to a certain extent 13th centuries are those of the landowning classes, and (2) that between OE and the 14th century there are generally few names which we can say with certainty belong to the peasant classes. We are really faced with this problem: how far are the peasant names of the 14th and 15th centuries a natural development of the native methods of nomenclature of OE, how far has Scandinavian influence survived and to what extent are these names due to French influence? It seems natural to suppose that the native methods of nomenclature, including Scandinavian methods which in the north had already been assimilated by the time of the Norman Conquest, survived to a large extent with the peasant classes throughout the period. But the shifting of status which is always going on, the demand for new methods of nomenclature necessitated by increasing population, and the inevitable imitation of the upper by the lower classes led to the extension to the lower classes of those forms of naming in vogue with the upper classes in the century following the Norman Conquest.

One other point which should be borne in mind in connexion with the earlier sources is that the forms of surnames are frequently Latinized. This is particularly

evident in the case of trade names. Until the 14th century *Smith* is extremely rare but its Latin form *Faber* (e.g., Whitby *passim*) is extremely common. *John Mareschalman* is also *Johannes serviens Marescalli* (Guis 1660, 166n), and *Adam Dobbeknave* (WCR iii. 63) is *Adam serviens Dobbe* (ib. 30, MS). The common *le Fleming* (END Percy, etc.) is often *Flandrensis* (e.g. *Walterus Flandrensis*, YCh 1527), and place-names are sometimes translated: *Thomas de Sextendale* (now Thixendale, YER) appears as *Thomas de Sexdecim Vallibus* (Riev 28), and *Henricus ad moram* (Guis ii. 426) and *Thomas ad capud ville* (1297 LS.) are curiously reminiscent of the common ME surnames *Attemore* 'at the moor,' and *Attetounend* 'at the town end.'

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PROBLEM.

I have mentioned increase in population as one of the factors which have influenced the history of surnames. In the years preceding the Norman Conquest the population was probably increasing slowly and steadily. The influx of population during the Viking Age was long completed, and by this time the English, Danes and Norwegians had coalesced. Under such conditions of gradual increase, naming would offer no serious difficulty and old methods would generally suffice. The Norman Conquest, however, brought into the country a large body of men and there was a relatively sudden increase in the population.

The fundamental idea of a proper name of any sort is that it shall distinguish any particular person or object from any other which might come under the same generic name. Theoretically, therefore, every object or person should have a separate proper name. Fortunately, the use of proper names is contextual. I may speak of Tom to one set of friends to-day and there is no doubt of the identity of the person referred to.

To-morrow I may speak to another set of friends about Tom, but in all probability by differences of our associations and the context it is not the same Tom as to-day's.¹ Similarly the personal names needed in any communities for contextual distinction vary in number with the relative isolation of those communities from one another. Thus, in two isolated communities of 100 people each 100 personal names would suffice for both, but once the barriers were broken down between them double the number would be required. The comparative isolation of OE communities demanded only a simple system of names—hypocoristic names such as *Ella*, *Benna*, or dithematic names made up of themes such as *Friðu*, *lac*, *beorht*, any two of which (a few excepted) could be combined, as in *Friðulac*. When, however, the partial isolation of the OE communities was more or less destroyed by the introduction of the Feudal System, and when the number of people in these old communities had been suddenly swelled by the influx of Normans, new methods of nomenclature had to be found to meet the demands of the new society. It will be of interest to examine these new methods and to see how far contributions were made by the various social groups.

THE NEW METHODS OF NOMENCLATURE.

As already pointed out (*supra*) the material available for the names of the landed aristocracy is naturally more prolific than that of the other classes during the earlier part of the period. In the pre-Conquest period, too, there is the same disproportion in material. In OE, of course, the single name, such as *Eadmund*, *Ælfred*, *Ella*, *Hudda*, was the usual type in common use, and there were many survivals of it in the 12th century; second names of any sort are relatively

¹ Cf. O. Jespersen, *Philosophy of Grammar*, 64 ff.

uncommon in OE.¹ But there was a clear distinction in OE between the kinds of personal name used with the different classes. Redin,² who has investigated the personal names of late OE in relation to the type of documents in which they appear, makes this interesting distinction; monothematic uncompounded personal names like *Ella*, *Cretta*, *Beorht*, were, so far as we can tell, in common use with the upper classes in early OE, but in late OE they ceased to be used with those classes. They had come 'to be looked on as too commonplace or even trivial,' and they were almost entirely replaced by dithematic names like *Uulfstan*. But in documents relating to the peasant classes, such as the manumissions of the 11th century, the simple theme names survived, and no doubt, judging by surnames like *Hudson* from OE *Hud*, they continued in use with those classes throughout the ME period.

So, too, dithematic names such as *Uhtred* and *Alvred* survived to some extent amongst the landed classes, but generally the dispossession of the OE landed classes by William and his suppression of the northern rebellion cleared the way in the north for an entirely new class of feudal chiefs.

THE UPPER CLASSES.

These were chiefly men who had accompanied William from Normandy, and through them several methods of nomenclature were introduced to England.

French surnames were transported bodily into England by the Norman chiefs, and many continued in use in their families for centuries after. Usually these French surnames belonged to one of three or four classes, and the most important of these is the class of surnames derived from place-names. The important *de Brus* family, for example, came over with the conqueror, and *Robert de Bruis*, a tenant in chief in

¹ *v.* appendix. *infra*.

² Redin, *Uncompounded OE pers. names*, 188 ff.

1086 (DB, YER) was the first of that name in England; his grandson, we know, was lord of *Bruis*, now Brix near Valogne (DB 189n). *Hugo de Creissi* (1175 YCh 359, *de Cressi* 1190-1220 YCh 591) takes his name from Cressi. *Gilebertus de Gaunt* (1157 YCh 354) and his family take theirs from Ghent, and the *de Laci* family from Lassy (Calvados), a hamlet in Normandy. The *Percy* family do not derive their name as in the "pierce-eye" legend, but from one of the places called *Perci* in Normandy (*Will' de Perci* DB, etc.). *Bertramus de l'erdun* (fl. c. 1100 YCh 354) and *Ivo de Vezci* (ib) derive their names respectively from Verdun and Vesci. Similar in significance to this class, there is a second class in which the surnames are noun- or adjectival formations indicating the place or district from which the bearer came. Thus, *Thomas Mansel* (1178-81 YCh 716) was an inhabitant of Maine, *Robertus Andegavensis* (YCh 354) was a man of Anjou, *Simon Briton* (1189-99 YCh 741), or *Symon le Bret* (YCh 802) as he is sometimes called, was a man from Brittany. The family of *le Peitevin* (1196-1210 YCh 1615) or *Pictavensis* was from Poitevin. *Hugo Sarazin* (Reiv 84) or in its more usual Latin form as in *Willelmus Sarracenus* (1154 YCh 1559, *Henricus Saracen*, 1190-1212 YCh 290), however, does not belong to this class. It is rather a by-name meaning 'dark like a Saracen,' and belongs to the third class of French surnames. This class, composed of surnames which on the continent were by-names, is not so extensive. Similar to *Sarazin*, there is the fairly common early surname *Morel* (YCh 749, etc.), an OFr. diminutive meaning 'of swarthy complexion like a Moor,' and other diminutive forms include the names of *Hugo Basset* (1190-1210 YCh 295) from OFr. *bas* 'low,' *Willelmus Pevrel* (1157 YCh 354) from Latin *piper* 'pepper,' and similar by-names are found in the names of *Ivo Talebois* (YCh 354) 'cut-bush' OFr. *Taille-*

bois), and *Johannes Esturmi* (YCh 295, 659, etc.) 'the stormy one' (OFr. *le esturmi*). The last class of these surnames includes surnames which were originally Christian names or diminutives of them. The *Tisun* family (*Gilebertus Tisun* YCh 354) took its name from the name *Dionisia*. *Ricardus Turpin* (1185-95 YCh 523)—an early Dick Turpin who lived near Ripon (YWR)—took his name from one of the French palladins, the family of *Jordanus Pain* (1178-81 YCh 716) is from the continental *Paganus*, whilst that of *Adam Painel* (YCh 652, 678) is from *Painel*, a diminutive of the same name.

THE FRENCH INFLUENCE.

The introduction of French surnames of these types exercised a great influence on the history of English surnames in two ways. In the first place, it was from this source that the traditional surname arose. In early OE times the genealogies shew that the connexion by descent was occasionally expressed by the use of alliterative names in a single royal family,¹ but in OE generally personal names were not in any way hereditary. With the arrival of the great Norman barons, however, there is plenty of evidence for the use of a traditional surname, even where the connexion of a family with its original home in Normandy is broken. The Nevilles from Neuville (*Rad. Nuvello* YCh 920, etc.), the Gaunts, the Lascelles (*Girardus de Lacelles* 1175-85 YCh 744, etc.), the Percies and other such family surnames are plain evidence of the hereditary surname in the centuries following the Conquest. Usually the name was inherited with the estates. Thus *Randolph Toden* lord of Toden or Toden (a vill near the Seine), left his home at Toden to a younger son, *Robert de Toden* (DB, YER), whose son was also known as Berengar de Toden, even in his father's lifetime. But

¹ Cf. R. W. Chambers, *Introduction to Beowulf*, 316.

Randolph's eldest son had estates elsewhere and went by the name of William de Albini. With the lower classes it is difficult and in many cases impossible to determine family relationships, but, so far as can be ascertained, it was a long time before the idea of a hereditary surname came into vogue with them. There is a little evidence for it in the 14th century: for example, mention is made in the List of Freemen of York, s.a. 1331, of *Ricardus le Sauser* (i.e. the salter), *pelter* (i.e. skinner), *filius Johannis le Sauser* (FY), where it seems that the son Richard took on his father's trade-name but not his trade. And in 1347 *Gilbert Paumer* of Newbiggin (Du) had an uncle called *Richard Paumer* (END 59). Usually, however, in this century the surname with the lower classes was not traditional: thus in 1316 (FY) *Willelmus Belle* is mentioned as the son of *Andrea le taillour*; in 1329 (ib) *Johannes de Thornton* as the son of *Willelmus Farman*; in 1330 (ib) *Johannes de Gisburgh* as the son of *Johannes Rotenhering*. As late as 1430 the surname was not always traditional as in *Robertus de Lynby filius Thomas Johnson* (FY). In the late 14th and 15th centuries, however, the idea had become common, *John Gybson* of Halifax, for example, mentioned in 1379 (PT) had a son called *William Gybson*, whose own son was called *John Gybson* (cf. 1479 Rent 76). The first influence of French surnames was, therefore, the ultimate extension to the peasant classes of the idea of a hereditary surname on the lines of those in vogue with the landed aristocracy immediately after the Norman Conquest.

The second influence was the formation amongst the upper classes of new surnames on the lines of the common French types, and the suggestion of new types of nomenclature to the peasant classes, especially those who later became tenants or small landowners. The commonest of these types was the surname which indi-

cates connexion with a place, district or country. It seems natural to suppose that when the need for surnames arose distinction should be made between men bearing the same christian name by adding the name of the place they lived in or the name of the land they owned. In old Scandinavia we find sporadic expression of this notion in such names as **Skoga-Hreinn*¹ 'Hreinn of the woodlands,' or *Tungu-Oddr* 'Oddr who lived on the spit of land.' In OE in the 10th and 11th centuries names expressing this idea are known: of the 72 examples of surnames containing place-names in these centuries 37 are of the type *Oswig æt Æ eling-tune*,² and there is no doubt that this native *æt*-type of surname would have developed naturally and prolifically if in the meantime the Norman Conquest had not provided another similar type. As it is, there are many examples in ME of the native type in such names as *Attewell*, *Attedene*, etc. But documents after the Conquest down to the 15th century shew a preponderance of the French type (*de* + place-name) over all other types, especially amongst small landowners, such as *Johannes de Fulford* (1190-1212 YCh 290), *Gilbertus de Munkegate* (ib 287), *Johannes de Fountaignes* (Percy 213), *Thomas de Grenewod* (1379 PT), to mention only a few examples. What is of greater importance is the extension of this form of surname in the 12th century and after to indicate where a man lived or what his haunts were, as in *Rodbertus de la Mare* (1176-80) 'Robert of the marsh' (ON *márr*), *Willelmus del Wro* (1379 PT) 'William of the nook' (ON *vrá*), *Thomas de la Fenne* (Percy 292), *Adam del Bothe* (1379 PT), *Johannes del Lunde* (1307 FY) 'John of the wood' (ON *lundr*), *Willelmus del Fehus* (Guis ii. 164, 253) 'William of the cattle shed' (cf. OSwed *fæhús*), or *Walterus del Schippe* (1297 LS) 'Walter of the ship.'³

¹ v. A. H. Smith, *Place-names of YNR* (Cambr. 1928).

² v. Appendix, *infra*.

³ cf. *Willelmus of þe Bate* (1297 LS) 'of the boat.'

The *de-* and *de la-* names formed the bulk of ME surnames in the north, but these did not exhaust the subtypes. The OE *æt-* surnames still survived, but not to any extent, in such ME names as *Stephanus atte Gathende* (1297 LS 'Stephen who lived at the road end' ON *gata*), *Thomas Atteappelgarth* (1301 LS), *Petrus Attewell* (Guis ii. 270), *Ricardus* and *Stephanus Attesee* (1297 LS.) who lived by the sea (YER), *Emma Attelydyhate* (1315 WCR iii. 91) 'Emma who lived by the swing gate' (OE *hlid-geat*), *Robertus attekirkstiel de Wistow* (1314 FY) at the church path of Wistow, *Adam Attetounhend* (1297 LS.). In other cases compounds were effected by the use of different prepositions: thus *Jordan Bithebrokes* (1315 WCR iii. 98) 'by the brooks,' *Thomas Overthebek* (Whitby 448) 'over the stream' (ON *bekkr*), *Robertus in le Wra* (1297 LS) 'in the nook' *Willelmus Underwod* (1299 FY) 'under the wood,' and the interesting hybrid *Surtees* (e.g. *Willelmus Surteys* 1155-70 YCh 572, Ingleby YNR; *Thomas Surteys* Percy 193; *Nicholas Super Thesam* Riev 106) 'on the Tees' (OFr. *sur* + *Tees* river).¹ Lastly, there is a group of surnames expressing this idea of place which is of independent growth and echoes a remarkable form of Scandinavian influence. I refer to names like *Martinus Oustiby* (1297 LS), *Willelmus Estyby* (ib), *Willelmus Northiby* (1285 KI 82), *Walterus Uppiby* (1303 KF 270), *Johannes Westiby* (Percy 154, 156). These are derived from ON phrases meaning 'William who lived east in the village' (ON *austr-i-bý*) or 'up in the village,' etc., and this must indicate that an Anglo-Scandinavian dialect was used in east Yorkshire at not a very remote period.² Usually the Scandinavian preposition *i* 'in' is preserved, but in Holderness (YER) the English *in* is substituted as in *Robertus Oustinby*, *Walterus*

¹ Cf. the examples from the list of Ælfric's Festermen in Appendix *infra*.

² Cf. Ekwall in *Introduction to the Place-Name Survey*, 92.

Northinby, *Rogerus Suthinby*, *Alicia Uppinby*, etc. (1297 LS). It is interesting to note that out of about 30 examples of this type only two have *de* inserted, obviously in error.

Generally speaking, in all these surnames the various prepositions began to drop in the 14th century and were in total disuse by the 15th. The loss of the preposition indicates that new names were not being formed from place-names, and as one would expect the period when prepositions were falling into disuse corresponds to the period when the traditional surname was coming into vogue with all classes.

The new noun and adjectival formations were not so frequent, but a few such as those in *Radulfus le Franceis* (1175-95 YCh 1121) 'the Frenchman,' *Gilkinus le Flemying*¹ (1292 FY) or the Latinized *Walterus Flandrensis* (1159-70 YCh 1527) 'the Flemish man,' and *Henricus le Scot* (1298-1300 END 78, etc.) became very common. More interesting but less frequent in the North are the surnames of *Stephanus le Walays* (Riev 240) or *Willelmus le Walche* (1310 FY) 'the Welshman,' *Adam Lenglais* (Guis ii. 341) 'the Englishman,' *Galfridus le Centh* (1175-90 YCh 815) 'the man from Kent,' and *Willelmus Northeman* (1301 LS)—an interesting survival of the OE name for a Norwegian.

So far, as regards the methods of nomenclature, I have dealt with the surnames of the old Norman aristocracy and its later influence on the names used by small landowners and tenants, and to a small degree the peasant classes.

THE TRADING CLASSES.

With the middle classes, occupation of any sort suggested a class of surnames which became one of the commonest ME types. From the church we have such

¹ *Gilkin* is a Flemish pers. name; cf. also *Henricus Duc'eman* (1354 FY).

common names as those of *Esteven le Chapleyn* (Percy 474), *Johannes Frer* (ib 173) 'the Friar,' *Gilbertus clericus* (YCh 1876), 'the clergyman,' and *John dictus le Monk* (END 178), and from learned occupations we have *Willelmus le Gramair* (1196-1210 YCh 1615) 'the grammarian,' *Willelmus Paedogogus* (Riev) 'the teacher,' *Ranulf scriptor* (1190-1200 YCh 618), 'the scribe' and *Wiliam le Latimer* (Guis i. 122) 'the interpreter' (lit. the Latiner or Latin scholar).

From occupations connected with the manufacture, the sale, or serving of food, we have the common *Willelmus le Bakester* (1297 LS) or *Henricus le Bakere* (Percy 387), *Rogerus le Pescur* (Riev 404) 'the fisherman,' *Petrus le Curer* (Guis ii. 140). From *John le Bocher* (1313 WCR iii. 52) and *Galfridus le pulter* (1277 FY) you could buy food and it would be cooked by a man called *le keu* or *Cocus* 'the cook' (1283 FY; END 130, 145, etc.). Connected with the beer trade, we have *Johannes le Aleman* (1303 KF 264), *Alanus* and *Hugo Berman(nus)* (12 YCh 306), and *Willelmus Briwerr* (Whitby 158), whilst the innkeeper was variously known as *Ricardus Lost* or *le Host* (1170-80 YCh 739, cf. ib. ii. p. 85 n), *Henricus le Taverner* (Guis ii. 265-6 or *Evrardus Herbergur* (Riev 22) 'the lodging-house keeper' (ME *herbergour*).

The bulk of this class is, however, composed of names indicating trades. These are so numerous that only a few examples are given. The common trades, such as those of the blacksmith, the metal worker or the woodworker are referred to in such surnames as those of *Hugo Faber* (1277 FY)—the usual early form of Smith (e.g. *Roger Smyth* 1285 KI 177), and its derivatives such as *Adam Arusmyth* (1379 PT), *Robert Schersmyth* (END 120) 'the maker of shears,' and *Willelmus le Orfeure* (Percy 473) 'the goldsmith'; of woodworkers one notes *Ricardus le carpenter* (1195-1215 YCh 321), *Willelmus le Coupper* (1296 FY) and

Martinus le turnur (1170-85 YCh 827). More specialised trades are indicated in the names of *Henricus le Goldebeter* (Percy 209) and *Ricardus Ledebatter* (1379 PT) 'beaters of metal,' *Roderus le wirdragher* (1313 FY) 'the wire drawer,' and *Ricardus le revetter* 'the riveter' (ib.). *Robertus le Bellegeter* (1283 FY) was a bell maker of York (ME *bellegeter*), whilst *Hugo Biller* (Percy 209) and *Henricus le schether* (1302 FY) respectively made 'bill-hooks' and 'sheathes.' Connected with the building trade were *Ricardus le mason* (Riev 379) and *Walter le Tyghler* (Whitby 5) 'the tiler.' Leather went through the hands of *Guy the Skinner* (END 37), *Girardo le Tanur* (YCh 1010), to *Henricus le Sadeler* (Percy 416), *Arthur sutor* (END 21) 'the shoemaker,' and *Roger le Gaunter* (END 23) 'the glove maker.' Cloth in its manufacture passed the hands of *Adam Webster* (Percy 332) 'the weaver,' *Thomas le Walker* (Guis ii. 176) and *Bartholomew Fuller* (END 21, etc.) both 'trampers on cloth,' and *Hugo Litester* (1320 FY) 'the dyer,' to *Herbert le Tailleur* (Riev 281), *Robert le Mercere* (1285 KI 195) and *Johannes le hatter* (1305 FY).

In the agricultural field the commonest occupations were those of minding the livestock, and the men so engaged were designated in one of three ways, by a trade name composed of the animal name, and (1) ME *hirde* 'keeper, protector' as in *Alan Cowhird* (1285 KI 175), *Nicholaus le noutehird* (1290 FY)—an interesting substitution of ON *naut* for the commoner OE *neat* 'cattle,' *Johannes Schephird* (1379 PT), *Johannes le Wethirhird* and *Adam Yowehird* (1297 LS) who tended sheep, wethers and ewes respectively, and *Johannes le Gaythirde* (1301 LS) 'the goat herd' (ON *geit*); (2) ME *man* as in *Thomas le Palfrayman* (Guis ii. 170), *Walter Stedeman* (ib. 210) 'the steed man,' and *Robert Schepman* (END 119) 'the sheep man'; and (3) ME *knave* as in *William le Horseknave*

(1313 WCR iii. 44) and *Adam Calveknave* (1301 LS). There were, of course, many other agricultural occupations which gave rise to surnames, such as those of *Nicholaus le Karter* (Guis ii. 440), *Johannes Waynman* (1297 LS) 'the wagon man,' *Ranulf le Tyller* (Guis ii. 265), *Alanus del Ploghe* (Riev. 413) 'Alan of the plough,' *Robertus Plogmaystre* (1297 LS) 'master of the ploughs,' and *Johannes le Mawer* (ib.) 'the mower.' The parks were looked after by *Johannes le Parker* (Percy 370), the forests by *Radulfus le Forester* (1307 FY) or *Alan Wodman* (END 77), the warren by *Ricardus le warner* (1318 FY), whilst the pinfold or pound was in the charge of *Henricus le Pindere* (Percy 332).

There is also a large class of surnames of this type used of those who wandered from place to place. *Willelmus le Messenger* (Percy 259), *Mauricius le couraour* (1293 FY) and *Adam Nuncius* (Riev 382) were messengers, *Robertus peregrinus* (1180-90 YCh 623) and *Willelmus le Palmer* (Guis ii. 231, 264) were pilgrims, whilst the sea was traversed by *Herbertus le Sayllur* (1191-1210 YCh 309) 'the sailor' and *John Scman* (END 161) 'the sea-man.'

Entertainers, too, had their surnames: *Robertus le Harpour* (1316 Vill 354) played the harp, *Thomas le Vitheler* or *Fytteler* the fiddle, and *Adam le Crouder* (1316 WCR iii. 137) the croud or fiddle.

As already pointed out (*supra*), these trade and occupational designations tended to become hereditary in the 15th century. There can be little doubt that the idea of the traditional surname was due in a large measure to the model provided by the fashion in vogue with the upper classes, but one should not overlook the fact that the son would often follow the father's occupation and so automatically take his surname. After the 15th century new formations of surnames from trades and occupations became rare.

THE PEASANT CLASSES.

It is difficult always to preserve the class distinction I have made: many of the surnames dealt with were undoubtedly held by the peasant classes. But they, as a class, made important contributions to the types of surname used in the ME period. Their special contributions include patronymics, simple personal names used as surnames and nicknames, such as *Thomas Jonesson* (HalmDu 112) *Ricardus Grim* (1297 LS), and *Willelmus Standhupryght* (HalmDu 23).

The origin of these types is open to speculation, but an examination seems to shew that there has been a good deal of Scandinavian influence. In late OE, patronymic derivatives in *-ing*, such as *Wulfric Cufing* (BCS 652) 'Wulfric the son of Cufa,' were not unknown,¹ but they were rapidly passing into disuse. Personal names used as surnames are also found occasionally in late OE as in *Godwine Byrhtæl* (KCD 1322), whilst nicknames such as *Eadgyð Swanneshals* (DB) 'Edith of the swan neck' began to appear. In OFr. patronymics of the *Fitzroi* ('son of the king') type are found and a number of nicknames as *Blanc-front* occur, but French influence, as we should expect, seems hardly to have affected the names of the peasant classes. In north of England, however, nicknames and patronymics in *-son* are relatively of much greater frequency than in other parts of the country, and it is certainly more than a coincidence that patronymic formations with *-son* and by-names are extremely common in ON (cf. Lind. *Binamn* and Björkman, *Nord. Personennamen im England* 187 ff), as for example ON *Olafr Belgr* 'Olaf the wise old man,' *þorgils Skarði* 'Thorkill of the hare-lip,' *Gunnlaugr Orms-tungu* 'Gunnlaug with the serpent's tongue,' and *Olafr Tryggvason* 'Olaf the son of Tryggvi,' etc. Just as in Scandinavia a man's by-name might enter

¹ Cf. appendix *infra*

into a place named after him, so we find northern English place-names containing ON by-names. Such are Bellerby 'farm of Belgr' (i.e. 'the wise old man'), Scarborough, which according to Kormaks Saga took its name from Þorgils Skarði, and Blansby 'the farm of Blanda' or 'the man who mixes his drinks.' As in ON itself, by-names here became proper names: *Unbayn* (FY), for example, was originally a by-name 'the unprepared' (ON *ú-beinn*)—and this development of by-names to proper names in Scandinavia and in Scandinavian England seems to me to be the explanation of the use of personal names as simple surnames. At first, of course, the formula of a man's name could be a *proper name* + a *by-name*, but when by-names became proper names, a certain amount of confusion in the distinction of proper names and by-names must have arisen and in this way the old formula came to be considered a *proper name* + a *proper name*, and new formations on this mistaken notion then became common. In some cases, it may have been regarded as a type expressing relationship between father and son: *Ricardus Fyn* (1163-85 YCh 251), for example, is elsewhere known as *Ricardus filius Fyn* (1155-65 YCh 248), and *Lefwinus Colig'* (1181-4 YCh 423) is also known as *Lewynus filius Colling'* (1161-84 YCh 299). At all events it is interesting to note that by far the majority of such surnames comes from personal names of Scandinavian origin, as, for example, *Willelmus Arkill* (1310 FY) from ON *Arkill* or *Arnketill*, *Willelmus Arnald* (1316 FY) from ON *Arnaldr*, *John Fayt* (END 185) from an ON by-name **Feitr*¹ 'the fat one,' *Stephanus Gamel* (1297 LS) from ON *Gamall*, *Adam Haldan* (Whitby 124) from ON *Halfdanr*, *Robertus Styr* (1160-5 YCh 749), *Gilbertus Swartebrande* and *Alicia Swaynthor* (1297 LS). Names of

¹ Cf. ON *Feiti* (Lind, *Binamn*) and Faceby (A. H. Smith, *Place-Names of the North Riding*).

Irish origin are also used: such as *Hugo Mordac* (1181 YCh 1363), *Robertus Truite* (Riev 139), *Adam Nele* (END 125), *Johannes Colman* (1285 KI), *Duncan Cambell* (Percy 446); these were introduced by Norwegians who had come from Ireland in the 10th and 11th centuries.¹

The records dealing with the peasant classes are not common till the late 13th and 14th centuries, and consequently most of the material is drawn from 14th and 15th centuries. There can have been no break, however, in the continuity of surname history in the period between the Scandinavian settlement and the 14th century. In the 11th century Gospel Book of York (c. 1050 YCh 9-10) we find patronymics such as *þorcel Unbainasu[na]*, *Hálwærð Sæfugalasuna*,² and an 11th century inscription at Kirkdale (YNR) tells us that the church was bought by *Orm Gamalsuna*.³ In the 12th century records we find *Arne Grimsune* (Whitby 93), *Gamel Grimessune* (YCh 354), whose father *Grim* is mentioned in DB,⁴ *Ulf Fornessuna* (ib.), whose father *Forne* was a tenant in the time of the DB Survey,⁵ and *Uctred Ulfson* (Dugdale, *Monasticon Angl.* iii. 550). Apart from these few examples, -son as a patronymic-forming suffix does not appear with regularity till the 14th and 15th centuries. The explanation of this seems to be the Latinization of surnames which I have already mentioned. The numerous names like *Alexander filius Walraven* (1190-1220 YCh 590), *Stephanus filius Reginaldi* (ib. 295), *Alanus filius Orm* (ib. 278), or *Hugo filius Duuegaldi* (ib. 215) must in reality be scribal translations of surnames such as *Alan Ormson*, *Alexander Walravenson*, etc. The names of two men mentioned in WCR seem

¹ Cf. *Revue Celtique* xlv., 40 ff, and *Saga-book*

² YCh 9. In addition one may note *Raganald Asheornnas suna*.

³ Cf. Collingwood, *Angl. and A.Dan. Sculpture*, Yorks. Archeol. Society.

⁴ One of the three thanes who held land in Kirkby Underdale (YER).

⁵ In Skirpenbeck (YER).

to prove this: they are *Johannes filius Sibbe* (1316 WCR iii. 103, MS), also known as *John Sibbeson* (ib. 58, 157), and *Willelmus filius Gotte* (ib. 40), also known as *William Gotson* (ib. 43). We should, I think, suppose that such a continuity was preserved in the history of these patronymics which appear to be so common in the 14th and 15th century documents, where Latinizations were infrequent. Besides the father-son relationship expressed in such names as *Ricardus Gybson* 'son of Gibb' (1379 PT), *Willelmus Godewynson* (Percy 159n), or *Thomas Malleson* (END 150) 'son of Malle or Matilda,' other relationships were expressed as in the names of *Agnes Gibdoghter* (1379 PT) 'daughter of Gibb,' *Cecilia Jonsdoughter* (HalmDu 82) 'daughter of John'—curiously reminiscent of the ON *þorgerðr Egilsdóttur* type—and others such as *Alicia Adamswyf* (1285 KI 172).

Nicknames form a high percentage of the surnames in use in the latter part of the period. There are a few from records of the 12th century, but they are often Latinizations and usually indicate some characteristic of personal appearance, such as *Radulfus parvus* (1184-9 YCh 1076), *Robertus magnus* (1164-72 YCh 978), *Radulfus longus* (1170-82 YCh 706), or the colour of the hair as in *Ricardus Rufus* (1155-70 YCh 752), *Radulfus albus* (12 YCh 802), *Rogerus niger* (1164-75 YCh 283), *Walterus Blanechabarba* (1135-42 YCh 375) 'white beard,' *Willelmus Fairfax* (1190-1206 YCh 558) 'fair hair,' and *Robertus Scirloc* (1180-90 YCh 623) 'bright lock.'

In the documents of the latter part of the period they become so common that all kinds of personal qualities, mental and physical alike, habits and incidents are called upon. As would be expected, many of the nicknames are those of personal physical characteristics. *Long* (e.g. *Rogerus le long* 1298 FY), *Small* and *Smalman* (e.g. 1303 KF 263) are common. Plumpness

is indicated in such names as *Willelmus Fateben* (1285 KI 85) 'fat bone' (? fat leg), *Johannes Fathogge* (197 LS), *Matilda Faytwyfe* (HalmDu 62, 74), and the curious *Rudulfus Groyneporck* (1297 LS), whilst slimness is indicated by a name like *Adam Scraggy* (1360 FY). Heads of different kinds are named in *Robertus Greleheved* (Guis i. 125), *Robertus Wyteheved* (ib. 25), *John Redhed* (Whithy 422), *Willelmus Buleheved* (Whithy 512), and *Ricardus le Bald* (1150-7 YCh 1109). *Gregorius Hamel* (Riev 215) and *Willelmus Homel* (Guis ii. 108) probably had scarred faces (OE **hamel*), whilst *Nicholaus Scorthals* (Guis i. 71) had a 'short neck' (OE, ON *hals*). *Longschankes* is fairly common (e.g. *Elizabeth Longeschankes* 1313 WCR iii. 6), and *Henricus Knightschankes* (1342 FY) must have had legs that were the envy of or fit for a knight. The feet are mentioned in *Robertus Brodefot* (1297 LS) 'broad foot,' *Willelmus Sarefote* (1283 FY) 'the foot-sore,' *Gilbertus Prouddefote* (1303 KF 190) and *William Lythfot* (END 107).¹

Indicating points of character we have the happy man in *Robertus Joye* (1180-1200 YCh 1353), *John Meryman* (END 162), *William Jolibody* (ib. 182) and *William Blithman* (1481 Misc 39), the wise man in *William Wysbarn* (Percy 188), and *Rogerus Pensifh* (Riev 219), the ingenuous in *Hugo le Sympel* (Guis ii. 445), and the perfect lady in *Alicia Perfect* (1303 KF 201). In *Rogerus le Noble* (Riev 59), *Johannes Dughti* (1314 FY) 'the doughty,' and *Radulfus Stute* (1170-90 YCh 658) 'the stout-hearted,' we have sturdy men. Pointing to less virtuous qualities we find names like *Johannes le Slegh* (1333 FY) 'the sly one,'² *William the Louth* (1313 WCR iii. 130) 'the lout,' *Thomas*

¹ One also notes here names like *William Pyntel* (WCR iii 89), *Alanus Coltebvtel* (Hundred Rolls), *Thomas Ballock* (1297 LS), *Roger Gildynballokes* (WCR iii. 138), *Johannes Pillok* (Percy 339) and *Ricardus dictus Hychock* (END 87).

² ME *slegh* also meant "clever."

Lagheles (1360 FY) 'the lawless,' *Roger Foulmouth* (1286 WCR iii. 160) 'the blasphemer,' *Robertus Schaualdur* (1297 FY) 'the soundrel'—an interesting word, as it is found in a letter of the Prior of Guisborough to Edward II. in which he complains of the "miserable depredation of the Scots and *schavaldors*," obviously in reference to vagrant robbers.

Characteristics of dress have given us a number of nicknames such as *Willelmus Witbelt* (1297 LS), *Petrus Grenehode* (1180-90 YCh 538), *Robert Redhode* (1285 KI 82), and *Willelmus Hodeles* (1293 FY) 'the hoodless.'

There is, too, a large number of nicknames which probably refer to some incident or habit in the life of the persons who bore such names. *Thomas Tirlithle*, a parson (1190-1210 YCh 295) was a man of little authority (OE *tir*, ON *tirr* 'power,' and *lytel*). *Henricus Trewchapman* (1335 FY), *Oliver Overdewe* (1444 FY) and *Thomas Paynot* (1517 ib.) perhaps throw incidental light on the merchants of the period. *Willelmus Hardgrip* (1307 WCR ii. 19), *Willelmus Spilblod* (1344 FY) and *Thomas Briseban* (Percy 446) 'bruise bone' (OE *brýsan* and *bān*) are the names of fighting men. Idle men are distinguished as *Robertus Dolitel* (1297 LS), *Henricus Lenealday* (1335 FY) 'lean all day,' and *Galfridus Liggebiþefyre* (1301 LS) 'lie by the fire.' Similar in form to the last we have other nicknames such as *Willelmus Hipythesike* (1301 LS) 'hip in the stream,' *Johannes Falinthewol* (sic 1301 LS) (?) 'fall in the well,' and *Willelmus Dunpynthe-well* (1382 SurvDu 25). Others indicate habits, as in *Willelmus Bendedun* (1297 LS) 'bend down,' *Robertus Dernlove* (ib.) 'secret love' (OE *derne*), *Hugh Findiren* (1314 WCR iii. 16) 'find-iron,' *Thomas Tempersnape* (1285 KI) 'the quick-tempered,' *Robert Gabefore* (END 155) 'go before.' We have also *Jordan Ringbridle* (END 20) and others such as

Robertus Lyckedisc (Guis i. 64) 'lick-dish,' and *Galfridus Cheseandbrede* (1303 KF 263) 'cheese and bread.' In a few cases where we know a man's occupation his nickname is curiously connected with it: *Willelmus Windsuift* (1318 FY) and *Galfridus Ancus* (1325 ib.) were mariners; *Henricus Scrapetrough* (1093-4 ib.) was a miller. *John Bray* (1366 ib.) was a goldbeater, *John Nevergelt* (1431 ib.) a goldsmith, *Henricus Forker* (1376 ib.) a butcher, and *Willelmus Brodstan* (1389 ib.), i.e. Broadstone, a mason.

* * * * *

Finally, then, we may say that the French contribution to ME surnames through the upper classes was in the form of surnames derived from place-names, and the Scandinavian in the form of nicknames and patronymics, though in either case it is likely that English names themselves would without these influences have ultimately arrived at the new methods of nomenclature which characterise the ME period, when surnames as we have them to-day first came into being.

APPENDIX.

As there are several references in the foregoing paper to OE second names, all those which are found in Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* are arranged in classes hereafter without further reference. Etymological notes are added in some cases, and any references to uncompounded personal names certainly adduced from OE records are to Redin's *Uncompounded personal names in OE*:—

I.—PATRONYMICS.

(1) DERIVATIVES IN -ING: *Badanoð Beotting* (OE **Beotta*, prob. a hypocoristic form from *Beorhtric* etc.); *Wulftric Cufing* (OE *Cufa*); *Wulfhere Cydding* (OE *Cyddā*), *Wælfelric Dering* (OE *Deor*, cf. Redin 166); *Beorhtsige Dyring* (OE *Dyre*, cf. Redin 12)

Ælfsige Dyring (ib.); *Eadbeorht Eadgaring* (OE *Eadgar*); *Eadbeorht Eating* (OE *Eata*); *Æltheah Esning* (OE *Esne*); *Mucel Esning* (ib.); *Ælfsige Hunlāfing* (OE *Hunlāf*); *Wulfsige Madding* (OE **Madda*, a hypocoristic form of OE **Madoc*, as in *Madocesleah* BCS 924, a personal name ultimately from Brit., cf. OIr *Maedoc*, Förster, *Keltisches Wortgut* 73); *Earnuulf Pencearding* (OE **Penheard*, cf. OE *Penweald*, *Penwealh*, etc); *Ceolla Snoding* (OE **Snod(d)*, cf. Redin 130, A. Mawer, *Place-names of Worc.* 230).

(2) DERIVATIVES IN -SUNA: *Raganald Asbeornnas suna* (YCh 9: ON *Asbjörn*); *Ulf Clacces sune* (BCS 1130; ODan *Klak*, cf. A. H. Smith, *Place-names of YNR*, 37); *Ulf Eorles sune* (ib.: ON *Jarl*); *Æthestan Catlan sune* (ib.: ON *Ketill* in an unmutated form); *Orm Gamalsune* (*supra*: ON *Gamall*); *Hālwærð Sæfugalasuna* (YCh 9: cf. OE *Sæfugl*, Searle); *Leofsie þurluces sune* (BCS 1130: ON *þorleikr*); *Ulf Topesune* (DB for Lincs: cf. ON *Toppr* Lind, *Binamn* s.n.); *þorcetel Unbainasu[na]* (YCh 9: ON *Obeinn Björkman*, *Nordische Personennamen im England* 169).

II.—PERSONAL NAMES.

Some by-names which evidenced in independent use as personal names in OE are included here:—

Abunet Ælfnoð (OE *Ælfnoð*); *Dodda Æþelmer* (OE *Æþelmær*); *Gunhil Æþelþryð* (OE *Æþelþryð f.*); *Moll Æþelweald* (OE *Æþelweald*); *Leof Æþelwold* (ib.); *Godwine Bace* (OE *Baca*); *þirne Beorn* (YCh 9: OE *Beorn*, ON *Björn*); *Brihtmerus Budde* (OE *Budda*, Redin 74); *Æþelbeorht Cæna* (OE *Cæna*); *Osw[u]lf Cracabam* sic (ON *Krakabein*, Björkman, *Nord. Pers.* 88); *Ælfweard Culla* (OE **Cula*, Searle ?); *Siward Digera* (ON *Digri* Lind, *Binamn*, cf. Björkman, *op. cit.* 118 note 3); *Ælfweard Dudd* (OE *Dudd*,

Redin 16); *Aelmer Deorlingc* (OE *Deorling*, cf. Redin 19); *Ælfheah Gerent* (Cornw., cf. Welsh *Geraint*); *Sæwi Hagg* (cf. ON *Hagi* ?); *Thurcytel Heyng* (ON *Hæingr* Lind, *Binamn*); *Ædelm Higa* (OE **Higa*, probably a short form of *Hygebeald*, etc.; cf. Müller, *Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitae* 87, Redin 31); *Ælfric Hort* (doubtful); *Wulgar Leofa* (ON *Lēofa*); *Wlmarus qui et Manni* (ON *Manni*, Björkman, *Nord. Pers.* 95); *Æþelred Mucill* (OE *Mucel*, Redin 143); *Leofwine Oscytel* (OE *Oscytel* from ON *Ásketill*); *Ælfric Puttoc* (OE *Puttoc*, Redin 153); *Wulfwine Sired* (OE *Sigered*); *Æþelric Smyrl* (ON *Smyrill*, Lind, *Binamn*); *Thurgils Spracling* (? ON *Sprakaleggr*, Björkman, *Nord. Pers.* 127); *Eadric Streona* (OE **Streona*, cf. A. H. Smith, *Place-names of YNR* 13, and A. Mawer, *Place-names of Worc.* 398); *Osgot Sweyn* (ON *Sveinn*); *Wulfstan Ucceā* (OE **Ucca*, cf. Redin 162); *Wulfrisi cognatus Wensius* (OE *Wensige*); *Ednod qui et Wine* (OE *Wine*, Redin 9).

III.—NICK-NAMES.

Some of these examples are adduced in independent use in OE but are certainly used here as nicknames: —

Ælfric Bata (cf. the ME byname *le Bat*, Weekley 24; Redin 131); *Ælfstan, Anlaf, Atser, Wulfsie, Wulfun se Blaca* ('the pale' OE *blāca*); *Ægelric Bygga, Bigga* (cf. ME *big*, 'strong, valiant,' Björkman, *Scandin. Loanwords* 157 note 1); *Beorhtric se Calwa* (OE *calu*, weak *calwa* 'bald'); *Leuwinus Chawa* (OE *cāf* 'quick, active'); *Ælfric Cerm* (cf. OE *cym* 'noise, shouting'); *Osgod Clapa* (ON **klapi* 'coarse, clumsy,' Björkman, *Nord. Pers.* 81-2); *Grimolfus Danus* ('the Dane'); *Æþelstan Fætta* (OE *fætt* 'fat'; cf. ON **Feitr supra*); *Leofwine Feireage* ('Fair-eye' OE *fæger* + *eage*); *Oswulf Fila* (cf. ME *file* 'worthless person, concubine,' from OE *fylan* 'to defile, befoul'; cf. ON *Fyl, Fylja*); *Wlgar se Gildene*

(‘the golden(-haired)’ OE *gylden*); *Ælfric Grammaticus* (cf. *supra*); *Beorhtic Grim* (OE *grimm* ‘fierce’); *Ælfweald Grossus* (‘the big man’); *Aldan Hamal*, a robber (OE **hamel* ‘scarred, mutilated,’ cf. *supra*); *Wulfwine Hareberd* (‘Grey beard’ OE *hār* + beard); *Thurkill Hoga* (cf. DB *Hoga* derived by Redin 76-7 from OE *hoga* ‘careful, prudent,’ but v. Förster, *Keltisches Wortgut* 18ff); *Ūua se Hwede* (OE *hwæde* ‘small, little’); *þurkil hwita*, *Wulfnoð hwita*, *Wulfweard hwitan* (dat), *Ordgar se wite*, *Wulfwerd wita* (OE *hwit*, weak decl. *hwita* ‘white,’ cf. Redin 50); *Ælfweard Kæntisce* of Kent (OE *Centisce* ‘Kentish’); *Godric Ladda* (cf. ME *lad* ‘boy’ and v. A. H. Smith, *Place-names of YNR*); *Leofwine Lange*, *Eadric Lang*, *Aetheric se langa* (BCS 1130), *Eadweard se langa* (Battle of Maldon line 273), *Godricus longus* (DB) OE *lang* ‘long’); *Thurcytel Myranheafod* (‘merry head’ from OE *myrgan* ‘to make merry’ and *hēafod*); *Æþelric Niger*, *Æþelwine Niger* (Latin *niger* ‘black’); *Godwine Porthund*, a butcher (cf. ME *porthound* ‘town dog’); ‘*Eadbryht . . . þam was oþe; noma nemned Præn* etc. (v. Redin 34); *Touius Pruda* (1033-38 *Magnum Regist. Alb.* York i. 59d) (late OE *þrūd*, ‘brave’); *Ælfwine se Reada*, *Æþelsige se Reada*, *Beorhtic Reada* (OE *read(u)* ‘red(-haired)’); *Atser Roda* (? OE *rudu* fem. ‘redness’); *Æþelric Rufus*, *Eadric Rufus* (‘the red’ Latin *rufus*, cf. *se Reada supra*); *Healþegn Scarpa* (OE *scearp* ‘sharp’); *Æþelwine Scilla* (OE *scyl* ‘shrill,’ ‘sonorous,’ cf. OE *Scilling* Redin 23); *Ælfric Scop* (OE *scop* ‘minstrel’); *Æþelric Scot* (OE *Scot* ‘a Scotsman,’ cf. *supra* and Redin 23); *Haylwardus Snew* (? conn. with OE *sniwan* ‘to snow’; ‘snow-white hair’); *Wulfwine Spillecorn* (cf. ME *spil-kverne* ‘spinning top’ from OE *spilian* ‘to play, sport’); *Wulfric Spot* (cf. ME *spot* ‘spot’: ‘the spotty man’); *Æþelweard Stamera* (‘the stammerer,’ OE *stamerian* ‘to stammer’); *Æþelwine Stike-*

hare (prickly hair' OE *Stician* 'to stick, prick' and OE *hær*); *Ælfheah Stybb* (OE *stybb* 'stump (of a tree),' the sense in the pers name not being clear, though we may have an old name like **Stybb*, cogn. with OE *Stuf* and *Styfela*, on which v. A. H. Smith, *Place-names of YNR* 27); *Osfrið Swade-beard* (first element not clear); *Eadgyð Swanneshals* ('swan neck' OE *swan* + *hals*); *Aedilbergæ . . . quæ alio nomine Tatae uocabatur* ('the beloved' cf. ON *teitr* 'glad, cheerful,' OHG *zeis* 'dear, beloved,' and Redin 55); *Ælfric Tigel* (? OE *tygel* 'rein, trace'); *Eadwulf Yvelcild* ('bad man' OE *yfel* + *cild*).

IV.—TITLES, ETC.

Some nick-names, such as *Ladda*, possibly belong here:—

Ælfred *Æþeling* (OE *æþeling* 'prince'); *Æþelstan churchward* ('the church-warden'); *Ælfsige cild*, *Dodda cild*, *Eadric cild*, *Uhtred Cild* *pedisequus*, *Ulfcytel Cild*, *Wulfnoð Cild*, *Ælfric Cyld*, usually a title of nobility, but in some cases it is simply 'child,' cf. Redin 6); *Benesing hold*, *Othulf hold*, *Thurferð hold*, *Turebrand hold*, *Ysopa hold* (ON *hōldr*, a nobleman higher in rank than a *þegn*); *Eadgar Staller*, *Esgar Staller*, *Harold Staller* (OE *steallere* 'steward'); *Ælfmar Yerl* (OE *eorl* 'chief, leader,' cf. ON *jarl* with which it was sometimes confused).

V.—PLACE-NAMES.

(1) SIMPLE PLACE-NAMES:—

Ælfwine Gortune.

(2) COMPOUNDED WITH ÆT:—

Oswig æt *Æþelingtune*, *Leommær æt* *Biggrafan*, *Leofric æt* *Blacewellen*, *Æþelstan æt* *Bleddehlæwe*, *Æþelric æt* *Boccinge* (c. 907), *Eadmær æt* *Burham* (c. 1018), *Dodda æt* *Curi* (c. 1075), *Siword æt* *Cylleham* (1031), *Leofwine æt* *Dictune* (c. 1005), *Leofric æt*

Eaningudene (c. 1033), *Æþelweard æt Frome*, *Leofwine æt Frome* (c. 1034), *Beorhtman æt Gerscheriche* (1053), *Ælfwig æt Hægdune* (1046), *Æþelric æt halfe-wege* (c. 1070), *Osweard æt Hergerdesham* (c. 1042), *Wulfgær æt Hiwerc* (c. 1070), *Godwine æt Hortune*, *Leofwine æt Hortune* (c. 1018), *Sæwald æt Iliacum* (c. 1070), *Ealhstan æt Isslepe* (c. 980), *Ælfweard æt Langadune* (c. 1055), *Eadgifu æt Leofecanoran* (c. 992), *Beorhtweald æt Mæreweorðe* (962), *Lifing æt Meallingum* (c. 1005), *Leofstan æt Merseham* (? c. 1005), *Wulfric æt Pauleshele* (c. 1070), *Cynweard æt Pebbeworðy* (c. 1010), *Godric æt Stoke* (c. 1034), *Sumerlida æt Stoke* (c. 980), *Ealdred æt Sulphere* (c. 1070), *Sæweard æt Uptuny* (c. 1010), *Sidwine æt Wealesworthe* (c. 1005), *Wulfric æt Werneforda* (c. 1050), *Wulfweard æt Winesham* (1046), *Ælfnod æt Wudeleage* (c. 1010), *Wulfgeat æt Ylmandune* (c. 1000).

(3) COMPOUNDS WITH LATIN DE:—

Oswig de Bece, *Leofric de Berle* (c. 975), *Leofric de Brandune*, *Eadwine de Cadendune* (c. 1050), *Leofwine de Cadentune* (11th cent.), *Wulfagus de Colle*, *Wulfstan de Dalham*, *Siuerð de Dunham* (c. 975), *Æþelric de Glimtune* (c. 1050), *Goding de Gretune*, *Oswulf de Grettune* (c. 975), *Galfridus de Hedes* (c. 1050), *Boga de Hemingeford*, *Godwine de Hoo* (c. 980), *Elricus de Lundresford* (1066), *Ælfweald de Merðanlege*, *Ælfgar de Muletune* (c. 975), *Æþelweard de Ortun* (c. 1051), *Wulfnoð de Stowe*, *Wacer de Swafham* (c. 975), *Leving de Tumpentone* (c. 975), *Wine de Wicforde*, *Wine de Wivelingeham* (c. 975), *Wagen de Wotton* (c. 1048).

(4) COMPOUNDED WITH IN:—

Ailaf in Braiðatun, *Leofnað in Broðortun*, *Ióluarð in Burhtun*, *Rót in Hillum* (c. 1050 YCh 9); cf. *Oustiby*, etc., *supra*.

(5) COMPOUNDED WITH OF :—

Beorhtwine of Dædintun (c. 1051).

(6) COMPOUNDED WITH ON :—

Clac on Byrnewillan, Clac on Castre (c. 980).¹

INDEX I.—LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

BCS	Birch, <i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> .
DB	<i>Domesday Book for Yorkshire</i> , ed. R. H. Skaife (Yorks. Archæological Soc.)
END	<i>Early Newcastle Deeds</i> (Surt. 137)
FY	<i>Register of the Freemen of York</i> (Surt. 96, 102).
Guis	<i>Guisborough Cartulary</i> (Surt. 86, 89).
HalmDu	<i>Halmota Prioratus Dunelm</i> (Surt. 82).
KF	<i>Knights' Fees</i> (Surt. 49).
KI	<i>Kirkby's Inquest</i> (Surt. 49)
LS1297	<i>Yorks. Lay Subsidies</i> (YAS 16).
LS1301	" (YAS 21).
ME	Middle English.
Misc	<i>An English Miscellany</i> (Surt. 85)
OE	Old English.
OFr	Old French.
ON	Old Norse.
OSwed	Old Swedish.
Percy	<i>Percy Cartulary</i> (Surt. 117).
PT	<i>Poll Tax Returns 1379</i> (Halifax Antiquarian Soc.).
Redin	M. Redin, <i>Uncompounded OE Pers. Names</i> (Uppsala).
Rent	<i>Rental of 1439</i> (Halifax Antiquarian Soc.).
Riev.	<i>Rievaulx Cartulary</i> (Surt. 83).
Searle	Searle, <i>Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum</i> , 1897.
Surt	Surtees Society publications.
SurvDu	<i>Survey of the Palatinate of Durham</i> (Surt 32).
Vill	<i>Nomina Villarum 1316</i> (Surt. 49).
WCR	<i>Wakefield Court Rolls</i> (YAS <i>passim</i>).
Weekley	<i>The Romance of Names</i> .
Whitby	<i>Whitby Cartulary</i> (Surt. 69, 72).
YAS	Yorks. Archeolog. Soc. Record Series.
YCh	<i>Early Yorks. Charters</i> , ed. Farrer (3 vols.) 1918 ff.
YER	East Riding of Yorkshire.
YNR	North Riding of Yorkshire.

¹ In addition there are 26 surnames of doubtful origin and meaning. In the foregoing names, no specific reference is made to sources, and so they are quoted in the forms given by Searle under the Christian name: thus, *on Castre* will be found s.n. *Clac*. As this list of OE surnames is merely intended to call attention to the existence of OE surnames, no attempt has been made to collate the forms or to distinguish between pre-conquest records and post-conquest copies. The whole problem requires a separate and detailed investigation.

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MAPS ILLUSTRATING THE VIKING INVASIONS OF ENGLAND.

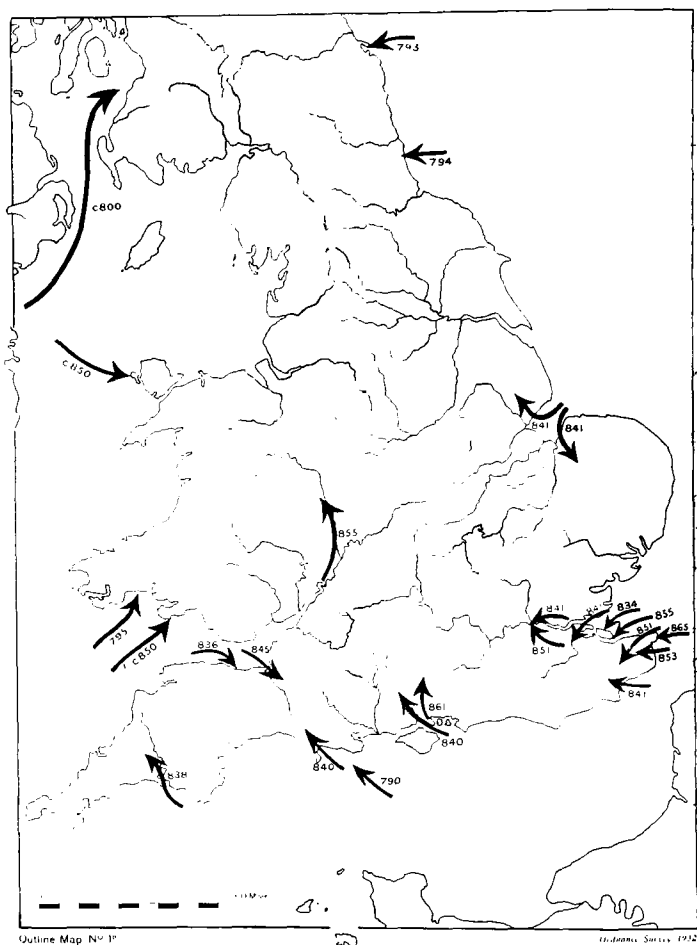
By T. D. KENDRICK, M.A.

THE accompanying maps (I-V), which were prepared for lecture-purposes, may perhaps be useful to others who want to illustrate a popular account of the viking invasions of this country. They must not be rated as anything more than schoolroom diagrams, but I have found them sufficiently useful to make their publication worth while, and I know that the student will not have any difficulty in criticising and improving them, should they be required for serious scientific work.

MAP I. A.D. 793-865. We begin with a period of casual and predatory invasion, consisting first of all of Norse raids in late VIII upon Northumbria and of attacks upon our south-western shores, and, secondly, in mid IX (834-64), of a sustained exploratory attack upon south-eastern England. This was the work of the Danes, who were simultaneously operating against Frisia, and took the form of a vigorous assault upon an easily reached and vulnerable highway into England, the Thames estuary. At the same time there were exploratory invasions of the three other principal water-gates, the Wash, the Solent, and the Bristol Channel. It is obvious that the Englishman of mid IX was living in real danger of the over-running and collapse of his country; yet it would have been difficult for him to have known from which direction he was to expect further attack.

MAP II. A.D. 867-876. The manifold attacks upon the Thames mouth had not, however, opened the way into England. Kent had suffered, but was not cowed, and London persistently barred access to the upper reaches of the river. The men of Wessex had also shown themselves able to deal effectively with

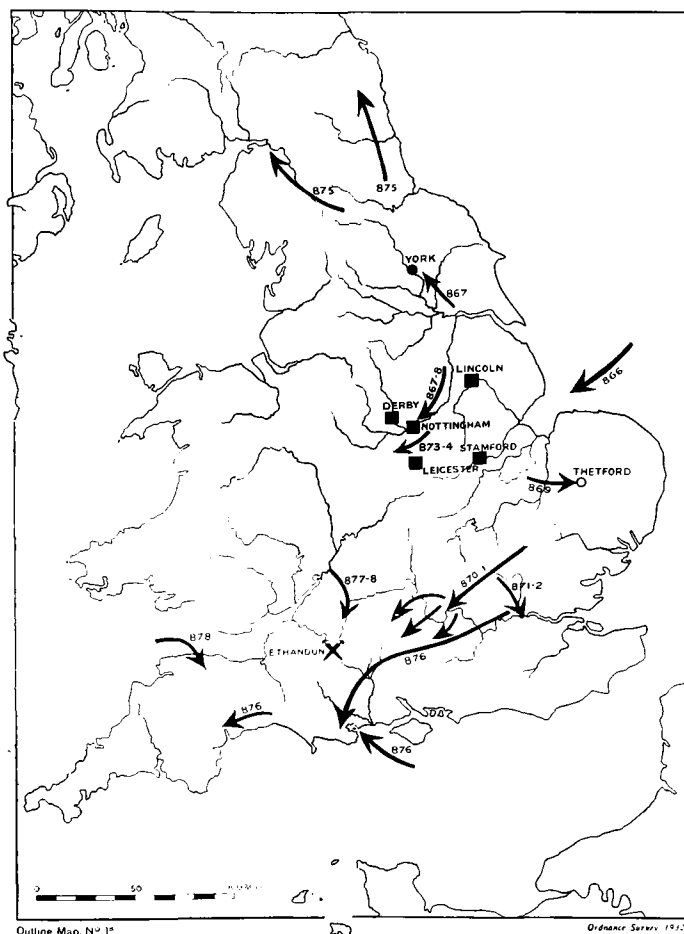
invaders, both on the south coast and in the Bristol Channel, so that if the exploratory attacks had taught the vikings anything, they would have known that the



MAP I.—The Exploratory Invasions.

best chance of succeeding in their aim of conquest and land-settlement was to invade the weaker realms of East Anglia and Northumbria, and to follow this by a cam-

paign against Wessex from the north-east. This was, in fact, the plan adopted in 866, when the great army under the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok established itself in East



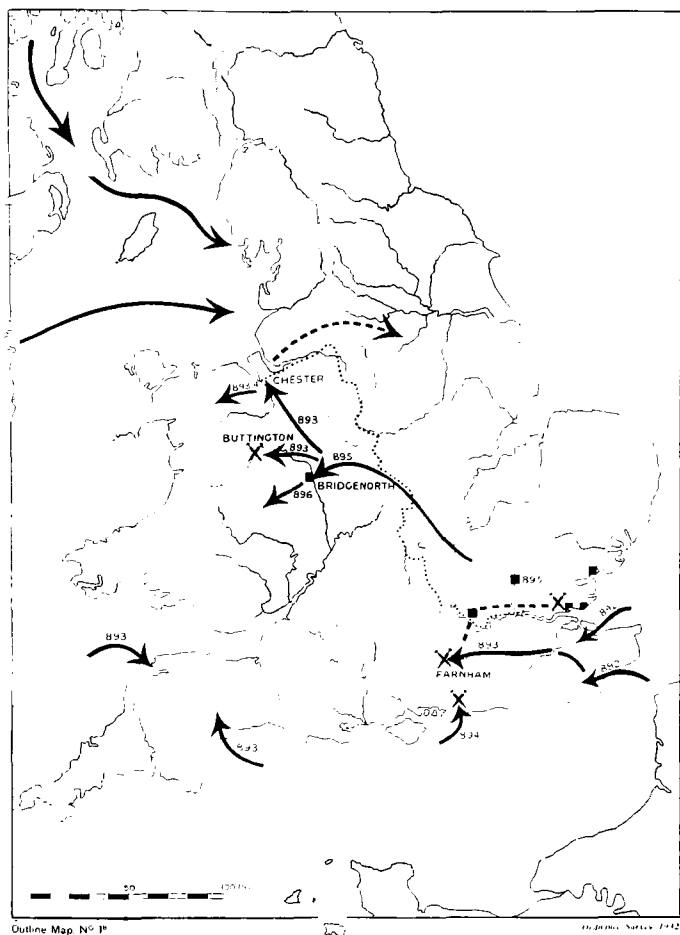
MAP II.—The Conquest of the East, and the attack on Wessex

Anglia. Horses were obtained, a mobile land-force created, and, after the capture of York in 867, Deira, Eastern Mercia, and East Anglia were speedily and

bloodily delivered into the hands of the vikings. Then from the base thus secured was launched along the Ick-nield Way the great drive against Wessex (870-1) that saw the crossings of the upper Thames seized by the vikings, the campaign of the Battle of Ashdown, and, in the end, the repulse of the invaders by Alfred the Great. Five years of peace followed for Wessex, and then came the second invasion (876) by a land and a sea-force simultaneously. At first Wessex sturdily resisted the heavy strain of an attack that shifted from Wareham to Exeter, and then to north Devon and north Wilts; but at length came the sudden defeat and humiliation of the English (mid-winter 877-8). This was followed by the revival planned from Athelney, and, at last the victory of Ethandun (878). It was a decisive battle. South-western England was saved; London, which had been lost to the vikings in 872, was recovered, and the Danes were compelled to admit they had met their master. We leave them, therefore, repulsed by Wessex, but settled in their conquered eastern provinces, which were turned by them into a well-governed Danelaw, whose main strength was based on York and the 'Five Boroughs' of Lincoln, Derby, Nottingham, Stamford, and Leicester.

MAP III. A.D. 892-896. On this map the boundary of the Danelaw is shown by a dotted line. On the one side of it dwells an unconquered and vigorous English population; on the other side is an Anglo-Danish folk, with their own customs, laws, and speech. The events illustrated make up the curious 'Three Years War' at the close of Alfred's reign. What happened was that after the unsuccessful siege of Paris a large Danish host decided to try their luck in England, and accordingly invaded south Kent, while Hastein, a Loire viking, simultaneously appeared in north Kent. It seems to have been a concerted attack, because the two forces were soon co-operating, and this new cam-

paign was all the more dangerous because of the support it received from the Danelaw. Thus, when Alfred was concentrating against the two armies in Kent, the



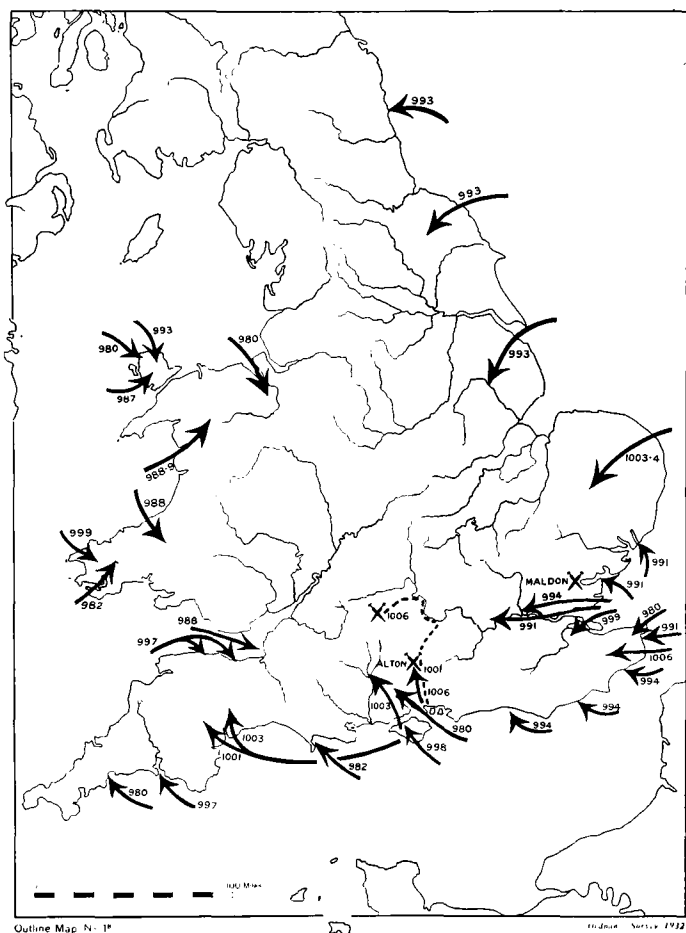
MAP III.—The Three Years' War.

Danelaw suddenly landed expeditions in north and south Devon, for the Anglo-Danes had learnt the paralyzing effect of these attacks in different quarters that

kept the English army marching backwards and forwards across Wessex. However, once again, Wessex triumphed. The attacks on Devon were repulsed. The Danes from Paris were defeated at Farnham, and eventually both they and Hastein were bottled up in south Essex. But now occurs one of those extraordinary events that make viking history so puzzling. The Danes at Shoebury gave up the attack on Wessex, and instead, after having been reinforced from the Danelaw, they made repeated raids up Watling Street across England into a district where they had not been attracted before. They struck first at the Welsh borders and were defeated.¹ They retired, and then returned to occupy Chester. Again they were forced to retreat, but they came back and established themselves at Bridgnorth. Finally their host was disbanded with this mysterious north-west project unrealised. Presumably the failure to crush Wessex by direct attack had suggested to the vikings the possibility of forcing surrender by a relentless pressure on all sides. The Danelaw was a hostile viking province, and to it must be added the Norse folk now settled in Cumbria and Lancashire. The vikings were in Man and Dublin; they had from time to time overrun Anglesey, and they were already established in south Wales. What more ominous thing for Wessex could there be than a conquest of north-west Mercia by the vikings, reinforced perhaps by Danes and Norsemen from Ireland and Man? It would mean the conversion of the Danelaw frontier into the boundary of Wessex. A vast viking world pressing heavily down upon the Severn and the Thames frontier would inevitably crush southern England sooner or later. The failure of this plan and the determination of the English not to tolerate the presence of vikings on the Severn

¹ The Welshmen of Gwynedd seem to have been hostile to the Vikings from Shoebury throughout this whole episode, even to the extent of fighting on the side of the English against them. It was probably the failure to make an ally of the Prince of Gwynedd that ruined the viking plan.

rontier mark the close of a period. It was a momentous turning-point. Henceforth the viking power crumbled, and gradually the English reconquered the Danelaw.



MAP IV.—The Second Invasion.

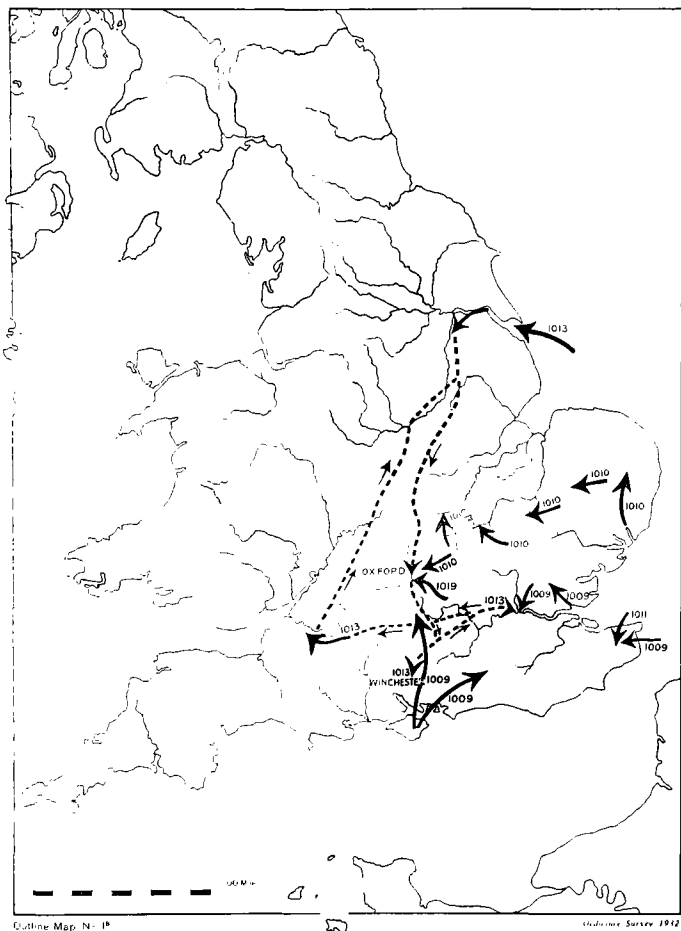
As is well known, by the year 954, 120 years after the vikings had first assailed Egbert of Wessex, the Danelaw had been victoriously transformed into a subservient

tief of the King of England. The period 896-954, which is not illustrated by a map here, is that of the great triumph of the English under Alfred, Edward, Aethelstan, and Eadred.

MAP IV. A.D. 980-1006. We now enter the final phase of viking expansion, and see our island suddenly assailed with relentless fury on all sides. Actually this represents an attempt on the part of the Irish vikings to seize and hold Wales, and a vigorous movement against England by the Danes, who had now become a Christian and a powerful nation that needed colonial expansion. Once again there are vicious exploratory raids, now threatening an England that is only feebly defended by Aethelred. Once more the vikings assail the Thames mouth with concentrated fury. The Isle of Wight is seized, and having thus obtained control of the Solent, the vikings are for the first time in a position to terrorise Wessex. Hampshire and Wiltshire lie at their mercy; Winchester, the capital, is no longer safe, and as proof of their insolent power we have the great march by Svein in 1006 to Cuckamsley Hill. Never before in viking history had the invaders been able to strike repeatedly into the heart of Wessex and to reach the upper Thames by the Winchester road.

MAP V. A.D. 1009-1013. It was the prelude to the final phase, which is the outright conquest of England by Svein. First came the invasion by his lieutenant Thorkel, which takes the form of an attack on Wessex from the south, a vain attempt to take London, and an attack on the Oxford country from the east. Then came the great invasion of Svein himself and the magnificent march that sealed the fate of our country, showing, as it did, that the Thames and the Danelaw boundary no longer marked the frontier of a sacrosanct Wessex. From the Humber mouth to Oxford, from Oxford to Winchester, from Winchester to London (where, however, the townsmen repulsed him), from London to

Bath, and from Bath back across England to his boats, Svein moved where he would. And in this mighty progress he obtained the submission of the north of Wessex,



MAP V.—Svein's Conquest.

of the west country, and, finally, of the Londoners. Aethelred escaped overseas, and for the first time a Danish king ruled all England. Svein died in 1014,

and the English, under Edmund Ironside, made a short but vigorous resistance to Cnut. But Cnut triumphed, and in 1017, upon the death of Ironside, he was chosen as king of England. Thereafter we find our country a part of a great Anglo-Scandinavian kingdom under this wise and benevolent Danish ruler, and the Viking Period closes.



ST. CANUTE AND ST. OLAF IN THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM.

BY THE LATE DR. HANS KJÆR,
Deputy Keeper of the National Museum, Copenhagen.

(Read December 16th, 1932.)

THE most venerable church in Palestine, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, is a Basilica, built by the Emperor Constantine the Great over the grotto which old tradition assigns as the place of the Birth of Christ. This tradition can be traced back to the second century and is certainly older, even if it does not rest directly on the gospels. Apparently the Emperor Hadrian tried to controvert the Christian tradition by making the grotto a sanctuary for Adonis, but he only succeeded in confirming the ideas of the sacredness of the place until the victory of Christianity rooted out the cult of Adonis.

The Empress Helena, Constantine's mother, as is well known, showed a deep interest in the Holy Land, to which she went on pilgrimage. Obviously she would embellish the Holy Grotto in Bethlehem. Soon afterwards the Emperor, "surpassing his mother in splendour," adorned the grotto in a truly royal manner with gold, silver and richly coloured tapestries. The Basilica was finished in A.D. 330. Three years later the well-known "Pilgrim of Bordeaux" has this valuable entry about it :

"Ibi Basilica facta est jussu Constantini."

The Basilica, also called St. Mary's Church, is even to-day the most beautiful church of antiquity that is still in use in Palestine, essentially unchanged, at any rate as regards the nave. Its eastern part is partly rebuilt, probably in the sixth century, and various minor

changes have of course taken place in the course of time. Originally it was an entirely regular basilica, nave and chancel of the same breadth, with an apse eastward. The nave is in five parts; four rows of columns divide it into a broad central nave and four smaller side aisles, each row containing originally 16 columns, 11 of which are in the nave. When rebuilt in the sixth century the chancel became almost cruciform. Under the middle of the chancel is the Holy Grotto, an irregular crypt, hewed out of the rock. The west of the church, 31 m.

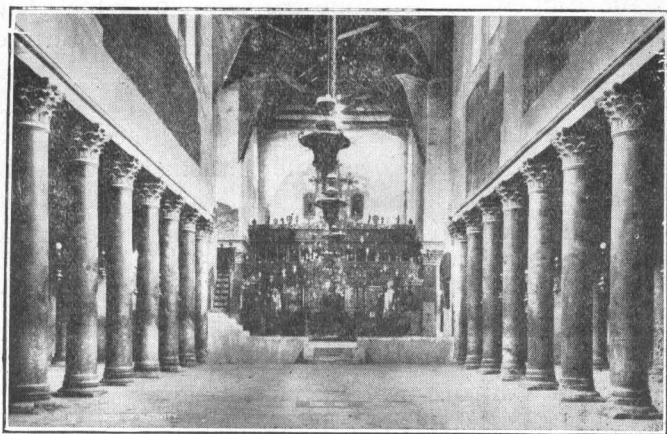


Fig. 1.—Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, Emperor Constantine's Basilica. The portraits of SS. Canute and Olaf are on the 4th and 5th columns on the south side, counting from the east.

long, still bears the impress of its original grand simplicity, while the chancel is characterised by overloading and excess. The roof timbers of the church are open, making it more spacious but somewhat dark, because of its great breadth. The columns are monoliths, 6 m. high, of a slightly red-veined stone, with beautiful Corinthian capitals. The whole effect is solemn and serious.

Nothing favourable can be said of its exterior. The

central nave belongs to the Greek, orthodox Church, while the Roman and Armenian Churches use the side aisles.

Under Arabic rule the basilica continued to be a Christian sanctuary, and during the Crusades it became a centre of attraction for the religious enthusiasm of the West. On Christmas Day, 1101, Baldwin I. was crowned there as King of Jerusalem, and soon after Bethlehem became a bishop's see. Thereupon the church was restored and adorned, especially with a long series of mosaics, mainly on the side walls. These have now mostly disappeared, but the tenor of a Greek and Latin inscription is known, according to which they were executed in 1165 or 1169, in the reign of Emperor Manuel Comnenos. The mosaics were, however, hardly executed for the Emperor, but for the bishop of Bethlehem, the king of Jerusalem, and the Emperor jointly. A Byzantine, Syrian artist seems to have guided the work.

Soon after the church was embellished in a different and very characteristic way, namely by pictures on the columns, representing a long series of saints. They are painted on the columns themselves, just below the capitals, so that they are hardly visible from below, at any rate to-day. In the course of centuries they have become very much discoloured. They represent saints in great variety, but two of them, on the fourth and fifth columns of the south side of the central nave, have special interest for us. They are St. Canute and St. Olaf.

During my visits to Bethlehem I had noticed pictures on the upper parts of the columns, but the feeble light prevented me from seeing details and reading the inscriptions which put it beyond doubt that the saints represented are these Scandinavian saints. Two years ago inspector G. Galster told me of a note about these pictures in an early volume of "*Historisk Tids-*

skrift," of 1884, a reference by C. Weercke to a short notice in the French "Bulletin Monumental," a report of memoranda of 1854 by the French art critic, P. Durand. I consulted Dr. Mackeprang, Keeper of the National Museum. The National Historic Museum at Frederiksborg corresponded with the Director of the German Goerres Institute, Dr. Mader, whose acquaintance I had made during the excavations at Shilo, and put at my disposal a sum of money needed to make full size copies. The copies were made by a Dutch painter residing in Jerusalem, Taddeus Rychter, under the supervision of Prof. A. Schneider and Prof. Rücker, of the Goerres Institute. There were some difficulties with the orthodox authorities, so that even the highest English authorities in Jerusalem had to be appealed to. But the work was successfully executed and the copies are now in the Frederiksborg Museum.

The pictures are executed in encaustic, burnt-in wax colours. That they have been able to preserve, more or less, their original shape through the centuries is owing to their being placed so high that they are out of the reach of visitors. They are only slightly over-painted in later times, according to Rychter, mainly only the blue background above. But they are much discoloured. The faces have almost faded away, probably directly erased by fanatic Mohammedans. The Arabs were the masters of Palestine for centuries and visited this church for the special reason that the southern arm of the cross was reserved for them. Its direction is exactly towards Mecca.

The picture of St. Canute stands 1.4 m. high. On the blue background above it stand the letters, right and left: SCS CHNUTUS—REX DANORUM. The king stands with his right foot forward, crown on head and a saint's halo; his right hand rests on a spear, his left holds a Norman shield, round above, pointed below. The king wears an originally white tunic, reaching

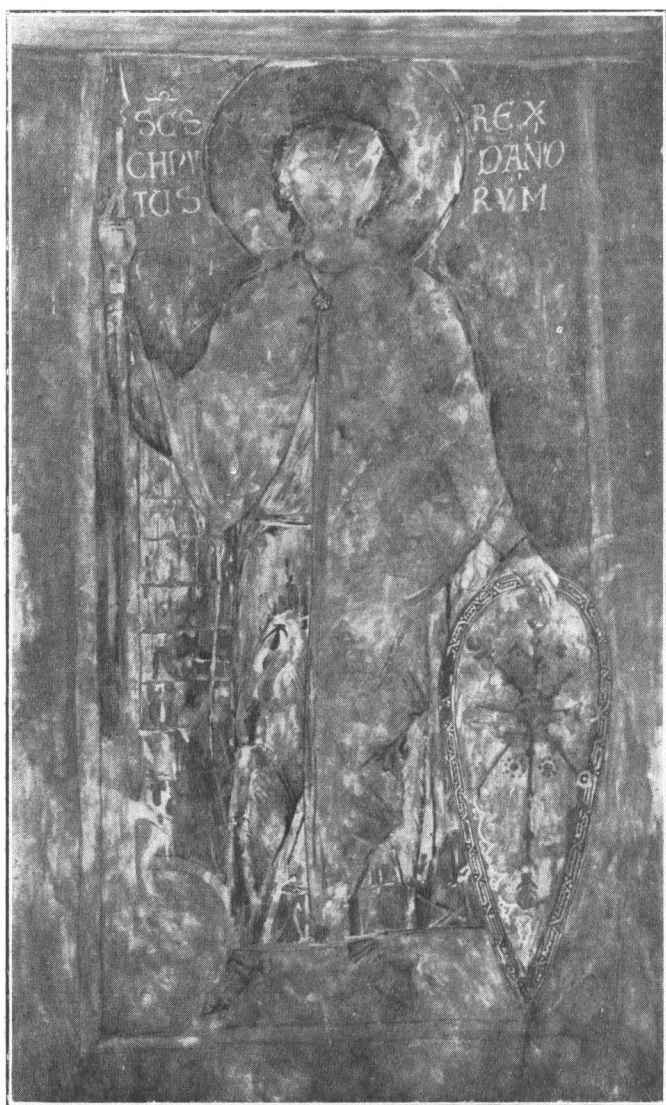


Fig. 2—St. Chnutus.

down to his feet, over it a long cloak with a clasp. The cloak is reddish, *i.e.*, scarlet coloured. The tunic has had a border below whose pattern can no longer be descried. The shoes are possibly repainted in later times, for their shape does not fit in with other details.



Fig. 3.—St. Olavus; Adorant on the left.

The shield has ornamentation in gold and silver colours. The crown is a high round diadem with two rows of large precious stones.

The picture of St. Olaf is somewhat higher, 1.63 m., almost full life size. Its execution is more feeble, technically, and it has been somewhat painted over, but this has mostly peeled off. Rychter thought he could see that the head had at first been a profile, but this is hardly correct. Now the royal saint is represented *en face* like St. Canute. In his right hand he carries a staff resembling a sceptre. It has been held to be a sceptre by earlier observers, but it is undoubtedly St. Olaf's usual attribute, the axe, whose broad blade is clearly visible in the copy of the picture and is good evidence of the faithful rendering of it by the artist. St. Olaf, too, wears a diadem and a halo. Here, also, the inscription is right and left of the head: SCS—OLAVUS REX NORVEGIE. The long tunic, reaching down to the feet, has a broad border below, with a centre and edges of various pattern. His cloak is shown lined with ermine, a starry pattern on its outer side. The shield, again a Norman shield, shows a highly intricate, originally golden ornamentation on blue ground, surrounding a cross, and a border decoration of a highly refined meander pattern, as in St. Canute's shield.

To the right of the king kneels a little adoring figure, almost invisible, which only came to light during the copying. Earlier observers had not seen this figure, so important for understanding the pictures.

The attitude and outlines of the figures are characteristic and of grand simplicity, Durand says, and even now, in their discoloured state, they harmonize with the deep solemnity of the basilica. There is no doubt about their date. The diadems, details of the dress, the form and ornamentation of the shields, all date from the second half of the twelfth century.

The Scandinavian saints, as above said, belong to a long series of saints whose pictures adorn all the columns of the central nave and five of the seven easternmost columns in the southern side aisle. A short survey of all the pictures is necessary to understand how and why the Scandinavian saints were included among them in such a distant and sacred place.¹

Of the saints still recognizable some are of a general character: John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, St. Stephen, the Holy Virgin. Seven are specially oriental saints, and three local Palestinian hermit saints. Then there are four western saints, and, finally, besides St. Canute and St. Olaf, three who may be called specially Norman saints, St. Leonardus, St. Bartolomæus and St. Cataldus, known from Sicily to England. St. Margaret, who was originally Syrian, may possibly be also included among those worshipped by the Normans. St. Leonardus was the patron saint of the Sicilian Ducal family.

Of Scandinavian saints, St. Olaf was undoubtedly the most honoured. He was, too, the Patron Saint of the axe-bearing Varangians, with two churches dedicated to him in Byzantium, and he continued to be so in the twelfth century, though they were then mainly recruited from England. The stay of his brother Harald with the Varangians was not forgotten. The cult of St. Olaf spread far and wide in the North² as well as in Normandy and England. St. Canute was far more a specially Danish saint, but connected with Palestine through the pilgrimage of his son, Charles the Dane, of Flanders, to the Holy Land, and in 1123 it had been planned to make him king of Jerusalem.

Those who have had opportunity to study the pic-

¹ Vincent Abel: *Bethlehem*, Paris, 1924.

² M. Mackeprang: *The Cult of St. Olaf in Denmark*. Norske Vidensk. Selsk. Forh. III. 1930.

tures on the column closely declare that they are of a homogeneous character and must be all of the same date, and have been executed at about the same time as the mosaics. *Terminus ante quem* is 1187, when Saladin conquered Palestine. The mosaics were presumably executed in 1165-1169, and in the next years Raoul was bishop in Bethlehem (died 1174) and Amalrik king of Jerusalem. Both he and his predecessor, Balduin, were related to the Emperor by marriage. As the bishop, too, was certainly a Norman,

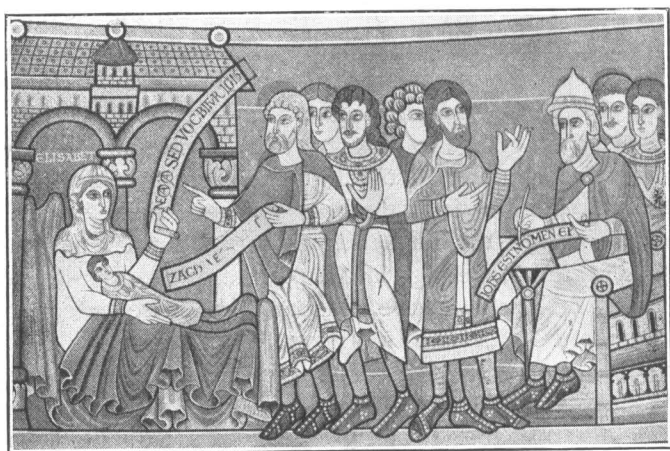


Fig. 4.—Birth and Christening of St. John the Baptist.
Painting in St. Gabriel's Chapel in Crypt, Canterbury Cathedral.
For comparison with the paintings in Bethlehem.

it is tempting to think that the pictures on the columns and the mosaics are due to this constellation. It certainly helped to have them undertaken. So far as we can see this ornamentation of the columns was not planned as a whole. Since we have no information on this point we must proceed by inference.

There is no trace of a plan in the sequence of the pictures. Only the three easternmost on the south side are oriental saints, the two on the north side Palestinian

Of the Norman Saints two are on the north side, but not side by side, St. Olaf and St. Canute are on the south side, the fifth, St. Bartolomæus, in the southern side aisle, most of them with inscriptions both in Latin and in Greek, while five, the two Scandinavian kings, John the Evangelist, St. James and the Holy Virgin, have inscriptions in Latin alone. In most cases the bilingual inscriptions put the Latin one uppermost or first. If the pictures were executed by official initiative, one would expect all the inscriptions to be in Greek, which would always precede the Latin. We are not informed of the height of the pictures except, as mentioned, that St. Olaf is a little taller than St. Canute. Thus there is no uniformity, even in this.

Surely the adoring figures found at least in three of the pictures give the key to their genesis. As said above, one of these is found in the picture of St. Olaf. The only pictures in the whole series published up till now (*Vincent Abel: Bethlehem*) are a similar adoring figure, a man kneeling, in the picture of St. James, and a male and female figure, husband and wife, kneeling, in the picture of the Holy Virgin. There may be others, invisible as yet. The figure in St. Olaf's picture was only discovered during the copying of it. It is extremely probable that the kneeling adorants are the persons who defrayed the expenses of the execution of the pictures. And that this was mainly due to pilgrims is indirectly proved by the fact that only the pictures in the central nave and in one half of one of the southern side aisles were finished. They surely meant to continue the work when opportune.

Since the pictures generally bear the impress of Western culture, which prevailed in this region at the time (the twelfth century), these pictures are surely due to European, specially Scandinavian Norman pilgrims. The last prominent Danish pilgrim to the Holy Land was bishop Eskil of Viborg, in 1153.

At any rate the pictures of St. Canute and St. Olaf in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem furnish clear and remarkable evidence of strong Scandinavian Norman influence at the time of the Crusades.

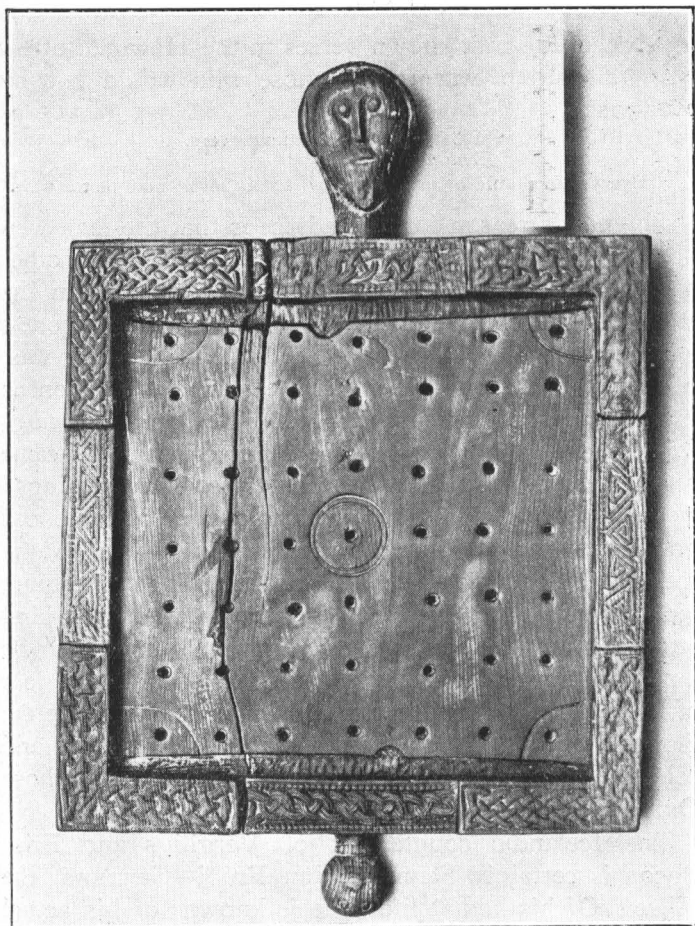
A GAMING-BOARD OF THE VIKING PERIOD FOUND IN IRELAND.

THE accompanying plate shows a remarkable and important find made in 1932 by the First Harvard Archaeological Mission in Ireland. It is a Viking Period gaming-board of yew wood and comes from a crannog (a palisaded lake, or marsh-dwelling) at Ballinderry, near Moate, Co. Westmeath. It has been illustrated and fully described by the Director of the mission, Dr. H. O'Neill Hencken, F.S.A., in *Acta Archaeologica*, Vol. IV. (1933), p. 85. The gaming-board measures (excluding the heads) $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. and it is $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick (about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick at the borders). It was intended, according to Dr. Hencken, for a game on the principle of Fox and Geese, and in his opinion, which is based on a penetrating study of the ornament, it was probably made in the Isle of Man by a Celto-Norse craftsman of the third quarter of the 10th century. He suggests that it came to Ballinderry, in the centre of Ireland, by way of the Shannon through the agency of the Limerick Danes during or a little before the reign of Magnus Haraldsson of Limerick, who was king of Man and the Isles from about 973 to 977. The gaming-board has been presented by the Harvard Mission to the National Museum, Dublin; a cast of it is exhibited in the Iron Age Gallery of the British Museum.

During the excavation of the same crannog the Mission also found a second object of outstanding interest a bronze hanging-lamp of an hitherto unknown type probably stolen by viking raiders from an Irish ecclesiastical building. This astonishing and richly decorated

piece of metalwork (not yet published) has likewise been presented to the National Museum, Dublin, where it is exhibited with the gaming-board and a fine 9th century sword (Mannus, *Ergänzungsband VI.*, p. 240) found in 1928 in the same crannog.

T. D. K.



Gaming-board of the Viking Period found in Ireland.

SÆMUNDR INN FRÓÐI IN ICELANDIC FOLKLORE.

By HELEN T. McM. BUCKHURST, M.A.

(Read April 8th, 1930.)

ONE of the best-known verses in the *Hávamál* utters a word of warning to those who would fain be over-wise :

“ Meðalsnotr skyli manna hverr,
Æva til snotr sé.”

[Every man should be moderately wise ; but let no man be too wise.]

The poet's reason for this advice is that the man who knows too much is seldom happy ; but there are other dangers, to which he does *not* draw attention, in the attainment of wisdom markedly beyond that of one's fellow-men. A reputation for over-much learning was, in mediæval times at least, apt to lead to suspicion as to its nature and its source. Hence the epithets *margfróðr* and *margkunnigr*, ‘wise in many things,’ came often to have a sinister meaning ; the ‘many things’ were frequently those which no entirely respectable and god-fearing individual should know ; and as to the source of the information, it was better not to enquire too closely. And once let a suspicion of such a kind attach to any individual sufficiently well-known to be a popular figure, legend is apt to grow apace in the lore of the people. Vergil becomes Vergilius the Sorcerer ; Roger Bacon, Franciscan friar, philosopher and scientist, becomes Friar Bacon the magician, whose Oxford study is the haunt of devils and witches.

The Icelandic counterpart of Vergilius and Friar Bacon is certainly Sæmundr inn Fróði—Sæmundr the Wise. Of his actual life little is known ; of his actual work still less. But that his work was considerable and important we have abundant evidence in the numerous

references, significant from their very casualness, in later Icelandic prose. His name is frequently coupled with that of Ari, author of the *Íslendingabók*, as one of the chief sources of information for later historians. Ari himself refers to Sæmundr, saying that he 'made the *Íslendingabók* for our bishops Þorlákr and Ketill, and showed it to them *and to Sæmundr the priest.*' This seems to point to Sæmundr as being a slightly older man than Ari, and tradition, fairly well supported by evidence, fixes his dates as 1056-1153. We know that his father's name was Sigfúss, that he studied for a time abroad, either in France or in Germany, and became priest at Oddi on his return to Iceland. His chief work appears to have been the lives of ten Norwegian kings, Haraldr Hárfagri and his nine successors; but of this, as of his other work, no vestige now remains, and we do not even know whether it was written in Latin or Icelandic.

So much for the Sæmundr of history. There remain for consideration the Sæmundr of literary tradition and the Sæmundr of folklore. The first may be briefly dismissed; the extraordinary lack of elementary critical instinct, which, in the 17th century, assigned to him the authorship of the *Elder Edda* hardly calls for discussion here. But the Sæmundr of folklore is a far more intriguing personality than the shadowy 'author' of the Edda poems. Two facts in the bare record of his actual life serve as the very scanty foundation for the mass of legend that has accumulated round his name. First there is his epithet *inn Fróði*, 'the wise'; secondly, there is his period of study abroad.

According to quite early tradition, the place of his study was none other than '*Svartiskóli*'—'The Black School'—popularly located in Saxony. In an early version of the tale we are told that 'Sæmundr the Wise sailed abroad and went to the Black School. There was no schoolmaster to be seen in the Black School, but

whatever the students expressed a wish to learn any evening, books on that subject appeared the next morning, or else the information was found written on the walls.'

Later legends supply more detail. A tale from Borgartjórðr tells us that 'in former days out in a far land was the school which men call the Black School; in it men learned magic and old lore of many a kind. The school was built in an earthen-house exceeding strong; it had no window, so all was pitch darkness within. There was no teacher there, but men got all their learning from books, which were written in letters of fiery red so that they could be read in the darkness. Those who studied there were never allowed to go out into the open air or to look upon the light of day. . . . It was either three or seven years before their course was completed. A grey and shaggy hand came through the wall every day and gave the students their food.'

A version from Snæfellsnes says that the school was in Germany, and was sometimes called 'Jupiter's School.' 'The light is always dim, sufficient only to allow the students to read, and is supplied by wax candles, which burn day and night. A good meal is served twice a day, and once during the night if folk are awake, and there is plenty to drink. The students have also good beds, one apiece. . . . They get any books to read that they demand, but may take nothing away with them when they go save what they have written or copied for themselves; but they are allowed neither ink nor pen.' Presumably it was not much that they could copy without these necessities. This version of the tale concludes with a touch reminiscent of the *Edda* poems: 'Far to the north in a great forest lies this school; there is no window by which one may see out, and *the doors all face north (horfa dyr í norður)*.' One cannot but recall *Völuspá* and the hall that stood on the Strand of the Dead.

According to the Borgarfjörðr account, Sæmundr had two Icelandic companions at the Black School, Kálfur Árnason and Hálfðán Eldjárnsson or Einarsson, afterward priest of Fell in Sléttuhlíð. Both were, like Sæmundr, historical characters, but the story shows a fine disregard for chronology, since the real Hálfðán lived in the latter part of the 16th century. Kálfur Árnason, like Sæmundr, has become the central figure of a number of tales, in several of which Sæmundr also plays a part; the best known is the story from *Múlasýsla* of how the two of them cheated the devil of his due.

‘When Kálfur Árnason was in the Black School he promised himself to the devil; but when he got back to Iceland, he was anxious at any cost to free himself from this promise, but could not imagine how to accomplish it. So he went to consult Sæmundr, and begged him to help him out of the difficulty. Sæmundr advised him to rear up a bull-calf and name it Árne, and then to rear up one of its calves and call it Kálfur—‘then,’ said he, ‘that calf will be Kálfur Árnason.’ Kálfur did as Sæmundr advised, and a little later the devil came along and said he had come to fetch Kálfur Árnason. Kálfur said that he should certainly have him, and handed over the calf, saying, ‘Here is Kálfur Árnason.’ This the devil could not gainsay, though he was none too well pleased with the way the promise had been kept; but that was all he got from Kálfur, who lived to a ripe old age.’

All the stories agree that it was easier to enter than to leave the Black School. If a number of students left in a body, the last to pass out was seized and kept by the devil. And, according to some versions, even if the hindmost man did succeed in emerging from the narrow stairway that led to the upper air, he was still in the devil’s power unless he could beguile him into believing him dead.

The early accounts attribute Sæmundr's escape to the intervention of Bishop Jón of Hólar.

'Bishop Jón went to Rome, and there he heard that Sæmundr was in the Black School. . . . So he went thither, and talked with him, and offered to help him escape if he would then go to Iceland and behave like a good Christian. To this Sæmundr agreed. So the bishop made him go ahead, while he himself followed with a cloak cast loosely about his shoulders. And as he passed out, a hand came up through the floor and seized the cloak and held it; but Jón got safely out. Then the devil came to Sæmundr and made a bargain with him to the effect that if Sæmundr could hide himself for three nights, he might have his freedom, but otherwise the devil would claim him as his own. The first night Sæmundr hid himself under the bank of a stream, covering himself with a mixture of water and earth, and the devil thought that he had been drowned; the second night he hid himself at sea on a piece of wreckage that was floating near shore, and the devil thought that the stream had washed him down into the sea. The third night he had himself buried in consecrated earth; then the devil thought that his body must have been driven ashore and buried in some churchyard; and there he dared not seek. But all this had been planned out by Bishop Jón.'

Another early account is more farcical; Sæmundr slips the hind-quarters of a sheep under his cloak, and the devil grabs this instead of his destined victim.

One of the Borgarfjörðr legends makes the devil seize Sæmundr's cloak as he passes through the door, and then slam the door to, so quickly, that it grazes his heels; but a more graphic account comes from the same district.

'As Sæmundr went up the passage and came out at the door of the Black School, the sun shone towards him and cast his shadow on the wall. And when the

devil tried to seize him, Sæmundr said "I am not the last; do you not see him who follows me?" Then the devil snatched at the shadow, thinking it to be a man; but Sæmundr slipped out, and the door slammed on to his heels. And from that time Sæmundr was always shadowless, for the devil held fast to his own."

But the best account of the escape comes from Múlasýla. In this version Sæmundr has forgotten all his past while in the Black School, not even remembering his own name and being known as Buft. But his friend Bogi Einarsson appears to him in a dream and tells him how to free himself.

'When you go out,' said Bogi, 'you must let your cloak lie loosely on your shoulders; someone will seize you as you pass out, but then you must slip off the cloak and so escape. But yet you have much to fear from him who is master of this school; for he will soon find out that you are missing. When you set out on your journey home, you must take your shoe off your right foot and fill it with blood and carry it all that first day on your head. But when the evening comes, the master will scan the stars, being wise in the understanding of their motions; and he will take special note of your star. But when he looks on it, he will think that you are dead, slain by the sword, for a ring of blood will be seen encircling your star. . . . Next day you must fill your shoe with water and salt, and he will think, when he looks at your star, that you have been drowned at sea, for seawater will seem to have floated round the star. But when you set out on the third day's journey, you must open a vein in your side and let the blood run into your shoe; then take earth and mingle it with the blood and speak words of blessing over it to hallow it, and bear the shoe upon your head all that day. And when he looks at your star, it will appear ringed round with earth, and he will believe you dead and buried, and a great loss will it seem to him. But when in the end he hears

that you are alive and well, he will marvel greatly at your wisdom, and deem that it comes from him himself; then he will become your well-wisher, and all your troubles will be over."

One of the early legends, and a later tale from *Borgarfjörðr*, not only make *Sæmundr* trick the devil into letting him escape from the Black School, but even make him get a free passage home at the devil's expense. The bare bones of the tale appear in the early version, but the *Borgarfjörðr* legend supplies the picturesque details.

'When *Sæmundr*, *Kálfur* and *Hálfðán* left the Black School, the living of *Oddi* was vacant, and all three asked the king for it. The king knew quite well with whom he had to deal, and said that whichever of them reached *Oddi* first might have it. So *Sæmundr* went at once and summoned the devil, and said:—"Swim out to Iceland with me; and if you get me to land without wetting my coat-tails, I am yours." The devil agreed, changed himself into a seal, and set out with *Sæmundr* on his back. All the time they were crossing the sea, *Sæmundr* was reading his *Psalter*. Soon they came in sight of Iceland; and then *Sæmundr* struck the seal such a blow on the head with the *Psalter* that he sank down, and *Sæmundr* went head over heels into the water. He swam safely to land, the devil lost his bargain, and *Sæmundr* got the living of *Oddi*.'

After his hazardous escape from the Black School, *Sæmundr* seems to have had comparatively little difficulty in his dealings with the Evil One, who is generally referred to in the tales by the familiar name of *Kǫlski*. One tale, apparently feeling that *Kǫlski*'s humility called for some explanation, tells how, being challenged by *Sæmundr* to make himself as small as he could, he reduced himself to the size of a midge. The crafty *Sæmundr* then wedged him up in a small hole in the fence and refused to release him till he had promised obedience. Henceforth *Kǫlski* was engaged in a series

of menial tasks, such as transporting a whole wood from one part of the country to another when Sæmundr ran short of firewood, or of cleaning the priest's cattle-sheds of their accumulated dirt—though on this occasion he revenged himself by dumping the manure-heap at the church door just as the congregation was emerging. The tales now become almost completely homely and often farcical. One of the best is that of a frustrated attempt at revenge on the part of the much-abused Kǫlski. It tells how Kǫlski turned himself into a tiny fly and slipped under the skin of some hot milk which had been poured into Sæmundr's porridge-pot, hoping that the priest would swallow him and so meet his death. But the wily Sæmundr saw the fly, guessed who it was, and quickly wrapped it up in the milk-skin. Then he tied a rag round it, and carried it into the church, and there the miserable Kǫlski had to remain throughout the Mass—‘and never,’ says the tale, ‘did he spend a more thoroughly uncomfortable time.’

On another occasion Sæmundr laid a wager with Kǫlski that he could find a rhyme to any line of Latin Kǫlski could quote. Having capped ‘*Nunc tibi deest gramen*’ with ‘*Digito tu terge foramen,*’ and ‘*Hæc domus est alta*’ with ‘*Si vis descendere, salta,*’ he found himself momentarily ‘stumped’ by Kǫlski’s ‘*Nunc bibis ex cornu.*’ But, quickly recovering himself, he replied, with a lapse into the vernacular, ‘*Ídisti, quomodo fór nú.*’ Kǫlski immediately claimed forfeit, justly saying that though *fór nú* might be a good enough rhyme to *cornu*, it was certainly not Latin. Sæmundr then resorted to sheer bluff, and, as the tale naïvely puts it, ‘they argued about it for a long time, but in the end Sæmundr, by his great learning, proved conclusively to Kǫlski that *fór nú* was Latin.’

Only a few of the extant tales about Sæmundr do not include Kǫlski; but there is a story about a Norn, to whom, in the wild days of his youth, Sæmundr had

promised marriage. Years later a mysterious chest bound with bands of gold arrived at Oddi to remind him of his old love; but Sæmundr refused to open it, and rode next morning on to a neighbouring mountain, where he cast it into a deep rift. That mountain was Hekla, and it was from this rift that volcanic fire first broke forth, for the first time in the history of man.

On the whole, Kǫlski appears to have been a thoroughly submissive servant, and even such attempts as he made on Sæmundr or any of his household were easily frustrated. He appeared to Sæmundr's house-keeper (or, according to another version of the tale, his daughter) on one occasion, threatening to carry her off, but was frustrated, in the good old fairy-tale manner, by being set first to count the feathers in the feather-bed; and just as his task approached completion, Sæmundr himself appeared on the scene, and Kǫlski fled.

His final attempt was made when Sæmundr lay on his death-bed. Realising death was near, Sæmundr, so the tale goes, felt doubtful as to his future—'whether it was to be in heaven or in the other place.' He bade his foster-daughter keep watch during the night; and when darkness came, the room seemed to her to be filled with devils. The dying man seemed to be striving with them and resisting their beguilements. At last they disappeared, but their place was taken by a swarm of venomous gnats, which fiercely assailed the dying Sæmundr. But at that moment a flash of blinding light broke forth, and the watcher saw his soul pass upwards; the apparitions vanished, and the body of Sæmundr, scholar, priest, and wizard, lay lifeless, with no sign of the last struggle in which he had subdued the powers of evil with whom he had both striven and consorted all his life.

EYMUNDAR SAGA AND ICELANDIC RESEARCH IN RUSSIA.

By COLONEL N. T. BELAIEW, C.B.

(Read December 11th, 1931.)

THE Icelandic studies in Russia are intimately linked up with the "Eymundar Saga," and a translation into Russian of that saga from its Icelandic text published in 1834 by Senkovsky, professor of history at the St. Petersburg university, a brilliant philologist, essayist and writer, made quite a stir in the Russian literary and scientific circles.

Scandinavian, or, as they were called, "Northern" studies, were by that time more than a hundred years old, and Senkovsky already had several distinguished predecessors in that field.

In the first place we have to mention V. N. Tatischev (1686-1750), one of the many Peter the Great's brilliant lieutenants, a gunner and a mining engineer by training, a diplomatist and civil governor by profession, and the author of the monumental "Russian History from the Earliest Times."

When in 1719 Jacob William Bruce (1670-1735), of Norman-Scottish descent and Muscovite by birth,¹ drew Peter the Great's attention to the urgency of a complete geographical survey of Russia, that Emperor's eye fell on the young Tatischev, who had already distinguished himself at the battles of Narva and Poltava, and, afterwards, spent between 1713 and 1717 several busy years abroad, engaging in various studies and collecting a valuable library of geographical and historical treatises. The choice proved a happy one, and to his attainments as a soldier and engineer, Tatischev added the distinction of becoming the first Russian historian, his

¹ His father William left England during the days of Cromwell; he died in 1680 at Pskov and left two sons: Jacob, a distinguished soldier and a brilliant scientist, and Roman, the first governor of Petersburg.

"Russian History from Earliest Times"¹ remaining invaluable to, and even becoming in course of time more and more appreciated by, every student of Russian history.

In 1724 Tatischev was sent to Sweden on a diplomatic mission; besides he had to report on Sweden's mining and metallurgy, and also on her currency and minting. He got into touch with several distinguished Swedish scientists and historians, and the influence of these Scandinavian associations is felt in his historical research. It is undoubtedly to them that we owe many references in the earliest chapters of his "History" to the intimate relations which existed between the first Russian princes and the Northern countries, as, for instance, the already elsewhere mentioned reference to Alfind (Efanda), a daughter of a Norse konung and a wife of Rurik.²

If Tatischev can be considered as a precursor of Northern studies in Russia, his younger contemporary, G. S. Bayer (1694-1738) was the actual founder of Icelandic research. His "De Varagis,"³ by its lucidity and wealth of argument based on actual study of Scandinavian, Greek and Eastern sources, remains up to now a fundamental work on the so much debated "Varangian" question. He attached a particular importance to the studies of the sagas, and his follower and successor, A. L. Schlözer (1735-1809), advocated a creation of a special scientific body for the collection, examination and editing of all the Icelandic documents bearing on the history of Russia. Both Bayer and Schlözer liberally used such of the sagas which were accessible to them, but the request was much ahead of the times.

¹ It took Tatischev 20 years to accomplish his task; he presented his work to the Petersburg Academy of Sciences in 1739, but he did not live to see the publication even of the first volume of his History which appeared only in 1768.

² "Rorik of Jutland," *Saga-Book*, vol. X., p. 11, 1929, p. 295.

³ A Russian translation of it was published by the Academy in the fourth volume of its transactions in 1768.

Even in 1849, *i.e.*, more than a hundred years after Bayer's death, and some 85 after the publication of Schlözer's request, another Russian historian, and himself a great authority on the early history of the country, A. Kunik, considered that the time had not yet come for such an undertaking, and that a hasty and uncritical publication of Icelandic texts might even cause some prejudice to Northern studies. "No, we are not ready yet for it," was his conclusion. These pessimistic or, perhaps, overcautious remarks were made by Kunik in one of his critical reviews of the just then published "*Chronicon Nordmannorum*," by Kruse, in the "*Antiquités Russes*," by Rafn and Magnussen.¹ And yet the very fact of the appearance of the "*Antiquités*" not only was stimulated by the "*Eymundar Saga*" of Senkovsky, but, to a large degree was made possible by it, as the funds for the publication by the Society of the Antiquaries of the North of the "*Antiquités*" were collected by Senkovsky and those interested in his translation of the Icelandic texts. In 1840 a translation of another saga, that of St. Olaf's, was published by another Icelandic scholar, the rev. S. K. Sabinin (1789-1863); this was followed in 1849 by the same author's Icelandic grammar. It seems, however, that these attainments showed the high-water mark of public interest in Northern studies, and it was only in the first years of this century that Schlözer's project was revived by prof. A. Shakhmatov, and that a complete edition of the sagas, bearing on Russian history, was undertaken by the Academy; the editorship was entrusted to prof. Th. Braun, but, unfortunately, the war and the revolution prevented the realisation of this work.² Thus, looking back on the nearly two-hundred years period of Icelandic scholarship in Russia, we have to admit

¹ "*Remarques critiques, etc.*," Bull. V., VII. 1850, p. 129.

² "*Das Historische Russland im Nordischen Schrifttum des X.-XIV. Jahrhunderts*" in *Festschrift Eugen Mogk f. 70 Geburtstag*, Halle, 1924, p. 161, 179-189.

that the most important and, at any rate, the most spectacular achievement in its course was Senkovsky's translation of the saga of Eymund.

Joseph Julian Senkovsky (Sękowsky) was born in 1800 near Vilna; his mother belonged to the Russian family Buikov, and the young Senkovsky fluently spoke Russian, Polish, French and Latin; during his school years at the college at Minsk and at the Vilna university he mastered the Arabian, Persian and Turkish, and afterwards added the Scandinavian languages and the Icelandic. In 1820 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople, and was given further facilities for the studies of the Arabian and Coptic. In 1822, at the age of 22, he was already professor of the Arabic and Persian languages at the University of St. Petersburg, and for 20 years remained there. Then he decided to retire and to devote himself more exclusively to the spreading of general knowledge through his periodical, "The Reading Library" (*Biblioteka dla chtenia*), which he edited from its beginning in 1834 until 1856. It is in the first volume of this library that appeared his paper on the Icelandic sagas, and this was followed in the second volume by the Eymundar saga; both the original Icelandic text and the Russian translation were printed alongside for the benefit of the reader, and, to stimulate the interest in the Icelandic language, Senkovsky skilfully selected texts and sentences which possessed similar words, derived from the same roots or were grammatically constructed on the same principle. The vigorous and often beautiful language of the translation, a clever introduction and the novelty of the subject could not but appeal to the general reader and to the scholar as well; even a casual reader was easily carried away by the intensity of the author's feelings and his admiration of the sagas; some of his friends went so far as to say that "This paper is of universal importance and will be translated into all the lan-

guages."¹ But, unfortunately for Senkovsky and for the future of Icelandic research in Russia, a considerable section of young Russian historians was under the sway of the so-called "Sceptic School," and would put to doubt not only the veracity of the sagas but of the Russian chronicles (and incidentally of all chronicles) as well. To make matters worse, Senkovsky allowed himself to be carried away too easily by his admiration of the sagas, and wherever there was a discrepancy between the chronicler and the author of the saga he placed himself unreservedly on the side of the latter and severely criticised the chronicler; thus he brought upon himself not only the criticism of the "Skeptics," but also the wrath of people like Stroev,² who resented Senkovsky's disrespect for the Russian chronicler.

Still, the sober judgment of such an authority as Pogodin³ was on the side of Senkovsky's views, and some episodes of Eymundar saga gradually found their way into some of the historical textbooks, and, of course, the incorporation of the saga in the "Russian Antiquities" of Rafn did much to popularise it abroad; the editors of the saga even included a French translation of it to make it available to a wider circle of readers.

In spite of this very little was done after 1850 for the study of the Eymundar saga, and a complete vindication of its veracity and of the general soundness of Senkovsky's judgment only came in 1926 with the publication of a remarkable paper on the subject by A. J. Liaschenko.⁴

According to its title the saga is the saga of Eymund, *i.e.*, a saga of Eymund's exploits and adventures; as these happen mostly in Russia, at the court of Yaroslav, between the years 1016-1021, the saga supplies us

¹ Bulgarin, in the "Severnaya Pchela" (The Northern bee), 1833.

² "Kritichesky Vzglád etc." ("Some criticism, etc."), Moscow, 183,

³ Moscow, 1846, pp. 275. (A Course of Lectures on Russian History).

⁴ "Eymundar Saga and the Russian Chronicles," *Bull. Ac. Sc. Petrop.*, 1926, pp. 1061-1086.

with a wealth of details concerning Russian and Northman and their mutual relations; incidentally many an episode, like, for instance, the death of Sviatopolk, appear in quite a new light. But, on the whole, Russian history only serves as a background to Eymund's own history, and, quite naturally, events interesting to him or to his followers are related with some flourish and more details, than some others, which would seem more important to us, and also seemed so to the writer of the chronicle.

The saga starts with the relation of events in Norway leading to the expulsion or expatriation of many a conung, namely of the rebellion of Rorik, Eymund's brother, and his subsequent blinding by Olaf. Eymund, on his return from a viking-cruise, learns about Olaf's policy, and, whilst declining to fight him and even endorsing his unifying policy, refuses to pay homage to him and decides to sail eastwards to Gardaríke, where on the death of king Waldemar ("Valldamars") his sons are said to be fighting for their father's possessions. The names of these sons of St. Wladimir are given in the saga as Burizlafr, Jarizlafr and Vartilaf. The first two names sometimes are given as Burizleifr and Jarizleifr, and refer to the sons of Wladimir Sviatopolk-Burislav and Yaroslav; the third is Briachislav and Yaroslav's nephew, but known to the Northmen as "brother," according to his princely courtesy title.

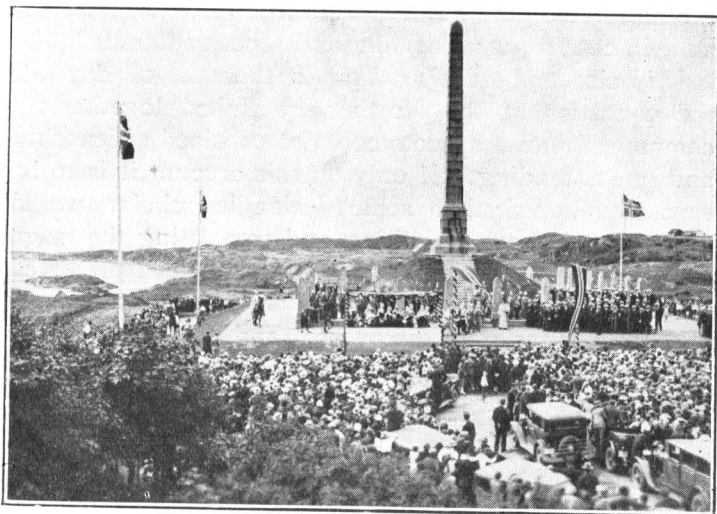
The following chapters relate the happenings in Russia and the strife between Yaroslav and Sviatopolk; here every word gives us some precious details as to the customs and usages of the time, and I should like to warmly recommend these to every student of the Viking-period. The English reader will meet here at every turn names and persons familiar from Saint Olaf's saga and the saga of Harald the Stern. Eymund and his companions are entertained at Yaroslav's court by his queen Ingigerd, daughter of Olaf the Swede, and

what she is eager to learn is about her former lover Olaf of Norway; and the mutual friendship of hostess and guests to Olaf supplies the first links of sympathy. The wilful Ingigerd and the book-loving Yaroslav are living before the reader's eyes, and Ingigerd (of this saga) in particular is quite like to the girl-Ingigerd of Olaf's saga. Thus, to the viking Eymund life in Russia offered the same adventures as anywhere in the west, but the reader will perhaps have noticed with some surprise, that Russia of the days of Yaroslav not only was for him a Gardaríke, *i.e.*, a land of towns, as distinct to his own land of communes or fylke, but a kind of a promised land where riches were to be won or bartered, and, in case of need, asylum and security found.

It is also to be noticed how in these far-off days all the countries of the North were linked together by common interest, by common ties of blood, friendship and understanding. If only on this account it is to be earnestly hoped that some Icelandic scholar would undertake the task of editing and translating that saga into English. The text of that saga has been preserved to us in the same Flateyjarbók, where the Faereyinga and Jarla sagas were discovered, and that may add an additional interest to the English reader and the members of the Viking Society in particular.

MILLENARY CELEBRATION OF THE DEATH OF KING HARALD HAIRFAIR, 933.

AT the Annual Dinner of the Viking Society held in Claridge's Hotel, London, on November 17th, 1933, the MINNI toast to the departed Vikings, with special reference to King Harald Hairfair, was to have been proposed by Mrs. Erling Monsen, who was unfortunately unable to attend.

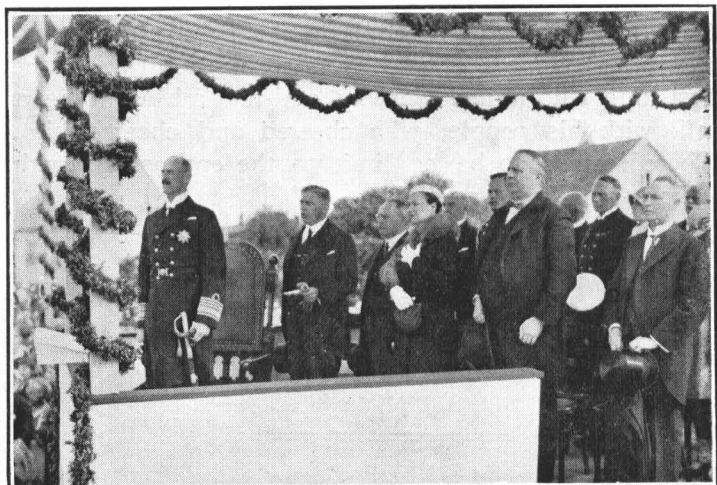


Harald's Howe, Haugesund.

The following is what Mrs. Monsen had intended to say regarding Harald :—

“I will now speak of the great Norse king Harald Hairfair. A millenium was celebrated this summer in Norway in memory of his death in 933—a thousand years ago. He was buried at Haugar near the little town of Haugesund on the West Coast of Norway.

Harald Hairfair was a remarkably gifted king in many ways—strong, brave and ambitious—and it is doubtful whether any other Norse king wielded a greater influence in the North. He conquered the whole of Norway and was the first king to unite the land under one ruler. But thousands of people would not submit to his rule and they left the country. So serious did the emigration become, that Harald was forced to



King Haakon (left), Mrs. and Mr. Erling Monsen (3rd and 4th from left).

forbid people to leave the land except with his permission. It was of course in his reign that Rolf the Ganger and his adherents left Norway and settled in the north of France.

The millenium celebrations took place at Haugesund on July 17th, 1933, and King Haakon, who wished to be present, came round the coast from Oslo in a war-ship. I only wish he could have come in one of the old Viking ships!

My husband and myself had the honour of being invited, and we laid a wreath on Harald Hairfair's burial howe on behalf of the Viking Society. This little gesture was greatly appreciated by everybody, and the Committee at Haugesund has asked us to convey its sincerest thanks to the Viking Society for having taken part in the celebrations. There were about seventeen thousand people gathered around the Howe where the old King is buried, and it was a glorious sight to see King Haakon—a modern Viking King—standing 6ft. 3in. talking to his people in the most informal and charming manner. There he stood by the grave of the first king who united Norway, and had a heart to heart talk with his people, who cheered and cheered him. There seemed to be no limit to the enthusiasm with which the King was welcomed."

REVIEWS.

OUR FOREFATHERS: THE GOTHONIC NATIONS. By GUDMUND SCHÜTTE.
Vol. II. Cambridge: University Press. Pp. xvi., 482. 20 maps.
30s.

If Dr. Schütte's book is primarily a work of reference, it is, like many reference books, a store-house of facts which is interesting wherever it is opened, but it may also be read through from beginning to end as a connected narrative. The first volume was published four years ago, but the second is complete in itself, and can be used independently. It forms a survey and classification of all the Germanic nations and tribes, with evidence as to their relationships, homes and journeyings derived from history, archaeology, architecture, philology, place- and personal-names, and epic legend. The author's chief aim 'has been to provide a methodical framework, showing how the detailed information expected in an ethnic manual *should be arranged*.' Naturally the framework is filled in in very varying fulness, for in certain directions research has been but scanty, while in others there has been an over-abundance of investigation, with its resulting mass of literature, of good, bad or indifferent quality, among which the author has had to make his choice. He has been wise and successful in presenting the main facts as simply as possible, sometimes leaving their interpretation to the reader, sometimes discussing the problems involved (especially in controversial points which he has himself investigated) with due fairness to both sides.

The usual division among the Germanic tribes (the term *Gothonic* seems to the present writer, as well as to many others, no improvement on *Germanic*) is into North Germanic, West Germanic and East Germanic. In the main Schütte follows this, but he is careful to make it clear that though in the case of North and of East Germanic a linguistic unity is paralleled by a certain amount of political or cultural connection, the West Germanic group of peoples is bound together by similarity of language only; there is no historical or other evidence, from any period, for a 'West Gothic commonwealth or common political action.' Further, the author distinguishes strictly the German-Dutch from the North-West Gothic sub-group (Saxon and Frisian, and later Anglo-Saxon in England), and adds as a separate group, intermediate between West and North Gothic, the branches originally established in the Jutlandic peninsula: Angles, Jutes, Teutones and Cimbri, Eudoses, Wendle. So that his sub-groups actually number five: (1) Gothic or East Gothic; (2) German-Dutch or South Gothic; (3) North-West Gothic; (4) The peninsula sub-group; (5) Scandinavian or North Gothic.

Owing to the comparatively short period of history to be covered,

the East Gothic group is dismissed in sixty-three pages, though by no means lightly dismissed. Here we seem to have an unmistakable early unity of speech, civilisation and creed, though the political history of the sub-divisions soon diverges. These sub-divisions are not all clear, and are given only tentatively. The Goths as a whole played an important part in the Migration Age, and traces of them are still to be found in place-names from the Crimea to the Iberian peninsula. The Goths proper, and also the Burgundians, contribute many well-known figures to Germanic epic literature.

In dealing with the West Germanic linguistic sub-group, Schütte, though to some extent opposing German-Dutch to Saxon-Frisian, makes it clear that besides the often-quoted resemblances between Anglo-Saxon and Frisian, there are divergencies which are difficult of explanation if a Saxon-Frisian linguistic unity is assumed; he would prefer to keep each of the four branches apart as separate sub-groups. An early German-Dutch unity is, however, fairly easily acceptable. Within this group Schütte places the following branches: Erminionic, Swabians (Germans proper), Marcomanni, Varistae, Langobards, Ermundures (Thuringians), Franks, Marsi, German Saxons. In these, as in the later sections, the character of local types of farm-houses often contributes interesting additions to the evidence afforded by other types of information.

In the chapters on the North-West Gothic sub-group, the account of the Anglo-Saxon settlement in England is a useful summary, but suffers from (perhaps necessary) compression. The author follows Thurlow Leeds in believing the main attack to have come through East Anglia, and he agrees with Zachrisson and Foord that a considerable Celtic element survived among the population. The predominating influence among the settlers he takes to have been Saxon.

The Scandinavian sub-group has a long, more-or-less common history, though here we have as many distinct sub-divisions as elsewhere. The chief are the Erulian, Danish, Gautic, Gotlandic, Svionic, and Norwegian branches. It is apparently possible to trace the Germanic peoples in Scandinavia since the time of the Bronze Age, and it is also possible that in certain parts the continuity of development can be shown to have been unbroken since the Megalithic Age. The latter has left no traceable mark on the Place-names of the Scandinavian countries, but the areas of Norway which contain the principal Bronze-Age settlements are marked by a striking number of the most archaic type of simple (uncompounded) tribal and river names; the same is true of South Jutland.

A good many controversial points are dealt with in this part of the volume, such as that which concerns the origin of the Danes: where they indigenous to Zealand, or did they immigrate thither from Sweden? Schütte inclines to the former alternative. It is

interesting to find that Schütte leans to the theory that the *Gæats* of *Beowulf* were Jutes and not Gautar; this section, however, is not very convincing.

The book is illustrated by a number of maps, which are presumably as clear as various types of hatching can make them. A list of abbreviations is combined with a bibliography. There is an index, which might have been fuller. In a book in which each section has to be moderately complete in itself, there is necessarily a certain amount of repetition. There are very rarely contradictory statements (e.g., two etymologies for *Surrey*, pp. 33 and 231). Remarkably few misprints occur, though they appear occasionally in names, e.g., *Pond* for *Pound* (p. 275), *Mulcester* for *Mulcaster* (p. 274). Dr. Schütte is to be congratulated on having completed a notable task, and having produced a book to be kept constantly at one's elbow—an *ænlic earl-gestealla*!

M. S. S.

HEIMSKRINGLA, OR THE LIVES OF THE NORSE KINGS. Edited, with Notes, by ERLING MONSEN, and translated into English with the assistance of A. H. Smith. 8vo. pp. xxxviii.+770. *Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons* (1932). 18s. net.

There was undoubtedly room for a new translation of the greatest of Icelandic historical writings. Samuel Laing's, available in Nos. 717 and 847 of *Everyman's Library*, was originally published in 1844, and was based on Aal's Norwegian version; and Morris and Magnússon's, which appeared in Vols. III.—VI. of the *Saga Library* (1893-1905) has not found much favour with those who know the original. Icelandic studies are deeply indebted to Morris, but his very individual style has not proved a good model for subsequent translators. Snorri is no more quaint or naïve than Chaucer; he is in fact one of the few greatest prose writers of the world, and it is no business of a translator to get between him and the public. Mr. Monsen and Dr. Smith have happily adopted a sound workmanlike style with few archaisms or dialectal words. It is a pity, however, that they have used the modern Norwegian forms of Old Norse names (e.g., *Tjodolv* of *Krin*); this has led at least one competent critic to the quite unjustified conclusion that their translation is based on Storm's Dano-Norwegian version. Their translation is in general faithful, but they have not in every case caught the precise meaning of the Icelandic.

A few examples taken from the episode of the *Jómsvíkingar* will serve:—

At p. 140 "Thorkel the High" should be "Thorkel the Tall."

At p. 141 *faðir* [circa *Búa* is strictly not "father of Bui," but "father of Bui and his brother (Sigurd, mentioned a little earlier)."

At p. 144 "one and a half hundred ships" is explained in a foot-

note as 160. This must be a slip, for the different totals amount to 180 (i.e., a long hundred of 120 and a half of that).

At p. 148 *reiddi sik til fallz i strenginum* is "threw himself forward tethered as he was," not "on the rope."

It should be added that this work includes a good many chapters not translated by Morris and Magnússon nor edited in Finnur Jónsson's *Heimskringla*.

A few additions and corrections to the notes on the first part of the translation are appended:—

At p. 22 a reference to B. Nerman's work on the early history of the kings of Sweden is desirable.

At p. 36 it might have been mentioned that the Oseberg ship was probably the resting-place of Queen Asa.

At p. 60 a reference might have been made to H. Prentout's *Essai sur les origines et la fondation du Duché de Normandie* (Paris, 1911).

At p. 64 *Rinansey* is of course *North Ronaldsay*; at p. 153 *Rognvaldzey* is rightly noted as *South Ronaldsay*.

At p. 80 it is said that "*Grimsby*, now in Lincolnshire, was at that time in Lindsey." Grimsby is of course a borough, but geographically it is in the Parts of Lindsey, the northernmost of the three divisions of Lincs.

At p. 87 *McPherson* (better *Macpherson*) is certainly not "the son of Per or Pehr," but "the son of the parson."

At p. 99 the Manx House of *Keys* is most improbably connected with O.N. *kjósa*.

At pp. 139-140 it should have been noted that the dragon, the bird, the bull and the hill-giant who successively repel Harold's wizard from the coast of Iceland are the *fylgjur* of the four local worthies mentioned immediately after. One of these is Tord gelli (*Pórðr gellir*), whose bye-name, usually rendered in English "the yellor" (e.g., in E. R. Eddison's *Egil's Saga*), means "bull"—originally "the bellowor."

At p. 182 the text illustration of the Long Serpent does not correspond with the description of the vessel.

At p. 188 O.N. *heppinn* has survived in the Lincolnshire dialectal *heppen*, "deft."

At p. 192 it is most improbable that Tyrker, who was a German, "spoke in Turkish."

At p. 206 it is odd to say that 'þ' and 'ð' do not exist any longer in the modern Scandinavian languages; they are still used in Icelandic.

At p. 210 the first element of the word translated "blood bowls" is *blót*, 'sacrifice,' rather than *blóð*, 'blood.'

At pp. 227-8 a reference might have been made to Margaret Ashdown's *English and Norse Documents relating to the reign of*

Ethelred the Unready. Her breakdown in health has been a great loss to Old Norse studies in this country.

The book is splendidly produced, with five maps, eight half-tone plates (including three of the Gokstad Ship, three of the Oseberg Ship, and a page from the *Flateyjarbók*) and text illustrations on almost every page. These cuts, the work of several distinguished Norwegian artists, have more than average merit, but most of them have already been reproduced in the Norwegian and Swedish translations of the *Heimskringla*, and a larger number of half-tone plates of Viking Age antiquities and Romanesque architecture and sculpture (for the latter see *L' Art Vivant* for 15 Dec., 1930) would have been more welcome. Also while three early maps of Iceland, which only comes incidentally into the story, are reproduced, there is no satisfactory map of Norway. But when so much is given for so little money it were ungracious to ask for more. Mr. Monsen and Dr. Smith deserve well of all who are interested in Icelandic literature and in the early history of Norway.

Leeds.

BRUCE DICKINS.

THE HISTORY OF PIRACY. By PHILIP GOSSE. *London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932.* Pp. xvi., 349, with illustrations and maps. 15s. net.

We are not accustomed to think of the Vikings as buccaneers. For us their historical importance and the colonies and kingdoms they founded overshadow their raiding exploits. There is no doubt at all, however, that in the ninth century the rest of the world regarded them as most murderous buccanners. Mr. Gosse has naturally not been able to devote much space to them, and does not attempt to divide them into nationalities, calling them all "Norsemen." It is not clear why he defines their dominions as extending "from the River Tweed to the Straits of Messina," leaving out some of their most important and historic kingdoms. His reference to Turgeis' action in allowing his wife, Aud, to give audience as a pagan priestess at Clonmacnois misses the point, for it was this action that provoked the Irish beyond endurance and led to the death of Turgeis at the hands of Maelseachlin. For the rest the book is a comprehensive and very interesting account of the pirates of all ages and places, and will be a useful book of reference.

E. L.

THE KENSINGTON STONE. A study in pre-Columbian American history. By HJALMAR R. HOLAND. *Ephraim, Wis., Privately printed, 1932.* Pp. 316, 34 plates and illustrations. 3 dollars 50c. net.

It is strange that an archæological find of so much importance as the Kensington Stone should be so little known in England. The Stone, which bears a Runic inscription, was discovered under an

aspen tree and firmly held by its roots, in 1898 by Mr. Ohman, a farmer of Kensington in western Minnesota. The inscription was not deciphered for several years, when Mr. Holand succeeded in that task. He read the nine lines on the face of the stone as follows :—

8 göter ok 22 norrmen på opdagelsefard fro winland of west
wi hade läger wed 2 skjar en dags rise norr fro theno sten
wi war ok fiske en dagh äptir wi kom hem fan 10 man röde
af blod og ded AVM fräelse af illy

and the three lines on the edge as :—

har 10 mans we hawet at se äptir wore skip 14 dagh rise från
theno öh ahr 1362

which he has translated,“(We are) 8 Goths (Swedes) and 22 Norwegians on (an) exploration-journey from Vinland over the West. We had camp by 2 skerries one day’s-journey north from this stone. We were (out) and fished one day. After we came home (we) found 10 (of our) men red with blood and dead. Ave Virgo Maria, save (us) from evil.

(We) have ten of our party by the sea to look after our ships 14 days’-journey from this island. Year 1362”

His interpretation was at once impugned on several grounds. It was declared that many of the characters were not true runes, that the language was a mixture of Old Norse, Swedish and English, that no Norsemen were known to have been in Vinland or any part of America in 1362, that an expedition of that time would not be composed jointly of Swedes and Norwegians, that there could not be skerries one day’s journey north of the stone or the sea 14 days’ journey distant, since Kensington lies over 2,000 miles from the Atlantic, and that finally the Kensington district was largely populated by Scandinavian immigrants, some of whom probably cut the stone and buried it. The stone was actively discussed for years in Scandinavian-American papers of the Middle West and also in Scandinavia, and many authorities admitted that it was very difficult to explain away, while some declared it genuine. In the present book Mr. Holand sets out the results of 25 years’ investigation into all the problems raised by the inscription. He has found facts or probabilities which seem to corroborate every word of it and to reveal a story of romantic interest.

In 1355 King Magnus Eriksson of Norway and Sweden sent out a strong expedition to Greenland under Paul Knutsson, mainly with the object of recalling to the Church those Greenlanders who had become heathens. Mr. Holand recalls that in 1342 Ivar Bardsen found the Western Settlement deserted, and explains this by a statement in Bishop Gisli Oddson’s Annals (written in 1637) that in 1342 the inhabitants of Greenland fell away from the true faith and

turned to the people of America. Knutsson would therefore have to cross to America after the apostates. At any rate, his expedition did not return to Norway until 1363 or 1364. King Magnus was one of the Folkungs, a West Gothland family, and therefore the men of his bodyguard, whom he expressly ordered Knutsson to take with him, would be Goths, and would be accompanied by some of Magnus's Norwegian subjects. This would also account for the mixed language and localized runes of the inscription; and Mr. Holand has found a late mediæval prototype for every word, letter and numeral in it. Failing to find the emigrants in Vinland, which Mr. Holand places south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Knutsson cruised north, eventually sailing into the southern waters of Hudson's Bay. There a number of men, leaving 10 men to mind their ships, went up the Nelson River, along the Red River, and finally reached Kensington. American physiographers believe that the site on which the stone was found, a hill still surrounded by marshy land, was once an island, as described by the inscription. The skerries could not be found "one day's journey north from this stone" until somebody suggested that *days rise* stood for the sailing term *døgr* or *dags sigling*, which is about 75 modern miles. Accordingly search was made, and two likely skerries were found in Cormorant Lake, some 76 miles north of the stone. More, there were found in boulders at the edge of the lake some holes, evidently bored with steel instruments a long time ago, which seemed to have been made to take mooring-rings. This interpretation of *dagh rise* also and alone would explain the statement that men were watching the party's ships 14 days' journey away, for the mouth of the Nelson River, the nearest point of the sea, is over 1,000 miles distant. The age of the tree in the roots of which the stone was found was determined, and left no doubt that the stone must have been under it since 1850 at latest. The weathering of the inscription itself has convinced geologists and epigraphists that it cannot be less than 100 years old, and therefore was cut long before any Scandinavian colonist reached those parts. The stone might well have found its way to Kensington from some place near the eastern seaboard, carried by superstitious Indians. Even this, however, Mr. Holand will not admit, and in support of his argument adduces some finds which are almost as surprising as the stone itself, viz., four Scandinavian axes of mediæval type, one Scandinavian spearhead and a Scandinavian fire-steel, all, except the spearhead, found within fifty miles of Kensington. With these weapons is associated a theory (which Mr. Holand does not, however, stress) that the men of the Kensington stone were ancestors of the Mandan Indians, whose religion, civilization and fair complexion seem to indicate a European origin for them.

In putting forward this plausible and very valuable explanation of the inscription, Mr. Holand has shown not only remarkable learn-

ing but a scholarly impartiality and a closeness of reasoning which deserve all praise. His theories about the life of the Norse Greenlanders and their frequent visits to the American continent are especially shrewd and illuminating. His belief about the Mandan Indians is not likely to be correct, for the Kensington Stone men were few, and ten of them had already been killed by the Indians (Sioux probably). The strongest argument in favour of his thesis is the great improbability—one might almost say impossibility—of any forger possessing the quite exceptional knowledge of Greenland history, of the by-ways of runology and of Swedish mediæval dialect which the cutter of the inscription must have possessed, since in 1898 no Scandinavian scholar knew enough to decipher it, and yet every word of it has now been corroborated in a manner which has satisfied some of the greatest authorities, though it has left others unconvinced. The weakest points in the story are the circumstantial and dramatic nature of the inscription itself, entirely different from the rather stereotyped content of all known runic inscriptions, the great distance of Kensington from the sea, and the mediæval axes. Long after 1362 the early French explorers and the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, even when they were on good terms with the Indians and knew something of the country, took sixty years to penetrate so far inland. Nor is it at all likely that Knutsson's men would reckon their exhausting journeys over very difficult country and by waterways full of rapids in terms of *dogr*. *Dags* rise simply means "a day's journey," probably not more than 20 modern miles. The Nelson River cannot be regarded as "west"

Vinland, unless we place Vinland much further north than Mr. Holand or anyone else has ever placed it. Indeed, it is not at all likely that Knutsson would, or could, make the long voyage up to Hudson's Strait and down into the Bay. If, therefore, the Stone is genuine, its original site must have been somewhere in the eastern provinces. The axes and the fire-steel would inspire more confidence if they had been found scattered over the continent, or near the sea, or along the Nelson River, instead of in a country populated by Scandinavian immigrants and not far from the stone. Mr. Holand has been careful not only to secure affidavits from all the persons concerned in the finding of the Stone and of the axes but to clear Sven Fogelblad and other immigrants from the charges made against them of cutting the inscription and "planting" the Stone. Since no Scandinavian immigrant arrived there before 1864 and nobody seems to have realized, or indeed could realize until after the Stone was found, that the place where it was found had once been an island, these immigrants can hardly be suspected. It is unfortunate, however, that most of the affidavits were taken several years after the finding of the Stone, when the memories of those who swore them were not as clear as they should be. And the

mediæval weapons must lie under the suspicion of having been imported to support the story told by the Stone.

It is, of course, possible that the Scandinavians cut and left in North America several rune-stones. But one with an inscription so exceptional and so dramatic as that on the Kensington Stone must be regarded with grave suspicion, especially in these days when the Glozel forgeries are still fresh in our memory. And the fact, admitted by Mr. Holand, that it would have taken the fugitive and desperate Norsemen two whole days to cut the inscription, goes far towards proving that they did not cut it. But who did, if not they? Mr. Holand's fair and cogent reasoning and his careful yet imaginative handling of his facts will, however, fascinate his readers, whether they are interested in Norse history and the discovery of America or not. While his subject is of the greatest historical importance, his book is more exciting than many a detective story.

E. L.

VIKING KNIGHTS, A TALE OF THE PAGAN NORTH. By MAURICE P. DUNLAP.
Edinburgh: *The Moray Press*, 1933. Pp. 308 [Illustrated. 8s. 6d. net.

This book is the life of St. Olaf, King of Norway, and his 'Knights,' founded on Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, and other sources, and written in the form of an historical novel. The author is the American Consul in Dundee, who has personally visited the various scenes of St. Olaf's romantic and chequered career—his boyhood at Ringerike, viking raid in Sweden, cruise to England, when he assisted the English in taking London Bridge from the Danes, visit to Normandy, return to Norway, where he was accepted as king, his broils with the Swedish king and marriage to his daughter, baptism of his illegitimate son Magnus, defiance of Canute, defeat and flight to Sweden and Russia, return to Norway, defeat and death at Stiklestad and subsequent popular beatification.

The illustrations are good and interesting, showing the scenes of St. Olaf's boyhood and exploits, including works of modern artists and sculptors. But the map has the viking ship with its flag flying against the wind, and with its helm on the larboard instead of the starboard side. The author does well in apparently giving us a warning by the illustration of the modern Shetlandic representation of a viking ship (which is now used in a modern perversion of an old Scotch Yule festival¹), which includes warriors with imaginary theatrical winged helmets which the vikings never wore. The ship is now burned instead of a tar-barrel as formerly, and the ceremony has been actually mistaken by unwary antiquaries as an old Norse sur-

¹ *Uphelli day, uphellya*, a Scotch forensic term for the end of the Christmas holiday, when the old custom of "the burning of the clavier" took place, in which a blazing tar barrel was carried in procession with the object of ensuring a successful fishing season.

vival, instead of a modern caricature of a Scotch custom—the viking ship having been first introduced, as late as 1889, to take the place of the tar-barrel.

The suggestion (p. 306) that: “*Skot-land* means, in the old Norse, *tax* (or *treasure*) land—the Vikings found both tax and treasure in Scotland,” does not accord with the fact that the Irish were called *Scotti* in Latin of the 4th century; that Adamnan, *circa* 700, called Ireland and the Irish, *Scotia*, *Scoti*, and the Scots (Irish), of *Dal-riada*, etc. *Scoti Britanniæ*; and that the Scots (Irish) colonised Alban, which was afterwards called Scotland, before the vikings arrived. The derivation of the Latin *Scotti* is unknown.

The story is told in a straightforward and homely style which should appeal to the general reader and create a much needed popular interest in the history and antiquities of the Viking north. The book is sumptuously got up and illustrated.

NORTHMEN OF ADVENTURE. By CHARLES MARSHALL SMITH. *Longmans, Green and Co., London*, 1932. Pp. vii., 389. 8 plates and 3 maps. 16s. net.

This is a book intended for the general reader, but it is at the same time a vehicle for the statement of a thesis, and, as is usual, in such instances, both reader and thesis are treated very badly. We must pay tribute, however, to the author's obvious enthusiasm and energy, and to his courageous attempt to persuade us that the vikings were really a very important people. ‘Dominant’ is Mr. Smith's word for them, and he makes it the key-note of his book. Aryan and Nordic—no praise is too high for anything to which we can affix these dominating labels, and when we find that it is the Vikings who were ‘the dominant people of a dominant race,’ then we are indeed prepared for the majestic parade of their virtues with which Mr. Smith faithfully entertains us. It is hard to find anything wrong with these clean-limbed gentlemanly heroes, and in this enervating atmosphere of luscious praise our saga-friends are strangely—and to my mind unpleasantly—transfigured; but Mr. Smith certainly contrives to make the best of his case, and I should be very sorry to have to try to dispel what is clearly the dominant idea in his mind. The Greenland tragedy, for instance, must just be written off as an example of that rare misfortune, the victory of environment over dominance; for one of the rules is that you must not on any account blame a dominant people for the disasters that befall them.

On the principle that careers are a key to industry, the book begins with an account of a dominant Icelandic of the 12th–13th century, and then takes us back to Odin, the prototype of the Northmen. There is an accompanying sketch of the pre-history of the north, and an attempt to endorse the view that Odin was the leader

of "a gifted people from the South who superimposed their culture on the North" and introduced the domineering strain into the mental make-up of the north-dwellers. This matter, as handled by Mr. Smith, is so many pages wasted, since he does not make any use at all of proper archæological method, and gives no adequate account of the Iron Age in Scandinavia, without which the discussion of culture-contacts in the period becomes absurd. We pass on to an account of the Ynglings and Skjoldings, an essay on the origin of what Mr. Smith calls 'Vikingism,' and then to the main body of the book, which is entitled a 'Viking Who's Who.' This section (starting with Hengist and Horsa, and including Alfred the Great) adroitly succeeds in covering the chief events in Viking history, and includes many attractive sketches and tales well told. But there is a wealth of curious detail, and, as one reads, one gains the impression that in Mr. Smith's view 'dominant' sources are not to be subjected to the rigours of criticism. The book concluded with a bibliography of works in English. It is also illustrated by three useful maps and a set of plates, that include pictures of some of the most preposterous and depressing statues I have ever seen. Most of us know the difficulties of illustrating a history book, but few of us would dare so openly to give the lie to our text as does Mr. Smith when he shows us Harald Fairhair (opp. p. 144) and Olaf the Stout (p. 208) as two urbane nonentities who do not look as though, even together, they could successfully dominate a kindergarten.

T. D. KENDRICK.

EDDA AND SAGA. By BERTHA S. PHILLPOTTS, D.B.E., Litt.D. (*Home University Library. Thornton Butterworth, Limited.* Pp. 256. 1931. 2/6).

Dame Bertha Phillpotts's compact yet rich study of the heroic literature of the North is, we now know, itself an heroic work: like Gisli's, her last stroke was no weaker than those which went before. This book gives the necessary facts and conveys the spirit at the same time, with a scholarship equalled by its liveliness and humanity. How just, for example, it is to illustrate the pattern of scaldic verse by a stanza celebrating the prowess of a cricketer! (Though the 3rd and 4th lines have surely been transposed by the printer). Harald Hadrada would certainly have added cricket to his other accomplishments if he had lived nine hundred years later: the stanza is as appropriate in subject as it is humorous in effect. And with this quickness and liveliness there is too, when there is need for it, a noble expression of the "sense of the splendour of human life and its high obligations," particularly in chapters III. and IV. and in the chapters on the sagas. There is a world of significance in one quiet remark: "None of the subjects of the bio-

graphical sagas is a successful man, or has the kind of life selected by a modern biographer." It is a change not for the better which is found in such later sagas as that of Fritiof, where "the test of goodness is success."

Dame Bertha's own criticism is followed by an annotated List of Works Cited and an annotated Bibliography. Any student who worked through these, as well as her survey, would be well equipped for further research.

EDITH C. BATHO.

London.

OLA THE RUSSIAN. By NICHOLAS SIZE. Pp. 288. London: F. Warne and Co., 1933. 7/6 net.

Ola the Russian is no other than Olaf Trygvesson, whose life Mr. Size has here retold, with imaginative embellishments and additions wherever the historical version is thin or leaves gaps. The author has kept very close to the saga, and where he has expanded the tale he has generally done so with knowledge and judgment. He has utilized to the full Olaf's adventures in Lancashire and Cheshire to introduce the scenery and ancient customs of a country and people which he knows particularly well; and the chapters 'The Great Fight in Barnston Vale' and 'Seven Kings on the Dee' are among the best in the book and give the reader a very good idea of the relations of the Saxons, Norwegians and Danes with each other in England at the end of the tenth century. It is a pity, however, that no dates are given; they would not injure the book as a historical romance. Olaf, of course, is made one of the seven (or was it eight?) Kings who rowed King Edgar to Chester Castle. On page 38 the author puts forward some novel theories about the Ynglingar. He writes: "In the seventh century the pressure of the Swedes behind them and the tales of the luxuriant lands of the West led the whole nation of the Yngli to cross the North Sea to the British Isles; and here they were so well received that in a short time they spread over the whole country, even as far as the most remote island, still called Anglesey. It was their language which was adopted, and it was by their name that the larger part of the British Isles came to be known; also it was their ideas about religion, truth, and fair play which came to be adopted by the nation at large. Their clear view of religion eventually created Protestantism" Nevertheless the book, which is written in an easy, picturesque style, makes excellent reading and is to be commended as one which will popularize among English children the life of a great Norwegian warrior and Christian.

E. LYNAM

CELTIC ORNAMENT IN THE BRITISH ISLES DOWN TO A.D. 700. By E. T. LEEDS, M.A., F.S.A., Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. *Oxford, at the Clarendon Press*, 1933. 9in. x 5½in., pp. xix., 170, 40 figures and 3 coloured plates. Price 12/6 net.

This is the only systematic and archaeologically critical account of pagan Celtic art in Britain that exists, and we are fortunate in having Mr. Leeds as the author of a book so urgently needed by what is now a considerable body of students. Its vigorous style and courageous outlook mark it at once as a work of exceptional merit, and those who know Mr. Leeds, a respected leader of archaeological thought in this country, will not need to be told that it is also an amazingly thorough and extremely useful survey of the material. Mr. Leeds' subject is that first expression of Celtic art which we find in British antiquities of the *la Tène* period, and though he discusses the decline of this art during the centuries of Roman rule and its revival after the close of the Roman period, his main content is the extraordinary assembly of late *la Tène* bronzes which forms one of the chief ornaments of our insular archaeology. These splendid objects, often gaily enamelled and illustrating both in modelling and incised design those rolling flamboyant curves that are the hall-mark of *la Tène* art, form in sum a collection of masterpieces that the continent cannot rival. The Battersea and Witham shields, the mirrors from Birdlip and Desborough, the famous horned helmet from the Thames, the Torrs champfrein, and the engraved sword-scabbards from Yorkshire and Ireland, are only a few among many objects in our museums of such remarkable beauty that it is very difficult to understand why we have had to wait so long for a competent account of the art and archaeology that they represent. Perhaps one reason is that there are few subjects more likely to involve the author at once in the storm and excitements of controversy; but Mr. Leeds is a hardened and trusty campaigner, skilled in both attack and defence, and few would have fought their way through to the finish with such valour and adroitness as he displays. Knowing well the difficulties of this little-understood period, he would be the last to ask us to accept his book as an infallible guide to early Celtic art; he has every reason, however, to expect our gratitude for a painstaking and most informative survey, brilliantly conceived and abundantly illustrated, which will for a very long time mark art the only path available for those who would follow him upon this same adventurous journey.

T. D. KENDRICK.

THE CLAUGHTON HALL BROOCHES.

By T. D. KENDRICK, M.A., F.S.A.

THE discovery of a viking's grave at Claughton Hall, near Garstang, Lancashire, took place in 1822.¹ The site was a low mound of sand about half a mile to the east of the main road between Preston and Lancaster at a distance of 10 miles north of Preston,² and this mound in all probability was a Bronze Age barrow, since the finds included a stone axe-hammer (now at Claughton Hall) of a well-known Bronze Age type, and a cinerary urn (now lost) containing burnt bones. As the discovery was accidental and the finds were not immediately collected, and as many years had passed before a report was published, we need not trouble about the failure to see that the Viking Period remains belonged to a secondary burial,³ and it suffices now to note that all that is left to-day at Claughton Hall of the contents of the coffin containing the viking are two tortoise-brooches, a silver-gilt and nielloed ornament made to serve as a brooch, and two glass beads. The present owner of them, however, Major J. Fitzherbert-Brockholes, whose kindness leaves us deeply indebted to him, recently sent this small collection to the British Museum, where the brooches were cleaned, much to their advantage, and with his permission subsequently exhibited in the Iron Age Gallery for a short period (Aug.-Nov., 1934). I now publish the photographs that were taken after treat-

¹ *Arch. Journ.* VI. (1849), p. 74; cf. *V. C. H. Lancs. I.*, p. 261.

² The find was made during the construction of New Lane, Claughton-on-Brock, and the mound has completely disappeared.

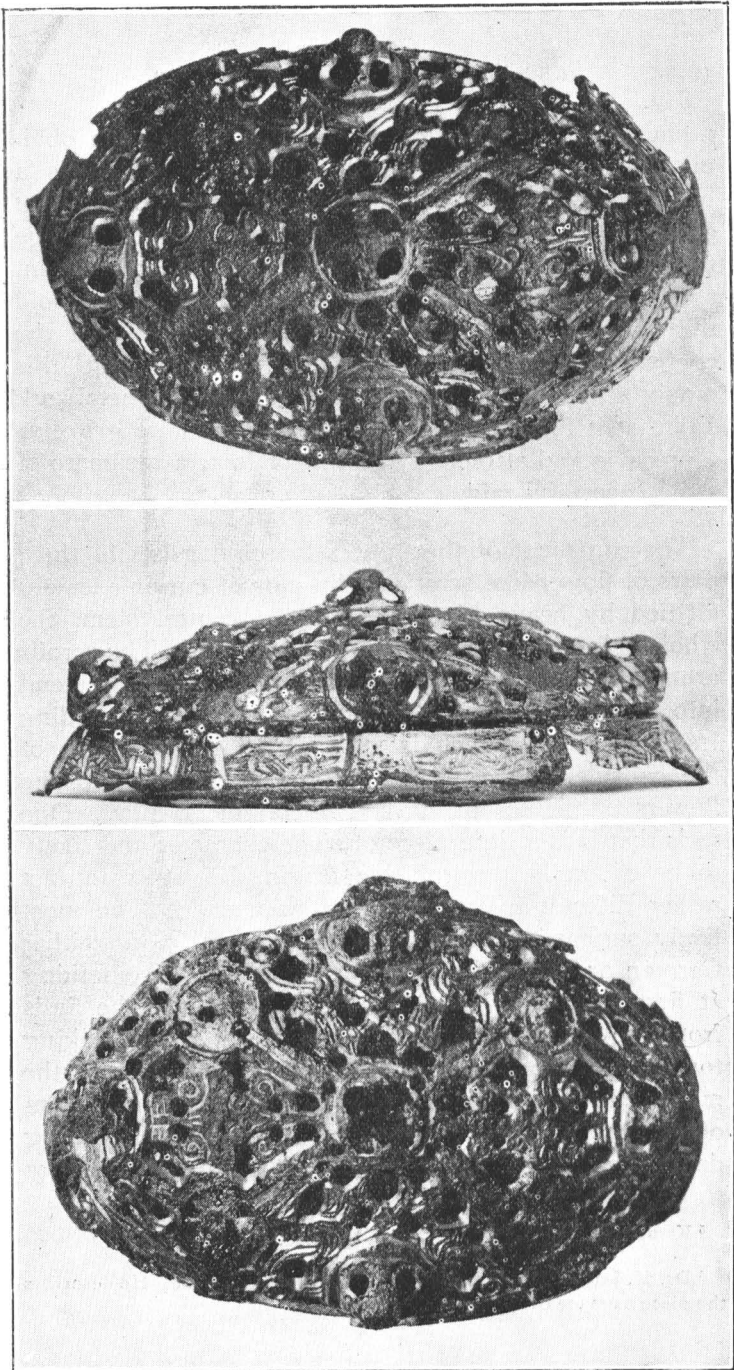
³ Cf. my remarks *Trans. S.-E. U. S. S.* 1933, p. 46.

ment in the Laboratory and before the return of the brooches to Claughton Hall, where they are now kept.

The pair of bronze-gilt tortoise-brooches (Pl. I) are of a well-known type¹ that was fashionable in the 10th century and might perhaps have been worn as early as A.D. 900. They permit us to say almost with certainty that the burial cannot be later than 950 and was very probably made before that date. They are a pair, turned out of the same mould, and they belong to the composite variety of this sort of brooch in which an openwork outer plate is fitted over an inner domed shell that is cast in one piece with the base and rim of the brooch. The outer shell rests on a rebate or step at the top of the ornamental base, and it is held in such a position that a slight space is left between it and the underlying plain dome. The cover has five openwork bosses, cast as part of it, and there were four other detachable bosses that were held in place by pins. These bosses are connected by grooved strips of metal that probably bore an ornament of cabled silver wire; they divide the field into compartments, and the four principal areas thus formed contain pairs of birds (short diameter) and grotesque masks (long diameter). They are in all respects typical personal ornaments of the Norse vikings and were undoubtedly made by them. In style they represent a purely northern and barbaric decorative idiom that had been to some extent influenced by Carolingian metalwork.

Much more interesting is the silver-gilt and nielloed capsule (Pl. II, a-c), that measures $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches in length. It is oval in shape, has a projection at one end for the reception of two fastening pins, and two other pinholes, one of which has been mutilated, in the middle of the slightly waisted sides. It is difficult to give it

¹ Cf. J. Peterson. *Vikingetidens Smykker*. Stavanger, 1928. Fig. 51b.



. Pair of 'tortoise' brooches, with side view of upper brooch, Claughton Hall, Lancs. Slightly reduced ($\times \frac{2}{3}$).

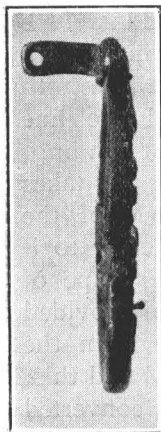
a name; but it is hollowed underneath and was obviously an ornamental mount of some kind. It is a brooch now, but that is because its viking owner had converted it into one. You can still see the flange that had been added to take the hinged end of the pin, and the two holes that were bored through it to hold the catch-plate. A glance at the ornament and the copious niello-inlay is sufficient to show that this mount was not originally a piece of viking metalwork and that it found its way into this Lancashire grave as a precious and attractive little bit of loot, a memento of some successful raid.

The ornament of the upper surface consists of three pairs of flower-like scrolls and a pair of curving leaves, all tied by heavy bindings on to a central stem, the whole being in relief against a sunken field. The scrolls are simple C-curves that expand and thicken at the end into a distinct sheath bearing two outward-bending leaves, between which is an oval petal. The edge of the capsule, the central stem and bindings, and the flowers of the scrolls have a liberal niello-inlay. One feels that it is a little piece of some character and likely to be of easily recognisable origin, but it is in fact rather difficult to say where it was made. The most likely suggestion is that it is continental work, either German or Frankish, and as a start there is something at first sight very like it to be seen among the finds from the recent excavations on the site of the Viking town of Hedeby,⁵ near the famous Danevirke and the modern town of Schleswig. This is an oval ornament of gilt white metal, perhaps originally nielloed,⁶ bearing deeply channelled spiral leaves that spring from heavy

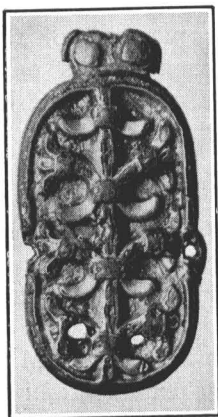
⁵ Kammergrab III/30.

⁶ Dr. H. Jahnkuhn has kindly given me this information. He describes the piece as made of silver or white bronze.

PLATE II.



a



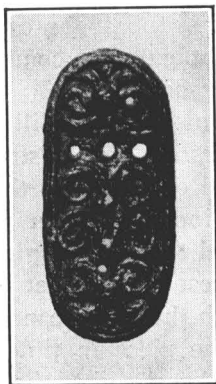
b



c



d



e

a-c Mount from Claughton Hall, Lancs. (1/1)

d Mount from Ytterdal, Norway. (1/1)

e Mount from Hedeby, nr Schleswig. (1/1)

central bindings (Pl. II, e). The decoration is cast, but it contrives to have a thin, wiry look, and we are reminded of the other material of this stringy kind studied by Friis Johansen in his paper on the 10th century Terslev find⁷ from Denmark, and the fine Carolingian filigree with its small rectangular binding-plates that inspired the Terslev work. But all this takes us a long way from the crisp, fleshy style of the Claughton Hall mount. We come a little nearer to it on two objects that do at least give us the shape of our mount, an oval form, slightly waisted and provided with lateral pin-holes. The first (Pl. II, d) is in the Ytterdal grave-group in the Bergen Museum,⁸ and this, like the Claughton Hall ornament, had been converted by the Vikings into a brooch. The second is in the Zeughaus in Berlin,⁹ and was found near Paris. Neither of these quite give us the style that we want, though the Ytterdal mount has a pattern of the same composition as the Claughton Hall piece; for they have a certain ragged foliate, as opposed to floral, quality that makes it difficult to compare them satisfactorily with our Lancashire piece. Much better for our purpose is a mount in the Villach museum, from a grave near Malestig,¹⁰ in Austria, for here we have a substantial floral design that, though crowded and complicated by the inclusion of a pair of birds, is in some measure allied to our Claughton Hall mount. It is, in fact, the nearest to it that we can get, and I regret very much that I have not been able to obtain a photograph of the piece in time for this publication. Carolingian metalwork like the Delfzijl mounts in the Friesch

⁷ Aarbøger f. nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. 1912. p. 241 ff.

⁸ Bergens Museums Aarbog. 1910. No. II., p. 33.

⁹ Riegl-Zimmerman. Spätrömische Kunst-Industrie. II. Vienna, 1923, p. 64, fig. 47.

¹⁰ Riegl-Zimmerman, op. cit. Pl. XIII, 9; p. 65.

Museum at Leeuwarden, which were found with coins of Louis the Pious (d. 840), and a fine silver strap-end at Copenhagen should perhaps be mentioned. Pieces like the superb gold and niello Moen brooch in the Oslo Museum hardly concern us, for these and the similar ornaments¹¹ depend for their effect upon the use of a flat frilly acanthus-leaf.

While there can be no doubt of the general context of the Claughton Hall piece, which we cannot help connecting with continental Carolingian design,¹² we must not lose sight of the possibility that our failure to find a satisfactory counterpart abroad to the Lancashire mount may be due to the fact that it is really English, a precious representative of the silversmith's craft in the days of King Alfred. Technically, of course, this is not improbable, as we have plenty of nielloed silver and gold of the required date; but no metalwork representing this style itself has survived, so that the attribution must remain a mere guess. It is worth while noting, however, that the back of the Alfred Jewel has a fleshy floral pattern engraved upon it that ends in a pair of C-scroll petals flanking the terminal flower, and in Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert* (written c. 937) in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, we have examples of a rich floral scroll with a pair of pecking birds, heavy rectangular bindings, and quatrefoil and

¹¹ For the Moen brooch see Rygh, *Norske Oldsager*, fig. 670. Cf. the Löländ mount (Petersen, *Vikingetidens Smykker*, fig. 132), the Muysen mount at Brussels, and the finds at Kolin near Prague (Riegl-Zimmerman, Pl. XXVII).

¹² For examples of the binding-strip in ivory-carving of c. 900 see Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen* I, 38, 161, and 163a. For a near approach to the Claughton Hall floral style in manuscript-illumination see Goldschmidt, *German Illumination* I, Pl. 9 (a 9th cent. Trèves MS.), and cf. the *Codex Aureus* of St. Emmeran (St. Denis school c. 870), e.g. A. Boinet. *La Miniature carolingienne*. Pl. CXIX. Note that one of the attendants on the 'Emperor' folio can be seen holding a sword-strap with terminal and mounts of the kind we are discussing (Boinet, Pl. CXV).

trefoil flowers that will remind us at once of the Klagenfurt mount. One may also look at the Lechmere stone and the carving just under the clock on the church tower at Barnack, Northants, for the floral work in stone. This does at least suggest that the style we are studying was practised in this country, so we may legitimately end with a rather half-hearted question as to the English origin of the Claughton Hall ornament. Perhaps some future discovery in these islands may help us to make up our minds.

A 9TH—10TH CENTURY BRONZE MOUNTING FROM YORK.

By J. D. COWEN.

IN view of a recent re-publication by Dr. Cyril Fox of the well known ninth century bone strap-end from Leicester (*Ant. Journ.* XIII. 304), it seems relevant to draw attention to a small bronze mounting in the Yorkshire museum, hitherto unnoticed (Fig. 1). It is stated to have formed part of the large hoard of Roman horse-trappings found at Fremington Hagg, near Reeth, Swaledale, with which it is at present exhibited, but the association is an impossible one and must be due to confusion. The most likely provenance is York itself, the most prolific site in this country, after London, for antiquities of the later Saxon and Viking periods.



Fig. 1. Bronze Mounting in the York Museum. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

The mounting, which is trapezoidal in outline (1.6 by 1.5 inches), is carried out in bronze in an openwork design consisting of three "lions'" masks connected by a system of plain bars. The general resemblance to the masks on the Leicester strap-end is unmistakable, but in the York piece none of the creatures has a body, nor has the acanthus been introduced into the design.

The two pieces must be about contemporary (late 9th to early 10th century), but whereas the Leicester carving with its lions and acanthus has been judged English, the little lion-heads on the bronze mounting suggest for the York piece the possibility of Scandinavian manufacture.¹ While, however, small detached animal-heads of this genus are characteristic primarily of the Scandinavian area, it is worth remembering that they appear also on a piece so unquestionably English as the seal of Ethilwald, Bishop of Dunwich²; and that the motif had a long life in this country is shown by its appearance (in a minute and debased form) on a bronze strap-end of about 1050.³ In addition, in spite of a foreign provenance, there are grounds for claiming as English the only piece which is in point of form comparable with the York mounting (see below). So that while the predominantly Scandinavian character of the ornament must be admitted, the possibility of manufacture in this country may still be kept in mind.

Three rivet-holes project from the upper edge, but of these two have been broken away; at the bottom is a flange carrying two further holes for attachment, and bent inwards through thirty degrees with reference to the plane of the remainder. So distinctive an arrangement implies a specialised purpose; but what this purpose was it is difficult to suggest. The object seems to represent an early stage in the development of a group of bronze mountings found sporadically in East Anglia, and sometimes referred to as "book-clasps," though that can hardly have been their use.⁴ In this group, which dates from the tenth and early eleventh centuries, one of the constant features is a flange at

¹ Cf. Petersen, *Vikingetidens Smykker*, figs. 79, 128.

² *British Museum Guide, Anglo-Saxon Period*, fig. 135.

³ *British Museum* (unpublished).

⁴ Typologically *B.M. Guide, ibid.* fig. 126, belongs to this group, but more characteristic are unpublished specimens in the Ashmolean, Cambridge, and Guildhall Museums.

the lower edge carrying two or more holes for attachment, and it is worth noting that the flange is frequently set at an angle to the plane of the whole.

A closer parallel still, however, comes from Denmark. Fig. 2 shows a bronze mounting with openwork design found near Gjedsted, Viborg Amt, now in the National Museum at Copenhagen. Morphologically this fragment is identical with the York piece, and it is tempting to see in it a straggler from England—an idea supported by its dissimilarity from anything else in the Copenhagen collection. The animal which forms the main

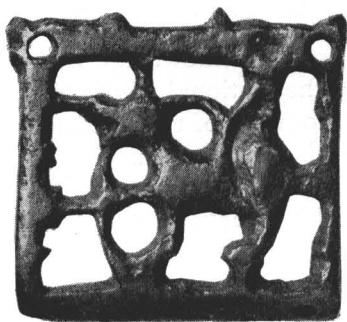


Fig. 2. Bronze Mounting from Gjedsted:
Copenhagen Museum. ($C \frac{1}{2}$.)

part of the design is itself perhaps too indistinct for recognition in either English or Danish work, but the attitude agrees better with the fanciful and almost sprightly genius of the English than with the severely formal taste of Scandinavia, and it may be that we have here an example of that rarest of all creatures in metalwork, the Anglian beast. At all events the openwork bronze technique is the same, and the form, even to the bent flange, identical. The same rivet holes appear at each of the upper corners, though more securely placed in the body of the framework; while in the flange re-appear the corresponding lower pair. This last

feature, though indistinct, may with difficulty be distinguished at the lower edge of the photograph.

In point of date one feature of the Copenhagen piece may not be without significance. In the angular ears projecting from the upper edge we may, surely, see an unintelligent reproduction of the stumps left on the model where a loop or a rivet-hole has been broken away, precisely as we see them in the York piece. Only for symmetry's sake the stumps have been spaced with a view rather to covering the ground than with any regard to their original purpose. If this suggestion is correct the mounting should date a trifle later—certainly not earlier—than the York example.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the kindness of Dr. J. Brøndsted, of the National Museum, Copenhagen, in supplying a photograph of the Gjedsted mounting, and in granting permission to publish it; and of Dr. W. E. Collinge for the like courtesy with respect to the specimen under his charge in the Yorkshire Museum, York.

GODS, SKALDS AND MAGIC.

BY PROFESSOR DR. A. G. VAN HAMEL.

TO the early Scandinavian mind order is the complement of creation. The felicitous combination of an innate respect for the individual creative act and a social consciousness that makes man accept self-restriction in the interest of the community, is essentially Nordic, and probably even Germanic. The individual must be completely free to generate in the mind, or by the action, whatever presents itself to the eye as true, noble or useful, but subsequently the result must be arranged in such a way that all receive their share of the gain. However, the complexity of modern life has constrained us to recognise that all the blessings of civilisation cannot be for all. There is no one amongst us to whom certain departments of human activity are not closed without any hope of a future revelation. Though we may regret this seclusion and ignorance, we accept them as a necessity. In the sagatime life was far less complicated, and for the majority participation in the totality was still possible. No modern nation has departed less from the old principle than the present day Icelanders, and this largely accounts for the tribute paid by strangers to their character and intelligence. One could hardly imagine any other country where it would be required of, say, a medical periodical that it should be written in a language intelligible to all, or of a university man that he should be able to mow the grass or to bind the hay. This is what is actually found in Iceland. A closer acquaintance with this wonderful country and its inhabitants reveals the astonishing fact that in much that seems obscure in the ancient literature there is nothing problematical at all. Reality solves the riddles and it was our fault to neglect the living evidence.

Scholars have worried a good deal about the Nordic conception of creation as it is expressed in the majestic overture of the Edda, the *Völuspá* or Soothsaying of the Vala. After an address to the audience, where the prophetess declares that she has in store all the world's memories from its very dawn, she proceeds to state that at the beginning of things there was Ymir, the Primitive Giant. He is a personification of Chaos; from his limbs the elements were made. The next strophe relates that some of the gods (the sons of Burr) fashioned the earth by uplifting it from the sea. Here criticism scented a contradiction. There should be either the creation from the giant's limbs or the uplifting from the water. One of the two strophes must be spurious. Fortunately, the ancient poet had a more systematical mind than the modern critic. He made the natural distinction that formed our starting-point and recorded first the creation of the elements from Ymir or Chaos, and then their arrangement by the gods. To each of these two successive acts he devoted one strophe, thus marking the equal importance of both. That this is the correct interpretation of the passage, appears from the two next strophes, where the heavenly bodies are first represented as wandering wildly along the sky, immediately after their creation, and subsequently as tamed and reduced to order by the gods, who give them names. Evidently the fundamental notion is this: although the creative act is the primary thing, order is required so that things created should become of any use. Their domestication naturally complements their creation.

Once we recognise this distinction in the conception of the material world, we can retrace it in that of the spiritual phenomena. Let us take, for instance, the art of poetry. There are numerous myths about the wonder of its origin. Snorri combined them in the opening chapter of his prose Edda. His narrative

furnishes an illustration of our point. In its opening section, *Æsir* and *Wanes*, the two divine races, mingle their spittle in a drinking vessel, and this means the creation of poetry. Evidently, like the earth from *Ymir's* limbs, it must be made from some bodily matter. Subsequently, its elements are fashioned by the gods into an anthropomorphical being, named *Kvasir*; this act must be compared to the uplifting of the earth from the sea. The parallel is manifest. It goes even farther. Poetry is raised to a higher state of perfection by dwarfs, who blend the blood of *Kvasir* with honey and thus are the first to prepare the mead of the poets. But there is the menace of the giants. They steal the mead and withhold its benefit from us, until it is won back by the gods. This recalls again the story of the world. After its creation and arrangement by the gods, it is enriched by dwarfs, the moulders of the first human forms. Then a process of gradual deterioration sets in, which leads towards a destruction of all existing things by demoniacal giants. At the end, however, there is a return of the surviving gods. As a matter of fact, there is more of a system in these creation myths than is often recognised.

Another instance of the careful distinction, made between the creation and the domestication of things, is afforded by the evolution of the runes. In the 80th strophe of the collection of gnomical poetry, called *Hávamál*, it is expressly stated that the runes were created by the gods, but carved by *Odin*.¹ The same

¹ The strophe (*Háv.*, 80) has aroused the suspicion of critics, since its alliterative system is defective :

þat er þá reynt
er at rúnum spyrr
enum reginkunnum,
þeim er góðu ginnrægin
ok fáðir fimbulþulr,
þá h-fir hann bazi, ef hann þegir.

Prof. Finnur Jónsson (*Hávamál*, København, 1924, p. 89) regards the strophe as a compilation of unrelated lines, which spoils the context, and rejects it altogether. Prof. L. F. Löffler (*Stud. i nord. Fil.*, 4, 1, pp. 84-88)

text contains another passage (st. 138) where we learn how this was achieved. The god fasts for nine days and exposes himself to the elements and thus constrains the supernatural power of the runes to capitulate. Henceforth he is their lord and they are at his will. To attain this, it was necessary to subdue them by developing a magical energy superior to theirs. If we desire to possess a thing, it is not sufficient that it should be created. It must also be tamed. The case is essentially the same as that of a new-born child, which is not received as a member of human society until water has been sprinkled over it or its hair has been cut. This interpretation of the Eddic traditions attaching to the runes receives a precious support from the runic inscription of Noleby in Sweden. It is on a grave-stone, placed by an old couple for their dead son-in-law. The man carved the runes, the woman painted them, but they were born from the gods (*runo fahi raginaku[n]ðo tojeka una þou. suhurah susih hwati i[n] hakuþo*).

There is, of course, a certain amount of inconsequence in these myths. When the act of creation has been completed, the subduing and taming of the elementary powers is ascribed to the sons of Burr or to Odin. But their creation, too, is usually represented as the work of gods. This is not what a strict reasoning would expect. If a distinction is made between the

makes an attempt at an emendation and suggests for the third line the reading *rúnum reginkunnum*, and for lines 4-5 *þeim's góðri fimbulpulr ok fōðu ginnregin*. From the present argument it follows that a similar reversion of the words deprives them of their real sense. The obvious solution is yielded by the expunction of the two lines (3 and 6) which lack the alliteration. What remains is a regular semi-strophe in *ljóðaháttir* with a repetition of the last line (*þat er þú reynt, er at rúnum spýrr, þeim er góðu ginnregin, ok fáði fimbulpulr*). As such it must be attached to the preceding st. 79, which thus becomes a strophe of ten lines, with the solemn conclusion of the repeated line. This yields a perfect sense: 'a fool who gets a lot of money or wins the love of a woman, may be honoured by his fellow-men for this reason; but, for all this, he will never possess any intellect, and he remains a dunce, as will appear as soon as you interrogate him on the subject of the divine runes.'

creative and the ordering principle, then the agents should not be identical in the two cases. However, as soon as the theistic outlook becomes predominant, it is but natural that the gods should be credited with any initiative necessary to give the world of man its present appearance. At the same time, it is not without significance that wherever they figure as the actual creators, the gods present a rather shadowy character and never assume a well-defined individuality. As the ordering and taming god, on the other hand, an individual divinity is always pointed out. This variance reflects an earlier conception, which did not yet connect the gods with any form of creation at all. In the course of time reason could not accept this blank. To the question who must be held responsible for the origin of things, the only possible answer was, of course,—the gods. But this notion, engendered by reasoning, struck only a faint note in the hearts of pagan poets and philosophers; with the less sophisticated class it probably never penetrated. In the myth of the origin of the Skaldic Mead it is only said that Æsir and Wanes, in general, mingle their spittle. Of an even more primitive character is the statement with regard to the runes that they were born from the great gods (*ginnregin*). The domesticator, however, is in both cases Odin and no one else. The original state of things has been preserved in the myth of the creation of the world. Ymir, the primitive giant, is still uncreated. Nor is there any existing tradition as to how his limbs gave birth to the elements; this transformation is not represented as a consequence of a divine effort. In this respect the testimony of three Eddic poems is quite explicit. Only the latest of these (*Grímnismál*) adds a strophe on its own account where the blessed gods build the earth out of the giant's eyelashes and make the clouds from his brain. Here the theistic conception of creation has begun to force its

way into primitive pagan philosophy. The domestication of the elementary powers, on the other hand, was regarded as the work of gods from the outset.

Theism, as an element of early Germanic pagan religion, passed through a long evolution, and it presents many aspects. Our knowledge of all this is very fragmentary indeed. However, in the group of myths under inspection there can be no doubt as to the true nature of the gods. They are the mediators between the primary powers and man. Their continual effort to tame the results of the uninterrupted parturition of the universe has the object to place everything at the disposal of the gods' human clients. This is what Odin does when he swallows the Skaldic Mead in Suttung's hall, brings it home in the disguise of an eagle, and vomits it into the vessels of the gods. Henceforth there will be no skald, truly revering his master, but can profit from the divine gift. The figure of the superhuman mediator is widely spread in religious conceptions all over the world. It arises from a very natural reasoning. The question how man became the possessor of so many blessings could not be left unanswered, and the assumption of a divine mediator furnished a satisfactory solution. Yet, in this notion of divine mediation there is not only an element of reasoning, but it also pursues a practical aim. The myths of this type are philosophical and didactic at a time. What the god does is not confined to a mere subduing of the wild powers, for in that case it would require no further human effort to exercise the faculty, conquered by our superhuman predecessor. The conquest must be repeated whenever we desire to practice the divine gift. For this it is necessary to swell our inspiration by faith. If we only firmly believe that the god did succeed in breaking the original resistance of matter and its inner energy, then we shall be able to make it surrender to us also. Besides, the

god has left an example how this can be achieved ; then, let us follow it. Hence the 'exemplary' character of myths. If Odin swallowed the mead in order to master the skaldic art, if he fasted for nine days, hanging on the bare tree, to have the runes at his command, then, let the poet intoxicate himself and compose truly inspired lines, and let the rune-master refrain from food and brave the elements so that the curse or the blessing, hidden in the magical symbols, may take full effect. In these myths there is an element both of mystic belief and of religious practice. But both must be understood from an angle different from ours. The pagan outlook is not dominated by reason but by the belief in magical energy. If the exemplary myth is imitated in a spirit of unshaken faith, its effect is assured and unfailing. There is a coercive force in it. Magic, either active (by means of certain rites and practices) or passive (through the firmness of our faith), can actualize it by establishing a mystical bond between ourselves and the power involved. In fact, the history of civilisation is to a large extent that of our evolution from the trust in magic to that in reason, from, let us say, the principle of the magician to that of the scientific man.

Man acquires the faculty to compose powerful poetry and to carve rich runes by the intervention of Odin. He is the god who, in our fragments of ancient mythical literature, preeminently appears as the divine mediator. He is a divinity with many aspects. It would take us too far to discuss the various connections in which he presents himself to our eyes. Nor would the present state of our knowledge permit us to do this in a satisfactory way. In heroical saga-literature, for instance, he appears as the supreme warrior. Our only complete poetical myths, however, are all about his intellectual and spiritual energies. This cannot be due to mere accident. One of the Eddic lays

(*Vafþrúðnismál*) displays the apotheosis of his mystic wisdom. There is another (*Grímnismál*) where he overcomes the destructive essence of fire by revealing the imposing list of his names to a wicked and cruel king. The myth of his visit at the well of wisdom (in the *Völuspá*) relates how he acquires prophetic knowledge by pledging his eye in return for a draught. A few sparse strophes (in *Hávamál*) record his mastering of the runes and of the Skaldic Mead. These myths constitute the great examples for those who practise the art of the poet and the rune-master themselves. These men incited their own inspiration and actualized their own magical faculties by believing in these examples and by imitating them. The mythical poems are the work of some of them and are intended to give shape to the spiritual code of their makers' craft.

Hostile magic abounds all around us. None is more dangerous than that of the fire, that most destructive of all elements. This is what the poet of the great Eddic prophecy, the *Völuspá*, expressed when he made our world perish ultimately in flames. Of the material elements there is only one surviving the conflagration. When a new earth arises out of the ashes of the old, nothing reminiscent of its destroyed splendour is recovered but the golden chessmen of the gods. With the exception of the incorruptible metal all matter succumbs before the sweeping energy of the fire. Yet, as is read in the Words of Grímnir, it was Odin who, after a nine days' fast, overcame even this. It looks as if at that moment the tamed power of the greedy element passed into the exulting god, so that his speech became to his tormentor what the scorching flames failed to be to himself,—a doom of death.

The only power that was never conquered by any god or any magician is that of death. It is fated that, facing death, the human will and, likewise, the divine will shall fail. No poet ever was more keenly aware

of this fundamental truth than the greatest of Icelandic skalds, Egill Skallagrímsson. He gave expression to it towards the end of his famous lament for the untimely death of his son. He does not forswear Odin, his divine protector, he recognises the comfort that lies in the poetical gift, but for the boy there will be no return to the living. Nor will the old man escape the fatal day himself. All he can do is to await it cheerfully, grateful for the wealth of blessings that is the share of the skald. Here it may be perceived what made so many of those stern men of the north eagerly embrace Christianity. Christ was the god who conquered death. His power surpassed that of all pagan divinities. His resurrection embodied the greatest of all exemplary stories ever heard. Here, at last, was a mediator who accomplished what had seemed impossible and absurd to all previous generations. Before the coming of Christianity the problem of death had puzzled the Norsemen a great deal. The highest stage reached by their thinking is represented by the myth of Balder. He is the god, more powerfully armed against the devices of death than any other; yet he succumbs. He had the greatest chance of being restored to life. But Þökk, the giantess, refused to weep for him and hell did not loosen its grip. The poet of the Eddic *Völuspá* was the first to adopt the notion of defeated death as a part of his system of world-history. From this the conclusion of that wonderful poem derives its exceptional character. After the general destruction a new earth rises from the sea, where Balder returns and where fate is no longer allowed to rule like a blind tyrant. We feel how eagerly men had been longing for a solution that would make them the possible masters of death itself.

Among Odin's mediation myths that of the Skaldic Mead deserves a closer inspection. It has come down to us in seven strophes of the Eddic *Hávamál* (104-110)

and in a prose paraphrase in the Snorra Edda. In Snorri's account a popular tradition on the same subject has been incorporated, but, abstraction being made of this, it is entirely based upon the strophes. So we can limit ourselves to a study of these. The succinctness of the text makes the interpretation doubtful in certain respects. But the main lines are clear. In order to obtain a draught of the precious mead, Odin renders himself to the hall of Suttung, the giant. Arriving there, he is not received with the usual hospitality, but owing to his smooth and sensible talk he succeeds in winning the giant's favour. The scene reminds us of another Eddic lay (*Vafþrúðnismál*) where, as a consequence of his superiority in words of wisdom, the god brings a pedantic giant at his feet. Apparently, in the case of Odin's visit to Suttung, there was a similar competition, with a draught of mead as a stake. However this may be, this is what the guest receives from the giant's daughter in her golden seat. But it is not all. He also wins her love. In her infatuation she does not perceive that the god rises surreptitiously from her couch. He swallows the full quantity of mead available; the text does not expressly state this, but it is evidently understood. Then he bores a hole through the rock. The escape is not without danger. There are the perils of the place and the giants who might discover the flight. Odin risks his head. But all goes well. From this moment the mead belongs to the world.

Three feats have been achieved in order to win it. The god has displayed his wisdom, he has enforced the love of a maiden, he has ventured his life. All three must be regarded as a test of his supreme magical faculties. As we have seen already, the Edda contains more instances of the transcendent value of wise speech in a contest with a powerful adversary. That the submission of a maiden to one's amorous desires is

pursued by magical means, appears from the Eddic Message of Skírnir, where Gerðr, a fair giantess, becomes the unwilling victim of an infatuated god's irresistible runes. Mere humans were not averse either to the possibilities afforded by the poetic gift as a help in their love-suits. This we learn from those sagas whose principal hero is a skald as, for instance, those of Gunnlaug Snaketongue, of Kormak, of the Fosterbrothers. The highest degree of magical self-realisation is attained by risking one's life. Of this Egill Skallagrímsson must have been conscious when he composed his Höfuðlausn for king Erik at York; his head was at stake. Odin risked his life many times. By fasting he became lord of the runes, by supporting the torment of two scorching fires he annihilated a cruel opponent. In Suttung's hall he pursues a similar effect by passing under the earth. In addition to the approach to death, this probably includes the notion of re-birth. However, although in itself the risk of his life constitutes the greatest achievement of Odin's three feats, in our particular myth the winning of Gunnlöð, Suttung's daughter, takes the central position. It lends the story its colour. The contest of wisdom and the risked head figure more or less as accessory elements. What the maker of the myth would have us realise, is the miracle of Odin's success as a lover in Suttung's hall. In order to emphasize this the Eddic poet prefixed a so-called story of failure. Odin's successful attempt to win Gunnlöð was not his first amorous adventure. Previously he sued another giantess, the daughter of Billing. But that time he was only an unexperienced beginner and did it all the wrong way. He kept silent, sat down in the reed, and avoided all risks. The result was an utter failure. The poet's intention is to impress upon our minds the greatness of the divine lover's subsequent triumph. It was a serious mistake of certain critics to deny the

existing relation between the two successive love-winning stories and to suspect the original unity of the transmitted text in this section of *Hávamál*.

Odin becomes the possessor of the Skaldic Mead by performing three acts for each of which a superior energy is required. In this manner he increases his own magical faculties. For it is one of the properties of the divine power (*ásmegin*) that hostile magic makes it rise to its acme. This the god *Thór* says to the river *Vimur* when its waters surge against him: 'Do not rise, thou *Vimur*, for if thou risest, then my divine strength (*ásmegin*) will rise as high as heaven.' By his superiority, displayed in *Suttung's* hall, Odin renders himself worthy of disposing henceforth of the mead. The inner connection in this succession of events must not be understood rationalistically. It is magical. This can best be seen from the fact that often a given cause produces an effect to which it could never be linked logically. Superior wisdom makes the adversary forfeit his head or neutralizes the hostility of fire. The god *Freyr* constrains a maiden to accept his love by carving runes. The *Egilssaga* contains a famous illustration of the belief that health and disease, too, are ruled by runes. The approach to death, in whatever form, means a contact with the supernatural world. It is brought about by hazarding one's life. But a similar effect is obtained by bringing ourselves into a state of intoxication (*óðr*). The mead lifts the mind from this commonplace world and opens a perspective of a higher order. All those who practise the craft of the poet and thus participate in these direct relations with the world of mystical energy, have the elementary faculties of the magician within them. To them Odin is the mediator and the great example.

So far the conception in pagan times. When Christianity comes in, it must give way. The position of Odin is shaken irrevocably by the belief in the

greater Mediator who mastered even death. This could happen the sooner since in certain circles paganism had lost much of its grim character and assumed a more or less liberal and even indifferent appearance. Norwegian court-poetry, for instance, had from a magical practice largely become an art cultivated for its own sake. Yet, even there the original connection with primitive beliefs was not altogether forgotten; how else could we account for the rapid decline of skaldism in Norway after the adoption of Christianity? At all events, Icelandic society was of a far more conservative character than Norwegian. Although the rites, practices and expressions of paganism generally disappeared here, too, much of its spirit remained, whether consciously or unconsciously. The gods, of course, are thrust from their pedestals; their mediation is no longer required. But they are not forgotten. If they are no gods any more, there are two possibilities. For the aristocratic class that had believed in them and that had partaken of the divine gifts by their mediation, it was natural to create an adequate position for them that was not incompatible with Christianity. What we find here is euhemerism. The gods were never any gods at all, but men of a heroic race, living in a remote past. This current is represented by Snorri Sturluson in his *Prose Edda*. In this handbook for poets he did not only euhemerize the gods but the art of poetry itself. What once was an energy, conjured up by establishing a contact with the supernatural world, now developed to a class subject, studied and learned by memorizing the rules of rhythm and syntax.

The other solution of the problem presented by the dethroned gods, is to demonize them. Christianity left ample room for Satan and his assistants. Here was a shelter for the old gods. The identification of pagan divinities with christian demons became popular

among the lower class, where theistic belief had never been deeply rooted. Odin could easily become one with Kölski, the Evil One, as the magical tricks, practised by either of them, were much of the same character. What really imported to this group of the population, was not the notion of a superior being, but the faith in the magical essence of things. With these men the primitive conception continued in full force. Sometimes the Devil plays a part in it, sometimes not. Whenever Kölski appears in the legends of early Christian times, his character is perfectly demoniacal. We meet him very seldom in the rôle of a mediator. Obviously he continues a rather plebian tradition of Odin (sometimes also of Loki), as it has existed amongst those groups whose outlook was not eminently theistic.

From our authorities we might get the impression that the so-called popular beliefs of christian times preserve a deteriorated form of pagan theism. This was, for instance, the opinion of the Icelandic scholar Sæmundur Eyjólfsson, who was the first to study the folk-beliefs of his countrymen in their relation to ancient heathendom (*Tímarit hins íslenzka Bókmenntafjelags*, 15, 1894, pp. 134 sqq.). In reality they continue a more primitive religious stratum, which does not so much appear at the surface in our early sources, owing to the circumstance that these are the work of men whose class interests entailed the worship of a god. Among these are the Eddic poets. Fortunately, if we have only learned to read, we can easily trace the underlying magical and pre-logical notions which pagan theism could as little extinguish as modern Christianity. The gods were not a necessary element of ancient Germanic belief and where they are worshipped, they form the superstructure, not the foundation stone of the religious system. What is continuous, general and perpetual, is the magical conception of

things. The mass of the people bothered but little about divine mediators. The unshakable conservatives amongst the aristocratic class were even strongly opposed to them. They believed in their own magical essence, in their own gift (*á mátt sinn ok megin*). They were what the Icelanders would call not only *heiðnir menn*, but *rammheiðnir*. It was easier for Christianity to dethrone the gods than to suppress the primitive human instinct.

Poetry is tamed energy. It comes from a world of superior power. With this the skald communicates. In this respect he ranges with the sorcerer, the rune-carver, the goldsmith and all those who force the energetic matter of creation into self-willed forms. There are various means of establishing the communication with the superior world. One of them is the performance of a complicated ritual which is called *seiðr*; it is reserved for the professional magician. Another means, in which even the least pretentious of us participate, is death. It would be going too far to identify the world of the dead with that of superior power, but it is certain that the dead have much closer connections with it than the living. Hence, if we want to extend our faculties, we should have intercourse with death. And since from death no traveller returns, we must content ourselves with the next best thing and seek the nearest approach to it. Even when the act of violence, intended to bring this about, is not self-inflicted, it is apt to raise our mystical energy quite unexpectedly, though not unconsciously. What to the poet of the Words of Grímnir became the material of an 'exemplary' myth of Odin, actually happened to a poor slave in the east of Iceland. He was suspected to have slain his master. The dead man's wife has a vessel of boiling water placed on his body. In the throes of agony the slave threatens to pronounce a curse that will direct the destiny of his tormentors'

family for all eternity. The terrified woman, who firmly believes in the dying man's power to effectuate his menace, removes the vessel. But it is too late. A man, on the verge of death, knows more and can do more than life ever would permit. Very often poetry will come from his mouth, even though the poetical gift never was his share when living.

A storm, whether due to a human exorcism or to some unexplainable cause, may bring us in touch with the superior powers. A similar effect has intoxication. Then there is the dream, which discloses a world of wonder. We dispose of numerous expedients to bring about supernatural conditions both without and within ourselves. Even the faculty of dreaming can be encouraged. King Harald Magnússon of Norway gave it back to a dreamless boy and thus restored him to health. All this is sheer magic. The belief in it is prior to that in gods. This is conspicuous from the fact that a god is never approached by magic. But the god, in his capacity of a mediator, practises magic himself. Where gods are absent, man acts as his own magician and his own mediator. Hence the absolute identity of the magical processes in gods and men. Like a human sorcerer who calls a spirit from the invisible world, Odin conjures up a prophesying witch by means of an incantation (*valgaldr*, in Balder's Dreams). Odin communicates with death. The gods intoxicate themselves in the hall of Ægir. Balder has ominous dreams. In the face of the mysterious powers of the unknown, the confines between gods and men vanish away. They must have recourse to the identical rites or tricks. Especially dreams and sleep are a continual source of superior energy or knowledge, often revealed in a poetical form or prophetic words. When Þorgeirr the Lawspeaker is invited by the Icelandic Althing to recite the new laws, necessitated by the conversion of the country to Christianity, he

lies down, spreads his cloak over him and thus remains for the rest of the day and the ensuing night. A slightly varying version makes him even pass twenty-four hours in this unusual position. The object of the measure evidently was to think the question out in undisturbed contact with what is eternal around us. It reveals the primitive conception in a sublimated form. What Þorgeirr did, is characteristic of the enlightened Icclander of his time, who neither cared enough for the gods to oppose the inevitable course of events, nor intended ever to become a fervent partisan of the new faith himself. He resorted to an ancient and venerable practice, fully aware as he was of its appropriateness as a frame for a noble mind's concentrated thinking. It is essentially related to the Bull-feast of the ancient Irish, in spite of the grimly primitive appearance of the latter. At this solemnity one man was obliged to eat his fill of meat of a white bull. Then, in his sleep, enhanced by the chanting of four druids, the figure of the future king of Ireland would be revealed to him.

The notion that poetry hails from a superior world, full of magical energy, and that it imparts a supernatural power to its master, is there from the earliest times and was never completely lost. Pagan theism and Christianity, although they left their traces upon the forms in which this notion expressed itself, never influenced it very deeply. In the lament for his son Egill Skallagrímsson recognised the relation existing between his gift and the god Odin as a mediator, but when he composed his bitter satire against king Erik and queen Gunnhild, who had banished him from their country, his attitude was purely primitive and he evidently believed in his own power. This is still more conspicuous in the case of another skald, of whose word we know that it did take effect, and a most ruinous one at that. In the desire to inflict vengeance upon the jarl

Hákon, who has burned his ship and taken away his goods, Þorleifr Jarlaskáld enters the hall in the disguise of a beggar, and having attracted Hákon's attention, he obtains permission to recite a song of praise. Skilfully he weaves biting sarcasm through the flattering words. Suddenly the hall is filled with darkness, the jarl is tormented by insupportable pains, he loses conscience, and when daylight returns, his beard and the hair of his head appear to have been badly burned. This is the most famous instance of a poet's might in pagan times. It is doubtless not due to mere accident that the chastisement was effectuated by means of fire. No magical energy was stronger.

The story of Þorleifr Jarlaskáld contains an interesting detail. Many years after his death, when Iceland has been christianized for at least a century, he appears to a certain Hallbjörn Hali, who lies dreaming on Þorleif's grave. This Hallbjörn has never been anything of a poet himself. But when the dead skald recites a stanza, the dreamer is able to remember it when awake. At the same moment he feels himself truly inspired and he remains a poet for the rest of his life. Thus the gift is passed on from Þorleif to Hallbjörn. What one receives in his dream from a dead man constitutes a supernatural gift. The dream-ghost evidently acts as a mediator. The story recalls an episode of the thirteenth century Sturlungasaga, where the dead Egill Skallagrímsson visits one of the inmates of his old home at Borg, also in the dream, and recites two strophes for him. Afterwards the man repeats them, although it is not stated that his poetical vein continued to flow.

The theme of poetry heard in the dream is widely spread. In England it has been linked to the earliest christian poet.¹ From ancient Icelandic literature

¹ See on this L. Pound in *Studies in English Philology* in honor of F. Klaeber (Minneapolis, 1929), pp. 232 sqq.

numerous illustrations might be adduced. Usually the dead poet who reveals his strophes to a dreaming man is not identified. Very often the dream-ghost is a supernatural being. This is the case in the story of Þorsteinn Síðu-Hallsson, who hears his death prophesied in three strophes by three dream-women (*draumkonur*); these belong to the class of the *fylgjur* or *disir*, the female protecting genii. Of a certain Þorsteinn Þorvarðsson (in the *Kumlbúaláttur*) it is said that he falls asleep in his bed after having taken away a sword from a grave which he had discovered that day not far from his house. In his dream he sees a beautiful warrior who upbraids him for the theft and challenges him in a poetical form to single combat. Þorsteinn answers in another strophe and accepts the challenge. Then the dead man declares himself satisfied and never re-appears. Nor does Þorsteinn succeed in retracing the grave. Of a more complicated character is the scene dreamed by Oddi of the Stars (*Stjörnu-Oddi*, in a tale called *Draumr Stjörnu-Odda*); this man owed his nickname to the habit of looking at the stars whenever he must remember anything. He is stated to have been neither a skald nor a talented reciter. The story of the dream is of the novelistic type and too long to relate it. What interests us is that at a given moment a poet appears in it, named *Dagfinnr*, and from that very moment the dreamer loses self-consciousness and lives under the impression that he is *Dagfinnr* himself. In the other man's person he hears himself declaiming two poems. Afterwards, when fully awake, he remembers large fragments of them as he looks again at the stars.

From the material available four principal variants of the dream-song theme may be distinguished. First there is the poetry heard from supernatural beings and remembered afterwards. In another group of instances strophes are recited by a particular dead skald. The

third type, which is practically a development of the preceding, implies the self-identification on the side of the dreamer with the poet of his dream. And lastly there is the case of the dreaming man to whom the gift of poetry is transferred for ever by a dead skald of great fame.

These various types re-occur in later Icelandic folk-lore, which shows how deeply these notions are rooted in the bedrock traditions of the north. An interesting mixture of at least three of them, with some very primitive touches in it, is afforded by the story of Símon Dalaskáld, an Icelandic vagrant beggar-poet, of whom the older among the living generation still preserve the memory. He received his gift from Klaufi, about whom we might hesitate whether we must range him with the human or the superhuman beings. He is one of the chief personages of the Svarfdælasaga, which belongs to the northern group of Icelandic family-histories. Even while a living man, Klaufi was difficult to deal with. After his death he becomes an evil ghost and continues haunting the house of his enemies and taking a part in the quarrels of the valley, until at last his body is burned. During his lifetime his poetical gift was of a most uncanny nature. After his death it becomes even worse. As a matter of fact, he furnishes the most characteristic illustration of what may be called a poetical spectre. One day, Símon Dalaskáld heard the Svarfdælasaga read in the farmhouse, where it was his job to herd the sheep. When the reading was finished, some of the men criticised Klaufi rather severely. Then Símon stood up for him and defended him passionately. That same night the boy sees in his dream Klaufi standing by his bedside. Suddenly the dead man bows down over him and vomits into him (*spýr ofan í hann*). From that moment he can no longer refrain from speaking in poetry himself. For the rest of his life he succeeded in

having his works printed and in selling the booklets well. This he regarded as Klaufi's reward for the brave defence. What makes the little-known tradition particularly remarkable is the representation of Klaufi as vomiting the skaldic gift into the dreaming boy. It links the story of poor Símon Dalaskáld to the myth of Odin himself, who vomited the skaldic mead over the earth.

Iceland has had its poetical spectres as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One of the worst was Lalli at Húsavík. He was a ghost, and people believed him to have risen from the disturbed grave of a sorcerer. Lalli used to attack the inhabitants of Húsavík and the neighbouring farmhouses. However, the minister of the place pursued him continually and managed to limit his activities to a small area. One year, when the minister was confined to his bed for eighteen weeks, so that mass could not be celebrated in the parish, Lalli was seen sitting on a rock and singing his hateful satire to the ears of the horrified travellers.

The ghost lives in continual intercourse with the world of superior energies; thence it derives the faculty of speaking in powerful poetical words. It is but natural that the notion should have spread that human poets received their gift from a dead man or a spectre. There are, however, still other possible relations between the superior world and ours. In some families, where the poetical gift is hereditary, there is a belief in a superhuman ancestor. Thus we hear of a little girl, Þorveig, who used to be sent about herding sheep, that she befriended a fairy family of one of the adjacent valleys. When grown up, she disappears and does not visit her parents until many years later, on Christmas eve, when she comes to present her fairy husband and her children. After a time, the husband dies and she returns to the world of man, together with her children.

These marry ordinary mortals and their descendants are numerous. In their race the poetical gift is unusually common.

Many other illustrations might be given of how the belief in the supernatural origin of poetry survives, and in a very primitive form at that, without any theistic connections. The real successors, however, of Egill Skallagrímsson as a satirist, and of Þorleifr Jarlaskáld, are the so-called *kraptaskáld*, the magical poets or poetical magicians. Very often they are ministers. They derive their power either from themselves or from Kölski, the Evil One, who continues the traditions of Odin as a mediator in a much disparaged form. The word of these *kraptaskáld* is never without effect. Guðmundur, the minister of Arnarbæli, lampooned his servant who had failed to trace his master's ponies, whereupon the boy retorted in a few very unfriendly poetical lines of his own make. The end was that the boy fell down from a rock and broke his limbs. But the master himself was removed from office shortly afterwards and spent the rest of his life as a day-labourer.

Another famous churchman, Magnús of Hörgsland, drove away the Turkish pirates, that traditional terror of the Icelandic population, from the coast of his parish by singing a strong incantation against them (his so-called *Tyrkjasvæfa*). It had the effect that the Turkish ships turned against one another, had their boards smashed, and were all wrecked. Síra Eiríkur of Vogsós freed his own parish of the Turkish pestilence in a similar way. Snorri, the minister of Húsafell, was indefatigable in attempting to prevent his parishioners from conversing with ghosts. They resolved to delude him and sent him a log encased with runes. Upon reading them Síra Snorri turned blind. Fortunately he did not lose his presence of mind. He composed a strophe at once and thus cured the blight.

Among the non-clerical *kraþtaskáld* Þormóður of Gvendareyjar in the Breiðifjord ranks foremost. His mortal enemy was the farmer of a neighbouring group of islands; he used to conjure up ghosts and to send them to Þormóð's house. Þormóður possessed the gift of evoking powerful poetry and by this means he warded off the undesirable guests. Another man, Jón of Vattarnes, saved his life by pronouncing a strophe of eight lines against the executioner who was going to behead him; no sooner had the words been spoken than the servant of the law could no longer stir either hand or foot. The blind vagrant poet Bergsteinn went to the shop at Eyrarbakki and asked for brandy. The merchant thought it better not to give him any and said that there was none in the house. But Bergsteinn knew better than that and a few lines of infallible strength called forth a deafening noise from the brandy chest.

This brief survey of magical poetry in modern times must be concluded by the name of the greatest of *kraþtaskáld*, at the same time the most popular of Icelandic poets, whose psalms have been sung for nearly three centuries in all the homes and churches,—Hallgrímur Pétursson of Saurbær. He could raise spirits from the grave by the force of his rhythmical speech and send them back again in the name of the Lord. When out on a journey and passing the night in a cave together with his men, the first thing to do for him is to drive out its ghost by reciting an incantation against it. Thus he allows his party to sleep peacefully. One of his best known achievements is recorded in the funny story of Hallgrímur and the fox. The animal had been doing much harm in the district. On a Sunday morning, when standing on the pulpit, Hallgrímur sees it through the window, biting a sheep. For a moment he forgets his office, pronounces a rhythmical curse, and immediately the fox is stretched dead on the

ground. Afterwards he rues his rashness and decides to compose something for the praise of God. He was just engaged in handing pieces of meat to his servant to have them strung up in the kitchen for the smoking. 'Up, up,' said the servant. And these are, in fact, the opening words of the first of Sira Hallgrím's passion-psalms: "Up, up, my soul and all my sense."

The seventeenth century minister realised that he had misused a divine gift when he hit an animal from the pulpit with the sting of his word, and he atoned for it by glorifying the Lord for the rest of his life. Egill, the tenth century skald, who begrudged Odin the possession of his beloved son, was ashamed of his heedlessness of the great good, received from the god of poets. He resolved to exult in his art as many days as it was fated for him to live. The attitude of the two is essentially the same. For the fundamental conception of the poetical gift it matters little that one was a pagan viking and the other a Lutheran minister. As skalds they continue a tradition, older than both Christianity and the theism of heathendom, and rooted in the most primitive and the most lasting of human instincts, the need to rule an often ill-favoured and hostile world by developing a greater energy from within and thus to tame it. There is more that never dies in this world than 'the doom on each one dead.'

TYPES OF NORSE BORROWING IN MIDDLE ENGLISH.

By E. S. OLSZEWSKA.

THE linguistic borrowings from Norse into English fall into various types, some of widespread occurrence in Middle English, others only little exemplified. Norse influence in Middle English as a whole and in various particular Middle English texts has been much discussed, but as far as possible the examples I use to illustrate the various types are chosen from material not in Björkman's *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*. I have made particular use of the Cotton manuscript of *Cursor Mundi*, which contains a rich Norse element which has been little dealt with.

The first main type is that represented by the borrowing of single elements of vocabulary—Norse loanwords. Their number is difficult to estimate. There is no reason to believe that the whole number of Norse words that were used in Middle English is approximately preserved in the extant literature, even if we include words found only in records, words occurring only as nicknames or surnames or as place-name elements, and the words found in modern English dialects which must go back to Middle English, although they have escaped record there. Many Norse loans are recorded in a single text and have not survived into modern standard English or any dialect. Among these we have such adjectives as the expressive word *sisel*, "active" (cf. OWN. *sýsl*), in the *Metrical Homilies* published by Small—*Sain Jon was sisel and bisi*,¹ the Virgin Mary helps those who are *sysel in hir seruyse*,² and the participial adjective *saked*, "guilty" (cf. OWN. *sakaðr*), in *Cursor Mundi*;³ among nouns *kanunnk*, "canon" (cf. OWN. *kanunkr*), in the *Ormulum*,⁴ *carald*, "receptacle" (cf. OWN. *kerald*), in *Patience*—*her kysttes and her coferes, her caraldes alle*,⁵ *makande*, "comfort" (cf. OWN.

¹ p. 112. ² p. 164. ³ line 1223 etc. ⁴ Ded. line 9. ⁵ line 159.

makindi), in the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*—*man in his medill elde, his makande wolde haue*; ⁶ among verbs *domle*, “to be dull or cloudy” (cf. Mod. Norw. *dumla*), in the *Prick of Conscience*, *fihsne*, “to lurk” (cf. OWN. *fylgsni*, “hiding-place”), in the alliterative *Morte Arthure*,⁷ and *iske*, “to wish” (cf. OWN. *ýskja*), in *Cursor Mundi*.⁸ It seems a legitimate inference to suppose that many other words have been lost in the manuscripts that have perished. This, of course, applies to our knowledge of the Middle English vocabulary as a whole, but to a greater extent to that of the Norse element, because of the lack of early Middle English manuscripts from the North of England.

Whatever estimate we might make of the number of Norse loans in Middle English, no dialect would have all these words, even a dialect in the area of heaviest Norse influence. Some loans are indeed of general occurrence, but many are limited. The first type of limitation is geographical—loans may be confined to a certain text or to a group of closely related texts or to texts from some definite area, large or small. This may be due to chance in some cases, that is, the word though current elsewhere may have escaped record, and no safe conclusion can be based on a unique occurrence of a word. If a word, however, occurs in several texts from the same part of England, especially if it is preserved in the modern dialects of that area, we have good evidence that it was confined to a limited area. Examples are *frame*, “advantage,” recorded in the *Ormulum*, *Genesis and Exodus*, the *Bestiary* and Robert of Brunne’s *Handlyng Synne* and his *Chronicle*, texts all from the East Midlands; *kay*, “left” (adj.), recorded in *Sir Gawayn and þe Grene Knyȝt* and in modern dialects of the North West of England; and *scale*, “hut,” recorded in *Cursor Mundi*, in modern northern dialect and in Middle English place-names from the same area.

⁶ line 278.⁷ line 1443.⁸ line 881.⁹ line 11848.

Secondly, words of limited occurrence may be confined to definite 'spheres of action. (Some words are of limited distribution, both in this way and geographically, *e.g.* *golf*, "the quantity of grain stacked in one bay of a barn," is a technical term of agriculture confined to East Anglia and the neighbouring counties.) In Old English a large proportion of the loans recorded belong to the technical vocabularies of law and military and naval equipment. The legal vocabulary of Old English for the most part has disappeared in Middle English and the Norse element it contained is represented only by words which have become part of the general vocabulary, as *grip*, "peace," or by chance survivals which soon became unfamiliar and disappeared, as *forfal*, "essoin," which occurs in the earlier text of *Layamon's Brut*,¹⁰ but is omitted in the later text and is elsewhere only recorded with other survivals of Norse legal usage in thirteenth century Leicester records."

If we consider the words that were borrowed in relation to the native vocabulary there are two types of borrowing. When we discuss the tests of Norse loan-words in English, the logical division is into words which are distinctively Norse in form and those which are not. But for the question of the relation between English and Norse in England the division is rather between words which either displace or exist side by side with a native cognate and those which do not. That is, we have on the one hand words which, because of their similarity in form, would readily be associated with the cognate existing in the native vocabulary (*e.g.* borrowed *loupe*, "to leap," beside native *lepe*), and on the other hand words which would have no associations, either because they had been affected by specifically Norse sound-changes and were far removed in form from the native

¹⁰ line 31590.

¹¹ *Records of the Borough of Leicester* (ed. Bateson) I. 152, etc.

cognate (*e.g.* *iske*, below) or because the native cognate was not current (and here belong words distinctively Norse in form of which no native cognate is recorded, *e.g.* *liþe*, "to listen," and also words which, though not distinctively Norse in form, are believed to be loans because they belong to the specifically Norse vocabulary, *e.g.* *dille*, "to conceal"). The fact that in formulas borrowed from Norse one element is often replaced by the native cognate shows that such association between cognates was felt, and to a lesser degree scribal alterations in manuscripts often indicate this also, when a Norse form has been removed by the copyist and a native form substituted. It is, of course, difficult to tell what degree of similarity in sound would cause association. For example, the rhymes in *Havelok* often show that the loan-word *raþe*, "to advise," has been replaced by the native *rede*. On the other hand, in *Cursor Mundi* we have an example where a Norse loan seems to be too far from its cognate in form to be associated with it. In a passage describing how Herod's followers fled from him as his death approached, the Cotton Manuscript reads *all . . . isked efter his enddai*.¹² *Isked* is probably a genuine form (and not an alteration of the verb *ask*), representing ON. *yiskja*, which corresponds regularly to OE. *wȳscan*, Mod. E. *wish*. The Trinity manuscript reads *preyed* (so Fairfax and Göttingen MSS.), as there was no obvious connexion with *wishe*.

The fact that cognates were associated has given us another type of single word borrowing, that is the attachment of a Norse meaning to the native cognate, as in the well-known *drem*, "dream." A similar example is *deucely*, "desolate," in the *Pearl*,¹³ which, as Dr. Onions and Professor Gordon point out in *Medium Ævum* I. 127, represents OWN. *daufliġr* accommodated in form to the native sound system. A

¹² line 11848.

¹³ line 51.

type of borrowing similar to this is the blend of English and Norse forms, as *gaule*, "to howl," compared to the unaffected loan *gaule*. Lastly we find a Norse meaning for a form which in phonology may be either native or Norse, as *frend* in the sense "kinsman" instead of the native "friend."

The second main type of borrowing is the borrowing of formulas.¹⁴ First to be considered are compounds, which in so far as they are sometimes native or ambiguous in form resemble the last type of words. We may often assume the borrowing of a compound even when both elements are native in form if the meaning of the compound as a whole and the fact of composition are distinctively Norse. If we take either single element in a borrowed compound it may be ambiguous in form (that is, the English and the borrowed word would be identical in Middle English), as both elements in **laghtermilde*, "free with laughter"—recorded only in the negative form *unlaghtermilde*—(cf. OWN. *hlátrmildr*), it may have been replaced by the native form, as the second element in *hagworm*, "viper" (cf. OWN. *hoggormr*), or it may be distinctively Norse in form, either with a cognate in English, as the first element in *waithman*, "hunter" (cf. OWN. *veiðimaðr*), or with no cognate, as the first element in *spaman*, "prophet" (cf. OWN. *spámaðr*). But if we take the compound as a whole there are two types; first it may be native in form (that is, both elements are ambiguous or they have been replaced by the native cognates), but showing Norse origin by its meaning and the fact of composition; secondly, it may be non-native in form with one or both elements distinctively Norse. There are not many examples of the type native in form; among them are *inmette*, "entrails," modern dialect *inmeat* or *inmeats* (cf. Mod Swed. *inmäte*, Norw.

¹⁴ See further my article, *Illustrations of Norse formulas in English*, in *Leeds Studies in English*, Vol. II, p. 76 ff.

inmete) and *unlaghtermilde*. Of the type non-native in form, the majority of examples have only one element distinctively Norse in form, the other either ambiguous or with native replacement; among the examples are several of which the second element is *-man*, as *blaman*, "negro" (cf. O.W.N. *blámaðr*), *lezhemann*, "hireling" (cf. O.W.N. *leigumaðr*), *spaman* and *waithman*. Only rarely are both elements distinctively Norse, as *stakkgarþ*, "rickyard" (cf. O.W.N. *stakkgarðr*) and *gulsoght*, "jaundice" (cf. O.W.N. *gulusótt*).

The second type of formula is the coupling of words in ways other than the formation of a compound. Firstly we have the coupling of two similar or contrasting words; these usually alliterate as in such formulas as *gold and gersum*, "gold and treasure" (cf. O.W.N. *gull ok gørsemi*), *bla and blodi*, "bruised and bloody" (cf. O.W.N. *blár ok blóðugr*). As with compounds, one of the words has often been replaced by the native cognate, but it is reasonable to assume Norse origin for the formula (and not independent creation of the collocation in English) if one word is a Norse loan and the combination is well attested as a formula in Norse. For example, the formula *gull and gren* contains the loan-word *gull*, "yellow," and is used figuratively in Middle English to describe the manifestation of envy or rage, just as the same combination is used in modern Danish *gul og grøn* and Swedish *gul och grön*. A second type of coupling is the coupling of two words different in function. Here again we often have ambiguous forms or the replacement of one word by the native cognate. This coupling also may sometimes be accidental; for example, *griþ*, "peace," is a Norse borrowing in English, and such combinations as *sette griþ and friþ*, "to make peace," and *give griþ*, "to give quarter," may either be accidental or represent the Norse combinations *setja grið ok frið* and *gefa grið*.

The third type of formula consists of what may be

called syntactic formulas. These may either be particular instances, for example, the reflexive use of the verb *give* in the formula *I give me ille*, "I am distressed,"¹⁵ or they may be of general application, for example, the use of the preposition at the end of a sentence as in *þaa wigurs crouþ þe warlau in*, "the devil crept in these images," in *Cursor Mundi*,¹⁶ which is probably borrowed from the similar use in Norse.

There remains one main type of borrowing—borrowing not in the stem of the word. It is difficult to arrive at any conclusion as to the extent Norse influenced Middle English morphology. The ending *-ande* of the present participle may or may not owe its currency to Norse influence, but borrowing is fairly certain in the form *untelland*, "innumerable," in *Cursor Mundi*,¹⁷ which represents the use of the Old Norse present participle in gerundive function (cf. O.W.N. *úteljandi*). Old Norse participial adjectives in *-inn* are also represented by a certain number of loans. These adjectives coincided in form with the past participle of strong verbs but were active in meaning, for example, O.W.N. *gætinn*, "careful," which appears in Middle English as *geten*. Similarly we have *ipen*, "diligent" (cf. O.W.N. *idinn*), and *waken*, "alert" (cf. O.W.N. *vakinn*).

The last type of borrowing not in the stem of a word is the borrowing of suffixes and prefixes. In general when derivatives formed by the addition of a suffix were borrowed into English the suffix appears in the corresponding native form. For example, words which in Old West Norse ended in *-lauss* appear with replacement in English, as *lasteles*, "blameless" (cf. O.W.N. *lastalauss*).¹⁸ Even when a suffix has a different function

¹⁵ See C. T. Onions, *Review of English Studies*, V, p. 328 f.

¹⁶ line 2303.

¹⁷ line 2348, etc.

¹⁸ Examples without replacement occur in local names (e.g., *Houthlos-crosse* 'headless cross'; see A. H. Smith, *Place-names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 328) and in nicknames (e.g., *Stafloss* 'without a staff'; see F. M. Stenton, *Documents illustrative of the social and economic History of the Danelaw*, p. 387. No. 535.)

it may be replaced by the native form ; for example, Old West Norse has *-meir* added to adverbs already in the comparative and a similar use in English, first recorded in the *Ormulum* and *Cursor Mundi*, seems originally due to Norse influence, as the New English Dictionary suggests,¹⁹ but the suffix always has the native form *-mare*, *-more*, as in *forrþerrmar*, "further," in the *Ormulum*.²⁰ The outstanding example of a suffix which was not replaced is OWN. *-leikr*. Words containing this suffix were borrowed in sufficient numbers to cause the extension of the suffix to native material, as *idellezzc*, "idleness," in the *Ormulum*,²¹ of which the stem is a native word with no cognate recorded in Old Norse.

¹⁹ s. v. *-more* suffix

²⁰ line 7338.

²¹ line 7847, etc.

GÍSLASAGA.

By G. N. GARMONSWAY, M.A.

THE saga of Gísli has never gained the prominence of the sagas of Njál and Grettir, nor the fame of the Laxdale which owes much of its reputation, in this country, to the poem of William Morris. In some measure this is due to the fact that the scope of the Gíslasaga is more restricted: the stage is small and the number of important actors few. There is, in fact, no environing action, and contemporary events are mentioned only for the purpose of establishing a rough relative chronology. Even the passage dealing with the return of Hákon, the foster-son of Æthelstan, from England is now generally regarded as an interpolation. The action is local, even provincial in its range: the author echoes the belief of Jane Austen that "two or three families in a country village is the very thing to work upon." He has collected and shaped the tradition into a form which is classical in its simplicity and balance, throwing into relief the foibles and heroism of the characters in a way which would have won the approval of the ancients.

This unity of action he achieves in several ways. The misfortunes of the Súrssons are attributed to the thrall Kolr, who appears at the beginning of the story and lays a curse on the family, because Gísli, the hero's uncle, refuses to return a magical sword which has been borrowed. This sword is subsequently made into a spear and plays a great part in the story: it is the weapon which kills Vésteinn and Thorgrím. In early stories it is a frequent motive to find that these magical treasures, however useful they may be, have nevertheless some serious drawbacks. There is, for example,

the sword Dáinsleif in the Heðinn and Högni story which is fated to be a man's death every time it is drawn, or the standard of Sigurð the Stout which brings victory, but death to the standard bearer. It is obviously an easy and effective way to give design to a series of apparently unconnected disasters if it can be postulated, at the outset, that the train of misfortune is due to the possession of some unlucky yet precious object. Snorri Sturluson, for example, attributes all the misfortunes of the Swedish kings in the *Ynglingasaga* to the fact that they possess a fatal jewel, although of course he realized that this was far from the truth. Such a simple device is now rarely effective with more sophisticated audiences, and yet it has the virtue of welding together the story and of making plausible the apparently unaccountable workings of destiny. Whenever the object is mentioned we remember the circumstances of its last appearance, and what the characters did or said on that occasion : cause and effect are thus brought into sharp relation and whether the object be a king's necklace, a thrall's sword or a mere pitchfork (as in Conrad's *Rover*) it serves at one and the same moment to recall the past and forebode the future. In the longer of the two versions of the saga, this aspect of the tragedy has attracted the author to such an extent that he dwells at length on the story of the cursed magical weapon. The shorter version, on the other hand, merely gives a bald narrative and tells the story with no apparent interest; this is understandable since the ominous prologue has its scene in Norway, whence the family went to Iceland. In truth the material of this tradition is poor enough : all the stock situations are there, the routing of berserks, the cowardly wooer, the saving of the family honour. But the merit of the longer version is not merely that it tries to give some show of verisimilitude to this melodrama, but rather that the author has seen his opportunity to make this

introductory matter significant in relation to the rest of the *saga*.

This is the account of the shorter version :

“ The thrall claimed his sword but Gísli would not give it up. He offered him money for it, but the thrall insisted on the return of the sword and would accept nothing else, and yet did not get it back for all that. He was so dissatisfied that he rushed at Gísli and gave him a severe wound. Gísli hewed at him with Grayblade and struck him such a heavy blow on the head that the sword broke ; but the thrall's skull was crushed and both of them fell dead from their wounds.”

The longer version introduces dialogue :

“ And time rolls on, but he did not give up the good sword, nor had Kol ever asked for it. One day, they two met out of doors and Gísli had Graysteel in his hand and Kol had an axe. Kol asked whether he thought the sword had stood him in good stead, and Gísli was full of its praises. ‘ Well now,’ said Kol, ‘ I should like to have it back if thou thinkest it has done thee good service in thy need.’ ‘ Wilt thou sell it,’ says Gísli. ‘ No,’ says Kol. ‘ I will give thee thy freedom and goods, so that thou mayest fare whither thou wilt with other men.’ ‘ I will not sell it,’ says Kol. ‘ Then I will give thee thy freedom, or give thee land, and besides I will give thee sheep and cattle and goods as thou needest.’ ‘ I will not sell it a whit more for that,’ says Kol. . . . ‘ But now it just comes to what I feared at first, when I said it was not sure whether thou would'st be ready to give the sword up if thou knewest what virtue was in it.’ ‘ And I too,’ says Gísli, ‘ will say what will happen. Good will befall neither of us, for I have not the heart to give up the sword, and it shall never come into any other man's hand than mine if I may have my will.’ Then Kol lifted up his axe, while Gísli brandished Grayblade and each smote at the other. . . . Then Kol said, ‘ It had

been better now that I had got back my sword when I asked for it; and yet this is but the beginning of the ill-luck which it will bring on thy kith and kin.' Thus both of them lost their lives."

The second artifice which attempts to bring unity to the story is similar to the first and attributes the later misfortunes of the hero to the malignity of Thorgrím Nef—"he was full of witchery and sorcery, a wizard and worker of spells." This man helps to make the magical sword into a spear and, as Thorgrím's accomplice, besets Gísli with his spells. He raises the storm the night Vésteinn is slain.

" men had gone to bed, and when they had been asleep for some time, a gust of wind caught the house and was strong enough to blow down all one side of the roof. Immediately rain poured down from the skies, faster than anybody could remember before: soon everything was dripping in the house, as might be expected with the roof gone."

And later:

"So mighty was the spell that Thorgrím's witchcraft had thrown on him that it was fated that no chief should shelter him and no one ever whole-heartedly supported his cause."

A more vital force which binds the story together is the duty of blood vengeance, and this, rather than any external witchcraft or spell, drives forward the characters to action. It resembles in its insistence a great fugal subject in music which, with its point counterpoint, is always the theme whatever episodic material may disguise its utterance. Dame B. Phillpotts has described the importance of this duty: "These are barbarous stories, and the modern reader is apt to talk of the uncontrolled passions of barbarians when he reads them. The passions may be violent, but they are anything but uncontrolled. The modern tendency to error in interpreting them arises from the

extreme difficulty experienced by a member of a well-policed society in giving credit for anything but personal motives to a hero or heroine who carries out a fierce vengeance. No doubt the natural human desire to inflict hurt for hurt was a powerful influence. But there evidently was a sense that vengeance was a duty to society."

In fact, the story as it proceeds becomes not so much the saga of Gísli but the saga of vengeance carried out to its bitter logical conclusions. This is most clearly seen in that the end does not come at the death of the hero; the rest, an anticlimax according to modern critical standards, was however a logical necessity to the Icelandic audience. Gísli's sister, hitherto his enemy, tries to avenge him when news is brought of his death.

"Bork was very merry when he heard the news and bade Thórdís make Eyjólf welcome. 'Call to mind the great love you had for Thorgrím and be good to Eyjólf.' 'I shall weep for my brother Gísli,' she says, 'but I think porridge or slops would be a fitting supper to give his slayer, don't you?'

In the evening when Thórdís served supper she let fall the tray of spoons she was carrying. Eyjólf had put Gísli's sword up against one of the pillars of the hall, near his feet. Thórdís recognised it and when she bent to pick up the spoons, she seized the hilt and thrust at Eyjólf, hoping to stab him through the middle, but she did not bargain for the hilt catching the table as it came up."

Even this is not the end. Ari, Gísli's eldest brother, who has been out of the saga from the beginning, reappears to avenge the death of Thorkell, his brother, upon Berg son of Vésteinn.

"There as Berg, accompanied by two of his companions was looking for lodgings in the market place of the town, he met two strangers, one of whom was

dressed in scarlet, young and well-built. He asked Berg his name, and Berg told him exactly who he was, and of what family he came, thinking that in any event, wherever he might be, he would stand rather to gain than to lose by mentioning his father's name. But the man in scarlet drew his sword and dealt Berg a blow which killed him. He was Ari Súrsson, the brother of Gísli and Thorkell."

From the foregoing considerations it appears that the Icelanders were accustomed to regard themselves not only in some measure as the sport of a 'motiveless malignity,' but also as the instruments of an unwritten code of justice which it was their duty to administer, whatever sentiment might dictate to the contrary. In some respects, in the story of Gísli, we have to do with a drama in which Fate is the all-important figure. The sagaman stresses this aspect of his theme when he records the popular appreciation of the hero's character, "it is generally agreed that he was one of the greatest heroes that ever lived, but not altogether a lucky man." And indeed, throughout the whole of his life, fate contravenes his actions and best intentions: for him events never turn out right, contrary as this is to the admiration we feel for his uprightness of character and his ability. The author shows great skill in construction in the way he selects and isolates these successive thwartings, presenting each with little comment, and yet throughout directing our attention to the remorseless way in which events prove too much for the hero.

One of these scenes occurs early in the saga. The two brothers Thorkell and Gísli set up house at Hóll; Thórdís, their sister, marries Thorgrím and Gísli marries Asgerth the sister of Vésteinn. "Thorkell and Gísli built a fine house at Hóll, and Thorgrím had the priesthood and was a great stay to those brothers, and their friendship seemed likely to last." He prepares

the way by the irony of the last sentence: the scene which follows has had its fellow in many literatures; it is as native to Greek drama as to the humblest folk-tale. At the General Assembly, the brothers and brothers-in-law swagger about paying little heed to the cases which are being heard at law. Gísli hears that people are criticising their behaviour and are wondering how long the friendship of the four will last: he suggests that they all become blood-brothers. But this very act, taken as a precaution, precipitates the catastrophe by bringing out all the latent jealousy which exists between Thorgrím and Vésteinn.

"Jove strikes the Titans down,
Not when they first begin their mountain piling,
But when another rock would crown their work."

The last step to security is at one and the same moment the first to disaster: "Thus in the Oedipus, the messenger comes to cheer Oedipus and free him from his alarms about his mother, but by revealing who he is, he produces the opposite effect."¹ In the saga it is usual to present scenes in detachment, leaving the implicit irony of the situation unspoken, but here the presagings of fate are spoken by Gest Oddleifsson:

"Thorkell the Wealthy said to Gest, 'How long do you think these men of Haukadale will continue to be so officious and overbearing?' Gest answered, 'There won't be the same harmony in their ranks three summers hence.'"

And so it turns out. Not only do Gísli and Thorgrím become estranged, but a chance word overheard by Thorkell destroys his peace of mind and he quarrels with his brother. As Gísli says to Aud his wife,

¹ *Aristotle, Poetics XI.* In folk-tale the "reversal of the situation" is usually from adversity to prosperity. Jack the giant-killer has sold everything in the market for a handful of beans: in a rage of despair, his mother flings them out of the window and by that very act the heaven-sent agent of her restitution to fortune is able to appear.

'when once things are doomed, someone must utter the words that seem to bring them about.' Gísli tries hard to persuade his brother to remain at Hóll, but not even the outstanding magnanimity of the hero's character can outweigh the designs of fate.

Meanwhile Vésteinn has gone abroad, and again Gísli endeavours to forestall the future by taking the most careful precautions to ensure that he will learn of Vésteinn's landing in Iceland, so that he may be protected against the enmity of Thorgrím and Thorkell. Vésteinn returns; the message of warning is sent off with all speed, but the messengers take the upper road to Hóll and do not overtake their man until he is already on his way down to Dýrafirth. "I would have turned back had ye found me before, but now all the streams fall towards Dýrafirth, and I will ride thither." The chase is one of the most exciting things in the saga, described with the precision of one who knew the roads of the locality, but the supreme artistry lies in the above words of Vésteinn. In the most momentous decision of his life, he is influenced by the mere accident of his surroundings, and although Fate seems to leave him free choice, she has already made his answer inevitable by delaying the messengers. Chance and the very lie of the land¹ decides the issue. Oedipus kills his father where four roads meet: Vésteinn has just crossed the ridge and, as inevitably as the water-streams, his way falls towards Dýrafirth.

The same malicious Fate besets Gísli himself when he is made an outlaw. He shelters for a while on an

¹ Nature plays but a small part in the sagas: it appears prominently only when used as an instrument of destiny, as here. No attempt is made to arouse sympathy for Gísli by set descriptions of the bleakness of the countryside in which he had to take refuge. It is significant that the only reference to it has dramatic purpose; when Eyjólf is tempting Aud to betray Gísli he says, 'Consider what disadvantages you have to put up with, living in this desolate firth, never seeing your kith and kin, all through Gísli's misfortunes.' The 'pathetic fallacy' is, of course, unknown.

island out at sea, but is betrayed in a most unexpected way. "Gísli was there that winter and built a boat for Ingjald, and did many other jobs. It was easy to recognise his work, for he was handier than most men. Everybody began to wonder why everything Ingjald had was so well made, for he was not a good carpenter. . . . People were beginning to get very suspicious about everything and came to the conclusion that Gísli must be still alive and staying with Ingjald, and not drowned as had been generally thought."

And finally, as if the combined enmity of mankind and of Fate were not enough, his own mind turns to war with itself. He is disturbed in his sleep by frightening dreams. "Now Gísli's dreams became so frightening that he dreaded the coming of the dark and could not bear to be left alone." In his dreams appeared two women, one who wished to smear him with blood and claim him for her victim, and the other who attempted to protect him, but whose efforts were increasingly unavailing. He describes their appearance to his wife in some of the finest verses of skaldic poetry: so forceful are the metaphors and phraseology that not even the conventional demands of skaldic verse can disguise his anguish. He addresses the malicious dream-wife as *Göndol*, a valkyrie of Odin, and sees in her the personification of all the ill-fortune which has pursued him during his lifetime, as though the old gods would at last claim their apostate, one who in his way of life had deserted them for the Christian faith he had known on his expeditions abroad. We are familiar with this Icelandic way of explaining the unaccountable workings of Providence in the story of *Thiðrandi*, who is killed in some mysterious way. It is believed that the heathen gods have claimed him for their own before the Christian faith comes to Iceland.

Gísli is 'fey' in this sense: his story is the study of

a life frustrated at all turns by Fate, all his nobility of character is of no avail and, in fact, renders him more vulnerable to its attacks. Apart from the suggestion at the beginning of the saga that he and his brothers were too proud in their bearing at the Assembly, there is no hint that any 'amartia' of character was responsible for his fate. He is a Prometheus who endures all with amazing fortitude and his last heroic gesture of defiance is in character. He has hitherto endeavoured to combat his destiny, but when his dreams give him no rest, he prepares the way for his last fight by giving an advantage to the enemy. 'So they all set out, clad in long kirtles which brushed the rime as they went and left a trail in the dew. Gísli carried a staff in his hand and cut runes upon it as he walked along, the chips dropping to the ground.'

Gísli remains a remote Æschylean figure: the saga tells us very little of the man except in relation to his struggle against destiny. Here the biographical method is very different from that of Plutarch, for example, who maintained 'oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport makes men's natural dispositions and manners appear more plain than the famous battles won.' And so it is too with the minor characters: apart from the shrew Alfdís and the quixotic Hávarð most of them are mere lay figures either the tools of the malicious fate which pursues the hero or his allies in attempting to combat it. The enmity of Steinn, Eyjólf and Thórdís is set in direct contrast to the loyalty of Ingjald, Geirmund and Aud. It is only in the person of Thorkell, Gísli's brother, that we arrive at an attempt at more detailed characterization, and recognize in him a familiar figure, the man of divided loyalties who has to choose between his brother and his powerful enemies, and is not strong enough to decide. His laziness is indirectly responsible for his quarrel with Gísli:

‘Thorkell was fond of dress and did nothing to help in the running of the estate, whereas Gísli worked night and day. One day when it was very fine, Gísli set all his men to work haymaking, all except Thorkell, who was the only man left at home. After breakfast he went to sleep beside the fire in the hall.’ He hears the women gossiping and becomes suspicious of Vésteinn and will remain no longer sharing the estate with his brother.

During Gísli’s outlawry he makes one secret attempt to warn him of impending danger, but will give his brother no open support. “I shall help you, brother, by giving you warning if men plan to kill you, but I will give you no help which would render me liable at law. For I think you have done me great wrong in killing Thorgrím, my kinsman, my partner and bosom friend.”

When they part for the last time, Gísli says :

“You now imagine you are well in with everybody, both feet in the manger, having nothing to fear because mighty chiefs are your friends, whereas I am an outlaw and have to bear the enmity of those same great men. But let me tell you that you shall be slain first. Now we must part, worse friends than we should be, never to meet again : I could never have treated you like this.”

“I care nothing for all your prophecies,” replied Thorkell. So they parted.

But the prophecy comes true and his laziness and vanity prove his bane. Helgi and Berg, Vésteinn’s sons, are at the Assembly, watching the arrival of the great men ; as each ship comes in their companion Hallbjörn, the beggar, tells them whose it is.

“They saw Thorkell step from his ship and find a place to sit down, whilst the baggage was being unloaded and placed where the tide could not reach it.

Bork meanwhile was busy erecting their booth.

Thorkell was wearing a Russian hat and grey cloak, which was fastened with a gold brooch on the shoulder. In his hand he had a sword. Hallbjørn and the two boys went to where Thorkell was sitting. The elder of the two boys asked, 'Who is this distinguished-looking man sitting here? Never have I seen anyone with a more handsome and princely appearance.'

'That is a gracious speech,' came the reply, 'my name is Thorkell.'

'That sword you have in your hand,' the lad continued, 'must be a great treasure: will you let me have a look at it?'

'Your conduct is certainly very unusual,' Thorkell replied, 'yet I cannot refuse your request,' and handed him the sword. The lad grasped the sword and moved away a step or two, untied the peace-straps and drew it.

'I never gave you leave to draw the sword.'

'Nor did I ask for it,' replied the youth as he brandished it.

He struck at Thorkell's neck and cut off his head with the stroke."

THE SONS OF RAGNAR LOTHBROK.¹

By A. H. SMITH, Ph.D.

SOME interesting light is thrown upon the Scandinavian invasions of England by allusions and references in the Sagas, and the value of investigations into these materials has been amply illustrated by Dr Allen Mawer, Mr A. F. Leach, Mr G. Loomis,² and others. But frequently there is so much confusion in the Saga accounts of the Scandinavian campaigns in England that English documents must be used in sifting these materials, and often indeed to prove their authenticity. This is the case with that somewhat obscure, mysterious and romantic saga—*Ragnar Loðbróks Saga*, with its several variations such as the *Þáttir af Ragnars Sonum*, *Krákumál*, etc., all of which are as greatly concerned with Ragnar's matrimonial adventures as with his Viking expeditions.³

Ragnar Lothbrok himself was the best-known of Vikings of the ninth century, apart perhaps from his famous son, Ivar the Boneless. He was probably a Norwegian by origin, and for a long time he must have retained his interests in that country, for later on the Irish Chronicles state that he had been exiled from his Norwegian patrimony and was living with his sons in

¹ The publication of this paper has been made possible by a generous grant from the University of London, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness and expressing my thanks.

² A. Mawer, *Sagabook* VI. 68-9: H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, vol. VI. 1921), 317-323 (with bibliographical references on p. 404): G. Loomis, *The Growth of the St. Edmund Legend* (Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature XIV. 1932), *St. Edmund and the Loðbrok Legend* (ib. XV. 1933).

³ *Saga Ragnars Konungs Loðbrókar*, *Krákumál*, *Þáttir af Ragnars Sonum*, in *Fornaldar Sögur Norðrlanda*, ed. C. C. Rafn, Copenhagen 1829, vol. I. 234, 300, 345. These stories, along with Saxo's, are summarised in *Sagabook* VI. 69 ff.

the Orkneys, a statement borne out by the Maeshowe inscriptions.⁴ At the same time he was closely associated with Denmark through his possession of a great inheritance there. According to Saxo⁵ he was raiding in Ireland in 831, in 845 he was raiding in France, and then, as in his later years he was generally occupied in one expedition or another until his shocking death about 865 at the hands of Ella, a usurping king of Northumbria, who cast him into a snake-pit. But in regard to Ragnar's own fame it is clear, as Dr Mawer says in his essay on Ragnar Lothbrók, "that Ragnar Loðbrók has pretty certainly received his heroic proportions rather in the light of the valorous deeds of his sons, than by his own prowess." The object of the present essay is to speak of some of these sons and more particularly to correlate the various accounts of them in the Sagas and some English Chronicles and histories.

I. THE REPUTED SONS OF LOTHBROK.

There is some agreement between the Scandinavian sources such as Saxo Grammaticus, *Ragnar Loðbróks Saga* and the *Þáttir af Ragnars Sonum*, about the names of Lothbrok's sons, but the distribution of them amongst his several wives varies. There is some agreement too between the Scandinavian stories and those English accounts which ascribe sons to him more by implication than by direct statement. As it is possible to correlate incidents in the Saga with those in English documents, it will be necessary first to go over again some of the ground covered by Dr Mawer and Mr Loomis,⁶ and

⁴ The text is given in James Farrer, *Notice of Runic Inscriptions discovered in the Orkneys* (Edinburgh 1862), p. 35-7: for further references see Mawer, *Saga-Book* VI. 89.

⁵ *Saxoni Grammatici Gesta Danorum*, ed. J. Olrik and H. Ræder (Copenhagen 1931).

⁶ See p. 173 note 2. The repetition of some of the material given in these papers is inevitable, but it has not been necessary to repeat all the valuable information which Dr Mawer has collected from the Irish and Continental Annals.

to consider briefly the identification of some of Ragnar Lothbrok's sons.

(1) *Scandinavian Sources.* According to Saxo, Ragnar had three wives, Lathgertha, Thora and Swanlogha, but the Saga and the *Þáttir* accord him only two, first Thora (mentioned by Saxo as Ragnar's second wife) and secondly Kraka or Aslaug Kraka (sometimes also called Randelin).

Saxo says that by his first wife Lathgertha, Ragnar had two daughters and a son called Fridleuus, none of these children being noted in either Saga or *Þáttir*. By his second wife Thora, says Saxo, Ragnar had six sons, including Syuardus, Biornus, Agnerus and Iuarus, but in the Saga and the *Þáttir* only one of these, Agnarr, is Thora's son, the other three of those here mentioned being ascribed to Aslaug. By Swanlogha he had three sons, Regnaldus, Withsercus and Ericus, Eric being according to the Saga and the *Þáttir* the son of Thora. Lastly in Saxo's story Ragnar had a son Ubbo by the daughter of Hesbernus, but the knowledge of this son is in Scandinavia confined to Denmark.

The Saga and the *Þáttir* agree that by his wife Thora of Götland Ragnar had two sons, Eiríkr and Agnarr, and when later "Thora fell ill and died, Ragnar was so affected that he set his sons and others to rule his land and he himself turned again to Viking-raiding and wherever he went he was victorious." By his second wife he had, according to the Saga, five sons, Ivar the eldest, "who was boneless, but grew so big that he had no equal," Björn nicknamed Ironside, Hvitserk, Ragnvald and Sigurd Serpent-Eye. Of these five sons Ragnvald, who was killed early in life is not mentioned in the *Þáttir*, but the *Þáttir* is alone in referring to two grandsons of Ragnar Lothbrok called Yngvar and Hústó, the natural sons of Ivar the Boneless.

(2) *English Sources*.⁷ In English Chronicles and Histories there is practically no direct reference to Ragnar Lothbrok as the father of the children mentioned in the Scandinavian sources, but an allusion in the Annals of St. Neots⁸ implies that he was the father of two daughters. In these Annals the statement of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that "in 878 the brother of Iwer and Healfdene was in Wessex, in Devonshire, and was slain, and the battle-standard which they called the Raven was taken"⁹ is found in an amplified form and the passage ends:

"there the English attacked the pagans suddenly in the morning and straightway slew them in great numbers, slaying also their king [*i.e.* the brother of Hingwar and Halfdene], so that few escaped to their ships, and there they got much booty including the battle-standard called the Raven; and it is said that the three sisters of Hingwar and Hubba, daughters of Lodobroch, wove that flag and got it ready in one day. . . ."

Saxo, as already pointed out, credited Ragnar with two daughters by his first wife Lathgertha. The passage here quoted suggests that the brothers Hingwar and Halfdene were sons of Lothbrok. In another chronicle, *La Vie Saint Edmund le Rey*, by Denis Piramus, it is said that Lothbrok had three sons—Yngar fierce and wily, Hubbe a sorcerer, and Baerin who tortured and maimed his victims, all three being outlaws and living with their father in a corner of Denmark.

⁷ The principal texts are *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford 1892-9), *The Parker Chronicle 832-900*, ed. A. H. Smith (London 1935), *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford 1904), *Ethelwerd* in H. Savile, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores* (Frankfurt 1601), Abbo of Fleury's *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* in *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series), I. 3-25, Denis Piramus, *La Vie Saint Edmund le Rey*, ib. II. 137ff. See also other notes *infra*.

⁸ In *Asser's Life*, (*ed. cit.*), 44.

⁹ Laud manuscript s.a. 878.

These are the only references to Ragnar Lothbrok in English sources, for he was apparently never so actively engaged in fighting here as some of his sons and it is clear that his memory was overshadowed by theirs. But the allusions are sufficient to show that the paternity of two or three of his sons (Hingwar, Hubba and Baerin) was known to English tradition and the paternity of some of the others can be established through references to ties of brotherhood; they are in English sources Ragnar's sons only by implication. Others are quite unknown to English writers—Eirikr and Agnarr, for instance, as well as some named by Saxo, as Fridleuus, Rathbarthus and Dunwartus—and the absence of reference is to be expected in these cases, for in Scandinavian tradition these sons are not known to have been in England; on the other hand, of those who are said to have raided England the names of Hvitserk, Ragnvald and Sigurd are unknown to English writers in connexion with this family. The only ones so known are Ingwar (Hingwar, etc.) or Iwer, Ubba (Hubba), Halfdene and Baerin. Halfdene is apparently unknown in Scandinavian sources relating to Ragnar's family, and Baerin, who corresponds to the Scandinavian Björn, is mentioned only in the French *Life of St. Edmund* by Denis Piramus. There are, however, many allusions to the brotherhood of the other three. The great Danish army which entered England in the autumn of 865 and captured York in the autumn of 866¹⁰ is to be identified both in date and some of its exploits with the army which according to the Saga came with Ivar the Boneless to avenge Ragnar Lothbrok's death on Ella of Northumbria. In various English Chronicles this army is stated to have been under the leadership of Ingware and Ubba (ASC 870 MS F) or Hingwar (Ethelwerd s.a. 866, 870)

¹⁰ On these and other dates of events recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, see A. H. Smith, *The Parker Chronicle*, off, 24 note *et passim*.

or Halfdene (ASC 875-7, Ethelwerd) or under all three, Haldan, Ingvar and Hubba (876 Recapitulation of the History of Symeon of Durham, Surtees Society, p. 69). Such references offer evidence only of a military association and not of kinship. In a few isolated cases, however, it is abundantly clear that English writers recognised Ingwar, Halfdene and Ubbas as brothers. There is, for example, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle account of the battle in Devonshire in 878 when "Inwæres broþur 7 Healfdenes" was slain, as well as the account of the same battle in the Annals of St. Neots (see above).¹¹

II. RELATION OF ENGLISH AND SCANDINAVIAN ACCOUNTS.

Of the four sons, Baerin, Ubbas, Ingwar and Halfdene, accredited to Ragnar Lothbrok in English sources, Halfdene alone finds no counterpart in Scandinavian story; Baerin is certainly Björn Ironside mentioned in all the Scandinavian accounts, Ubbas is the Ubbo mentioned only by Saxo, and Ingwar must for several reasons be equated with Ivar the Boneless.

Halfdene. Halfdene's name is an English form of the well-evidenced Scandinavian personal name *Halfdanr*, and whilst this name, like *Ubbi*, is recorded in West Scandinavian sources, it is in most instances a name borne by East Scandinavians—Danes and Swedes.¹²—Halfdene may at a guess have been a natural son by some Danish woman, assuming that one could in this instance accord *Halfdanr* its literal meaning "half-Danish." Again, it might have been a nick-name of one of Ragnar's recorded sons, but there are no examples of the use of this name as a by-name in records

¹¹ Ethelwerd, like one or two other chroniclers, says in describing this battle that it was "Halfdene, the brother of the tyrant Ingwar" who was slain, but this is certainly an error, for Halfdene had by this time disappeared, like Ingwar, from English History, but his name was obviously remembered; in any case he had probably died two years before at Strangford Lough (Mawer, *ut. sup.* 86 note).

¹² E. H. Lind, *Norsk-Islandska Dopnamn*, s.n.

of Viking times. These are but two of many possible speculations as to Halfdene's origin, which must in fact remain an unsolved problem.

Ingwar. Ingwar, however, is clearly to be identified with Ivar the Boneless by the equation of the names and by the association of each of them with certain incidents, ascribed to Ingwar in English Chronicles and to Ivar in Scandinavian records. As for the name, this son of Ragnar is in the Laud manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle called *Iwer*, in the Parker manuscript he is called *Inwær*, and in the other manuscripts of this chronicle, as in later histories he is variously called *Ingwar*, *Inguare* or *Hingwar*.¹³ There is little doubt that the English variant *Ingwar* arises through analogy with the Old Scandinavian personal name *Yngvarr*. In Old Scandinavian *Ivarr* and *Yngvarr* were common personal names, but in England *Iwer*, the regular development of *Ivarr*, occurs only twice or thrice, once in the Laud manuscript of the Chronicle (see above), once in a Lincolnshire place-name *Iwarbi*,¹⁴ and perhaps also once in the later additions to the *Liber Vitæ Dunelmensis* (Surtees Soc., Vol. 136, fol. 42*a) as *Yguar* (where *gu* may be a Norman French spelling for *w*). The accepted explanation of the replacement of *Iwer* by *Ingwar* is that in Early Scandinavian *Ivarr* had a nasalised vowel initially, nasalisation being lost during the Viking period; in the Parker manuscript form *Inwær*, as in the Old Irish adaptation *Imhair*, *In-* and *Im-* are used as substitutes for the nasalised vowel, and the unusual name *Inwær* was then readily changed to the more familiar form *Yngwar*, English *Ingwar*.

A further point in the identification of Ingwar with Ivar is this: one incident in the operations of the great Danish army in England was the murder in

¹³ Cf. E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England* 72. *Zur englischen Namenkunde* 50.

¹⁴ E. Björkman, *Zur englischen Namenkunde* 50.

November, 869,¹⁵ of Edmund, king of the East Angles. The Parker Chronicle describes it simply in these words :

“ 870 In this year the army rode across Mercia into East Anglia and took winter-quarters at Thetford. In the same winter Edmund the king fought against them and the Danes won the victory, slew the king and overran all that land.”

Manuscript F of the Chronicle adds : “ the names of those leaders who slew the king were Ingware and Ubba.” The story of Edmund’s martyrdom was greatly elaborated in later English chronicles, and usually the murder of Edmund is assigned to Ingwar and Ubba, as, for example, in the Book of Hyde,¹⁶ or to Ingwar alone, as in Abbo of Fleury’s Martyrdom of St. Edmund or William of Malmesbury’s summary of Abbo.¹⁷ Briefly, the story told by Abbo is that two Danish pirates Ingwar and Hubba attack Northumbria; Hubba remains in Northumbria but Ingwar goes to East Anglia and ravages the district. He sends to the king Edmund demanding that Edmund shall share his wealth with him and become his vassal king. Edmund consults his bishops, who advise him to yield, but finally he answers that he will not submit to a pagan and Ingwar must first become a Christian. Ingwar thereupon bids that Edmund be bound to a tree : he is mocked and scourged and in the end shot to death with Danish arrows.¹⁸ The murder of Edmund is also alluded

¹⁵ On this date cf. A. H. Smith, *The Parker Chronicle*, 25-6.

¹⁶ *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, ed. E. Edwards (Rolls), 10.

¹⁷ Abbo of Fleury, ed. cit. 9ff : William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls), I. 264 (cf also 98).

¹⁸ Amongst the many miracles ascribed to St. Edmund, Abbo relates that “ one circumstance surpasses human miracles, which is that the hair and nails of the dead man continued to grow : these Oswen, a holy woman, used to clip and cut yearly that they might be objects of veneration to posterity.” A similar miracle is accorded to St. Olaf : when Bishop Grimkel looked upon the king a year and five nights after his death he found that the hair and nails had grown. “ Byskup varðveitti helgan dóm Óláfs konungs ; skar hann hár hans ok negl, þvíat hvártveggja óx svá sem þá, at hann væri lifandi maðr hér í heimi.”

to in an Icelandic source (but not in Saxo or Ragnar's Saga). Ari Þorgilsson, a most reliable historian, names Ivar the Boneless as the murderer, for in the *Libellus Islandorum* he says: "Ivar, the son of Ragnar Lothbrok, caused St. Edmund, king of the East Angles, to be slain. That was 870 years after the Birth of Christ, as it is written in his saga." The "saga" from which Ari derived his information was probably Abbo of Fleury's Latin life (where the name is Ingvar): the passage, which is one of the few points of contact between English and Scandinavian traditions, suggests that Ivar and Ingvar were considered identical from an early date. There is, however, a more independent Scandinavian account of the martyrdom of St. Edmund in the *Þáttur af Ragnars Sonum* (p. 355). After describing the death of Ella of Northumbria, the *Þáttur* continues:

"After this battle [of York] Ivar made himself king over that part of England which his kinsmen had had before. He had two natural sons, one called Yngvar, the other Hústó: on Ivar's bidding they tortured the king, Saint Iátmund, to death, and Ivar then subjugated his kingdom."

Up to the death of Ella the *Þáttur* appears to be summarising, with minor alterations, parts of the Saga, but after this point its material is drawn from some other source, for the Saga simply notes that after the Battle of York "Hvitserk and Björn went back to their realm with Sigurd, but Ivar remained and ruled England," adding later on that "Ivar ruled England until his last days when he died of sickness and was buried in a mound."¹⁹

(*Heimskringla*, ed. F. Jónsson, 415). The close similarity between the two circumstances must be more than coincidence, and it is very probable that the miracle told of St. Edmund must have been familiar to the Scandinavians; the saintliness of their own militant churchman could not be better attested than by a miracle taken from one of the earliest martyrs they themselves had made. It suggests another link between England and Scandinavia in the chain of literary relationships.

¹⁹ The mound was probably in Cleveland, Yorkshire. Cf Mawer, *op. cit.*, 82.

The English chroniclers are, therefore, quite definite in making Ingwar or Ingvar and Ubba the murderers of Edmund. Ari is equally certain that the murderer was Ivar, and the *Þáttr* would have three men involved, Ivar the Boneless and his two sons Yngvar and Hústó. In English sources the confusion of the names Ivar and Yngvar would, as shewn above, be explicable, but in a Scandinavian document it is not so clear. One can only suggest some sort of conflation in the story told in the *Þáttr*: the compiler derived his information from such a Scandinavian source as Ari's *Libellus Islandorum* (which rightly makes Ivar the murderer) as well as from some other source where he learned that Yngvar and Hústó were the murderers: he did not clearly perceive that the two sources provided only slightly different versions of one theme, and he or his immediate authority invented the kinship of Ivar and Yngvar and Hústó to overcome the difficulty of the names. This second source which the compiler of the *Þáttr* used could hardly have been Scandinavian ultimately, for in that case the use of the name Yngvar would be difficult to account for. On the other hand it might well have been a document of English origin, like Abbo of Fleury's *Passio* or, more probably, a manuscript of some chronicle which had information akin to that found in manuscript F of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle or Ethelwerd, where both Ingwar and Ubba are involved. There is, of course, no difficulty in supposing that the compiler of the *Þáttr* could have had access to such an English source, for Ari Þorgilsson certainly had. Furthermore, other English writings and Latin works written in England were available in Iceland from the thirteenth century, if not earlier: one need only recall in support of this Icelandic sagas such as *Breta Sögur*, which are translated from English documents. In addition to this Professor E. Ekwall²⁰ has

²⁰ E. Ekwall, "On some English place-names found in Scandinavian Sources," in *Sagastudier af Festskrift til Finnur Jónsson* (Copenhagen, 1928), 218-221.

adduced from a study of English place-names in the Sagas some very pertinent illustrations. Stanford Bridge, for instance, appears frequently in the sagas, not only in the Scandinavianised form *Steinfordbrygge* (usual, too, in England after the Norman Conquest), but also as *Stannfordbryggiu*, which is a literal Scandinavian adaptation of the Old English form, *Stanford brycg*. There is also the still more significant case of *Morstr*, which appears often in *Knytlinga Saga* and other Sagas as the name for Winchester or rather for *Vetus Monasterium* (Old Minster): the name *Morstr* is purely a scribal invention and, as Professor Ekwall shows, it is probably a corruption of *monasterium* abbreviated in writing to something like *mōastr'*. It would seem obvious that saga-writers who invented *Morstr* had access in the first place to English written materials. The same is probably true of the compiler of the *Þáttr* when he adds the names of Yngvar and Hústó to his story of Ivar. Possibly Hústó (otherwise unknown in the traditions of Ragnar's sons) is merely a scribal adaptation of Hubba, which is itself found only in the English and Danish traditions and which would therefore be unknown to the compiler of the *Þáttr* from his West Scandinavian authorities.

III. DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SCANDINAVIAN ACCOUNTS.

Although we can identify some of Ragnar's sons in the various traditions of the story with certainty, there are two major variations between the English and Scandinavian accounts of the exploits of Ragnar and his sons. Firstly, in the Scandinavian story the invasion of England by the Danes in 865 is occasioned by Ella's murder of Ragnar Lothbrok in the snakepit, and Ella's death subsequently was by way of revenge: these two facts are unknown to English chronicles, which simply record that the Danes slew Ella and then proceeded to

the murder of St. Edmund. Secondly in one group of English sources, Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris and *Flores Historiarum*,²¹ the invasion of the Danes follows upon the murder of Lothbrok by a member of King Edmund's household and Edmund was slain in revenge by Lothbrok's sons.

In all the Scandinavian sources the incidents leading up to the death of Ragnar Lothbrok are related with some variation of detail. Saxo's account is the most elaborate, and he says that after Thora's death Ragnar went to England and slew Hama, the father of Hella : Saxo is alone in thus giving Ella cause for personal revenge. Later on, according to Saxo, Ivar Ragnarsson was driven from his kingdom by the Galli who elected Hella ; Ragnar thereupon sailed for York and put Hella to flight, a raid which *Krákumál* also records. Ragnar meanwhile continues his raids elsewhere and eventually, according to all the Scandinavian versions, he returned to England ; this is the first attack on England by Ragnar that the Saga and the *Þáttir* mention, and these two stories assert that the raid came about through Ragnar's boast that he would not be inferior to his sons. On this occasion Ragnar was captured by King Hella (Ella) and thrown to death in the snake-pit. The news of his death reached Denmark, and Saxo relates that Ivar sailed to England and drove a bargain with Ella for land on which to build a city. Siward and Björn followed with a fleet. But according to the Saga and the *Þáttir* Siward and Björn with Hvitserk went first and were defeated : Ivar, who wanted only compensation and not revenge, followed and got the land for his city (called *Lundunaborg* in the Saga, *Iorvik* in the *Þáttir*). After drawing away Ella's men by bribery, Ivar called back the three defeated brothers Sigurd, Björn and Hvitserk to seize the kingdom. In all these

²¹ Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. O. Coxe (1842), I. 303ff, Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, (Rolls), I. 393ff, and *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, (Rolls), I. 433ff.

Scandinavian versions Ella is then slain and "they set the mark of an eagle upon his back." It was after this, in the account in the *Þáttr*, that Ivar instigated his two sons Yngvar and Hústó to murder King Edmund.

In most English chronicles all that we learn of Ella is derived from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. In 866 the Danish army went to York in Northumbria where civil dissension was rife: the Northumbrians had expelled their king Osbryht and they had chosen as their king a man of low birth, Ælla. Osbryht and Ælla, however, joined forces against the Danes, and at the Battle of York (21 March, 867)²² both were slain. Most other chronicles of English origin derive their information from this source, though in the Lindisfarne Annals Ella's reign is precisely dated 863-867. These annals, like the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*,²³ state that Ubba was the leader of the Danes and a little later associate Healfdene and Hubba. Ingwar, too, was usually associated with this army, though he is not actually stated to have been at the Battle of York in 867 except by Symeon of Durham. None of these English chronicles, however, makes any reference to the death of Ragnar Lothbrok and none attempts any explanation of the great Danish invasion. The *Flores Historiarum* and Matthew Paris,²⁴ nevertheless, do allude to Ragnar Lothbrok, and though the story told is quite different from any other English narrative of these events, it does suggest that the death of Lothbrok brought about the great invasion. Wendover's story runs thus:

A certain Dane of royal birth, Lothbroc by name, had two sons, Hinguar and Hubba. One day Lothbroc embarked in a small boat to hunt wild

²² Cf A. H. Smith, *Parker Chronicle*, 24.

²³ Symeon of Durham, *Surtees Society*, vol. 51. p. 3.

²⁴ *Flores historiarum* and Matthew Paris, *edd. cit.* l c.

fowl on the sea-coast, but a storm suddenly arose and he was carried out to sea. After several days he was thrown up in Norfolk, and being found by peasants he was led, as a living miracle, to king Edmund, by whom he was well received as being of distinguished appearance. He remained at Edmund's court some time, and "as the Danish language has close affinity with English" he was able to relate his experiences. Lothbroc attached himself to the court huntsman, Bern, but Bern soon became jealous of Lothbroc's prowess and murdered him. As a punishment for this, Bern was cast adrift in the little boat which had brought Lothbroc thither, and by chance the boat drifted to Denmark, and there Bern told the sons of Lothbroc that king Edmund had slain their father. They attacked England and laid it waste, slaying Edmund and casting his head and body into the wood where they believed Lothbroc himself had perished. But the saint's relics were incorruptible and wrought many miracles.

This appears to be a contaminated version of the Scandinavian story of king Ella. Ragnar arrives in England, according to the English tale, exhausted by his solitary voyage, or according to the Saga, ill-prepared on account of his hasty departure; he is murdered and his death leads to the invasion of England by his sons and the death of an English king, Edmund in the English tale, Ella in the Sagas (Ella being suggested also by other English chronicles). With these basic elements from the Scandinavian tradition this story incorporates elements from the native tradition of Edmund's martyrdom at the hands of Ingwar, and by this the immediate cause of the great invasion and the reprisals are shifted from the almost unknown Ella to the famous saint Edmund, whose death is now explained by a typical piece of treachery and a revenge

motive. Leach²⁵ thinks that the story in Roger of Wendover was transmitted through the Danish settlers in England (presumably from the Scandinavian story), but it cannot be shewn that the original English version of the tale as represented by inadequate accounts in the Chronicles differed materially from the Scandinavian version as found in the Saga. And, moreover, when compared with the Scandinavian version this tale has important differences in detail. These differences, which cannot all have arisen in fitting the Ella-story to king Edmund, suggest that there had been a native version of the story of Ella, of which the Chronicles give only isolated details and reminiscences. This native tale was obviously not so widely known, for it is not in the common stock of information used by the mediæval English historians. It would, in fact, be such a story as the lost English story of the foundation of Scarborough by Scardyng, a native romance with its counterpart in Kormaks Saga.²⁶ But whatever the origin of Wendover's main theme, the shifting of the story from Ella to Edmund may well have been due to the fact that in English sources Ingwar is not identified with the death of Ella (except once in Symeon of Durham), but only with the death of Edmund. Partly also it may be due to the fact that Ella was almost unknown to mediæval chroniclers; his fate and his relationship to Osbryht whom he supplanted were troublesome features of Northumbrian history, probably because the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle itself has little information to offer on Northumbrian affairs at this time. Symeon of Durham, for example, thought that Osbryht and Ella were brothers and their death was retribution for incursions they had made on St. Cuthbert's lands. Ordericus Vitalis, on the other hand, regarded them as martyrs to the common cause against the Danes.

²⁵ Leach, *op. cit.* 320.

²⁶ E. V. Gordon, *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, I. 320 3.

An intermediate version between the Scandinavian Ella-story and Wendover's Edmund-story is to be found in *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rey* by Denis Piramus²⁷ :—

Edmund's great virtues stirred up envy, especially in Lothebroc, who was evil and cruel, and who had three sons, Yngar, Hubbe and Baerin. These three sons boast of their own deeds to Lothebroc and he taunts them, telling them that they have performed no deeds equal to the feat of Edmund : they become angry and resolve to make a raid on Edmund's kingdom of East Anglia. They therefore collect a fleet and arrive in Northumbria, where they kill and plunder. Yngar then sails to East Anglia and arrives at Orford. He ravages the countryside and then proceeds to the murder of Edmund.

Here, of course, the death of Lothbrok is not recorded; it is his taunts which lead to the invasion. But Baerin is assigned a proper place amongst the brothers, and the sequence of events from the beginning of the invasion is, as far as it goes, complete, agreeing in outline with the Scandinavian versions and the English Chronicles.

IV. THE AUTHORITY OF THE SCANDINAVIAN TRADITION.

Apart from some discrepancies in both English and Scandinavian traditions, such as Wendover's conflation of two distinct episodes or the addition of Yngvar and Hústó to the story in the *Þátttr*, there appears to be a good deal of general agreement in the various sources. The death of Ragnar is authenticated by the Saga, the *Þátttr* and Saxo, as well as by Wendover, and so is the consequent invasion of England. The Scandinavian sources and English chronicles are then in agreement about the sequence of events, the capture of York, the

²⁷ Denis Piramus, *ed. cit.* 190ff.

death of Ella, the invasion of East Anglia and the martyrdom of St. Edmund.

We are, of course, dealing with romantic tales, and there can be little doubt that such tales must often record events which can hardly be based on historical fact,²⁸ but the rejection of these materials, so far as England is concerned, should not be lightly undertaken, especially when they deal or might deal with incidents between the years 854 (when the Danes first wintered in Sheppey) and 865 (when in the autumn the great Danish army arrived). Between these years the Anglo-Saxon is almost silent about the Danes, and this might be interpreted as representing a period of comparative quiet and freedom from Viking incursions. But most of the chronicles are almost equally silent about Northumbrian affairs in those years: yet important events were taking place in the struggle between Osbryht and Ella. It is indeed likely that Viking raids on the northern sea-board still continued, for Lindisfarne in Northumbrian tradition and *Streoneshalh* in local tradition were both sacked by the Danes, Lindisfarne for the second time.²⁹ The Memorial of the Foundation of Whitby Abbey, for example, after telling of Abbess Hild's foundation of *Streoneshalh*, goes on to relate that "this famous place had in fierce onslaught been laid waste by the most cruel pirates, Ingwar and Ubba." There is, of course, no chronological data in this document, and it is quite possible that statements were made to explain the decay of important Northumbrian monasteries and that the names of the raiding leaders were taken at random from the stock of Viking names familiar to most mediæval chroniclers. Apart

²⁸ Cf. for example, the reminiscences of older tales, in the account of Ivar's acquisition of land in England for his city.

²⁹ Cf. for instance, Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (ed. cit.) I. 393. *Flores Historiarum* (ed. cit.) I. 433, *Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert* (Surtees Society, vol. 87), p. 196-7 (from Symeon of Durham probably), *Whitby Cartulary* (Surtees Society, vol. 69), 1.

from this there is no reason to doubt their genuineness, and in the Whitby case one might tentatively suggest a connexion with a story in Saxo and in Ragnars Saga. Saxo relates that Ragnar succeeded to his father's estates in Skåne and Sjælland, and sometime after his marriage with Lathgertha the men of Skåne with those of Jylland rose against him, but they were defeated at a place called Hvitaby, which Saxo places in Skåne. In the Saga the attack on Hvitabœr is referred to Ragnar's sons :

One day (when his sons were getting on towards manhood) Ivar asked his younger brothers how much longer they were to sit at home. Let us, he said, get ships and men and win for ourselves goods and honour. Such ships and men Ragnar gave them. They won their first battle, and Ivar said they should now name a place where greater opposition would be met ; and he mentioned a place called Hvitabœr. They sailed to the place and went up on land, leaving their youngest brother Ragnvald in the ships. They went into battle, and Ragnvald, impatient to be in it, followed with a few men, but was slain. The town now fell to the brothers, and they pursued the enemy, returning only to sack and burn it.

The Saga does not state precisely where Hvitabœr was, though Saxo's account clearly suggests that it was Vitaby in Skåne. It is possible, however, that the place is Whitby, supposing that Saxo has placed it in Skåne, because he refers the battle to Ragnar and the men of Skåne and not to Ragnar's sons. There is some doubt about the etymology of Vitaby in Skåne: the unique form cited by Hellkvist³⁰ is *Hvidæby*, and on the evidence of the modern spelling Hellkvist would refer the name to an Old Swedish *Hvitaby*: Falkman on the other hand regards the first element as Old

³⁰ E. Hellkvist, *De Svenska Ortnamnen på -by*, 52.

Swedish *vidher*, "a wood." But the early spellings for the English Whitby are unambiguous: they are always *Whiteby*, etc., *Hvítabyr* in the *Heimskringla*,³¹ and these correspond exactly to the forms found in Saxo and the Saga. In the Saga the incident took place three years before the death of Eystein, king of Sweden, after which Ragnar's sons went on a Viking expedition to Tuscany, and it was on their return from this expedition that they heard of Ragnar's death in England. The incident therefore precedes the great invasion of England in 865. Chronologically it might well refer to a sacking of Whitby, and it may actually belong to the attack on England by Ragnar when he slew Hama and apparently left Ivar in charge of the kingdom until the latter was driven out by Hella (see above, p. 184).

³¹ *Place-Names of the North Riding* (English Place-Name Society, vol. V), 126.

REVIEWS.

DET NORSKE LANDNÅM PÅ MAN (The Norwegian Settlement on Man).

By CARL J. S. MARSTRANDER. Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. Bind VI. 386 pp. Two Maps. (Oslo, 1932.)

Dr. Carl Marstrander's fine book on the Norwegian settlement on Man is likely to form a landmark, not only in the history of that island, but in the general study of the Norwegian settlements in Northern Britain. At first sight the book might seem to be misnamed, for it is mainly a detailed study of the place-names of Man, accompanied by numerous small illustrations and by two valuable maps, showing the "sheading" and "treen" divisions during the historic periods, from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries. But its main conclusions, summarized from the results of this study, have a wider application. They throw much fresh light upon the whole subject of Norse land-takes in these islands. The revolutionary effects of the Norwegian conquest about the first half of the ninth century is shown by the feeble traces left of pre-Celtic names, or even of Gaelic names of the pre-Christian period. "It would be well nigh impossible to quote one single Manx place-name which for linguistical or typological reasons must be dated previous to the Viking Age. Evidently the Norwegian conquest utterly altered the character of the nomenclature, the invaders taking complete possession of all landed property and giving it Norwegian names." In the fourteenth century charters, the relation between Gaelic and Norwegian names is only as 1:8. Dr. Marstrander finds that, as a whole, Manx nomenclature agrees better with Scottish-Gaelic than with Irish, and may possibly be classified with this branch of the Gaelic dialects. Its central position must have made Man a meeting-point for naval incursions from all the surrounding localities, and its close connexion with the Sudreyar through the middle ages could not have been without influence on the character of its language and population. Dr. Marstrander, nevertheless, thinks that Man formed part of the Norwegian dominion which Olav the White founded in 852 with Dublin as its centre. It is curious that the island is very seldom mentioned in the Irish chronicles, which our author ascribes to the very early recognition by the Irish of its Norwegian domination. He finds that the Scandinavian idiom in Man, as in Ireland, belongs to the distinctively south-western type. "No single Man Norse name or loan-word," he writes, "bears the phonetic stamp peculiar to East Scandinavian (Danish, Swedish), nor does any single typically East Scandinavian place or personal name enter our material." This adds strength to the recent investi-

gations of Professor A. Johannson, who believes that the earliest raids in Ireland were all from Norway, not from Denmark. Dr. Marstrander gives reasons for concluding that these Norwegian settlers entered into very friendly relations with the Gaelic population, even calling their children by Gaelic names; and he concludes from this that there must have co-existed on the island a Gaelic group among the inhabitants which the Norwegians themselves from the beginning considered as free and socially their equals.

The thoroughness of the Norwegian occupation of the island is shown not only by its place and family names, but by the administrative divisions, the terms still in use, "sheading," "treen," and the "House of Keys," being all, in the opinion of the writer, of Norwegian origin. Into these questions he goes at some length. Though the book is written in Norwegian, a summary of over twenty pages in English will enable English readers to follow the main line of his arguments, and to appreciate his historical conclusions.

But the body of the book has another besides its historical interest, for it is a study of the development and phonetics of the Norse and Gaelic languages as found in the Manx vocabulary such as could only have been undertaken by a scholar who had made a special study of both tongues. While giving full credit to the work done by previous investigators, such as A. W. Moore and J. J. Kneen, in the study of Manx place-names, Dr. Marstrander's new work has placed the whole subject for the first time on a scientific basis, and in many respects his investigations correct results arrived at by these workers. Whether from a linguistic or a topographical point of view, his book should be of interest to students in our own islands.

ELEANOR HULL.

ROMANCE IN ICELAND. By MARGARET SCHLAUCH. *London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1934. Pp. 201. Price 8s. 6d. net.*

In Iceland there was a marked shift in taste from the sagas on native themes—the family sagas—which were in the main realistic, to those based on foreign material. It is with these new romantic sagas—the *lygisögur* or "lying sagas"—that Margaret Schlauch deals in this important work which will be welcome to Norse specialists and students of comparative literature alike. The author traces the sources of the plots and episodes which make up the "multi-coloured patchwork of the *lygisögur*" and presents a mass of information in a clear and entertaining form. The study is not only of great interest and value in itself, but also stimulating in the new avenues of research it opens up. One great need is a series of editions of the *lygisögur*, for many of those analyzed by Miss Schlauch are still in manuscript.

A brief summary of the contents will best indicate the scope of the book. The romantic sagas Miss Schlauch has studied fall between 1200 and 1500. In her first chapter she discusses the reasons for the revolution in Icelandic literary taste, among which the most important are the wanderings of individual Icelanders who brought back stories from the lands they visited, and the internationalism of the Christian Church. Native and foreign scholars were exchanged and Latin literature of all types provided material for the *lygisögur*. "Ovid was known as early as about 1100 in Iceland.

Where Ovid was known medieval romance could easily follow." Further, even in the family sagas the supernatural had appeared, and this element increased under the influence of foreign romance. The rest of the book deals with the different elements of which the *lygisögur* were composed and the widespread sources from which their themes were drawn. There was no complete break with the past and the old gods and heroes appear in incongruous surroundings. Latin influence is seen not so much in plots as in the general setting of the action. Details were freely borrowed from Latin works on history and geography. The plots and situations of Greek romance were imitated and much Oriental material reached Iceland in the latter Middle Ages. Not only were specific plots and episodes borrowed from French, but the general attitude of chivalry began to colour native story telling. There are, further, chapters on Recurrent Literary Themes and Magic and the Supernatural.

The book has a useful appendix listing actual translations and adaptations of foreign romances in Icelandic before 1550 and a full index.

One minor fault may be found with the arrangement of the book—summaries are provided at the end of each chapter or section; these are hardly needed and in some cases lead to irritating repetition; for instance, the fact that the old gods are found in the *lygisögur* among trolls, witches and magicians is pointed by Miss Schlauch with the remark "This is a new form of the *ragnarök* indeed" (p. 28), which re-appears on page 36 as "This was the true *Götterdämmerung*."

DREAMS IN OLD NORSE LITERATURE AND THEIR AFFINITIES IN FOLKLORE.

With an Appendix containing the Icelandic Texts and Translations. By GEORGIA DUNHAM KELCHNER, Ph.D. (Cantab.). Cambridge: At the University Press, 1935. Pp. 154. Price 10s. 6d. net.

Miss Kelchner's book gives an interesting collection of dreams in Old Norse literature. The treatment is, however, rather slight; only 76 pages are devoted to the subject (apart from the texts and translations), of which 10 are purely introductory. It is perhaps worth noting that although Miss Kelchner apparently includes all

types of prose saga in Old Norse literature, several interesting dreams are cited (all from published sagas) in Miss Schlauch's book reviewed above (see especially page 136) which are not mentioned here.

It is unfortunate that a work of undoubted value, especially to the folklorist, should be marred by a number of faults in the presentation of the material. The references in foot-notes are unduly cumbrous—a flagrant example is to be found in the footnotes to p. 18. The style is often careless; for example, on p. 46 we have the sentence: "Just as a god is conceived as disturbed by illboding dreams, so also gods appear in the dreams of men." The obvious is sometimes too heavily stressed; in the description of a dream on p. 34 we have: "'A man came to him and said: 'Know that Snorri shall die (be in his coffin) before you.''" He himself interprets this to mean that Snorri is to pass away before him." On the other hand, necessary stages in the reasoning are often omitted, as in the remarks on Freyr on p. 49. Surely the reader need not be referred to Funk and Wagnall's dictionary for a definition which begins "Valkyr = Norse Myth" and ends "Valkyrian = martial, warlike." And why the curious form *worser* on pp. 89 and 91?

SAGA EIRÍKS MAGNÚSSONAR, eftir dr. STEFÁN EINARSSON Reykjavík, 1933.

May be had from Snæbjörn Jónsson, 4, Austurstræti, Reykjavík.

This well-written life of Eiríkur Magnússon, 1833—1913, by his kinsman, Dr. Stefán Einarsson, now lecturer in Icelandic at Baltimore, U.S.A., is of great interest to all lovers of Northern studies. Dr. Einarsson has had access to Magnússon's letters and papers, and the book is clearly a labour of love.

Magnússon resided in England 1862 to 1913, and was sub-librarian of the University Library, Cambridge, 1871 to 1909, or 38 years. His association with William Morris in translating the Icelandic Sagas has thrown lustre on Norse studies. The great Icelandic scholar, Gudbrand Vigfússon, resided at Oxford from 1866 to 1889, and produced a series of monumental works.

These two Icelanders, established at rival universities, were utterly unlike. Magnússon was a man of the world, musical, temperamental, with an artistic bent. Vigfússon was the austere, unworldly scholar who stood aloof from the pettiness of his fellow-men. To begin with they criticised each other's works somewhat unmercifully. When E. M. collected money to relieve a famine in Iceland, G. V. wrote in the press that there was no need for this begging. E. M., returning from his relief expedition to Iceland, became furious and flooded Oxford with pamphlets against his enemy, G. V., on the distress in Iceland. Dr. Einarsson holds the scales fairly and justly between these two men, so excellent each in his own way.

J. S.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SWEDEN. By RAGNAR SVANSTRÖM and CARL-FREDRIK PALMSTIERNA. *Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. Pp. xi + 443. 12s. 6d. net.*

Mr. Svanström has written the earlier part of this volume, laying stress on the inter-relations between Sweden, England and Scotland, and on the part Sweden has played in European affairs. Baron Palmstierna, the son of the Swedish Minister in London, has written of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and drawn a most interesting parallel with constitutional development in England at the same time. On p. 342 he says the two Dukedoms (*i.e.* Duchies, Slesvig and Holstein) returned, after a unanimous plebiscite and amid great national rejoicings, to the mother country (Denmark). Only the northmost, Danish-speaking part of Slesvig returned to Denmark, by a plebiscite by no means unanimous. This, however, has nothing to do with this history of Sweden, which is specially adapted for English readers and can be thoroughly recommended as a trustworthy guide.

J. S.

Reviews of the following books are unavoidably held over for the next number :—

SIGURD THE DRAGON-SLAYER. A Faroëse Ballad-Cycle. Translated by E. M. Smith-Dampier. *Oxford: Basil Blackwood. 10s. 6d. net.*

THE SAGA OF HROLF KRAKI. By S. M. Mills, with Introduction by Prof. E. V. Gordon. *Oxford: Basil Blackwood. 5s. net.*

GUNNLAUGSSAGA ORMSTUNGU. Edited by L. M. Small. *Leeds University. School of English Language texts and monographs. 5s.*

Publications of HIÐ ÍSLENZKA FORNRIÐAFÉLAG, Reykjavík. Íslenskt Fornrit, Vol. II. Egils Saga Skalla-Grímssonar, edited by Sigurður Nordal, 1933, cvi + 320 pp. Vol V. Laxdæla, Saga, Halldórs Þættir Snorrasonar, Stúfs Þáttur, edited by EINAR OL. SVEINSSON, 1934, xevi + 320 pp. 9 kr. per vol., which may be had from Snæbjörn Jónsson, 4 Austurstræti, Reykjavík.

GOTTHIOD UND UTGARD. By Gudmund Schütte. Vol. I., part I. *Copenhagen Aschehoug Dansk Forlag, 1935.*

THE VIKING SOCIETY.

AN APPRECIATION.

By PROFESSOR KEMP MALONE.

PERHAPS the most important day in the history of Northern studies in the Anglo-Saxon world is April 5, 1892, for on that day the Viking Society for Northern Research was born. The Society started modestly enough, as a "Social and Literary Branch" of the Orkney and Shetland (Charitable) Society of London. From the first, however, the "branch" had its own constitution, its own budget and (most important of all) its own Honorary Secretary in the person of A. W. Johnston, the prime mover in the undertaking and the power behind the throne from that day to this. Mr. Johnston suggested "Viking Club" as a good name for the newly founded "branch" and this name was duly adopted. Membership in the Club was opened to everyone interested in Orkney and Shetland, whether a member of the parent Society or not. The next step, foreshadowed in the name and organization of the Club, was soon taken. On November 9, 1893, the Club became a wholly independent body, changed its name to "Viking Club, or, Orkney, Shetland and Northern Society," and opened its doors to everyone interested in Northern studies. In 1902 the Club again changed its name, becoming the "Viking Club, Society for Northern Research," and in 1912 its new title was simplified to "Viking Society for Northern Research," the name now in use.

The increasing emphasis on research as the years have passed is signalized in the later forms of the name of the Society. Research, however, was part of the programme from the start. The earliest meetings were largely devoted to scholarly matters, and the Society has always lent aid to learned undertakings in its chosen field of interest. This aid, useful everywhere, has, perhaps, been of greatest service in the matter of publication. But for the initiative and support of the Society, indeed, many researches, the fruits of which have found record in many a volume, would never have been undertaken at all. The publications of the Society include a Saga-Book, now in its eleventh volume; a Year-Book (no longer issued), running to 24 volumes; an Old Lore Series in eight volumes; a volume of Orkney and Shetland records, and a companion volume of Caithness and Sunderland records; a Translation Series of two volumes; and an Extra Series of four volumes. A competent judge has recently described the Old Lore Series as "a veritable gold mine for research." The same may rightly be said of the two volumes of records listed above, while the Saga-Book and the Year-Book include many learned articles and reviews of permanent value. The Translation Series has already given us good English renderings of the Cormac Saga and of the mythological part of the Elder Edda, and the Extra Series includes distinguished learned works like the late Knut Stjerna's *Essays on Beowulf* and Birger Nerman's *Poetic Edda in the Light of Archæology*. The activities of the Society, as reflected in its publications, are notable for their many-sidedness. We have here, not a group of narrow specialists, bent on tearing each other to pieces, but a band of fellow-workers in a wide field, each serving to make more fruitful the labours of his colleagues by bringing his special knowledge to bear on the field as a whole. In sum, the Society has made a valuable con-

tribution to Northern studies, a contribution which could hardly have been made by a strictly professional association of experts, and which bids fair to grow in value with the years, as research becomes increasingly specialized in the halls of learning.

The wide range of interest characteristic of the Society is reflected in the roll of its members and collaborators. In glancing through the publications I have come across the names of William Morris, W. A. and J. S. Clouston, Edmund Gosse, R. H. Hodgkin, H. J. C. Grierson, the Americans F. M. Egan and Poultney Bigelow, and the Icelandic poet Matthías Jochumsson (to mention but a few, taken more or less at random), besides specialists of the older generation like H. M. Chadwick, York Powell, Clark Hall, W. P. Ker, Bruce Dickins, R. W. Chambers, Sir Israel Gollancz, W. G. Collingwood, T. N. Toller, Allen Mawer, Bertha Phillpotts, T. D. Kendrick, and George T. Flom, from the Anglo-Saxon world, and J. C. Poestion, the Bugges, Magnus Olsen, Gabriel Gustafson, Haakon Shetelig, Harry Fett, Jakob Jakobsen, Axel Olrik, Gudmund Schütte, Finnur Jónsson, Eiríkr Magnússon, Jón Stefánsson, Oscar Montelius, Hans Hildebrand, Erik Björkman, A. G. van Hamel, and Elis Wadstein, from Scandinavia and Middle Europe. This list of names suggests another service which the Society is rendering to our western civilization. In these days of perfervid nationalism it is good to have organizations international in membership and serving, as a by-product of their activities, to promote co-operation among the nations.

I cannot close without paying tribute to Mr. A. W. Johnston and his lamented wife, to whom the Society owes so much. Mr. Johnston not only founded the Society, but, with the constant aid of his wife, he kept it going, marked out the path which it was to take, and enlisted the help of a multitude of collaborators, seeing

to it always that when one fell by the wayside another took his place. Mr. and Mrs. Johnston were themselves active in research, and have a large body of writings to their credit, but their monument is greater than their personal publications: it is the Society itself.¹

¹ Other accounts of the Society will be found in *Svensk Tidskrift* XXIII. (1936), 109-13 (by Birger Nerman); *Nordmanns Forbundet* XXIX. (1936), 185 f. (by Erling Monsen); *The Times*, April 2, 1936; the *Sunday Times*, May 17, 1936; the *Observer*, June 7 and 14, 1936.

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THE CONCEPTION OF FATE IN EARLY TEUTONIC AND CELTIC RELIGION.

BY PROFESSOR DR. A. G. VAN HAMEL.

THE Germanic and the Celtic tribes make their appearance in history not long after each other. The Celts are then at the acme of their power, but soon the Teutons become their successors in a large part of Europe. From that moment the fate of the two nations offers a very different aspect. The Germanic peoples succeed in maintaining and even expanding themselves, whereas the Celts are driven back to the Atlantic fringe, under the menace of total extinction.

Historians will attempt to throw some light upon the causes of this striking divergence. The phenomenon is, of course, very complicated. Civilization, for instance, had risen to a higher level with the Celts, especially those of the Continent, than with the Teutons, and amongst the former decadence may have followed it. This would naturally mean an advantage on the side of the more strenuous tribes of the north as soon as they equalled the Celts in armaments. However, Cæsar's account of the Gaulish war does not convey the impression that those men, who fought desperately for their independence, were lacking in courage. Apart from their inferiority in the military art, which, of course, did not exist where they faced Teutons, not Romans, they appear to be passionate fighters, but of a nervous mentality with but a small amount of perseverance. This makes them incapable of resisting Roman drill in the long run. It is here the religious outlook comes in. For in those early times religion means a good deal more than, it would seem, in later days. There is no sensation or reflexion, whether it be conditioned by the nature of the individual or by the national character, but religion has its share in it and provides it with its ultimate expression. Family feel-

ing, nationalism, vengeance, and love itself are departments of religion, that is, of the fundamental conception of life and the attitude towards the complexity of its problems. A study of early Teutonic and Celtic civilization discloses the fact that the belief in certain divinities and their cult is but a part of the religious system as a whole, at its best but a superstructure apt to conceal the body of notions and traditions which in reality stands in a higher degree and with better right for the actual religious equipment of man in northern and western Europe at the dawn of history.

Of the Celtic nations only the early Irish have left us in their literature sufficient materials from which we may obtain an adequate idea of their religious conceptions.¹ In Britain the literary remains are scanty, but as far as they allow of a conclusion, they bespeak a mentality very similar to that of pagan Ireland. As to the ancient Gauls, there are some indications that their religious attitude was fundamentally the same as that of the insular Celts. But they were constantly in touch with foreign religious systems, which could not but deeply influence their own. It is not always an easy task to discount these borrowings in a satisfactory way. On the other hand, the materials from the islands have passed through several generations of Christianity; although these never lost their natural sympathy for the national past and its traditions, it is by no means certain that this sympathy was supported by an equal amount of understanding. However, generally speaking, it may be said that early Irish Christianity was tolerant and that the Irish national consciousness was too self-centred to cut off the roots of its pre-Christian past. Irish epic literature, for instance, preserves many features that can be proved to be neither Christian nor affected by Christianity.

¹ See A. G. van Hamel, *Aspects of Celtic mythology* (British Academy, Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, 1934).

Speaking of Teutonic religion and mythology, we must, of course, avoid the common mistake to apply the evidence from Scandinavia to the Germanic tribes in general. That method, although never justifiable, has sometimes proved attractive to certain groups of scholars, owing to the numerous gaps in our knowledge of southern Teutonic paganism. It became at the same time fatal to them. We must even realize that the so-called Scandinavian materials are largely Icelandic and nothing else. But in our present case a certain generalization involves fewer risks than, for instance, in that of the student of early divine cults. In the theistic superstructure there are pronounced differences between the Germanic north and the south. But the general religious foundation, which we attempt to approach now, seems to have been much the same for all different tribes. The Icelandic origin of the bulk of our evidence even implies a very fortunate circumstance. The colonization of this remote island, uninhabited until then, revived some very primitive religious notions, which were only subconsciously lingering on in the Norwegian mother-country.

From the enormous field that presents itself to our eyes, we select one instance which may be regarded as representative for the religious basis of Germanic and Celtic pagan thinking, an instance, at the same time, that touches upon one of its essential elements. It provides perhaps a better starting-point than any other. Which were the religious ties that bound the early Celtic and Teutonic communities to the native soil? As is well known, the occupation and possession of the land is connected by the primitive mind with the action of superior powers, perhaps more so than any other feature of human society. Here is a topic that supplies us with abundant material for comparison. What could be gathered from other similar points, would only confirm our conclusions.

Ancient Irish society substantiated its titles to the possession of the land by framing a fictitious colonization legend. Traditions were still current about earlier inhabitants of the islands than the Celtic Gaels. The social status of their descendants still testified to their origin from conquered races. In connexion with these traditions and institutions the population was divided into groups, and these groups were supposed to have invaded the country successively.¹ Originally the land was lying waste and owned by the primitive demons, whom we may take as a personification of wild nature. They never loosened their grip completely. Each of the successive groups of invaders, of whom the benevolent cultivation spirits were the first and the pure Gaels the last, had to overcome both the preceding group and the never relenting demons. Thus the colonization legend largely consists of a series of battles. Of these the two battles of Moytura (Mag Tuired) have become famous in Irish literature. The primitive demons are represented as dwelling in the surrounding sea, but at the same time they exercise a power over the land by filling it with hostile magic, often in animal shape. The battles in question are all of a magic character, which is particularly conspicuous in the case of the battles of Moytura. Enchanted weapons, magic mists and showers, healing wells or cauldrons form the usual array. Nor are these requisites confined to the battles of the colonization legend. The heroic tales are equally full of them. For the primitive demons never stopped their attacks after the colonization had come to an end. Their menace was always there and a continual defence against it was required, especially of kings, who represented the fortune of Ireland in their persons and hence were held responsible for adversity and defeat. The fundamental notion in all this is the idea that the land was originally owned by demons and was wrung from them by man

¹ See Eoin MacNeill, *Phases of Irish history* (Dublin, 1920), pp. 31 sqq.

who, in order to reserve it for cultivation by himself and his offspring, was forced to a constant struggle, largely by magical means.

So far there is a general agreement with the traditions on the occupation of Iceland, towards the end of the ninth century, by emigrants from Norway. These stories, as found in the Icelandic sagas and in the so-called Book of Colonization, are based upon real events and of an historical nature.¹ The Irish colonization legend, on the other hand, was but fiction. This difference, however, does not prevent a comparison. It is obvious that even a fictitious relation of a succession of invasions must be composed of elements that bore in themselves a full show of probability. The question whether a text reflects a reality or only its image, as designed by the creative mind, is a matter of no consequence for the present argument. Nobody will object to future generations using our present-day novels for a reconstruction of twentieth century thought.

Iceland was uninhabited by man, as Ireland was supposed to have been at the beginning. Demons or spirits of the wild were the owners, as in the case of Ireland. Man came as an intruder and took the land from them. They retired to the inaccessible mountains and deserts, and might return whenever they chose to. The two cases are identical, even though the outer circumstances are necessarily different. In real history there was no room for magic battles against giants or trolls. They belong to the privileges of fiction. The notion that demoniacal nature can only be approached or opposed by means of magic must be expressed in a different manner.

Moreover, the early Icelanders never made the strict distinction between good and evil spirits, which is so characteristic of Irish belief. There was room enough for both man and spirits, and the latter would be satisfied as long as they were decently treated. In a highly cultivated country like Ireland the arable and pasturable land

¹ See *Landnámabók*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1900.

is naturally separated from, let us say, the hunting areas; the two are opposite features of the earth. Iceland has only sparse patches of grassland amidst the vast wildernesses of stone and lava; here the farmer is constantly in touch with the primary forces of nature, and being left to himself, can not afford to look upon these as purely hostile influences. Fighting them would be of little avail. The obvious policy is to bind them by harmless means to their own domains and, in case of emergency, to appease them amiably. In itself the occupation of the inhabitable stretches of land was an encroachment upon the rights of the original owners. In order to make them accept it, a law was enacted that no colonist should terrify them by having a gaping dragon-head on the stern of his ship. When the limits of a settlement were fixed, fire was carried along them, or some objects of magical potency, such as coins or a comb, were buried underneath them with the object of preventing the spirits of the wild from transgression. Another means to secure an undisturbed possession of the land was to give names to rivers, hills and valleys, and thus to force them within the bonds of civilization, as is done with a new-born child. Likewise, the hiding of a comb reminds us of the first combing and haircutting of the infant. Gold and silver, of course, have a particular protecting power of their own. Fire contains an exceptionally strong magic. All these ceremonies can be rendered more effective by pronouncing words in a poetical form. The strict rules of rhythm and alliteration operate like a homœopathic medicine and bind unruly nature to the will of man.

The general conception as regards the attitude of the colonist towards his land is the same in the two countries and it is based upon a religious sentiment. If there are variances, these do not touch the core. But there is one essential difference, which has not yet been pointed out. Apart from magical practices, the Norsemen, when approaching the coast of their future new homeland, had

also recourse to an expedient of an altogether different character in order to secure good luck during the landing and the selection of a favourable spot for the settlement. In the occupation they assign a part to one of their gods, usually Thór, the friend of the humans. His effigy had been carved in the roof-pillars of the house in Norway, and these the emigrants took with them over the sea. As soon as the Icelandic coast was sighted, they would throw them into the water, and where they were washed ashore, the god was supposed to direct his friends to their future homestead. The underlying consideration is evidently this : in the transaction with the demons of the land the god acts as a mediator and thus saves us a lot of trouble and also risks. He secures a suitable dwelling-place for his client, who receives it at his hands as a gift.

The Scandinavian gods are mediators, not creators. Their chief care is to provide us with such blessings as we may desire, but they are not the makers of their own gifts. In the Old-Norse sources the notion of creation is but seldom referred to, and that of creating gods is even more rare and occurs only in texts where a certain christian influence must be assumed. What the gods do is to wrest from the elementary powers those goods which, if tamed and domesticated, will prove to the advantage of human civilization. This they achieve either by bodily strength or by means of superior magic. Thór slays giants with his hammer, which comes much to the same thing as his seizing land from uncultivated nature. To Odin we are indebted for the mediation of the art of poetry and of the runes; he won both by magically raising his divine strength to its acme. Freyr yields fertility and enforces love by his possession of powerful charms. The wealth of natural and supernatural treasures existed before a god ever thought of touching them, but then they were of no use to us. In the myths the story of their first winning is preserved. At the same time myths serve as an example to us, whenever we wish to achieve a similar exploit. A poet,

desirous of inspiration, just has to remember the myth of how Odin acquired the skaldic mead. For in the example there is a hidden magical power, which enables the adept to repeat the primary divine action or at least to make an attempt at it.

It cannot be denied that the Germanic conception is more or less inconsistent. This has been shown with regard to the occupation of fresh land by human invaders, but it might also be argued from other instances dealing with other aspects of individual and social life. Historically seen, the domination of nature by man by means of magic represents an older stratum than the mediation provided by a god; in our earlier runic inscriptions the belief in magic is predominant; in the later poetry there is a gradual evolution towards that in gods. But from a static point of view the two conceptions are incompatible, specially in one and the same individual. Yet this is what sometimes happens. For although in the Icelandic evidence there appears a group of stern heathens who refused to worship gods, putting all their trust in their own potency, yet in a character like the poet and viking Egill Skallagrímsson the belief in supreme magic and that in the intermediary of gods are strangely mingled.

In the Celtic system there are no such incongruities. From our sources not one single instance of a mediating god can be adduced. Nor can it be suggested that they were expunged by christian scribes, who allowed so many illustrations of early Irish paganism to stand. If a god is a superhuman character, worshipped by man and bestowing gifts upon him as a result of a lasting relation, then early Irish religion has no gods. There are land divinities, leading their own lives and having a society of their own, with which man's relations are like those with a sovereign foreign power. There are also divine magicians, but they differ largely from the Old Norse Odin, who only exercises his magical art with

the object of bringing down blessings upon his human devotees; this is the reason why he exists. In the Irish stories the divine magicians practise their art on their own behalf, and when, as occasional passers-by, they come in touch with this world of ours, they hire themselves out as mercenary servants, never without a contract with magical guarantees. Should the human employer break these, either intentionally or unwillingly, then the superhuman craftsmen vanish. The usual form, in which these magical bonds appear, is that of the so-called *geiss*, the obligation or injunction to do or not to do a certain thing. Nor is this institution of *geiss* limited to the superhuman world. It is common in human society also, especially in those of us who like kings, sorcerers, or poets, are regarded as the bearers of a higher potency. This they can only retain by obeying the magical obligations of their rank. In their turn they can bind beings of a lower level by similar obligations. Life is full of active and passive *geissa* everywhere. Where we should expect to find an individual, there is often no more than a magical mechanism.¹

We come to the conception of fate with Celts and Teutons. From our argument it follows that it must be fundamentally different with the two nations. The Celtic outlook, as a matter of fact, is purely fatalistic owing to the absence of individual gods, regularly acting upon the world of mankind and endowed with a free will. There is only a chain of conditioned magic instead, and one broken link means an inevitable catastrophe. Theoretically everything that happens or that fails to happen is a consequence of a magically established fatality. Whenever a *geiss* is broken, the infraction itself can only have been fated.

Amongst the Teutonic peoples the belief in magical

¹ Cf. J. Chevalier, *Essai sur la formation de la nationalité et les réveils au Pays de Galles* (Lyon/Paris, 1923), pp. 165, 429; for what is called here a 'mechanism' he uses the expression 'la loi de la nature.'

bonds is not altogether lacking, as we have seen. It even has a rather grim and primitive aspect. In pre-historic times it must have been even more popular than in the days of our literary authorities. However, it was gradually obscured by the growing belief in individual gods, who are constantly and purposely acting upon human society. The problem how this evolution was brought about we leave aside. The result is that henceforth gods, endowed with a supreme potency, subdue wild nature and its magic, and thus free the world from the bonds of blind necessity.

The only absolute fatality that remains is that of death. The assertion that the ancient Norsemen were fatalists has become almost a commonplace, but it is doubtless erroneous. The belief in gods precludes fatalism. On the other hand it is true that this belief never affected the attitude towards death. In this one respect theism could never extinguish the original fatalistic outlook, which is based upon the magical conception of life. Even if sometimes a relation is assumed between a god and death, as for instance in the case of Odin selecting his Einherjar for the future defense of Valhöll, the god drops his usual character and appears as fate in disguise. We need only remember the story of Víkarr to realize how utterly unreasonable Odin's actions are as soon as he appears as the agent of death.¹ Besides, it is the privilege of a comparatively small group of men to die at Odin's command. When we turn from the world of roaming vikings to the homelier, although not more peaceful atmosphere of the Icelandic sagas, death presents itself as the outcome of the direct action of fate, without the intermediary of any god. *Eigi má ófeigum bella* "one who is not fey cannot be hurt" says the Icelandic proverb; it has its counterpart in Vémund's words after the fall of his enemy Hrói and his companions: *þá mun hverr deyja er feigr er* "then shall each die when he is fey" (*Vémundar saga Kögurs*,

¹ See *Gautreks saga*, ed. W. Ranisch (Berlin, 1900), p. 28 sq.

ch. 6). Thus Grímr comforts Hallmund's daughter when she is weeping on her father's dead body : *verðr hverr þá at fara er hann er feigr* " each has to go when he is fey " (Grettis saga, ch. 62). *Engi kemr fyrir sitt skapadægi* " no one comes beyond the fated day " are the wounded Þórir's dying words (Svarfdæla saga, ch. 5). Þormóðr and Falgeirr, having fallen from a projecting rock into the sea, continue their fight in the waves; the wounded Þormóðr suffers from exhaustion, but 'since death is not fated for him' (*fyrir því at Þormóði varð eigi dauði atlaðr*), Falgeirr loses his belt and has to give way (Fóstbræðra saga, ed. Þórólfsson, p. 172). The boys Óttarr and Ávaldi succeed in leaving Ingjald's burning house 'because they are not fey' (*fyrir þat er þeir voru eigi feigir*, Hallfreðar saga, ch. 1). The shepherd-boy of Þorkell á Hafratindum sees Bolli and his men in an ambush, waiting for Kjartan, and intends to ride to Kjartan's help; but his master restrains him with the words: 'would you fool be able to give a man life if death is fated for him?' (*mun fóli þinn nökkurum manni líf gefa ef bana verðr auðit*, Laxdæla saga, ch. 49). This belief in the fate of life and death is still alive; it survives in modern Icelandic folk-tradition. Of a boy, whom the doctor had decided to operate upon, it is said that the night before the operation he sees a dream-maiden and receives a warning from her not to allow the surgeon to do his work, since this would mean his death, whilst a longer life is fated for him (*þú átt lengra líf fyrir höndum en til morguns*).¹ Gísli Jónsson is working on a farm and dissuades his master to send him fishing, since he has seen a vision of his dream-maiden, which he regards as an evil omen; but the farmer pays no attention to the entreaties both of Gísli and his own son, saying that he shall not die unless his hour has come (*Hann deyr ef stundin er komin, annars ekki*).² With regard to the relation of fate and death

¹ Sigfús Sigfússon, *Islenzkar þjóðsögur og -sagnir*, IV, 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

very little has changed since the earliest heroic poetry : *kveld lifir maðr ekki eptir kvið norna*, 'no man lives the evening after the norns' doom' (*Hamðismál*, 28).

From what has been said it is evident that northern paganism is perfectly logical in its conclusion that even the gods cannot escape death. It had never proclaimed divine omnipotence and it had never questioned fate's sovereign rights in the domain of death. From these premises it follows that one day even the gods must die. Nor can there be any doubt as to the means by which their death will be brought to pass. Their task had been to wrest from the obscure powers of the wild the blessings of civilization and to pass them on to mankind. Consequently it is left to the same old foe, the host of demons and giants, to perform the sinister deed of taking the gods' lives. The myth of Ragnarok, whatsoever may be the origin of the elements from which it has been framed as a story, is a natural link in the religious system of the north. Its error is not that it represented the gods as mortal, however unreasonable the death of what is divine may seem to us. The death of the gods is but the inevitable consequence of the primary error which lies in the attempted conciliation of theism and the fatality of death. The latter notion must be regarded as a survival of an earlier stratum where the mechanism of magic was supposed to be omnipotent and omnipresent. From Celtic paganism we may learn where a fatalistic doctrine of this type will lead, if the belief in gods, and hence in personality, does not interfere.

Apart from the fatality of death the northern mind recognizes the freedom of the individual. The imminence of death cannot prevent man from framing his own destiny. The same holds good of the gods, who are man's great examples. They are the mediators between fate and us, and have succeeded, by their own initiative, in transmitting to us all those goods upon which our

civilization rests. Death they failed to master ; gods and men alike must obey whenever it comes.

It was left to Christianity to release the northern mind from the fatality of death by revealing a God Who conquered even this. Here was a greater example of a greater power than any god of heathendom had ever given. Death opening out into a new life was death no more. The doctrine implies the inferiority of the old gods, it removes the last stronghold of the blind necessity of fate. But it is difficult to the understanding, and never succeeded in destroying completely all traces of the earlier fatalism with regard to death. As has been shown, pagan thought, with its tendency to fatalism, still lingers on in Icelandic folk-tradition. From our sources it appears in many ways that the peoples of the north were slow in realizing what the new faith really meant. At the same time it must be recognized that where it faced not Teutonic but Celtic paganism, Christianity saw a far heavier task before it. Unfortunately the evidence from those remote times is too scanty to illustrate the evolution satisfactorily. However, thus much may be said with absolute certainty : the Celtic religious outlook, as it has been briefly traced above, made it necessary for Christianity to begin by proclaiming the primary truth that this world, constrained in its network of magical ties as it was held to be, could have any personal God at all. The totally different religious system of the two nations necessitated, of course, an entirely different method in the work of proselytizing, should it prove successful. As to worldly success, it is not difficult to see which of the two national conceptions that were analyzed in this study contained the better warrant and the larger promise for the future.

THE EARLY LITERARY RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND SCANDINAVIA.

By A. H. SMITH.

THE strong contrast of the successive invasions of Danes, Norwegians and Norman-French to what a historian might call the "lean" years between them often encourages the belief that our early relations with the Continent and the North were a series of isolated and perhaps one-sided affairs. But the history of the missions of the Anglo-Saxon church in the seventh and eighth centuries, of the political and scholastic relations of England in that period with the Empire, and later the close intimacy of England and Rome and the English School there shew that neither in learning nor in political and ecclesiastical affairs was England strictly insular, nor was it in any way cut off from the continent in the years between the periods of invasion. Probably, too, our relations with Scandinavia, in so far as they are literary, existed before the Viking invasions which began in 787, or rather in the days of Beorhtric, and they certainly did not come to an end with the Battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066. Of course, in the dark years between the last Anglian incursions in the sixth century and the first Scandinavian inroads in the late eighth, we might deny any sort of intimacy between England and Scandinavia. The evidence is not against it: it is wanting. Inasmuch as it is historical the Old English poem of *Beowulf* deals principally with East Scandinavian affairs of the early sixth century and it is usually supposed, possibly rightly, that the materials of this story were acquired by the Angles before the last of them had abandoned their continental homes.¹ It is fairly certain that these Angles lived in fairly close proximity to the Danes, and there are some features in the Northumbrian dialect of Old

¹ Cf. R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf: an Introduction* (Cambridge, 1932). 98ff, 103.

English, such as the loss of final *-n* in the infinitive, the use of the preposition *til* for Old English *to*, the front quality of the long vowel *ā* (in *stān*, *bān*),¹ which suggest a close affinity of Angles and Danes on the Continent. These are features which Northumbrian had in common with Old Scandinavian but not with the other Old English dialects. Geographical and linguistic facts of this kind offer their own conclusions and do indeed suggest a channel by which the materials of *Beowulf* came into English possession. It is perhaps the existence of this contact and the absence of documentary evidence for any other that leads us to accept it as the only one. Yet if we explore the field of Germanic literary activity, we have a very clear picture of what is perhaps a more powerful medium for the transmission of story-telling material, namely, the travelling poet. The implications of the Old English poem *Widsith*, "the far-traveller," with the catalogue of kings and peoples the poet had visited, the gifts he had received, are very obvious. "Thus," he says, "are the singers of men destined to go wandering through many lands. They tell of their need and then they utter the words of thanks. North or south singers may always come upon one who, appreciative of their song and bounteous with gifts, desires to exalt his fame before his chieftains; . . . he gaineth glory and hath an honour which passeth not away."² As we shall see, that profession of wandering scop or skald was carried on in Viking England by Icelanders, and the testimony of their compositions was held to be an accurate record of history. "We find the best evidence," says the Icelandic, Snorri Sturlason, in his *Heimskringla*, "in the poems that were offered to the kings themselves or to their sons; we take everything for

¹ Some of the points in this paper are not elaborated as being mainly of philological interest, but I hope to deal with them elsewhere later; others need no elaboration, for they have been dealt with at length by H. G. Leach, *Anger in Britain and Scandinavia* (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature VI) and other writers, especially in *Saga-Book* (*passim*).

² *Widsith*, ed. Kemp Malone (Methuen, London, 1935), lines 135-142.

true which is found in their poems about their travels or battles. It is, of course, the way of skalds to give most praise to him before whom they recite their composition, but not one of them would dare to recite as deeds of the king things which all his hearers and the king himself would know to be lies and loose talk; that would be mockery, not praise.'¹ This is mentioned rather to shew the importance of the poet in the transmission of the materials of literature and history, and it may be asked whether literary contacts of this kind were not well established in the period before the Viking invasions.²

In the Viking Age itself we are faced with different circumstances and different problems. We have now the presence of large numbers of Scandinavians, Danes, Norwegians, a few Icelanders and probably some Swedes.³ The Scandinavian place-names have indicated how extensive and profound their influence was, and the subsequent history of the language is a lasting testimony to the fusion of English and Scandinavians. This linguistic fusion as well as the literary influences that we are concerned with were rendered easier by the mutual intelligibility of the speech of the two races; that hypothetical composite language, which we call Anglo-Scandinavian and for which there is some slight evidence

¹ *Heimskringla*, ed. F. Jonsson (Copenhagen, 1911), 2; translation E. Monsen and A. H. Smith (Heffer, Cambridge, 1932), xxxvi.

² I do not, of course, for one moment doubt the current view as already put forward above; here we are merely considering possibilities. It should also be noted that the actual literary forms that the *Beowulf* materials may have taken at various stages in the process of transmission are a separate problem.

³ The part played by the different Scandinavian nations in the settlement of England has been frequently dealt with in recent years; for various aspects of the problem see especially T. D. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings* (London, 1930), 227ff, E. Ekwall in *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names* (Cambridge, 1924), 32ff, 55ff, and *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England* (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, 1918), A. H. Smith, in *Saga-Book*, vol. x. (1929), 188ff, A. Mawer in *English Historical Review*, vol. 38 (1923), E. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loanwords in Middle English* (Halle, 1900), 22ff. C. Hallendorff and A. Schück, *History of Sweden* (London, 1929), 16ff, etc. On Icelanders in England cf. below, and especially notes 3 p. 222, 1 p. 224.

in place-names and two or three inscribed crosses,¹ merely differed in degree and not in its fundamental character from the North Midland and Northern dialects of early Middle English. The freedom of colloquial intercourse is certainly suggested by the very early appearance of Old Scandinavian technical terms in parts of the Parker Chronicle, written in Ælfred's lifetime: for instance, on several occasions the Danes fighting against Ælfred were *on tuæm gefylcium*, 'in two divisions'; the word *gefylce* is probably borrowed from Old Scandinavian *fylki*. So, too, in 896 Ælfred ordered longships to be built to meet the Viking ships, which the Chronicler calls *æscas*, an adaptation of Old Scandinavian *askr* 'a boat.' Again, in the Old English poem on the Battle of Maldon in which the men of Essex under Bryhtnoð were defeated by the Norsemen in 991, we have other Scandinavian loanwords like *dreng* 'warrior,' *grið* 'truce,' perhaps *ceallian* 'to call.' Such borrowings are not common in Old English,² but that is because the bulk of our extant literary documents come from Wessex and Kent, areas not settled by Vikings, whereas there are few such texts from the Danelaw in the period following the Scandinavian settlement. The important thing is that these technical terms of warfare should have found their way so rapidly into West Saxon, more rapidly in fact than parallel French loanwords appeared in Middle English. There is, however, still better evidence of the community of language in Icelandic sources. A well-known interpolated passage in *Gunnlaugs Saga Orms-tunga* asserts that in the time of Æþelred king of

¹ Cf. such place-names as Loskay from OScand *lopt í skógi* 'farm in the wood,' Scandinavian replacements of Old English words as that of OScand *höfuð* 'head' for OE *heafod* in Howden; cf. also A. H. Smith, *Place-Names of the North Riding* (Cambridge, 1928), xxiif, *Place-Names of the East Riding* (Cambridge, 1937), A. Mawer, *Problems of Place-Names Study* (Cambridge, 1929) 35ff. For inscriptions cf. W. G. Collingwood, *Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding* (Yorks. Archæol. Journal xix.), 386, 482, . . . in the *East Riding* and in the *City of York* (Yorks. Archæol. Soc.).

² Cf. E. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loanwords* 3ff.

England about the year 1000 A.D. "there was one language in England as in Norway and Denmark."¹ This may mean that a Scandinavian language was spoken in England: at the least it means that English was at that time intelligible to an Icelander. A similar conclusion is to be drawn from the well-known account in Snorri's *Heimskringla* of the escape of the Norwegian Styrkar from the Battle of Stamford Bridge: Styrkar held talk with an East Riding yeoman but was recognised as a Norwegian from his speech.²

In this community of language we have a direct channel for literary connexions, but when we turn to Old English literature of the Viking period we find few signs of such movements. Dame Bertha Phillpotts³ saw evidence of Scandinavian influence in the language and treatment of the Battle of Maldon. In that poem we have, it is true, a few Scandinavian words, and we cannot deny Scandinavian affinities in style and in the conception of heroism; yet, on the other hand, as is shown very clearly by Professor E. V. Gordon,⁴ these ideals of loyalty and tragic heroism and, indeed, the modes of describing them belong to the common Germanic tradition, to which both Old English and Scandinavian are heirs. Again, Professor Malone⁵ finds in the Old English poem *Deor* in the lines relating to Welund and Beaduhild phraseological parallels to the Old Scandinavian *Völundarkviða* and in particular he is inclined to regard *be wurman* in the first line *Welund him be wurman wræces cunnade*,

¹ *Gunnlaugs Saga Ormstungu*, ed. L. M. Small (Leeds, 1935), 36.

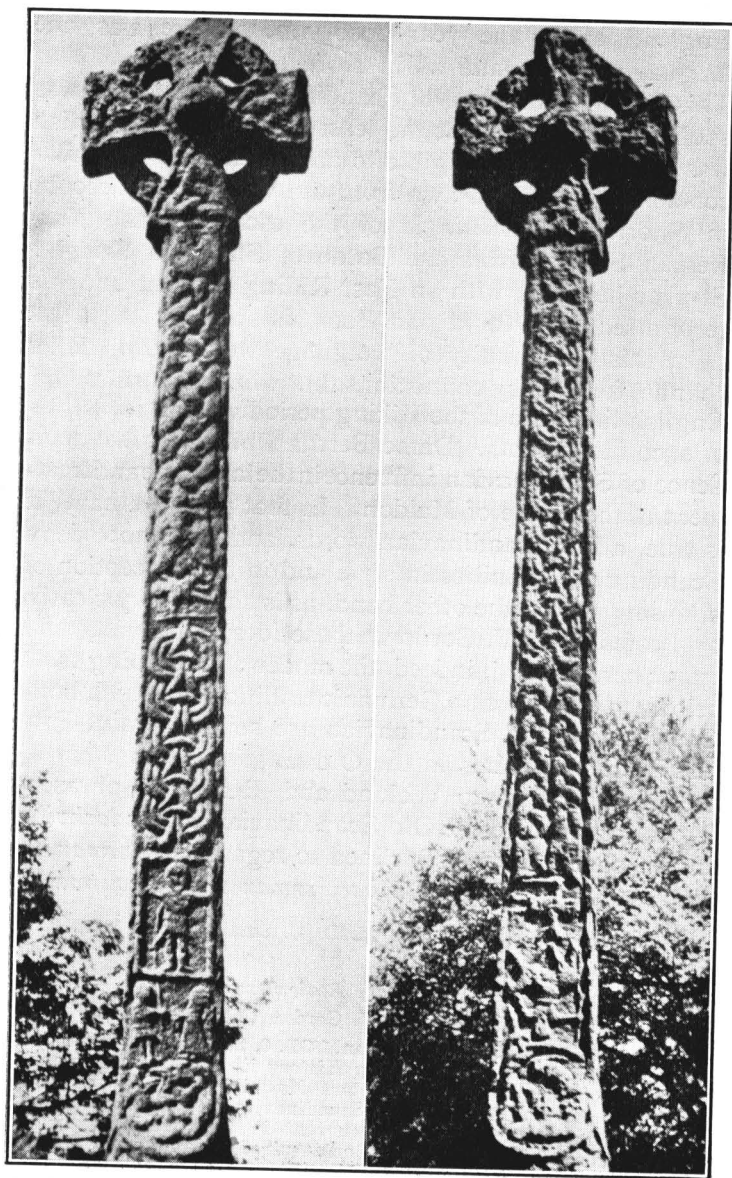
² *Heimskringla* 508 (Transl. 568).

³ B. Phillpotts, *Modern Language Review*, xxiv. 179ff.

⁴ *The Battle of Maldon*, ed. E. V. Gordon (Methuen, 1937), 30.

⁵ *Doer*, ed. Kemp Malone (Methuen, 1936), 6, 20. In a recent article on 'Mæðhild' in *English Literary History* iii (1936), 253, Professor Malone identifies the two characters Mæðhild and Geat in *Deor* with the Gaute and Magnhild of Scandinavian ballads and suggests that a Scandinavian ballad was current in England in the tenth century and that this putative ballad inspired the refrain in the old English poem. The latter supposition of such a ballad is rejected by Mr. F. Norman in a forthcoming article in *Modern Language Review* (1937).

PLATE I.



East side.

West side.

W. F. Taylor.

The Gosforth Cross.

'Weland endured torments . . .', as a *heiti* for 'sword' or 'ring,' suggesting that the Old English poet had fallen under the influence of the poetical technique of the skalds: by this he tends to date *Deor* about 900. *Wurman* as a *heiti* can prove nothing, for that explanation supposes skaldic influence, and a supposition in the major premise certainly gives no weight to the conclusion. There is no other evidence for dating that poem about 900, and it may in fact be earlier than the first Viking raids. Moreover the affinities in language (*eacen*—*aukin*, *nede*—*nauðir*) are common-place and may arise either from the common theme of *Deor* and *Völundarkviða* or through *Völundarkviða* being actually composed in England, a view which has had some support, though not necessarily correct.¹ There is, then, no certain example of Viking influence in the later Old English literature^{1a} and its absence is to be explained in the same way as the rarity of Scandinavian loanwords in Old English: it is not there, because we have few Old English literary texts from the areas most thickly peopled by the Scandinavians, that is, from Lincolnshire, East and North Yorkshire and the Lake district.

When we turn to the Sagas, however, we find good and, I think, fairly true evidence of literary composition by the Scandinavian poets in England at this time. Sophus Bugge thought that many of the poems of the Edda were composed in Britain,² but whilst no one would, I think, subscribe to his general conclusions in view of the linguistic evidence and in particular of the

¹ Cf. B. Phillpotts, *The Elder Edda* (Cambridge, 1920), 61ff.

^{1a} W. W. Lawrence and W. H. Schofield have suggested that the Old English poem *Eadwacer* (the so-called "First Riddle") is a translation from an Old Scandinavian lament of Signy the Volsung for her brother Sigmund and their son Sinfjötli; but the evidence is very doubtful; indeed, there is more to be said for R. Immelman's theory that the lament belongs to the Odoacer cycle of stories.

² S. Bugge, *Studier over de nordiske Gude og Heltesagns Oprindelse* (Copenhagen, 1881-96), *The Home of the Eddic Poems* (Grimm Library 11, London, 1899).

archæological evidence adduced by Professor Nerman,¹ it is still possible that *Rigspula* with its Celtic affinities was composed in Britain. *Völundarkviða*, too, on the lack of other evidence for the story in Scandinavia, was also suggested to have been derived through an English source similar to that used by the poet of *Deor*, but this is now by no means certain as an early carved stone has been discovered in Gotland depicting scenes from the Weland story.² But there may be some significance in the fact that amongst the few poems in this Eddic collection which are so irregular in their metrical form that no improvement is possible we have *Atlakviða* which was composed in Greenland and *Völundarkviða*. It is worth adding here that the various scenes on the Gosforth Cross (see plate I.)^{2a} appear to represent scenes from *Völuspá*, —Chaos, the wars of the Gods and the Giants, Ragnarök and the attacks on the Gods, the new world, with Christ typifying the return of Baldr. Dr. Shetelig has similarly discovered a carving at Skipwith (Yorks.) which depicts Ragnarök.^{2b} But the relation of the Eddic poems to this problem is difficult and obscure. There are, however, a few well-known accounts of composition of poems by Scandinavian skalds in England, such as the head-ransom of Egil Skallagrimson and Gunnlaug's poems for king Æþelred.³ In this connexion there is also one significant passage in Snorri's account of the Battle of Stamford Bridge.⁴ It will be remembered that the troops of Tosti and Harald Sigurdson had been caught unawares without their armour by Harald Godwinson,

¹ B. Nerman, *The Poetic Edda in the Light of Archæology* (Viking Society, 1931).

² *Nordisk Kultur* xxxiii: *Kunst*, ed. H. Shetelig (Stockholm, 1931), 214.

^{2a} Cf. W. S. Calverley in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xl. (1883).

^{2b} H. Shetelig, *The Vikings in England* (Oslo, 1933).

³ *Egils, Saga Skallagrimssonar*, ed. S. Nordal (Reykjavik, 1933); transl. R. H. Eddison, London, 1930, 140), *Gunnlaugs Saga*, ed. Small, 36ff.

⁴ *Heimskringla* 506 (transl. 565).

who promises Tosti amnesty but taunts Harald Sigurdson with a promise of "seven feet of English ground, or as much more as he is taller than other men." The offer of amnesty to Tosti was rejected. "So it is said king Harald Sigurdson spoke this verse :

Forth we go
In our lines
Without our mail
Against the blue edges.

The helmets shine :
I have no byrnie.
Our shrouds now lie
Down on our ships.

Then said king Harald Sigurdson, "That was ill composed ; I must make a better verse than that," and then he said,

" In battle we creep not
Behind our shields
Through fear of the weapon-crash .
Thus bade the faithful woman.
Once the necklet-wearer
Bade me bear my head
High in battle where sword
And skulls should meet."

The particular interest of this passage is that the rejected verse too obviously stated the facts of Harald's position, as he and his men stood away from their boats without their armour. The second verse is in the original more professionally wrapped up in the ingenious language of the skald. We cannot, however, point to any instances of skaldic influence of this kind in English literature of the period, unless we accept as skaldic that one phrase in *Deor*.

The Battle of Stamford Bridge brings us to the political end of the Viking period in England, but though it had closed for ever the possibility of Cnut the Great's ideal of a Scandinavian empire, it did not altogether sever contacts with Scandinavia. There is in fact good

evidence in the later Middle Ages for trade and ecclesiastical relations. It was in the centuries after the Norman Conquest that English literary and historical documents became accessible to the Saga writers, and it was certainly in these years that we should place the earliest exchanges of common ballads. But for the most part the various outcrops of Scandinavian influence in Middle English literature, English and Latin alike, really belong to the years of Viking invasion.

In the style and form of Middle English literature the isolation of the Scandinavian literary element is difficult, for we cannot with certainty shew that any particular Scandinavian word in the vocabulary of the Middle English poet is chosen from the wordstock in common circulation or selected from some tradition of literary usage. What we can say is that the enrichment of the common vocabulary by the accretion of numerous Scandinavian loanwords gave the Middle English alliterative poet in search of synonyms that variety of diction which his verse demanded. Furthermore, we can point to certain alliterative expressions, probably not more than a dozen in all, which belong to phraseology of Old Scandinavian poetry, such as the common *gold and gersume* 'gold and treasure,' *more and mynne* 'more and less,' *to tor for to telle* 'too difficult to tell of.'

In the materials of Middle English literature the Scandinavian element is fairly well represented in vernacular tales like *King Horn* and *Havelok*, in Latin stories like those of Beorn Butsecarl and Siward Digre, and in one or two that are lost, like that of Skardying. Some of these are conveniently collected by H. G. Leach.¹ For the most part they deal with the Viking heroes of England, and in the midst of the conventionalisings and

¹ *Anger in Britain and Scandinavia* (Harvard Studies in comparative Literature VI), 313ff. On the lost English romance of Scardying the eponymous hero of Scarborough (Yorks.), and the independent account of the foundation of Scarborough by Þorgils Skarði, an Icelfander, in *Kormaks Saga*, cf. E. V. Gordon in *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* I. 320ff.

embellishments they have suffered in the transmission we can perceive incidents and ideas which take us back to Scandinavia.

The story of Siward Digre, for example, bears traces of Viking origin. The historical Siward had apparently come to England with Cnut the Great. Here he acquired the Earldom of Northumbria, supported Edward the Confessor in his trouble with Jarl Godwin, and a year after his victory over Macbeth of Scotland in 1054 he "called for his armour and armed as though to march once more against Macbeth, he breathed his last." The legend of Jarl Siward is told with detail in the Latin Chronicle of Croyland in Lincolnshire.¹ Siward was born in Denmark, the son of Beorn Beresun, who was of bear-parentage, and from whom Siward inherited his great strength and prowess and so gained his nick-name *Digre* 'the stout one.' He left Denmark as a youth and sailed to Orkney where he drove a dragon from the land. Next he arrives in Northumbria and here he meets a little old man who gives him valuable counsel and a banner called *Ravenlandeye*, that is, 'Raven, the terror of the land.' He proceeds to Westminster and is received by Edward the Confessor who makes him Earl of Huntingdon. We now have details that accord more with the historical Siward but they are sprinkled with echoes of Scandinavia. For instance, whilst in Scotland fighting against Macbeth he hears that his son has been murdered by rebellious Northumbrians: in his wrath Siward raised aloft his battle-axe and split a round rock. Finally his death comes to him in 1055. "He felt," says Henry of Huntingdon, "that death was near at hand. 'How great is my shame,' said he, 'that in so many battles I have not fallen, but have been preserved to die like a cow! Rather wrap me in my impenetrable mail, gird me with my sword, raise up by helmet, put my shield in my left hand and my golden axe in my right, so that I, the

¹ Cf. Bibliographical references in H. G. Leach, *op. cit.* 405, and in particular *Saga-Book* vi. 257ff.

bravest of warriors, may die like a warrior.' And when he had spoken he died, armed in honourable fashion." Leach has pointed out the reminiscences of Scandinavian literature in some of the details of the story—the bear-parentage, the discomfiture of the dragon, the little old man who is probably Oðinn in one of his disguises, the splitting of the rock in wrath and the gesture of his death. But there is a still more striking analogy in the life of the Orkney Jarl Sigurð Digri, of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.¹ The important things to note here are the Orkney associations of both the jarls, the nickname *Digre* given to both Sigurð and Siward, and the fact that both receive a Raven-banner. The *Orkneyinga-Saga* gives this account: "Jarl Sigurð held Caithness against the Scots by force and he had a host out every summer. He harried in the Southern Isles, in Scotland and Ireland. It befell one summer that Finnleik, the Scottish jarl, challenged Sigurd to meet him on a certain day, but Sigurd went to ask his mother's counsel, for she knew many things (*i.e.*, by witch-craft). The jarl told his mother that there would not be less odds against him than seven to one. She answered, 'I would have reared thee up long in my wool-bag, had I known that thou wouldest like to live for ever: fate rules life, but not where a man is come; better it is to die with honour than to live with shame. But take this banner which I have made for thee with all my cunning; I know that it will bring victory to those before whom it is borne but a speedy death to him who bears it.' The banner was fashioned with much needle-work and great skill. It was made in a raven's shape, and when the wind blew it out, then it was as though the raven had spread his wings for flight." In these respects at any rate it would appear that the originator of the English legend had credited Siward, Earl of Northumberland, with incidents from the life of the Orkney Jarl.

The chance survival of stories of this kind, with their

¹ *Orkneyinga Saga* (Rolls Series), I. 14.

half-historical, half-romantic treatment and their echoes of Scandinavia and the Danelaw presents an interesting problem. Leaving aside the Latin stories, it is noteworthy that most of those in the vernacular appear to have passed through an Anglo-Norman stage. It is difficult to prove that these French versions of the twelfth century as well as the remaining Latin stories are derived from earlier English versions, though that of course seems the most likely development. Professor Chambers calls our attention to a line in the French romance of *Horn* (line 4206), where Horn returning in disguise to Rimenhild is offered drink. "But the English *latimiers* (Latin-writers) call *corn* horn." There was in fact a pun upon the name Horn in an older English story, which at least survives in the English *King Horn* (line 1145) where Horn himself bids Rimenhild "Drink to Horn of horne." We do not, however, know what form these earlier tales had, whether they were vernacular or Latin prose-stories, or alliterative poems.

We may for a moment consider whether the relations between the two peoples had any effect upon early Scandinavian literature. The main evidence here is the interest shown by some Sagas in events that took place in England, but it is generally difficult at first sight to determine whether the knowledge of these events was ultimately due to Vikings present at those events or derived from English documents. The problem is one of some importance, for the historical value of the Sagas does rest upon their independence of English chronicles. If we turn to West Scandinavian documents we find clear instances of the use of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and allusions to the Venerable Bede. The *Breta Sögur* are derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Britons, and one recension of *Thomas Saga Erkibyskups* is based upon a biography of St. Thomas of Canterbury by Roger of Croyland. The little known Saga of Edward

the Confessor (*Jatvarðar Saga hins helga*)¹ is a composite document in which the author has put together facts from several sources such as the Life of St. Edward by Ailred of Rievaulx, Orderic Vitalis and others. King Edward's vision of the Seven Sleepers was without doubt taken from William of Malmesbury. Translations of the two passages will illustrate the saga-writer's method :—

On Easter day Edward was sitting at table wearing his crown at Westminster surrounded by a crowd of nobles. While the rest were eating greedily and making up for the long fast of Lent by the newly provided food, he with mind abstracted in contemplation of some divine matter, presently excited the attention of his guests by bursting into profuse laughter. As none presumed to inquire into the cause of his joy he remained silent as before, till repletion had put an end to the banquet. After the tables were removed, three persons of rank followed him to his room, and presuming on their intimacy asked the cause of his laughter, observing that it seemed a matter of astonishment to see him in such perfect tranquillity of occupation burst into a vulgar laugh. 'I saw something wonderful,' he said, 'and did not laugh without cause.' They began then to search into the matter more earnestly, and reluctantly he yielded to their persevering solicitations, and related a wonderful circumstance, saying that the Seven Sleepers of Mount Cœlus had now lain for two hundred years on their right side, but that at the very hour of his laughter they had turned upon their left side and that they would continue to lie in this manner for seventy-four years.—(*William of Malmesbury*).

It was at an hour one Easterday in Westminster when King Edward the Saint sat at table wearing his crown amongst his many nobles. . . . The king was thinking more of heavenly things than earthly things and then it was as though he saw something strange in their doings which induced him to great laughter. When the table was cleared, the nobles asked him what he had laughed at, and when they had questioned him long he answered: "Seven Sleepers who rest in Mount Celio have now lain for 200 years on their right side but when I began to laugh they had turned upon their left side and so must they lie for 84 years."—(*Jatvarðar Saga*).

What is perhaps quite as significant in this Saga is the name *Vestmust* for Westminster: it is a scribal adaptation of the abbreviated Latin form of (*West-*) *monasterium*, which Professor Ekwall² suggested as the

¹ *Jatvarðar Saga hins helga* (in appendix to *Orkneyinga Saga* (Rolls Series) I. 388ff.

² *Sagastudier af Festschrift til Finnur Jönsson*, Copenhagen. 1928), 218-221.

11. decc. xxviii. He þær ælftancung. eorla drihten. heorababes gpa
 þurh þrodon eac eadmund æþeling. ealdor lareowif. geflogen
 æt sece. swurda eadgum. eim beþun nanburh. beoð peall
 dufon. heoron heaþo lunda. hamora lafum. asofan ead
 preahter. swa him ge æþele þær. fram cneomægum þu æt
 campe ofe. wið laþra gehpene land eal gdon. heor þa mar
 her cend cþungon. fcotha leode. fscryfflocan. fage feollan
 feld dennade. fæga swate. fiddan funne upp. on mo fganid.
 mæste tungol. glæd ofe fgrundas. gode fandel beoþe ece
 drihten. of fce aþele gefceafe fahce fce. þær læg fægmonig
 garum agete. guman norðerne. ofe fce lareowif. fce
 fce eac eac. þær fce fce fce. fce fce fce fce and langwedag
 eorpe cyrum on lafe legdon lafum deodon. heoron hea
 flymon himdan þearfe mecum mylen fceapum. myce
 ne pyndon. hea þær handplegan haleþa namu þa þa demid
 anlæf. ofe eac geblanð on lre þorme land gefolmon. þær

The Battle of Brunanburh (MS. Cotton Tiberius B. 1, fol. 139a).

gar mundi seint sapnað þiolmunt suannkir
 is þær eac eadgum. eim beþun nanburh. beoð peall
 dufon. heoron heaþo lunda. hamora lafum. asofan ead
 preahter. swa him ge æþele þær. fram cneomægum þu æt
 campe ofe. wið laþra gehpene land eal gdon. heor þa mar
 her cend cþungon. fcotha leode. fscryfflocan. fage feollan
 feld dennade. fæga swate. fiddan funne upp. on mo fganid.
 mæste tungol. glæd ofe fgrundas. gode fandel beoþe ece
 drihten. of fce aþele gefceafe fahce fce. þær læg fægmonig
 garum agete. guman norðerne. ofe fce lareowif. fce
 fce eac eac. þær fce fce fce. fce fce fce fce and langwedag
 eorpe cyrum on lafe legdon lafum deodon. heoron hea
 flymon himdan þearfe mecum mylen fceapum. myce
 ne pyndon. hea þær handplegan haleþa namu þa þa demid
 anlæf. ofe eac geblanð on lre þorme land gefolmon. þær

gar mundi seint sapnað þiolmunt suannkir
 is þær eac eadgum. eim beþun nanburh. beoð peall
 dufon. heoron heaþo lunda. hamora lafum. asofan ead
 preahter. swa him ge æþele þær. fram cneomægum þu æt
 campe ofe. wið laþra gehpene land eal gdon. heor þa mar
 her cend cþungon. fcotha leode. fscryfflocan. fage feollan
 feld dennade. fæga swate. fiddan funne upp. on mo fganid.
 mæste tungol. glæd ofe fgrundas. gode fandel beoþe ece
 drihten. of fce aþele gefceafe fahce fce. þær læg fægmonig
 garum agete. guman norðerne. ofe fce lareowif. fce
 fce eac eac. þær fce fce fce. fce fce fce fce and langwedag
 eorpe cyrum on lafe legdon lafum deodon. heoron hea
 flymon himdan þearfe mecum mylen fceapum. myce
 ne pyndon. hea þær handplegan haleþa namu þa þa demid
 anlæf. ofe eac geblanð on lre þorme land gefolmon. þær

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 is þær eac eadgum. eim beþun nanburh. beoð peall
 dufon. heoron heaþo lunda. hamora lafum. asofan ead
 preahter. swa him ge æþele þær. fram cneomægum þu æt
 campe ofe. wið laþra gehpene land eal gdon. heor þa mar
 her cend cþungon. fcotha leode. fscryfflocan. fage feollan
 feld dennade. fæga swate. fiddan funne upp. on mo fganid.
 mæste tungol. glæd ofe fgrundas. gode fandel beoþe ece
 drihten. of fce aþele gefceafe fahce fce. þær læg fægmonig
 garum agete. guman norðerne. ofe fce lareowif. fce
 fce eac eac. þær fce fce fce. fce fce fce fce and langwedag
 eorpe cyrum on lafe legdon lafum deodon. heoron hea
 flymon himdan þearfe mecum mylen fceapum. myce
 ne pyndon. hea þær handplegan haleþa namu þa þa demid
 anlæf. ofe eac geblanð on lre þorme land gefolmon. þær

The Battle of Vinheiði (Egils Saga, Cod. A.M. 132, 80d).

explanation of *Morstr*, the name in *Knytlinga-Saga* for Winchester, or rather Old Minster, Latin *Vetus Monasterium*. This is not merely a case of the transmission of the materials of history; it is a very definite piece of evidence of the accessibility of English written sources. In one instance the author of *Jatvarðar Saga* leaves his English sources: that is in his very brief description of the Battle of Stamford Bridge, where he follows, in his own words, 'the annals of the Kings of Norway,' that is, Snorri's *Heimskringla*. His choice of the more complete and perhaps more reasoned account of that battle may be of some importance.

Other passages in the Sagas suggest their English origin by definite references to their sources and by the peculiar non-Scandinavian form taken by the proper names. For example, one of the two allusions to the death of St. Edmund the Martyr of East Anglia¹ is in the *Þáttr af Ragnars Sonum*, which says: "After the Battle (of York) Ivar (the Boneless) made himself king over that part of England which his kinsmen had had before (*i.e.*, in reference to the conquest of Northumbria in 866). He had two natural sons, one called Yngvar, the other Hústó: on Ivar's bidding they tortured the king, Saint Edmund, to death and Ivar then subjugated his kingdom." As we know from English chronicles St. Edmund was slain by Ingwar and Hubba, but Ingwar is merely an Old English form of the name Ivar; the compiler of the *Þáttr* did not recognise this and so related Yngvar to Ivar by natural kinship. The other reference is in Ari Þorgilsson's *Libellus Islandorum*, where Ari writes: 'Ivar (the Boneless), son of Ragnar Lothbrok, caused Saint Edmund, king of the East Angles, to be slain; that was 870 years after the birth of Christ, as it is written in his Saga.' It is quite clear that there was no saga of St. Edmund in Icelandic, nor indeed does any story of the martyrdom belong to the traditional materials of early Scandinavian literature. The Saga Ari

¹ See *Saga-Book* xi. 9ff.

cites can only be Abbo of Fleury's Latin Life of the Saint or the Old English homily based upon Abbo by Ælfric. The compiler of the *Þáttir af Ragnars Sonum*, too, must have had access to either of these lives or to some other history like Ethelwerd, or the bilingual Canterbury epitome of the Old English Chronicle.

Another good instance of inferred dependence of Saga-writers upon English materials is provided by the genealogical and mythological allusions in the preface to Snorri's Prose Edda,¹ where the forms of the personal names are clearly traceable to the Old English genealogies. Snorri speaks of '*Fjarlaf* whom we (*i.e.*, the Icelanders) call *Friðleif*. He had a son who is called *Vopinn* whom we call *Oðinn*,' and amongst many others he also mentions 'another son of *Oðin* called *Beldegg* whom we call *Baldr*.' These and the rest are close scribal adaptations of the Old English mythological names, *Fjarlaf* being Old English *Frealaf*, *Vopin* Old English *Woden*, and *Beldegg* Old English *Bældæg*.

Perhaps the most illuminating fact in this problem is that Old Norwegian handwriting and, through it, Old Icelandic handwriting, is derived immediately from Anglo-Saxon styles of writing, and very characteristic Anglo-Saxon features in the West Scandinavian hands include common symbols like þ, ρ, ð and the accent to mark vowel length.² In late Old English, besides the Irish style used for the vernacular, a Carolingian hand was used for Latin: the same distinction is made in the earlier Scandinavian manuscripts. The introduction of these English styles belongs to the period of Norway's conversion to Christianity under King Olaf the Saint and Bishop Grimkel and their English teachers in the eleventh century. It is the kind of cultural influence which has been noticed in the earlier missionary activities

¹ *Snorra Edda*, ed. F. Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1900), 7; the English forms are from the Old English Chronicle.

² Cf. H. Spehr, *Der Ursprung der isländischen Schrift* (Halle, 1929), where details such as those mentioned and other important palæographical relationships of Old Scandinavian and Old English are discussed.

of the Anglo-Saxons in Germany, but in Norway it was even more powerful. (See plate II). One curious feature is the fact that the Old English symbol ð does not actually appear in Scandinavian manuscripts until the 13th century. Its introduction is probably closely related to the acquisition of English written records by Saga writers : it was apparently first used just at the time when skilful historians like Snorri Sturlason were seeking and using in their compilation all kinds of historical materials.

For the most part, the English records which we have seen were used by the Saga writers are late eleventh and twelfth century chronicles and histories, and judging by the character of those we can shew to have been used in Iceland, it seems unlikely that the Saga writer had access to any independent English chronicles which no longer survive. By a close study of the sagas in relation to extant English records it would no doubt be possible to indicate exactly or nearly exactly how much the one is dependent upon the other. If we consider the very considerable number of allusions to the events of Viking England in the Sagas, their dependence is surprisingly small and instances of conflation with English traditions are rare. We should therefore regard the sagas as presenting a view of the picture from their own angle and largely derived from their own oral traditions. The degree of accuracy they attained is a separate problem.

* * *

From this survey of the early literary relations of England and Scandinavia we may conclude that the effects were mainly in one direction and most prominent in Middle English. But even there we have to do with a rapidly fading survival from the Viking Age. In literature as in art the influence was neither permanent nor profound. As with the political history of England, the story might well have been a different one, had Harald Sigurdson and Tosti not been caught unprepared at Stamford Bridge in 1066.

LEGAL BORROWINGS FROM NORSE IN OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH.

By E. S. OLSZEWSKA

THIS paper deals with some of the new elements which entered the English vocabulary as a result of the introduction of legal institutions and methods of procedure by the Norse settlers in England. Most of these words had a short life in English, unless their use was extended and they entered the general vocabulary. Among the few present-day survivals we have the word *law* itself (and the related words *outlaw* and *bye-law*), *thrall*, *hustings*, and probably the verb *ransack*. In Old English, legal loanwords form a high proportion of the Norse borrowings recorded during that period. This is because we have records, inadequate though they are, showing legal usage in the Danelaw, but little literature. The Old English Chronicles also record many legal words and formulas. In some cases, however, Middle English legal documents attest the survival of some Norse usage which has escaped record during the Old English period though its introduction must have taken place then. Of especial interest are those words which we find recorded not only in legal documents but in living use in Middle English literature, though unfortunately such words are rare. I have chosen a few particularly interesting words whose history may serve as typical of the borrowings as a whole.

Inadequate though the surviving records are, we sometimes have good evidence of the process by which a legal borrowing became part of the English language.

The word is naturally first applied only to a definite legal procedure and tends to appear only in formulas which are anglicizings of Norse formulas. A typical example is Old English *nīþing*. In Old West Norse *nīðingr* is the appellation given to a man who has committed such a villainous crime (treachery, wanton murder or the like) that there is no possible compensation to be made for it and he is outlawed. The deed which earned him the name of *nīðingr* (*nīðings-nafn*) was known as *nīðings-verk*, and in an Old Norwegian legal code, *Ældre Gulatings-Lov*, among a list of the misdeeds which caused a man to be proscribed as a *nīðingr* we find the clause:—*þat er oc nīðingsverc ef maðr gerer valrof* "it is also the deed of a *nīþing* if a man plunders the slain (on the battlefield)." ¹ The first time *nīþing* occurs in Old English is in a fragment belonging probably to the 10th century² which reads: *walrēaf is nīðinges dāde* "plundering of corpses is the deed of a *nīþing* (i.e. a deed entailing outlawry)" ³—an exact equivalent to the Norse enactment above.⁴ The next occurrence of the word is in the *Old English Chronicle* for 1049 which tells us that the king declared Swain, the son of earl Godwin, to be a *nīþing*, i.e. he is declared to be outlawed. A similar use is seen in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* where William Rufus threatens rebels with the name of *nīþing* (*nomine Nīðing*). This *nomen nīðing* is evidently a translation of the compound found not only in Old West Norse *nīðings-nafn* but also in early Danish (for example the man who slays a gild-brother is proscribed

¹ *Norges Gamle Love*, I. 66, section 178.

² Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, III. 230, suggests c940-1020 as the date.

³ For this and the following examples see *New English Dictionary*, s.v. *Nithing*. 1. The definition there given—A vile coward, an abject wretch, a villain of the lowest type—misses the specialized meaning which the word always bears in Old English; cf. Steenstrup, *Normannerne* IV. 257 ff.

⁴ For plundering of the slain as *nīðings-verk* see also Liebermann, *op. cit.* II. 569 s.v. *Leichenraub*. 1.

*meth niding's nafn*⁵) and early Swedish (for example we find there the expression *bæra niþings namn utan lands*, which means "to make a pilgrimage to Rome to seek absolution for a *niþingsværk*"⁶). In the thirteenth century verse chronicle *Layamon's Brut* *niþing* occurs several times, sometimes still with a specialized sense, but also as a more general term of abuse, and this general meaning is the one it bears in its last occurrence in Middle English, in the romance of *King Horn* where we have the couplet:—*Panne spak þe god kyng Iwis he nas no niþing*, "then spoke the good king, indeed no *niþing* was he."⁷

Typical of those borrowings not recorded till after the Conquest is Middle English *þwert nai*, an expression applied to the defendant's denial of the accusation with which he is charged (or the right to make this). It occurs several times in legal records (sometimes altered to *thwertut nay* or *thwertnik*) and is evidently a borrowing from Old Norse (both elements of the expression are Norse in form). In Old West Norse *þvert nei* is used for a direct contradiction, the strongest form of denial; for example, in *Flateyjar-bók* chapter 303 we are told that the match arranged between the King of Wendland and King Swain's sister has been postponed because she *setti þvert nei fyrir at hon mundi giptask gómlum konungi ok heiðnum* "flatly refused to marry an old and heathen king." In Old Norwegian laws we frequently find the expression *kveða nei*, meaning to deny the truth of an accusation (after which preliminary the defendant could find witnesses to attest his innocence).⁸ The first time *þwert nai* is recorded in English is in the twelfth century laws of the Scottish

⁵ Nyrop, *Danmarks Gilde- og Lavsskraaer fra Middelalderen*, I. 22.

⁶ See Schlyter, *Corpus iuris Sueo-Gotorum antiqui*, XIII. s.v. *Niþinger*.

⁷ Middle English *niþing* in the sense 'niggard' is not of legal introduction.

⁸ See *Norges Gamle Love*, V. s.v. *Kveða*.

Burghs (which contain a number of most interesting Norse borrowings, some of them only recorded there) and during the thirteenth century it occurs in several scattered records, for example in Cheshire and Leicestershire.⁹ The New English Dictionary has examples of *þwert nai* only in legal documents, but the word was in living use in the North of England. The poet of *Cursor Mundi*, describing Peter's denial of Christ and wishing to put a vehement denial in his mouth, makes use of this expression which he had probably heard in contemporary law-courts. Peter denies Christ in these words:—*Ful eber thuert nai . . . Yee mis nu vnderstand. Ne wist i neuer quat he was sin i was born in land*, "Definitely no. You misunderstand. I have had no knowledge of him since I was born." This is the reading of the Cotton manuscript.¹⁰ The term was evidently unfamiliar to the scribe of the more southerly Trinity manuscript which has the much weaker line *Anoon petur seide nay*.

The term *þwert nai* was in use in England over a wide area; an example of more limited distribution is Middle English *forfal* "legitimate excuse for non-appearance at a law-court." The form *forwal* is recorded once in the earlier text of *Layamon's Brut*. The *New English Dictionary* suggests that this is "perhaps mis-written for **forfal* a. ON. *forfall* (law-term) hindrance." The actual occurrence of *forfal* in records belonging to the same part of England as *Layamon's Brut* and the close correspondence of English and Norse usage fully support this etymology. In *Layamon's Brut* when Oswy does not appear in response to the king's summons, his rival suggests that he is wilfully disobeying the king, who then defends Oswy in these words:—*Oswy haueð for-wal; oðer he*

⁹ See *New English Dictionary*, s.v. *Thwert-out*.

¹⁰ Line 15921 ff. I have noted this example in *Leeds Studies in English*, II. 79.

lið ibedde ibunden mid ufele, oðer uncuðe leoden icumen beoð to his þeoden, "Oswy has *forwal*; either he is lying in bed made prisoner by illness, or strangers have come against his people."¹¹ *Forfal* occurs several times in thirteenth century Leicester records.¹² The most interesting example is in a charter given to the burgesses of Leicester in 1277 in which the following passage occurs (in translation):—If the defendant has found pledges or mainpernours for his appearance at the Court on a certain day and he cannot be there, let the pledges or the mainpernours, if they wish, have on the day a *forfal* for him (*vn forfal þur ly*) . . . and let them produce him there on another day.¹³ Similar usage to the English examples is well exemplified in Old Norse. In early Danish typical examples may be found in gild regulations, as in the clause:—*Hosom ikkæ kommer, han bødæ ix skilingæ, vden han hauer loulict forfæl* "Whoever does not appear shall pay ix shillings, unless he has legitimate *forfal*,"¹⁴ and in a list of examples of legitimate *forfal* we find illness and war in the land just as in *Layamon's Brut*.¹⁵ Similar examples occur in early Swedish¹⁶ and Old West Norse.¹⁷

Characteristic of Norse legal phraseology is a large number of alliterative phrases. Some of these are borrowed into English but few survive the Old English period; for example the phrase (only once recorded) in Old English *to mund and to mældage* "as a marriage payment and contract" is an Anglicizing of a Norse formula (Old West Norse *mundr ok mældagi*).¹⁸ In a

¹¹ Line 31590 ff.

¹² M. Bateson, *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, I. pp. 116, 118, etc.

¹³ Bateson, *op.cit.* I. 153.

¹⁴ Nyrop, *Danmarks Gilde- og Lavsskvaer*, I. 25.

¹⁵ Nyrop, *op.cit.* II., 588, s.v. *Forfald*.

¹⁶ See Schlyter, *Corpus iuris*, XIII. s.v. *Forfall*.

¹⁷ See *Norges Gamle Love*, V. s.v. *Forfall*.

¹⁸ Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, pp. 82/6, 195.

few cases they spread from legal language into general use. An alliterative phrase common to all the Old Norse languages is that appearing as *blár ok blóðugr* "bruised and bloody," in Old West Norse. In *Kormáks saga* chapter xi we are told that the children of Þordís often returned home from their games *blár ok blóðgir*—*þetta líkar Þordísi móðir þeirra illa* "the ill-pleased their mother." The formula is frequent in legal use where the penalties are set down for the man who makes another *blár ok blóðugr*.¹⁹ In early Danish the man who strikes his gild-brother so that he is *blá eller blodig* has to give a certain quantity of ale to the gild.²⁰ The formula is found in legal use elsewhere in Germanic²¹ although it is not in English until it is borrowed from Norse. The first time it occurs is in the laws of the Scottish Burghs; in an action after a fight the man who is *blá et blodig* has the right of being heard first; if both are *blá et blodig* then he who first lodges a complaint is to be heard first.²² The formula survives in Middle English in general use; in England it was apparently restricted to religious verse as a conventional description of Christ after his scourging,²³ but it was of frequent occurrence in various contexts for several centuries in Scotland.²⁴

¹⁹ *Norges Gamle Love*, I. 73, 167, 357, etc.

²⁰ Nyrop, *Danmarks Gilde- og Lavsskraaer*, II. 228.

²¹ E.g. in Old Frisian; see von Richthofen, *Altfriesisches Wörterbuch* s.v. *Blaw*.

²² *Acts Parliament Scotland*, I. 37.

²³ To the references in the *New English Dictionary*, s.v. *Blæ* adj. 1.b may be added *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* 47/65, *York Plays*, 507/256 *Towneley Plays*, xxiii. 469.

²⁴ See Craigie, *A Dictionary of the older Scottish Tongue*, s.v. *Bla* adj.

THE SONG OF ROLAND IN THE FAROËS.

By N. SMITH-DAMPIER.

ANY foreigner attending a Faroëse dancing party—where ballads are sung and paced in time to the metre after the mediæval fashion—may well be astonished at the range and variety of the themes dealt with by the ballad-minstrels. A legend from the Elder Edda belongs to the nature of things, but one hardly expects Charlemagne and his Champions to be taking the floor after Sigurd the Dragon Slayer. It is a very far cry from Tórshavn to Roncesvalles. How comes that story of Southern chivalry to be sung beneath that cold Northern moon?

To answer this question one must look back to that great outburst of imaginative creation during the early Middle Ages, which not only shaped out new forms in every Art, but re-shaped to its own pattern all the great stories of the world. It was the age of commerce, pilgrimage, and Crusade, of an international church, and cosmopolitan intercourse. The stories followed the march of the armies and in the wake of the ships, and what the monk wrote in the scriptorium was sung by the minstrel in tavern and market-place. The Scandinavian countries were not likely to be backward where new adventure, intellectual or otherwise, was concerned; as Vikings, Varangians, and colonists, their inhabitants had long been familiar with foreign culture, and nowhere did the fresh seed find fruitfuller soil. Indeed, the conservative were disgusted with the popularity of the new-fangled trash which was driving the Edda out of memory. Iceland alone, during the 13th century, produced more than 100 copies of romance, ranging from the Arthurian legends to the histories of Josephus.

A typical compilation is that known as *Hauks-bók*, assembled for his own pleasure by one Hauk Erlendsson, an Icelandic gentleman of the 14th century. Besides three of the shorter Sagas, it contains *Völuspá*; *Kristni Saga*; the History of the Cross and Destruction of Jerusalem; Extracts from S. Augustine; the Prophecies of Merlin; a treatise on Science; and an arithmetical handbook of Hauk's own composition.

This stream of culture flowed freely to the Faroës. That they were known to the Vikings as early as 800 A.D. has been proved by the discovery of a rune-stone at Kirkjubý, and the islands bore their own part in Viking activities, in colonial settlement, and commerce. The Hanseatic League had an outpost in Suderøy, which was also a port-of-call for Danish ships between Denmark and Greenland; and there was a good deal of inter-marriage between the Faroëse and other Scandinavians. Not till the imposition of the Danish commercial monopoly, lasting from 1709 till 1856, were the Islands isolated from the main current of life in Europe.

As for the Emperor Charlemagne, his practical relations with the Vikings began with their defeat in Friesland (795) under the leadership of Gudrod, and ended (so to speak) when they captured Aix-la-Chapelle after his death, and stabled their steeds in his mausoleum. His spirit, however, came into its own after the conversion of the North, which established a closer and fuller contact between Scandinavia and the Christian civilisation of Europe, at a period when Charlemagne's half-forgotten fame was reviving in his dismembered empire. The France of the 11th century, sickened by treachery and misrule under the Capets, looked back with longing to the loyalty of the Twelve Champions, and to their magnificent leader, whose white beard went before them like an Oriflamme into battle. *Si Charles fût en France, encore y fût Roland*, ran the saying. No less admiringly did the Crusading spirit remember his warfare against

the heathen hounds, worshippers of Jupiter and Apollo, Mahomet and Termagaunt. Sighvat the Skald, attached to the court of S. Olaf, (1015-1030) when acting as godfather to one of the king's sons, gave him the name of Magnus, because in his opinion Karlamagnus (Charlemagne) was the best man who ever lived on earth; and this abbreviation of the Emperor's name became very popular in Norway.

The legend of Charlemagne flowered, like other legends, into a variety of songs, ballads, and Chansons de Geste, and found its supreme expression in the epic known as the Chanson de Roland. This, in the form we now possess, dates approximately from the latter half of the 11th century. It was certainly in circulation by 1096, the date of the Council of Clermont, when Pope Urban II publicly held it up as an inspiration to Christian warriors in overcoming the infidel and extending the sway of Holy Church. Evidence of its popularity is found in most European countries, Italy in especial, several MS. copies, mostly of the 13th century, being preserved in the library of San Marco at Venice, while the statues of Roland and Oliver keep guard in the cathedral porch of Verona. The Song came to England with the Normans; it is said that some version or other, sung by Duke William's minstrel Taillefer, encouraged his host on the field of Hastings.

A French school of criticism, headed by Léon Gautier, believes the author of the epic to have been a Norman familiarly acquainted with England—possibly a certain Terould, a Benedictine from Fécamp, and son of the Conqueror's tutor, who became Abbot, first of Malmesbury, and then of Peterborough. The Epic ends with the line:

Ci fait la geste que Tuoldus declinet;

and two MSS copies, not now existing, are known to have been preserved at one time in Peterboro' cathedral library. This theory (based also on philological

evidence) is disputed by Gaston Paris and other authorities.

One fact, however, is indisputable: that England possesses the classical copy of the *Chanson de Roland*—a MS. known as the Oxford version, which is one of the treasures of the Bodleian. This, giving the original or *assomantal* form of the poem (which was later rewritten in rhyme), is a copy made for the use of a *jongleur*, apparently in the later part of the 12th century. Imperfect, ill-written, and defaced with corrections, it is, nevertheless, the Authorised Version, of which all others are variants.

Now, the ways of brain-waves are no more calculable than those of the waves of the sea, but there is reason to conjecture that the Song of Roland reached the Faroës from England. Here is an interesting cross-current; the Norwegian King Sverre grew up in the Faroës; his strong interest in literature was inherited by his grandson, Håkon IV; and one of the latter's personal friends was Matthew Paris, the learned monk of St. Albans, who visited Norway in 1248 on an ecclesiastical mission. Håkon IV caused a life of Karlamagnus to be compiled from Latin sources by an Icelandic monk, and this, known as the *Karlamagnus Saga*, became famous in Scandinavia. Despite Matthew Paris, however, the *Saga* ignores the Oxford Version, and goes to much later sources, such as the *Chronicle of Turpin*, and the *Speculum Historia* by Vincent of Beauvais, though it retains the Norman forms of the names, and the references to the Norman conquest of England. On the other hand, the Faroëse ballad-cycle follows, not the K.M.S., but the oldest French sources, with some influence from the German. Whatever part England may, or may not, have played in the matter, this fact bears witness to the cosmopolitan culture enjoyed at that period by the Islands.

When the ballad-cycle was composed is uncertain.

The fashion of rhyming verse probably did not reach Norway before 1300, and got to Iceland from Denmark about fifty years later. (There it was chiefly used in the *Rímur*, which are not ballads, but chronicles.) The earliest Norwegian ballads show, very remarkably, how a transition was effected from the older forms of verse; the lines are bound together in couplets with regular *stav-rim* or alliteration, of two letters in the first line and one in the second. Here is an example :

The King Íay out in his Íong-ship,
The Íonesome Yule-tide thro',
He Íound no Íire for his victuals,
So Íierce was the storm that blew.

This rigid form was soon abandoned for the usual ballad-alliteration, which varies freely from line to line. A number of Roland ballads were composed in Norway during the 14th century, but, unlike the Danish ballads, they were not committed to writing, and survive only in fragments. Various Icelandic *Rímur* also deal with his exploits, notably his last fight at Runtsival (Roncesvalles). References to Iceland occur in many Faroëse ballads, but these may have been mere conventional forms; there is good authority for believing that the main influence was Norwegian, Iceland, on the whole, being little occupied with the ballad. One of the Norse ballads of Roland has the same opening as one of the Faroëse, but this gives small assistance in determining the date of the latter; all that can be said is, that the cycle does not belong to the best period of workmanship. It consists of six sections, all (with the exception of a variant) by the same hand. The following translations are extracts from the last section, the Twelve Champions, or the Battle of Runtsival.¹

¹ NOTE.—There is another Faroëse ballad-cycle of *Karlamagnus*, more modern, and of inferior merit, which, like the other, is not taken directly from the Saga.

BURDEN:

*Forth from Frankland did they ride
In jewelled saddles all;
Loud did Roland wind his horn,
In Runtsival.*

The Keiser sat on his high-seat
In garments all of gold,
And chose him out twelve champions,
The foremost was Roland bold.

Turpin the brave Archbishop
Did there with Roland ride,
Gerard rode there and Rikin,
With Osvald Jarl beside.

Ansias, Odvald, and Nemus,
Reimur and Rantsin tall,
Oliver Jarl and Bernhart,
Rode down to Runtsival.

.

It was the great King Angulund
That cried thro' bower and hall,
And called on the paynim champions
To fight at Runtsival.

“Harken now, King Garsia,
“To what I ask of thee!
“Say, wilt thou ride to Runtsival,
“And wage this war for me?”

Forth he fared, King Garsia,
All with his shining shield,
Down by the vale of Aspurmund
To meet them in the field.

By forties and by fifties,
The kings in armour all
Went riding with King Garsia
To fight at Runtsival.

.

Oh never a heathen captain
Alive from field did flee,
Save only the Jarl of Uppland,
And wounded sore was he.

He stood before King Angulund,
And cried in dule and pain:
"Tho' all thy host be slaughtered,
"Not yet is Roland slain!"

"Never shall truce be sounded,
"And ne'er shalt thou mercy meet,
"Till thou bringest the head of Roland,
"To lay it before my feet!"

.

When Roland wound his ivory horn
To cry his need abroad,
The wine was spilled from the goblets
That stood on the Keiser's board.

The armour that hung idle
Rang in its resting-place,
And up sprang every warrior,
And stared in his fellow's face.

Up and spake Sir Flovant,
That stood by the Keiser's knee:
"'Tis the blast of Roland thy Kinsman,
"And bitter his need must be!"

Up spake the evil Jarl Gydin,
Of traitors wiliest:
"Roland he rides a-hunting,
"And bloweth his horn in jest!"

All in the morning early
When the sun shone far and wide,
Twice eighteen hundred warriors
Mounted their steeds of pride.

The levin flashed from their haughty helms,
And with their hoofs went thunder,
When they rode down to Runtsival
All earth was rent asunder.

'Twas the white-bearded Keiser
That rode the host before,
'Twas doughty Holger Danske
The Keiser's banner bore.

But when they looked on Runtsival,
Those warriors of renown,
Was never a one so hard of heart
But fast his tears ran down.

'Twas doughty Holger Danske
Spake up in anger then
" Good sooth, 'tis an easy sacrifice
" To weep o'er slaughtered men ! "

Up spake Holger Danske,
And wrathful was his mood :
" Have done with your salt water,
" And wreak revenge in blood ! "

The Keiser sprang from saddle
(Flying the foemen all),
To loosen from Roland's death-grip
The good sword Dyrindal.

Blade from hilt he sundered
With mickle toil and pain,
But the weapon that Roland wielded
No man might wield again.

No lesser man might set to lip
The horn that Roland blew ;
Far in the weltering water
Both blade and horn he threw.

But Keiser Karlamagnus
(Now is my story told),
He buried in holy Jerusalem
The bones of his champions bold.

Twelve were the Keiser's champions
(Now shall I sing no more),
And for twelve moons the Keiser
Lay sick with sorrow sore.

THE BALLAD OF WILLIAM CURT-NOSE

WILLIAM CURT-NOSE (Guillaume au Court-nez), was an historical character, who was made Stadtholder of Toulouse by Charlemagne, became Duke of Aquitaine, and died in the monastery of Aniane, 862. He was eventually canonized as S. William. In the Ecclesiastical History of Ordericus Vitalis (1141), it is said that the jongleurs made a ribald song about him, which was freely sung by the populace, and here we have it. In the French versions of his legend he is mocked by his wife, in the Faröese by the Keiser, on account of his age and grey hairs, which circumstance brings about his retreat to the monastery. The ballad tells of the curious ordeal which he imposed on himself to test his vocation.

'Twas Keiser Karlamagnus
That would be jesting still
And 'twas his knight, Sir William,
That took his jesting ill.

Up from the board sprang William
Unheeding meat and wine :
" Thou Keiser Karlamagnus,
" No more I'm man of thine !

" 'Tis time to cease from warfare,
" To put off iron and steel ;
" Now will I seek the cloister
" My sinful soul to heal ! "

Was never an hour of day nor night
But still the bells did ring,
And there they taught Sir William
To read, and eke to sing.

Deeming him tamed, that falcon,
The Abbot up and said :
"Thou to the town shalt betake thee,
"To buy us wine and bread."

"Now lithe and listen, thou cloister-chief,
"All for thy rede I pray !
"If outlaws and thieves fall on me,
"Have I thy leave to slay? "

"Shalt keep the peace of Holy Church
"As monks do one and all,
"For while thou art girt with hempen belt
"No man at thy hand must fall."

Now William bound in his hempen belt
A ring of the red, red gold,
And never, I ween, under monkish cowl
Glinted an eye so bold !

He loaded his steed with wine and bread,
And turned him from the town,
And much he thought, but little he said,
When the outlaws and thieves came down.

Oh meek as ever a holy man
He stood in his cowl of grey :
"By the Keiser's beard," thought William,
"The monks will fast to-day! "

Then loud he cried, Sir William,
"Now fools are ye and blind
"That seize the prey of little price,
"And leave the best behind !

"Behold, behold, this ring of gold,
"A spoil that ye will not spare !
"Greater the worth of that ring, I ween,
"Than of all that the steed doth bear."

Good sooth, I wot, they tarried not,
Nor needed bidding twice !
They've riven in twain his hempen belt,
And seized the ring of price.

Then up he reared, that warrior,
In mickle wrath and scorn;
He overthrew that lawless crew
As an ox treads down the corn.

“ Now lithe and listen, thou cloister-chief !
“ My troth is bought and sold ;
“ The vow that I kept for the bread and wine
“ I broke for the red, red gold.

“ My weird I’ll dree in the forest free,
“ For monks are little worth,
“ And the peace from sin that I fain would win
“ Is nowhere found on earth ! ”

THE ALLITERATIVE PATTERN ABBC IN THE *ÞULUR*.

BY PROFESSOR KEMP MALONE.

THE *pula* or metrical list of names is a *genre* well known, not only in Icelandic literature but also in English and elsewhere. The earliest Germanic thulas which have come down to us are those recorded in the *Germany* of Tacitus and the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy.¹ The Ptolemaic thula is a list of the tribes said to inhabit the Cimbric peninsula. It reads as follows (in Latinized form):

Saxones, Sigulones,	Sabalingii, Cobandi,
Chali, Phunusii,	Charudes, Cimbri.

Here the first line shows the alliterative pattern *aaab*; the second line, the pattern *abac*.² Both these patterns, of course, are familiar in alliterative poetry. A third pattern, *abbc*, is exemplified in the first line of the famous Tacitean list of Nerthus tribes:

Reudigni, Aviones,	Anglii, Varini,
Eudoses, Suard[i]ones,	Unithones [<i>MS</i> Nuithones].

This pattern, too, is familiar enough. In metrical name-lists, however, it seems to be rare. Thus, in the first and third thulas of *Widsith* it does not occur, and in the second thula of that poem it occurs only once (line 57).³ It is worthy of note that this occurrence is in the *first* line of the thula. So also in the Tacitean thula-fragment, and in the following strophe quoted in the *Hervararsaga*:⁴

Ár kváðu Humla	Húnum ráða,
Gizur Gautum,	Gotum Angantý,
Valdar Dönum	en Völum Kíar,
Alrek enn frökna	enskri þjóðu.

¹ See my discussion, *Namn och Bygd* XXII (1934), 30 f., 50 f.

² If we emend to *Chimbri* the pattern becomes *abaa*, a pattern which, though rare, sometimes occurs in the Icelandic thulas, as, for instance, in the *Þórgvímsspula a* (strophe 3, 5-6); for the emendation, see G. Schütte, *Skivebogen*, 1935, p. 29.

³ See my comments, *ELH* II (1935), 291 f.

⁴ See Heusler and Ranisch, *Eddica Minora* (Dortmund, 1903), p. 105.

Our same pattern appears in the last as well as the first line of the following thula-like strophe of a poem included in the *Örvaroddssaga*:⁵

Hefk á Saxa	ok Svía herjat
Frísi ok Frakka	ok Flæmingja.
Íra ok Engla	ok endr Skota.
þeim hefk öllum	óþarfr verit.

In the first line, however, the pattern takes the variant form of *abba*.

The peculiarities set forth above led me to look into the matter more narrowly. I went through the *pulur* collected by Finnur Jónsson in *Den Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigtning*, B,I (Copenhagen, 1921), pp. 656-680, and found 27 examples of the alliterative pattern *abbc*, together with five examples of *abba* and one example of *abbb*: a total of 33 occurrences of the pattern. Of these occurrences, 15 are at the beginning, 7 at the end of a thula or strophe, while 11 are medial. The 15 initial examples of the pattern are given below:

p. 659	Gjölþ, Hyrrokkin	Hengikepta
	Köttr, Ösgrúi	ok Alfarinn
660	Þórr heitir Atli	ok Ásabragr
663	Það eru heiti:	hjaldr ok rimma
	Ek mun segja	sverða heiti
664	Oddr, blóðvarta	ok benknúar
668	Nú mun ek skýra	of skipa heiti
670	Hafr heitir grímnir	ok geirölnir
671	Nú eru himnar	á hæð taldir
672	Grímr, nár, niði,	níðhögg, dvalinn
677	Þessi skal kenna	kellu heiti
656	Viggr ok Skúfr	vas með Skævaði
664	Skelkvingr, fylvingr,	flæmingr, skerðingr
666	Brynja, kund, hjalmgöll,	hrauð ok nán, köld
672	Nú skal yppa	Óðins nöfnum.

It will be noted that eight of these lines are introductory formulas. Of the others, the tenth and especially the fourteenth make difficulties in scansion and alliteration

⁵ See the edition of R. C. Boer (Halle, 1888), pp. 166f.

alike. Since nearly half the occurrences of the pattern are at the beginning of a thula or strophe, it seems evident that in verses of the thula type the alliterative pattern *abbc* (with its variants *abba* and *abbb*) tends to be restricted to first place. The same tendency appears in the *Rígsþula*: of the 15 lines which show the pattern *abbc*, nine occur at the beginning of a strophe. The witness of *Widsith* leads us to think that this restriction is old; indeed, in the earliest periods it may have been absolute, the Icelandic evidence perhaps reflecting a later stage in which the old rule was no longer applied with rigour. If so, it follows that the Tacitean thula-fragment gives us the first two lines of a thula otherwise lost.

THE NORSE SETTLEMENT OF NORTH SCOTLAND IN ITS GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING.

By ANDREW C. O'DELL, M.Sc., F.R.G.S.

THE early history of the north of Scotland is lost in the mists of time, save where some unexpected light illuminates the past. Written records of the north do not extend back beyond the period of the sagas which, although written soon after 1200 A.D., tell of the traditions of circa 800 A.D. It is not known when the Celtic race moved northwards into the northern regions and it is only possible to give the general dating as applied to the north west of Europe.

Iron Age—Scots period 1469 *et seq.*
 Norse period c. 600 A.D. to 1469.
 Celtic period 400 B.C. to 600 A.D.
 Bronze Age.
 Neolithic Age.
 Epi-palæolithic Age.
 Palæolithic Age.

The early periods, as is to be expected, afford the least evidence, and it is necessary to correlate the human remains by a study of the palæo-climate of the region. The following table is based on A. W. Brøgger, "Den Norske Bosetningen paa Shetland-Orknøylene."

<i>Name of peat layer</i>	<i>Flora</i>	<i>Climate</i>	<i>Period</i>
Cotton Grass layer	Calluna Eriophorum	Moist (Norwegian) Sub-Atlantic	Iron Age
Equivalent to Upper Forestian	Calluna Club-Moss Eriophorum		Bronze Age
Atlantic	Occasional Dwarf Birch	Very Damp	
Lower Forestian	Birch, Alder Rowan, Hazel Bog-Myrtle		Maglemose Culture (Denmark) 7,000-5,000 B.C.
Lower Peat Bog	Little Characteristic		
Arctic	Willow		

As G. V. Simpson demonstrated in the *Proc. Roy. Soc. Edin.* I. 275, the last Ice Age penetrated across Britain as far south as Finchley and Bristol and at the same time the so-called second inter-glacial period was as severe as those prevailing during the ice spread before and after, and this inter-glacial period, unlike the first and third, was incapable of allowing human life. It was only at the close of the Ice Age when the ice was retreating northwards and Scotland rising from the release of the load that man could move into the area.

Naturally, under the conditions that prevailed, sheltered spots such as the caves in the valley of Allt nan Uamh in Sutherland were chosen and used for dwellings, while the valleys were water bogged by the melting ice from the hills above. As the land rose so the settlers passed down to the sea shore, where they gathered shell fish and hunted but failed to maintain an agriculture. Such settlements on the then existing sea beaches are those of Colonsay. After the conditions ameliorated there came from Denmark, via Eastern England, by tree rafts the Maglemose culture, whose remains are found in the Carse of Stirling. The neolithic folk were supplanted by a steady penetration from the south and Germany by the Bronze Age people, and these practised a primitive form of agriculture and carried on a trade with the Low Countries.

When the Norse arrived at the north of Scotland they found a race in possession who seem to have combined the arts of agriculture and piracy. Agriculture must have reached some large standard of importance in the north for the brochs, or round towers, are either in the best agricultural patch or in a good look-out position. Querns are common objects in the human relics found in the débris of the brochs. At the same time as the broch peoples there seems to have been a more primitive economy existing alongside in the north. Such sites as those of Skara Brae and Jarlshof, Orkney and Shetland respectively, have remains that show the people were able

to cast bronze and at the same time carbonised seeds of bere, a form of barley still found in the north, are found. Culdee priests from Ireland settled in the Western and Northern Isles and formed colonies of



Fig. 1.—Distribution of Early Iron Age brochs in Scotland (excluding Shetland).

Christianity, some of which can still be located by the "Papa" constituent of place names. These preceding peoples had all moved northwards under the stress of economic or social conditions and, like the Romans,

regarded the north as the *Ultima Thule* of their movements. The position of the brochs, with their concentration in northern Scotland is shown in Figure I. The emphasis on coastwise location is clearly displayed by the diagram.

The first Norse immigrants to Scotland, as has been shown by the work of the Faroese philologist Jakobsen, were peasant immigrants of the eighth century from Agder and Rogaland. That they came from the Möre

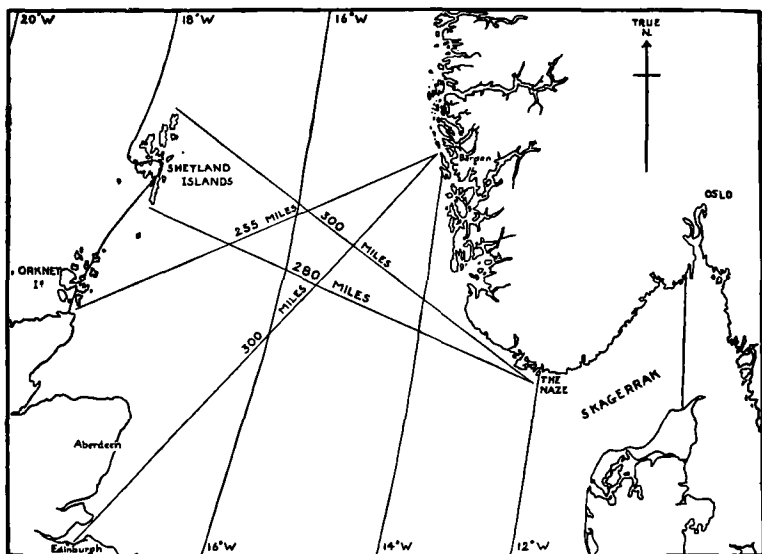


Fig. 2.—Showing the lines of magnetic declination in 1916 and the distances the Norse sailed to the north of Scotland.

and Agder districts of S.W. Norway is shown by the distribution of "setr" and "land" place names in that part of Norway—which root is common in the north of Scotland. These peasant immigrants were succeeded, at the period of consolidation in power of Harold the Fair-haired, by a set of adventurers. The Shetland Islands have been proved by Brøgger to have been later settled than more southerly regions by the Norse. The peasants married with the aborigines, it was not as so often

imagined an extermination settlement, but one of peaceful penetration, and probably in time they brought the thrall women from Norway, who were also dark, and this perpetuated the dark strain in the Shetland Islands.

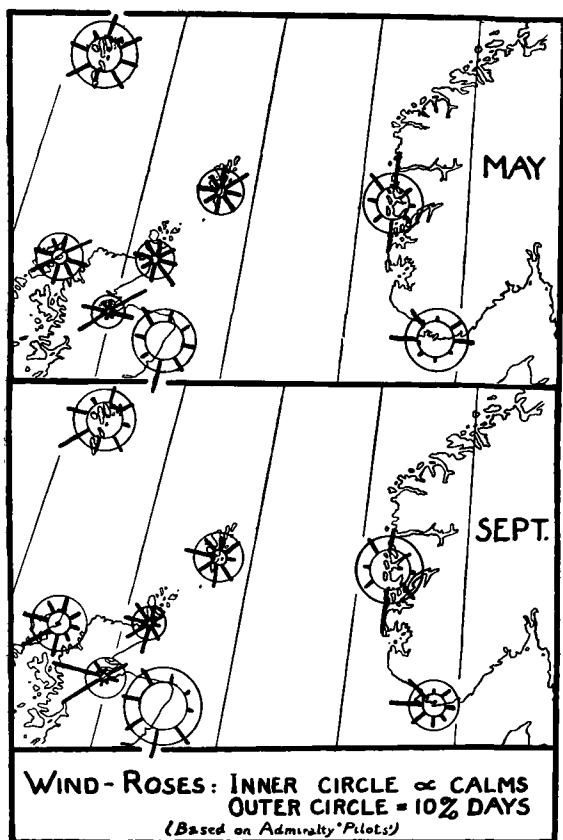


Fig. 3.—Wind-roses for two sailing months. The inner circle is proportional to the number of calm days, while the length of barb varies as the number of days with wind from that quarter.

To reach the north of Scotland the Norse had nearly three hundred miles to sail across the North Sea, in the main against prevailing winds. The shortest distance is from Bergen to Caithness and this may account for the

focussing of Norse penetration on that point of the seaboard, apart from its nodal character for passing down the west or eastern seaboard. The third diagram shows the prevailing winds for May and September. The upper figure for May shows that, when the crops were sown, there is a marked north and easterly component for the average winds which, making the assumption that they have not appreciably changed since Norse times, would allow a more easy seasonal passage to the west. The Norse landed on the seaboard, and if they were on a maurading expedition failed to have any deep influence on the settlement, but even if they came as settlers it is noteworthy that they failed to go far into the interior. A study of the place names of a parish as that of Farr in Sutherland shows that the Norse did not settle a great distance inland, and the clean cut line between the two types of names in Strath Naver shows that it was a peaceful collateral occupation of the land. The settlement seems to have been discontinuous, based as it was on a command of the sea.

These Norse immigrants called Shetland and Orkney Hjalmland and Orknøyjar, and the Hebrides and the Isle of Man Suðrøyjar or Southern Isles, and Mön, now Sodor and Man. The Pentland Firth, with Orkney as the point of aspect, bore the name Pétlands Fjörðr, Pictland Firth, and south of this again lay Katanes and Suðrland, or Caithness and Sutherland. Cape Wrath owes its name not to the stormy seas but to the fact that it was the turning point for the vessels, ON Hvarf. As Professor Brøgger so vividly expresses the new outlook "With the Norse colonisation there followed not only new names, but an entirely new geographical horizon and a new orientation created, so to speak, from the decks of the Viking ships from which the Norsemen beheld the land they were to people. Instead of the place they occupied in classical geography as a fringe of the world, the Orkneys became to the Norse

settlers the centre of a kingdom from whence they looked out upon, and named, all else." (A. W. Brøgger, "Ancient Emigrants," 1929, p. 29):

These Norse settlers in the islands occupied, and developed, all the best land as is revealed by a study of the skatt records. Probably by a study of the natural vegetation and by experiment they found the then available agricultural resources of the islands and the sea-board fringe of the mainland of Scotland. The Orkneyinga Saga of c. 1150 relates how, near Sumburgh Head, the Earl Rognvald of Orkney took part in a fishing expedition. It was an inshore fishing as the haaf had not yet been developed, and the story might have been taken from a tale of recent years.

To conclude, the Norse settlement of the north of Scotland took place when the Viking ships were able to navigate the northern waters, and the peoples who crossed left an impression on the place names of the region which still persists to the present. The settlers were away from their original type of habitat and were forced in part to substitute stone for timber where possible. Their movements are of interest, since they were pioneers of the westward movement of the European peoples from the Atlantic fringe. Such westward movements have continued to the present almost, for it has only been since the beginning of this century that the westward expansion of the stock has been permanently checked by the semi-arid wastes of Western America. Further west carries the migrants to the intensively settled areas of the Pacific coast and still further west they impinge on the densely settled lands of the Far East. Such were the beginnings of a movement, that has taken place spasmodically for twelve hundred years, of moving on to live in lands that promised a better livelihood, even though the region was already occupied.

NOTE.—In a volume in the press, "An Historical Geography of the Shetland Islands," I have dealt fully with the Norse settlement in the northern archipelago.

ON THE PLACE-NAMES OF AURLAND PARISH IN SOGN, NORWAY.

BY PROFESSOR DR GEORGE T. FLOM.

WHEN Sogn is mentioned in the sagas or other mediæval documents the reference is to the tribally unified district comprizing the settlements in the valleys between the Sogn Mountains, and along the great Sognefjord and its inland arms. In its extent this tribal district was essentially as it is to-day. The tribe was called the *Sygnir*, this name being derived from the name of the district. To-day the people are called *Sogningar* (dialect form), or *Sogninger* (Riksmal form), this being simply the plural of the *-ing* formation: *sogn-ing*, native of Sogn. This extension of the patronymic suffix *-ing* is commonly employed in Sogn and in Norway in general to-day, as *Aurlending* (or *Aurlenning*), a native of Aurland; the narrower use also remains.

To-day Sogn comprizes 17 parishes lying between the sea on the west and the east Norwegian districts of Valdres and Hallingdal on the east. Outer Sogn is bounded on the north by Sunnfjord, and Inner Sogn by the mountains of northern Gudbrandsdalen. On the south Hardanger and Voss are the neighbors of Sogn. There have been two shiftings of the boundary line of Sogn in modern times, one of which also changed the boundaries between Aurland and Voss. Before Dec. 23, 1773, Evenvik Parish belonged to Nordhordland; on that date it was transferred to Sogn. On the same day Sygnastrond or Opheim Parish west of Nærødalen was transferred from Aurland to Voss, so that now the western boundary of Nærødalen Parish runs below the Stalheimskleiv. This line now also divides the present "Sogn og Fjordane Fylke"

from "Hordaland Fylke"; the line runs over the middle of the first bridge below the Stalheimkleiv, the so-called *Jordalsbruni*, also called *Jordalsbrunao*.

The name Sogn. Sogn was originally the name of the fjord; but the transfer of the name from the fjord to the settlements around the fjord took place already in the Middle Ages. At the same time the fjord came to be called *Sognefjorden* (loc. *Sognaffjorn*). O. Rygh held that *Sogn* as the name of the fjord was probably a masc. noun, since it was a masc. as the name of the district later (*Sproglig-historiske Studier tilegnede Professor C. R. Unger*, Kristiania, 1896, p. 31). In the *Egils saga Skallagrimssonar*, ch. XL, 22, we have the gsg. *Sogns*, masc. or neut., and in the *Fornmanna sogur*, IX, p. 428, the masc. acc. sg. form in *Sogn halfan*.

The name Sogn is pronounced *sogn* and *soggæn* in Aurland; some individuals say *soggæn*. The same ablaut form of the stem is seen in the word *søge*, m., used in Aurland, and perhaps everywhere in Sogn; *søge* means "strong current, suction, downward pull of the water." It is the stem we have in the verb ON *súga*, OE *sūgan*, Norw. diall. *súga*, "to suck, to draw." In Norwegian dialects *suga* means "pull, draw toward oneself," said of a current, and of the suction of water in a narrow place. The word *søge* occurs also in Hallingdal and Voss; for the latter Ross in *Norsk Ordbog* gives the definition: "en Kløft eller dyb Sænkning i Fjeldet, ned igjennem hvilken der stadig gaar et Vinddrag." This meaning is known also in Aurland. The word is found in the place-name *Sogadn* as a part of a river in eastern Aurland. The shorter form *sog*, n., has wider currency, being apparently general West Norwegian; it appears also in North Gudbrandsdalen. For Mandal, Ross cites the meaning for *sog*, n., "hvirvel som suger

nedad." In ON *sog*, n., means "dragsug, sjø" (Hægstad); Icel. *sog*, n., "suction."

Sogn as an a-stem is to be referred to *sugna-*, which gave *sognaR*, m., > *sognr* > *sogn*. The pronunciation *soggen* represents a characteristic of Aurlandic, as in *regn*, "rain," > *reggen*, *logn*, "stillness after a rain-storm," > *løggen*, etc. The pronunciation *søgen* would seem to be an early influence upon the name by the word *soge*.

The word *Sogn* as a river name appears also elsewhere in Norway, O. Rygh in *Norske Elvenavne*, p. 238, mentions no less than six, among them *Sognaaen* in Værdalen, and short-form *Sogn* in North Land.

In searching for the part of the Sognefjord that was originally called *Sogn* we should look for it at some point where place-names based on the stem *sogn* are found in several examples. Such a part of the fjord we find in extreme Outer *Sogn* in the *Sognesjø* between *Gulen* and *Sulen*. This "sea" extends from the islands *Storsvalene* ("The Big Swallows") in Outer *Sulen* in as far as *Sygnefest* on the southern mainland of *Gulen*. Another is *Sognfjæra* (ON *Sognfjara*), which comprizes the settlements along the *Sognesjø* and the *Sognefjord* as far inland as *Kvamsøy* in outer *Balestrand*. At the upper end of the *Sognsjø* on the *Gulen* side lies *Sygnefest*, also called *Sognefest*, locally pronounced *Syggnefest*; it was in ON *Sygnafestr*, the name of a landpoint for the anchorage of ships in the Middle Ages. The name probably means "The first harbour on the *Sygna*" reckoning from the west; for I am inclined to believe that the outer fjord was also called *Sygna* at that time. *Sygna* would go back to *suginō-*. Here, I believe, arose also the name *Sogn* as the name of the fjord, and this form acquired the greater currency and became later the name of the great fjord in its entirety.

Aurland. Aurland is a parish district of mountain settlements situated in the southernmost part of central Sogn and lying between Voss and Leikanger on the west, and Lerdal and Hallingdal on the east. There are four main settlements (bygder) constituted as the four parishes of the district: Nærødalen, Underdal, Flåm, and Vangen, the last being the central and largest parish. It is an area of considerable extent, the land area being 1,455.7 kilometers, with 26.20 km. fresh water. But this area is largely mountains and highlands; field and meadow make up only 8.5 km. of it, while forests total 34.0 km. (A. Helland: *Norges Land og Folk*, Vol. XIV, Kristiania, 1901, p. 185). The four parishes of Aurland are separated from one another by mountains rising usually to a height of ca. 1,600 meters; and each "bygd" is separated from the surrounding ones by intervening mountains. In the south the glacier *Storskavlen* ("The Great Drift") lies wholly within Aurland, and the *Vargabræ* ("The Brae of the Wolves") separates Aurland from Hol Parish of Hallingdal.

The chief avenues of communication with surrounding settlements have from time immemorial been the *Aurlandsfjord* and the *Sognefjord* west to Outer Sogn, to Bergen and beyond; or east to Inner Sogn, thence over the mountains to Eastern Norway. Other lanes of intercourse lead from the upper end of *Aurlandsvangen* Valley by *Vassbygdi* ("The Settlement by the Waters") over the famous mountain trail through *Aurlandsdalen* and up across the Eastern Mountains; and by similar trails from the upper end of *Flåmsdalen* to Eastern Norway and to Hardang. At the western end of Nærødalen lies the much-travelled route of the *Stalheimskleiv* into Voss. The Bergen R R has its Aurland station at *Myrdal* in southern Flåmsdalen.

Linguistically it is convenient to speak of Aurlandic as having an eastern and a western subdialect. The

boundaries between the two coincide with the boundaries between the two groups of parishes: Nærødalen and Underdal forming the western group, and Flåm and Vangen, the eastern. In the west Mt. *Flengjæggji* ("The Far-flung Edge") is the dividing line between the two dialect areas. The two subdialects differ in some minor respects; but an important difference is the palatalization of *g* and *k* before front vowels which characterizes Flåm and Vangen. Thus the word *dagen*, def. sg. of *dag*, "day," is pronounced *dajen* (*j* as *y* in "yet") in East Aurlandic, and the def. sg. of *bok*, "book," is pronounced *botfi*. In West Aurlandic they say *dagen* and *boki*.

The name Aurland. The earliest recorded form of the name is *Aurland*. There are some eight occs. in the *Egils saga*, as Ch. XXXII, 1, and XXXVI, 10: *a Aurlandi*; the acc. appears in XXXVI, 5, XL, 27, etc.; others occs. in later chapters. In *Björgynjar Kalfskinn*, 1360-70, it is also *j Aurlande* (P. A. Munch's edition, 1843, p. 89). The name appears, further, in several old charters, as DN VII, 115, year 1322: *i Aurlande*. The old spelling is also that of the official form to-day; the present pronunciation is *øudland* or *æudland*, rarely as broad as *æudland*.¹ There are, however, early writings with initial *u*, as *i U'dhlandhe*, DN I, 554, date 1438. In the XVI-XVIIIth centuries the written forms are regularly *Udland* or *Urland*. Corresponding to this written form there is to-day also the variant pronunciation *Uddland*, which is the form of the name in Inner Sogn and westward as far as Leikang. P. A. Munch seems to have known only the spoken form with *u*; on p. 113, loc. cit., he says: "nomen erat Aurland, hodie Urland." However, the local pronunciation, as stated above, is *æudland*.

Two other early writings should be mentioned; they are given by O. Rygh in *Norske Gaardnavne* (NG),

¹ But often *æudland* in Underdal.

XII, p. 107: i Ørlandh, DN, II, 603, date 1454; and Wlland in *Norske Regnskaber og Jordebøger fra det 16de Aarh.*, III, 402. The second of these has merely the interest of giving further testimony to the writing with *u*; the *ll* is simply an attempt to give literary form to the dialectal *Udland*, as dial. *uddl*, "wool," or *guddl*, "gold," was in East Norwegian and Dano-Norwegian *ull* and *gull*, as it is in Riksmål Norwegian to-day. But the spelling *Ørland* would not be a literary form for *Udland*, it is clearly a case of "touching up" the local *au* to literary *ø* (as *staur*: *stør*, *blaut*: *bløt*, etc.), and so *Aurland* was written *Ørland*.

In the neighbouring districts south-east, south and west the name *Aurland* is pronounced with *au*²: in Hallingdal it is *Auland*, in Hardanger it is *Aurland*, and in Voss it is *Audland* (i.e. æudland). It may be mentioned that we regularly have *au* also in the names *Aurlandsdalen* and *Aurdalen*; the latter is the mountain dale above Urvik, which connects with Stemmerdalen.

The qualifying first part of the name *Aurland* derives, it seems clear to me, from ON *aurr*, m., "gravel, sandy soil." The word *aur* is common in *Aurland* and in western Norway generally in the meanings: "gravel, sandy soil, hard ground, subsoil." Aasen, defining as here adds: "Ellers ogsaa om flere jordarter, som adskille sig fra Muldjorden, saaledes ogsaa Raudaur og Leiraur." Further, there is the vb. *aura*, "to mix or fill with gravel," and the adj. *auren*, "hard and gravelly," which word is also used in *Aurland*. Of interest is the adj. *aurlendt*, used of gravelly land; and the corresponding cpd. *aurlende*, n., "fields with gravelly soil, a stretch of land that is gravelly." Here we have the *ia*-stem-equivalent of the pure *a*-stem *aurland*. Both suffixes *-lendt* and *-lende* are common in *Aurland*. Examples are: *høglent*, "lying high";

² I retain here the usual spelling with *au* here and in the forms below; the sound is *æu*.

høglende, "land situated high"; *laoglent* and *laog-lende*, of low land; *stainlent*, of stony soil; *skoglent*, of wooded land; *myrlent*, of miry land; *myrlende*, "a miry stretch of land"; *ulent*, of land or a road that is rough and difficult to travel. Cf. also *nylenda*, f., "a newly broken field"; *Nylendao*, def., as the name of various new fields in different parts of Aurland; there is a *Stølsnylende* at Midge. The suffix *-land* is fairly frequent in Aurland as a farm-name (*Hydland*), or part of farms, and in names of fields, etc. Cf. also *Haoland*, the name of a plateau in Eastern Aurland. A similar formation is Aurland, a district thereby characterized as "aurlendt."

A word must be said here about the name *Aurdalen* referred to above, which in the recorded occs usually is written *Urdal*. This name Aurdal is frequently met with among Norwegian settlement names: it appears in Ulvik, Hardanger; in Vats Parish, Stavanger; in Valdres in the parish name *Aurdal*; in Østfold in the form *Aurdæl* (pronounced *Urdæl*), and in other places. In Aurland the name is pronounced *aurdal*; I heard no other pronunciation of it in Aurdal. And the lake is called *Aurdalsvatnet*. On the other hand there is the old farm-name *Urvik* in Aurdalen, which there and elsewhere in the district is generally pronounced *Urvik*.³ In my *Phonology of the Dialect of Aurland, Sogn, Norway*, 1915, p. 33, I gave the name *Urvik* under examples of words with the vowel *ú*. However, A. Kjær in the edition of Vol. XII of *Norske Gaardnavne*, 1919, p. 112, gave the form *Aurviken*, adding the pronunciation *aurvikji*. Then in his introductory discussion of the name Aurland, after considering O. Rygh's views, he came to the conclusion that the word *aurr*, "Grus," is at least in part the correct explanation (delvis den rigtige); but referred to my form *Urvik* and added, "Er dette den rette Udtale, maa Aurdalen og Aurvikji

³ Otherwise also *Aurvikji*, def. sg.

som første Led indeholde urð, f., Ur, og da falder denne Støtte for Bygdenavnets Forklaring af Elvenavnet." And he thereby seems to regard the pronunciation Urvik, "if correct," as proving that Aurdal, and probably also Aurland, are based on the word urð as the first component. I must, therefore, consider the point raised by Kjør. How is the name Urvik to be explained? Also the name Aurdal seems to have the form with *u* in the name of the parsonage, as it was formerly written: *Urdals Prestgard*; and this form of the name for the parsonage may sometimes be heard even now. I shall therefore first consider the dual form of both these names.

My explanation of the monophthongal forms is that these are acquired pronunciations, due to early modern official writings and pronunciation of the names by the official class, especially the notaries and the ministers of the church. They simplified the diphthong *au* to *u*, *o* or *ø*, and pronounced the names so, and occasionally this pronunciation acquired a certain currency, as in the case of the old written form of the name of the parsonage, mentioned above. I have noted also that in NG, IV, p. 251, O. Rygh, speaking of the name Aurdal in Valdres, adds: "Jeg tror bestemt i Valdres—i Slidre—at ha hørt udtalt uddal." For this name Rygh lists first old name-forms, eleven occs in all; it is always Aurdal between 1358-1542. But in 1520 the form *Urdall* appears. Later ones are: *Urrdall*, 1578, *Ordall*, 1595, and 1604; the finally *Ourdall* in 1616. The forms with *U* (= *U*) and *O* are the false writings of the scribes of the new official class. They stumbled through the writing of the West Norwegian names as best they could, and nearly always distorted them; sometimes there were systematic alterations in the orthography to make them conform to the pattern of speech and spelling of the official standard. The corruptions of the historical spellings of major place-names in Norway in these

centuries were, it seems to me, even greater than the Normanizations of native Anglo-Saxon place-names in XI-XIIth century England. I shall give a few more examples of this in Norway: we find them especially in the XVI-XVIIIth centuries, but they are also found in the XVth, and in the XIXth.

In Nordre Land there is a name *Aurlund* (NG, IV, p. 216), pronounced *aulunn* to-day. This was written with *au* until 1517 and sometimes later, but in 1592 we find the form *Vrlund*, and in 1604, *Orlunnd*.

In Norderhov, Upland, the farm-name *Auren*, pronounced with *au* to-day, is written with *au* before 1528, but from that year on we have the forms *Oren*, *Vrren*, *Il'rrenn*, *Offren*, and *Øren*. Here the monophthongization of *au* to *ø* is seen in *Øren*; *Offren* is perhaps the scribe's way of pronouncing *Ouren* (as *Ovren*).

In Voss the farm-name *Aure*, pronounced *auro* to-day, is written with *au* in the first occ., date XIVth c., and in 1723; but it appears as *Øffre* in 1611, and as *Øfre* in 1695. Here the name has thus been translated to *Øvre*, "Upper."

In Sunnhordland the name *Aurdal* (from *Auriðadalr*), pronounced to-day with *au*, is written so down to 1492, and again in 1723, but in between these dates we have the forms: *Ørdall*, *Oredal*, *Øffredall*, *Vrffuedall* and *Vrdal*. And for 1563 there is the hybrid *Øuerdall*, which may be an attempt to write *Aurdal* as pronounced locally.

In Vats Parish, Skjold, Ryfylke, the name *Aurdal*, pronounced *aurdal* to-day, is written with *au* in the earliest records. Then it is written: *Vardal*, *Vrdall*, *Ordall*, *Øredall*, *Øfferdall*, *Effuerdall*, *Ørdall*, and *Uhrdaht*, with only one correct form. Other names might be added.

I must now also call attention to the mixed writings of the name *Aurland* discussed above on p. 5; to these may be added the writings *Urland*, *Udland*, and *Ude-*

land in *Norske Rigs-Registranter*, XI, 1653-56, and that of *Urlands (Aurlands) Præstegjæld* in *Norges Matrikel*, 1838, IV. Also the cotter's place *Audli* (pronounced æudli) in Flåmsdalen is to be mentioned; this is written *Vdli* in the *Forklaring om Løbetallit Sampt Schatterne oc anden Kongl. Rettighed*, II, 1667; and *Udli* also in *Yttre Sogns Fogderies Matricul, Protocol*, 1723. We observe that the corrupt forms belong to the XVI-XVIIIth centuries, and there are rarely any correct forms in these centuries; and they continue down to 1838.

As to (Aurvik)-Urvik there are no early records showing the name so far as I can find. Hence we are not surprized at not having any forms in *au*. The two that *NG* lists are *Uruig*, 1667, and *Urvigen*, 1723 (my copy of this document has *Urwig* for 1667.) These are from the period of unreliable writings; hence the *u*-forms are without any significance for the problem of the origin of the name. The case differs from the others considered above only in this that the monophthongal form has established itself in the pronunciation. Urvik, or Urvikji as commonly called, was undoubtedly originally *Aurvik*, def. *Aurvikin*. I cannot here take the time to consider why the name Aurland assumes the form *Uddland* in Inner Sogn.

My original undertaking in Aurland was directed toward preparing a dictionary of its very interesting and conservative dialect, and further a study of the phonology and morphology of the dialect. Gradually the gathering of place-names of the region—all classes of nature names, as well as the culture names—came to form a part of this work. My collection contains ca. 8,720 names; but I have no doubt that many a name has escaped me. Of this number 876 fall to Nærødalen; 759 to Underdal; 2,552 to Flåm; and 4,534 to Vangen. There are 68 registered farm-units in Aurland (i.e. old estates with old names): 11 in Nærødalen, 8 in Under-

dal, 14 in Flåm, and 35 in Vangen. Some of these are single farms, but most of them represent a group of 2, 3 or more farms. A few high-lying single farms, mostly in Aurland, are no longer operated as farms, but as sæters (mountain dairies). I shall say a few words here of the farm-names themselves.

Place-names in Norway are either one-part names or compounds; both may be definite or indefinite. Most one-part indefinites are old; cpd. indefinites are also usually old. Definite names are most often relatively late. A great many of the farm-names are of one part and usually indefinite in form, as: *Aos*, ON áss; *Kvamm*, ON huammr; *L*•*i*, ON hlíð; *Flaom*, ON flár, in dat. pl; *Staine*, ON steinn, in dsgr; *Oio*, ON øy, in dpl; *Brekke*, ON brekka, in dsgr, etc. One-part definites are few, as *Vanjen* (also pronounced *vainjen*), ON vangr.

Dat. pl. names are frequent; see two examples above. In cpd. names the prevailing second themes are: ON *dulr*, *land*, *hvaammr*, *vin*, *hlíð*, *heimr*, *øy*, *nes* and *hús*. Among the names in *-heimr* may be mentioned *Frettaim* in Flåmsdalen. The first part of this name is no doubt ON *frétt*, f., "inquiry, a ceremonial inquiry directed to the gods." The old Fretheim homestead was situated on the high meadow, back of the present Fretheim Hotel; there *Frettaimstuftedn*, "The Fretheim Plot, or Site," may still be seen. The place where the augural ceremonies were held in pagan times may have been up there, or perhaps rather down by the water at the mouth of the *Flaomselvi*, "The Flåm River," which empties into the Aurlandsfjord at Lower Fretheim. Gudvangen of tourist fame is locally called *Gudvango*, derived from *guð* "(pagan) god" and *vangr*, hence means "The Field of the Gods." Among the names in ON *-vin* is *Styvi*, the first part of which may be *stuf*, a bare and level piece of ground.

The old name *Vangen* means "The Meadow," "The

Green." It was *The Vang* of Aurland; cf. the name *Aurlandsvangen*, "The Aurland Meadow or Meadows." It was the "Vang" of the Parish, the open air religious center, ceremonial greens and play-ground of Aurland in Mediæval times. The modern church stands on the middle of the "Vang"; but in the Middle Ages it was the parsonage that stood on the "Vang." And the old *Ryggjarkjyrkja* (rydjar tfyr- tfa), "The Ridge Church" stood on the high slopes some 700 feet back of the present Vang church. Vangen Parish was then called *Ryggjarkjyrkja Sokn*, "The Ridge Church Parish." The Ridge Church was torn down in 1544. I climbed the hill to the site of the old Ridge Church one day in August, 1932; some of the wall of the church is still standing, and there is greensward around it. One commands from there a view of the fjord for miles to the south and to the north, and of the mountains at the left and the plateau across the fjord. It is a spot of wondrous beauty that one is loth to leave. The plot of ground on which the church stood bears the name *Ryggjarkjyrkjao*.

I cannot take the space here to discuss the problems connected with some of the farm names. I shall, however, offer an explanation of:

The name Sinjarhaim. This old and famous farm lies in Aurlandsdalen ca. six kilometers above, that is east of, Beddl. One climbs there the steep and once dangerous *Sinjarhaimgald* ("The Sinjarhaim Cliff Road"); on the top of this mighty cliff stand the old houses of Sinjarhaim. The official form of the name is *Sønjarheim*; it appears as Nr. 21 in the Aurland farm register, *Norges Matrikel* of 1907. There are no recorded forms of the name earlier than the year 1600. The earliest is of the years 1603 and 1611, in both the form is *Sønneremb* (NG, XII, p. 112). Two later occs show the form *Sønnerem*, 1667 and 1773 in NG. In *Norges Matrikel* for 1838, IV, it is written *Sønnerheim*. How-

ever, the first of these represent merely an effort to give the name a literary form; in the form with *-heim* there is an approach to the correct local pronunciation. The present pronunciation is *Sinjarhaim*. A. Kjær, *NG* XII, p. 112, suggests an original *sinjarheimr*, but gives this with a question-mark. He notes the fact that the place lies near a cross-river of the main river, and that Rygh had considered a stem *sin* as a possible source of the first part; Rygh also suggested a stem *syn*. In support of the first suggestion Rygh found in Swedish dialects a vb. *sina*, "to become dry," said of a well of spring. But according to Aasen's *Norsk Ordbog sina*, "to become dry," is used in Norway only with reference to a cow going dry, no longer giving milk. And there is no known instance of a river name in Norway being formed from the stem *sin-*, going dry. The second part of the name is clearly ON *heimr*, "home."

It is extremely unlikely that a place situated as Sinjarhaim is should have derived its name from a near-by river by the name of *Sin* in this meaning (a river that was going dry), even if we grant that such a river-name is a possibility. The related word *sina*, f., "dried grass," is also suggested; but this as the source can hardly be entertained. If we still wish to consider a stem of the form *sin* we would do better, perhaps, to cite Aasen's vb. *sina*, "glide sagte, skride langsomt afsted." This would be a possible base both formally and semantically. A river that flowed along slowly might easily come to be called *Sin* or *Sina*, and *sinjar* could be the gen. sg. of the name *Sin*. It should be said that *sina* in the meaning in question is recorded only for eastern Norway (Ross, *Norsk Ordbog*); but, of course, the vb. might have been used in Sogn formerly. However, this word can hardly be the source of the name before us.

Sinjarhaim is situated on a high cliff and the Sinjar-

haim farm comprizes the top of this vast cliff and the steep ascent to it on the two sides. When, as happens daily in the summer season, hiking tourists take the trail from Finse to Aurland they have their most exhausting climb up the rocky south slope to the high-lying Sinjarhaim. And when they come the other way from Aurlandsvangen to Finse they must climb the Sinjarhaimgald.

The old homestead lies on the high part of the cliff; back of this is the plateau, at the sides are the meadows and the forest and the walls of the cliff; nearer and down in front are the fields. Far down below these rushes the swift Aurland River. From the houses and any point on the top of the cliff one has a superb view of the upper part of the valley and of the mountains and the highlands beyond. With features like these we look for a stem that would offer a fitting name. Such a stem is *sýn*-, the ON word *sýn*, and variant form *sjón*, f., "sight, outlook, view." I believe this word is the source of the qualifying first component of our name: *sýn*, "view," *heimr*, "home." The place got its name *Synjarheimr* (now Sinjarhaim) because it was regarded as the farm or the home with the unusual view.

There are a number of names of lesser places in Aurland with the word *syn* or *sjon* as the first component, especially *sjon*, sometimes with the form *sjond*-. A hill at Drægali in Dyrdal is called *Sjonarhaug* (fon-); at *Hylland* in Nærødalen there is a hill up near the foot of the mountain that is called *Sjondarhaug*; at *Hylland sæter* a group of elevations have the name *Sjondarhaugadn*, and the *sæter* itself is called so. At Flåm a high-lying field is called *Synsaokern* (aoker="field, acre"). The form is *syne* a few times, as *Syneshaug* at Tokkvam, and at Skaim, both in Vangen. At Ohnstad there is a fine elevation up near the foot of Mt. Middagsholten that would be a suitable place for such a name; but it was on this hill that the Aurland legal assembly

was regularly held in olden times, i.e., it was *Tinghaugen*; and its name is *Tinghaujen* to-day. (Cf. Old Icelandic *þingvöllr*, the pl.n. *Dingwall* in south-western Scotland, and *Tynwald Hill* in the Isle of Man.) *Sjonarhaug* is also a common appellative in Aurland used of any high open place from which you can see far off.

If I am right in the explanation here given the original name was *Synjarheimr*. It then becomes a legitimate question to ask: how did the pronunciation *Sinjarhaim* come about? There may have been several influences operating perhaps; but I think the chief one was as follows. The sound-combination *synjar-*, which this name had then originally, appears in no other name in Aurland; nor, so far as I can find, does it occur in place-names in the neighbouring districts of Lerdal, Hallingdal, Hardang or Voss. On the other hand the combination *sinjar-* was a very common one, for there were numerous names in *vin* as the second part of cpd names. The simplex *vin* also appears several times, remaining in the Aurland farm-name *Vinjadn*, def. nom, pl. of *vinjar*, and in the cpds *Vinjali* and *Vinjaosn*; and similarly there is *Vinje* (< *vinjar*) both in Voss and in Vossastrondi. As the second part of cpds *vin* (now *-vi*) appeared in four farm-units in Aurland; further, in two in Lerdal, four in Hardang, thirty in Voss, two in Vossastrondi, and four in Oppeim, in all 44 cpd farm-names in *vin*, with nom. pl. *vinjar*, and *vinja-* in the numerous cpds that would appear. The combination *vinjar*, etc., would be a very familiar one, heard and spoken well-nigh daily. But *synjar* would be heard only when the one place *Synjarheim* was spoken of. And so, I believe, the name *Synjarheimr* came to be pronounced *Sinjarhaim*.

Place-name declensions in Aurlandic. The declension of pl. ns. is of two kinds: 1, the declension of names after certain prepositions and in other kinds of

inflected combinations; 2, the definite-form declension of the farm-name in reference to the master, the mistress, or the family of the place. In regard to the first I shall merely say that, as in ON, the preposition *te* (ON *til*) governs the gen. case, and the prepositions *pao* (ON *upþá*) 'on, at,' and *ao* (ON *af*), 'from, away from,' require the dat. case. In speaking about going to a place one says *te* with the name in the gen. case, sing. or pl., according as the name is a sing. or a pl. name-form. Hence: *te Holo*, 'to Holo,' but *pao Holo*, 'at Holo,' and *ao Holo*, 'from Holo'; *te Rya*, 'to Ryo.' but *pao* or *ao Ryo*; *te Tæra*, 'to Tæro,' but *pao* or *ao Tæro*; *te Flaoms*, but *pao* or *ao Flaom*; *te Vaims*, but *pao* or *ao Vaim*; *te Laois*, but *pao* or *ao Laoi*; similarly *ain Skaimsmann*, 'a man of Skaim,' i.e., one of the men at Skaim; *ain Gudvangamann*, 'a man of Gudvangen,' 'a Gudvangen man'; *Björgafolkji*, 'the people at Bjørgo'; *Tæravejen*, 'the road up to Tæro'; *Björgaland*, 'the section of the region called *Land* that belongs under Bjørgo'; *Prestaland*, 'the part of *Land* that belongs to the parsonage, etc.; there would be several hundred pl. ns. of this formation.

In the second type of declension the place name is declined in the masc. definite form, in the fem. def. form, or in the pl. def. form as a kind of 'short-name' for the master or owner of the place, the wife, and the family. It is to be observed that the place name is in the indefinite form and these other forms are all definite, hence those farm-names that already have def. form cannot very well be declined in this way. Such names are, e.g., *Dalbotten*, *Vangen*, and *Vinjadn*; in these cases other forms would have to be used if one refers to the owner, his wife, etc. This has also come to be the case with the name *Gudvango*, for which the form *Gudvangen* has also become rather commonly used in the last century. It is a very interesting phenomenon in this declension that the forms have

simple accent, whether the place name itself has simple or cpd accent—*i.e.*, the 'wave-line' tone or musical accent of the place name, if it is one that has this tone, becomes simple falling accent in, *e.g.*, the form used in reference to the owner. Thus *Brékkè*, the place Brekke; *Brékken*, 'The Brekke,' 'The man at Brekke,' 'Mr. Brekke.'

The following examples will here be given :—

<i>pl. name.</i>	<i>master.</i>	<i>mistress.</i>	<i>family.</i>
Jáismè	Jáismen	Jaismao	Jaismedn
Víbmè	Víbmen	Vibbmao	Vibbmedn
Hólò	Hóln	Holao	Holedn
Rýò	Rýæn	Ryao	Ryedn
Fréttaim	Fréttaimen	Frettaimao	Frettaimedn
Skaim	Skáimen	Skaimao	Skaimedn
Tærò	Tærn	Tærao	Tæredn
Vaim	Váimen	Vaimao	Vaimedn
Mídgè	Mídzén	Midgao	Midgedn
Björgò	Björgen	Björgao	Björgedn
Drægò	Drægen	Drægao	Drægedn
Stégèn	Stégen	Stegao	Stegedn
Hýdlánd	Hýdlandn	Hyddlandao	Hyddlandedn

Some names cannot be so declined in the sing. as the name stands for a complex of several homes and the sing. masc. or fem. would not be clear. Such are Underdal, Dyrdal, Inderli, Ytterli, Aottnes (Otternes) and Flaom; also Gudvangen will rarely be so declined. In the indefinite one can say, *e.g.*, *ain Underdalsmann* or *ain Underdøling*; *ain Flaomsmann* or *ain Flaoming*, etc. In the plural there are also the def. forms: *Dalbottningadn*; *Tunsheddingadn*; and *Ramsoiingadn*.

Clock mountains and other similar names. In mountainous countries the mountains served as clocks

in ancient times, and, for that matter, did so clear down into the first century of the modern era. Pocket watches have been in use only since c. 1595; earlier in that century the wall-clock had been invented. Before that the sun-dial would show the hour of the day, if the sun were shining. But in Norway it was the mountains and the waterfalls that became the markers. As the light of the sun travelled from east to west, the time of the day, or rather the mealtimes of the day, would be indicated by the sun as it reached a certain mountain top, or some other prominent part of the mountain. Often it is a waterfall that shows that meal-time has arrived; occasionally it is some other conspicuous feature in nature that serves the purpose. The three meals of the work-day following the morning coffee are *dæuersmaol*, 'breakfast,' at 10; *middag*, 'dinner,' at 1, and *non*, 'the ninth hour, English 'noon,' (ON *nón*, Lat. *nona* [hora]), at 3 p.m. *Dæuersmaol*, ON *daguerð*, means the 'daymeal'; *middag*, ON *miðr dagr*, is of course 'midday.' In Aurland *non* (pronounced *noun* in Aurland) is still the name for the 3 o'clock meal, just as it is in Iceland. The word is also used in other parts of Norway, especially western Norway; one may also say *nonsti*, i.e., 'noontime.' In eastern Norway there are also the forms *none* or *noni*; various compounds are used.

There are 37 such names in Aurland, mostly of mountains or parts of mountains. Examples: *Dæuershovden* in upper Nærødalen (-hovden, 'the head'); *Nonsnøsi*, 'The Noonbeak,' and *Middagshøgdi* (-høgdi, 'the height') at Styvi in Næroinao; *Nonsholten*, Vindedal, in south-eastern Flåm Parish; *Nonsnipao* (-nipa, 'point, top'), at Vassbygdi, etc. Cf. also *Kløykkehaug*, 'Clockhill,' at Laoi in Vangen, and *Nonsjele* (*jel*, ON *gil*, n., 'cleft'), and *Nonsmerkje* ('Noonsign') in eastern Aurland. The name *Nonsglotten* at Horten in north-eastern Aurland means

'Noonglimpse'; when one got a glimpse of the sun at this point it was a sign that 3 o'clock had arrived.

The Kjyrjokel mountains. These indicate the proper time for beginning the sæter operations late in Spring. The name is made up of the two parts *kjyr*, 'cow,' and *jokell* or *jukedl*, 'icicle,' ON *jøkull*, Old English *gicel*. The name arose from the need of having some sign by which to tell when the grass at the Spring sæter in the lower highlands had become tall enough for grazing purposes. When the melting of snow and ice had reached certain icicle formations in these mountains it was a sign that it was time to move the livestock to the sæter grounds. A few such mountains are *Kjyrjokeln* (or *Kjyrjokelberje*) near Brekke in Flåmsdalen; *Kjyrjokedl*, above eastern Laoi; and *Kjyrjukladn* above Tæro and Skaim.

The nature names of Aurland. In any mountainous country where a chief occupation is the grazing of cattle, sheep and goats, and the making of butter and cheese, the need for names for all kinds of places in the grazing area is far greater than in a lowland region. To be able to fix a spot definitely came from the beginning to be a practical need; if you meet a herder in the mountains who has lost five goats, and you saw some stray goats an hour ago at *Klovnastain*, "The Cloven Stone," you will be able to quickly direct him to the spot where he may find his goats. Very often some happening at the place lead to its getting a certain name; or a name may have been suggested by some peculiarity about the place or the thing; or there may be other reasons. And so in the course of time every precipice, fallen rock-pile, rivulet, pool, creek, swamp, and hollow; every bear's path up the rocks, every wolf's cliff, every "leap" where goats get marooned; every resting-place on the climb up to the sæter, and from the sæter; every knoll in the open, in the mountain forest from which one could see the homes in the valley

far below ; in short, almost every kind of a spot got a name.

Very often the present name is a record of some unfortunate happening long ago ; the name is like the title for the story about that happening. A short distance west of *Skjerpi* in upper *Nærødalen* there is a massive pile of fallen rocks, boulders of immense size ; it is called *Haddlingauri*, " The Halling's Rock-slip." *Halling* means a native of Hallingdal. At *Haddlingauri* a Halling with his drove of cattle was, once long ago, caught in an avalanche of rock and the man and his whole drove were buried. In *Vindedal* (" The Wind-ing Dale ") there is a stone called *Fantastain*, so called because Gypsies used to camp there once upon a time. *Kappraie*, " The Contest Ride," is the name of a vast stretch of level ground in *Rasmusdalen* in eastern Aurland ; it has its name from the fact that formerly men on horse-back used it for a race-course. Also in the same region there is a large table-stone named *Kongshedler*, " King's Cliff-Rock " ; and the tradition says that a king went that way once with his troops, and he rested there and the rock served the king as a table during the meal.

There are many ways in which place-names may originate. A very common one is the, real or imagined, similarity to something else. Another is that of contiguity : nearness to a certain waterfall will result in naming the neighbouring feature of the terrain in terms of the name of the waterfall. The former type, i.e., metaphorical names, are very numerous ; a few may be mentioned. A ness with a chair-shaped stone on it is called *Stolen*, " The Chair " ; an S-shaped rock is called *Essen*, " The Ess " (both in *Næroinao* ; in *Vaim* a long narrow meadow is called *Spjote*, " The Spear " ; a somewhat large white stone high up on the mountain side west of the *Aurlandsfjord* is called *Prestkonao* (" The Minister's Wife ") ; but at *Vikjesland* a tall slender

solitary stone standing on a smooth ledge high up was named *Huldao* ("The Fairie"). In *Nærødalen* two upstanding rocks on the top of the mountain west of *Gudvangen* are called *Kjæringadn*, "The Two Old Wives" (or "Two Wives Talking," as I am tempted to translate it). Again at *Kvamm* in *Vangen* a large broad-shouldered stone that stands somewhat above and east of the *sæter*-road bears the name *Tosstain* (ON *þórsteinn*, English "Thurstone." (In Norwegian the name *Thorstein* symbolizes a man of solid qualities, vigorous of body, capable and reliable.) High above *Oio* in *Vassbygdi* there is a cave-like hole with jagged edges, which is called *Ormakjefftn* ("The Serpent's Jaw"). At *Dalbotten* a cathedral-like mountain-wall just west of the houses has the name *Kjyrkjao* ("The Church"), while a door-like recess in a rock-wall near *Berrkvam* was christened *Kjyrkjedyri* ("The Church-door"); and a mountain peak back of *Aottnes* (*Otternes*) is known as *Kabbusnipao*, "Cowl Pinnacle." Also in field-names such forms are numerous.

It has sometimes above been evident that names may come to stand for a wider area than they originally did. There are a great many examples of this among *Aurland* names. One may be given here: at *Dalbotten* there is a stone called *Rokken*, "The Distaff"; it stands in a pasture by the river north of the houses. The story goes that this stone was once the distaff of a giantess, and she lost it there. But to-day *Rokken*, or in the plural *Rokkadn*, is the name of the whole pasture; the name has been transferred to the larger area of more direct human concern. On the other hand numerous names of highland dales are to-day *sæter* names; the names have attached themselves to the smaller areas of daily human activity. In both kinds of cases the nature-name has become a culture-name. Similarly we saw in the beginning of our discussion that the name *Sogn*, originally the name of a part of the fjord, became the name of the

ancient petty kingdom of Sogn, the modern administrative district of that name. I have dealt with these aspects of the Aurland names elsewhere, and considered them in connection with certain classes of English and American place-names. To mention only one detail, I point out there that no less than fourteen of our American states have names that are originally Indian river names.

Thus we see how the study of minor nature-names may often help to solve problems of culture-name origins, and to discover fundamental principles in the origin and growth of names. And so the study of place-names becomes something more than an aid to the history of a locality. It becomes an important means for the study of the founding of communities, the movements of settlement, and the rise of states and of peoples; and of the growth of human culture.

REVIEWS.

OLD NORSE POEMS: The most important non-skaldic verse not included in the Poetic Edda. By LEE M. HOLLANDER. *New York: Columbia University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. xv. + 115. 11s. 6d. net.*

This book provides a most welcome supplement to the author's earlier verse translation of the Poetic Edda. Each of the sixteen translations it contains is accompanied by an introductory discussion and many foot-notes, and "those interested in Anglo-Saxon literature" (whose needs the author had especially in mind) will be most grateful for the interesting material collected in such a useful form. The author has kept the metre and alliteration of his originals, without sacrificing accuracy of translation, though it must be pointed out that the result of this method of translation (surely a super-human task) is too often not poetry, halting inversions and the use of unsuitable words pressed into service by the demands of alliteration being largely responsible for this defect.

E. S. O.

GOTTHIOD UND UTGARD. By GUDMUND SCHÜTTE. *Copenhagen: Aschehoug Dansk Forlag. 1935-6. Vols. I. and II., pp. [12] + 336, [12] + 372.*

The work is an important one. By reason of the originality of its method and the very wide field which it covers it will be of great interest to all students of Germanic heroic tradition and history. Particular value will attach to the large number of striking and original parallels between the Old English Widsith and Old Norse epic material.

As Schütte (i. 7) explains, the aim of the work is to give a comprehensive account of the 'Gesichtskreis' of Germanic heroic tradition. This idea of the 'Gesichtskreis' of a nation, i.e. the peoples, persons, events, etc., present in its field of vision, is fundamental to the work. Schütte considers the Gesichtskreis in its two aspects of geography and chronology; spatially he divides it (§8) into four 'zones'—an inner zone, the focus of interest, a middle zone, slightly less familiar, and an outer zone, much less so; in considering the zero-zone of a Germanic Gesichtskreis Schütte deals with material which, although present in other Germanic Gesichtskreise, is markedly absent in this particular case. To coin a parallel to illustrate Schütte's fundamental point we might say that everyone has an inner, middle, outer and zero-zone containing, respectively, his friends, acquaintances, those he knows by sight and those he does not know at all.

As it has so far appeared the work contains three books. The whole of Book I. (Vol. I. and Vol. II., pp. 1-222) is taken up with a detailed exposition of the Germanic Gesichtskreis; the above method of subdivision is applied in turn to the Primitive Germanic, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and German Gesichtskreise. In Book II. (Vol. II., pp. 223-270) the Germanic historical background is presented in sections dealing with the Primitive Germanic, early Gothic, Hunnish, late Gothic and Merovingian periods respectively. Book III. (Vol. II., pp. 271-352)—entitled “Zerstreute Wahrnehmungen”—contains miscellaneous studies (such as that on the poetic use of compounded ethnic names).

Schütte's method is original and illuminating, but throughout the first book the amount of repetition (possibly justifiable from the methodological point of view) is unfortunate. Thus is it really necessary to mention Alcuin's famous “Quid enim Hinioldus cum Christo” so many times (e.g., i. 183, i. 191, etc)?—especially when it is once (i. 171 note) erroneously attributed to Cædmon! On the other hand, unfamiliar material—and there is much of it—is sometimes presented to the reader in a form so concise as to be virtually unintelligible. Thus (i. 83) Schütte refers to Jordanes' *Merens* and *Mordens* as ‘die wolgafinnischen Stämme der Meren und Mordwinen’; this bald explanation of the *Merens*, though correct, is unintelligible unless the reader himself supplies the additional information that the people usually known as Cheremiss call themselves *Mari*, and it is unfair to the reader to suppose that he can do so. Moreover this brevity is in marked contrast to the picturesqueness—almost raciness—characteristic of the style of most of the book, which is well exemplified by the wording of the passage (§17) in which the simile of the telescoping of a train in a crash is invoked—at great length—to explain the discrepancy between epic and actual chronology. As a further criticism of the method the inadequateness of the documentation (especially in Vol. I.) may be emphasised.

Apart from the original approach Schütte's book will be of great interest by reason of the very large number of new identifications of names of tribes and persons. In fact, it may be said that Schütte is rarely content to leave a name unsolved; when reasonable possibilities fail he can at all events make an ingenious conjecture (as when he considers (ii. 24) Tacitus' mention of an altar to Ulysses in Germania to refer to a PrGmc. **Wīðasenþaz* = *Wīð-sīþ*, similar in sound to Odysseus!). But many of Schütte's serious suggestions will strike the reader as improbable. Thus few will agree that the *pursar* (i. 40) are the Etruscans (Egyptian *Trs*, Greek *Τυρσηνοί*) or that Tacitus' *Hellusii* are the Hellenes (i. 41-3), and morphologists will find it hard to accept Schütte's explanation (i. 67-8) of the difficult spellings *Gotthi*, *Γότθου* as representing a Gothic

nom. acc. pl. **Gut-pans*, a 'shortening' of *Gut-piuda*. Sometimes Schütte's penchant for the improbable leads him far astray. Thus there is surely no need, even as an alternative, for the bizarre suggestion (i. 45) that the name of the Romans reached the Germanic peoples *via* Etruscan in order to explain the perfectly normal Gmc. *ū* for Lat. *ō* in Goth. *Rūmoneis*: Lat. *Rōmāni*.

Apart from the question of identifications there is much to criticise in the details; this is perhaps only natural in a work of this scope. To take a familiar field the assumption that *Beowulf* was acknowledged at the time as the chief Anglian epic (i. 171) is hardly justified, while the section on the use of epic names as personal names in England (§§73-4) is surely incomplete without some reference to the evidence afforded by place-names. From more unfamiliar fields it will suffice to take one example. Schütte (i. 46-8) suggests that the *Bāningas* of Widsith are really the Pannonians, and that when Tacitus (c. 45) describes the language of the Aestii as 'Britannicae propior' he means '*Brutenicae,' i.e. Prussian. In order to explain the Germanic *b* for *p* in these two examples Schütte cites four others. Two out of the four are, however actually invalid. He compares MnHG. *Plattensee* (< earlier **Blatten*-) with its old name *Pelso* and ON. *Bjarmar*: 'Permier.' According to the accepted views neither of these examples can be taken as showing a change of initial non-Gmc. *p* to Gmc. *b*. Actually German *Plattensee* and the Hungarian name of the lake, *Balaton*, both go back to Slavonic (cf. OBulg. *blato* 'pond, swamp'), and the *b* of the Germanic form has no connection with the *p* of *Pelso* (see Gombocz-Melich, *Magyar etymologiai szótár* s.v. *Balaton*); and we can only explain the alternation between the initial *b* of ON. *Bjarmar* and the *p* of Old Russian *Perem'* by assuming that the word is of Germanic origin and passed thence into Baltic Fennic (with regular change of *b* > *p*—cf. Goth. *balgs*: Finnish *palkeet* 'bellows'), and thence into Russian.

Both volumes bear too many signs of haste and contain a number of misprints. Vol. II. does indeed contain a corrigenda for the earlier volume, but a large number of unsightly misprints remain, e.g. 'entente cordinale' (i. 47/4), 'habnbrechend' (i. 148/2), 'hattten' (i. 62 note), 'Hundingum' (i. 117 v. 82), 'Hervararar-saga' (i. 283/12), 'Kenticimus' (i. 106 note), 'suehte' (i. 137 v. 110). And in Vol. II. one is too often given cross-references with the page-numbers omitted (e.g., ii. 84/8, 9, 12; ii. 86/10).

But whatever faults of detail there may be, one can only be grateful to Schütte for so stimulating a work. He has devoted long years to this subject and we can only wonder at the remarkable extent of the 'Innenzone' of his own 'Gesichtskreis.'

E. S. O.

SIGFRID UND BRÜNHILD. By GUDMUND SCHÜTTE. *Copenhagen and Jena: Aschehoug Dansk Forlag, 1935. 174 pp.*

It is commonly recognised that the Nibelung legends contain much historical matter, which is placed in a mythical setting. The figures of Atli/Etzel, Gunnarr/Gunther and Jormunrekr/Ermanrich are, in fact, agreed to be historical, at least in their conception. On the central figures, however, the epic pair Sigurðr and Brynhildr, agreement has never been reached. Frequent attempts have been made to identify them in history, but none of these have been accorded general acceptance. Among the 19th century scholars there were, nonetheless, several who urged that even Sigurðr was originally an historical figure. Guðbrandur Vigfússon, and others who followed him, actually attempted to show that he was none other than Arminius († 21 A.D.), the heroic deliverer of Germany.

The latter suggestion was unconvincing, if only because the names of the two heroes show no similarity, and because Arminius/Sigurðr would thus be separated by nearly five hundred years from his epic contemporaries Atli, Gunnarr and Jormunrekr.

Consequently, the attempt to find historical originals for Sigurðr and Brynhildr seemed, for a time, to be discarded. It was held, in fact, that these figures were based on nothing more than nature-myths. Most uncompromisingly was such a view expressed by Symons. He says: *Alle Versuche, für Sigfrid historische Anknüpfungspunkte zu finden, sind mislungen und konnten nicht anders als mislingen.* Accordingly, Sigurðr is said to be a Light-deity, lover of the sun-maiden Brynhildr. On his approach, the fire which surrounds her dies down, just as the morning glow fades when day approaches. Subsequently, Sigurðr falls into the hands of the Nifungar, the demons of darkness (cf. *Nifheimr* and German *nebel*). For a time, these views seemed to dominate, but, as Dr. Schütte says, the historical theory keeps cropping up, for this purely mythical interpretation is not satisfying.

Many investigators have, therefore, sought to find the historical originals of the Sigurðr story in the turbulent history of the Franks during the 6th century. Already as early as 1613, such a suggestion was made by the German chronicler Freher, and many later critics have equated the epic Brynhildr and Sigurðr with the historical Sigebert, King of Metz († 575) and his wife Brunehild († 613). Even Dr. Hermann Schneider, by no means an advocate of the historical theory, sees, in the Sigurðr story, a dim reflection of the social and political conditions in Frankish history of that period. It was left for Schütte, however, to make a detailed comparison between the epic and historical sources, and considering the author's enormous learning, no student of the subject can afford to ignore his conclusions.

Although the author does not maintain that this King Sigebert is the sole prototype of the legendary Sigurðr, he argues, nonetheless,

that the legendary and historical characters are closely related. According to most accounts, however, in his death Sigurðr would seem to resemble an earlier Sigebert, i.e. Sigebert, King of the Ripuarian Franks, who was slain on a recreative expedition east of the Rhine in 509 (cf. *Nibelungenlied* XVI). But in another version, even his death resembles that of Sigebert the King of Metz. After a victory over his brother, Chilperich, the latter Sigebert was raised, amidst celebrations, on the shields of his soldiers, and, at that very moment, he was stabbed with the poison daggers of his sister-in-law's (Fredegund's) hired assassins. The latter story is comparable to *Guðrúnarkviða* II (strophe 4), and even more closely, to the prose statement of *Brot*, which says: *svá segir í Guðrúnarkviðu inni fornu, at Sigurðr ok Gjúka synir hefði til þings riðit, þá er hann var drepinn.*

One of the most noticeable differences between legend and history is that, in history, Sigebert (the younger) was actually married to Brunehild, and they lived for nine years together, begetting a son called Childeburt. A central feature in the legend, however, is that, though betrothed, Sigurðr and Brynhildr were never married. Nevertheless, some vague memory of their marriage may, perhaps, be seen in the *Völsungasaga*, which tells of an Áslaug, said to be the daughter of Sigurðr and Brynhildr. The latter statement is not compatible with the story of Sigurðr's marriage with Guðrún, nor with the traditions of his chasity and the naked sword in his bed.

In all history it would be hard to find a parallel to the hatred between Brunehild, who was married to Sigebert, and Fredegund, the barbarous wife of his brother Chilperich. These two, therefore, are equated with Brynhildr and Guðrún (Kriemhild). For the first equation there is much to be said. Brunehild, like Brynhildr, is a foreigner, and comes of the Visigoths of Spain. If she was not, herself, responsible for Sigebert's murder, she was, at any rate, suspect of it, and (i.e. afterwards), she did, in fact, marry Merowig, who belonged to the family of Sigebert's murderers. In a similar way, Brynhildr was married to Gunnarr, himself a party to Sigurðr's murder. Brunehild was tortured to death; she was bound to an unbroken horse and dashed to pieces. In this incident, Schütte sees similarity with the story of Brynhildr's ride to the underworld, as it is described in the *Helreið Brynhildar*.

The identification, which the author attempts, of Guðrún with Fredegund, appears more difficult. For, in the northern story, Guðrún is perhaps the noblest of all the feminine characters, and it is hard to associate her with the bloodthirsty, lowly-born Fredegund, or, indeed, to agree with Dr. Schütte, when he says that: "im Hintergrund erkennen wir doch in leicht durchschauender Verhüllung die Lichtscheuen Machenschaften der Fredegund."

The character of Gunnarr is said to be a compound of two. In the first part of the story, it is said, he corresponds to Gonthram,

the unobtrusive brother of Sigebert, who, although not the husband of Brunehild, adopted her son Childebert after Sigebert's death. In the second part, where Gunnarr takes a more active place, the author sees, as many other critics have seen, a memory of Gundicar, leader of the Burgundians, who fell in their disastrous battle against the Huns in 436-7.

Among other features of the present work, we may mention the remarkable parallel which the author draws between Sigmundur and the Burgundian King Sigismund († 523). The death of Sigmundur's son Sinfjötli, brought about by the guile of his stepmother, as is told in the Edda (*Frá dauða Sinfjötla*) is, indeed, strangely similar to the death of Sigismund's son, as it is related by Gregory of Tours. Even such a detail as the old man (Óðinn, in the Edda story), finds his counterpart here, if in a somewhat different guise.

Summing up, we may say that no previous investigator has thrown so much light on the historical background of the Nibelung story as Schütte. We cannot over-estimate the value of such work as this, even though, as it is handed down to us, the Nibelung story may be mainly a myth. To all students of Germanic this work will be indispensable, but there will be many who disagree with it.

G. TURVILLE-PETRE.

Publications of HIÐ ÍSLENZKA FORNRIÐAFÉLAG. Íslensk Fornrit, Vols. II., V. and IV. Reykjavík, 1933-5.

HIÐ íslenska fornritafélag has undertaken to republish the Icelandic sagas, and these first three volumes are highly encouraging. They include scholarly introductions, views of Icelandic scenery, maps, genealogical tables and notes on the subject matter and textual problems.

Vol. II. is edited by Sigurður Nordal, who is already well known to members of the Viking Society for his edition of *Orkneyinga Saga*. The volume contains *Egil's Saga*, together with Egils two great poems (*Hofuðlausn* and *Sonatorrek*), printed in their appropriate places in the text. Professor Nordal brings forward much new evidence, both from history and from the style of the saga, which suggests that Snorri had a hand in its authorship. This edition has, however, already been so widely noticed, that it may suffice to endorse Professor E. V. Gordon's criticism that it is "the best edition of an Icelandic saga that has yet been made."¹

Vol V., edited by E. Ó. Sveinsson, contains *Laxdæla Saga*, *Bollaþáttur* and related pieces. In his introduction, the editor considers the peculiar features which distinguish *Laxdæla* from other family sagas. Although fundamentally Norse, both in material and in expression, *Laxdæla* is seen to be much influenced by southern and

¹ Reviews: E. V. Gordon in *Medium Ævum*, IV, pp. 209 f.; Stefán Einarsson in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1934, pp. 562 f.; Anne Holtzmark in *Maal og Minne* (Oslo) 1935, pp. 56 f.

romantic thought. In this saga the old school meets the new. Nevertheless, it is evident that this southern influence in *Laxdæla* is superficial. In fact, it is most generally apparent in descriptions of colour and of dress, in which the author takes such delight.

In other respects, *Laxdæla* is cast in the same fatalistic mould as the most classical sagas. Far more fundamental than the southern influence, of which we spoke, is that of heroic legend of pre-Icelandic days. For Guðrún is seen to play the part of Brynhildr, and Hrefna that of Guðrún Gjúkadóttir.

Laxdæla is a late composition, and the editor shows it to be unlikely that it reached its present form before the middle of the 13th century. Its author has made extensive use of written sources, e.g. *Ari, Njarðvíkinga Saga* (?) and perhaps *Heiðarviga Saga*. It is particularly interesting, however, to see how strong has been the influence of popular legend and of oral story, even at so late a date. Indeed, the kernel of the saga most probably consists of oral legends which have gathered around the figure of Guðrún.

The editor gives a brief, but pleasant account of the Celtic relations of *Laxdæla Saga*, and a discussion of its MSS. *Mqðruvallahók*, where the saga is complete, is made the basis for the edition. In many instances, however, the editor prefers the readings of the fragments or of the paper transcripts. When he does so, he does not hesitate to insert them in his text. Since it is clearly impossible to reconstruct the original text, it is not surprising that this arbitrary method has been severely criticised.¹

Vol. IV. of this series includes *Eyrbyggja* and *Brands Páttir Orva*, edited by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, together with the Greenland sagas edited by Matthías Þorðarson.

In his introduction, Dr. Einar considers *Eyrbyggja*, first of all, in relation to the verses found in its text. In general, his judgment is conservative, and he concludes that the greater number of them are genuine, even that of Þórarinn svarti (No. 11), on which doubts have so often been cast. An exception is made, however, in the case of the two berserk verses in ch. XXVIII. These, the editor tells us, cannot be the work of the berserks, to whom the saga attributes them, because they are composed in *dróttkrætt*. The berserks themselves, however, are said to come from Sweden, where that metre is believed to be unknown. In other words, the editor rejects one statement in the saga because he accepts another, though that which he accepts is stereotyped and conventional. We remember that the monster Glámr was also said to be a Swede, and many similar examples could be cited.

In the second and third sections of his introduction, Dr Einar discusses *Eyrbyggja* in relation to its written and oral sources. There need be little doubt that *Eyrbyggja* has made much use of

¹ Cf. E. V. Gordon, op. cit., p. 215.

Ari and of other early documents. Nonetheless, it would seem that Dr. Einar somewhat underestimates the importance of oral tradition as a source for this saga. In ch. LXV., *Eyrbyggja* says that Snorri goði kemr við *Laxdæla sögu*. Dr. Einar, however, is satisfied that *Eyrbyggja* is an earlier saga than *Laxdæla*. This reference, therefore, though found in all complete MSS., must be a later insertion. The possibility that the author had in mind some unwritten þáttir or even some written precursor of the present *Laxdæla* is not discussed. Similarly, when *Eyrbyggja* (chs. XII-I.) tells the same story as *Gísla Saga* (*Saga-Bibliothek*, ch. XXXVI.), though in much fewer words, the editor concludes that its source must be the written *Gísla Saga* and not a common original. *Gísla Saga* must, therefore, be the older of the two. Dr. Einar agrees, however, that *Eyrbyggja* is the more archaic. When stories are told briefly and incompletely, such as that of the Kjalleklingar family (ch. IX.), the editor assumes that they must already have been written more fully in another book, and not that the oral story was so well known that it was considered unnecessary to repeat it.

In other respects the editor's criticism is rationalistic. In fact, he is unwilling to believe that the ghost stories, of which this saga contains so many, were ever thought to be true, either by the storyteller or his audience (introduction, p. XXV.). Yet nearly all of these stories could be traced to well testified Germanic beliefs,¹ such as peasants in many countries accept to this day. How much more vital must those beliefs have been before 19th century materialism had done its work. As the editor himself points out, the author of *Eyrbyggja* wrote primarily as an historian (*sagnfræðingur*, p. XXI.).

The introduction includes a detailed chronology and a study of the MSS. of *Eyrbyggja*. The text is printed on the same eclectic principles as *Laxdæla*, the transcripts of *Vatnshyrna* being made its basis. The general notes, printed at the foot of the text, are short but often helpful.

With good reason, the Greenland sagas are appended to the latter volume. The first of these, here called *Eiríks saga rauða*, is printed according to Hauksbók, with occasional use of A.M. 557 4to., which some previous editors (notably Storm and Vigfússon) made the basis of their texts. The saga may not at once be recognised under its present name, for it has often been called after its hero Þorfinnr karlsefni, even, apparently, by Haukr Erlendsson himself. The present editor, however, prefers the title of A.M. 557, where it is called *Saga Eiríks rauða*. Similarly, the *Grœnlendinga Saga* of the present volume consists of the *Þáttir Eiríks rauða* and the *Grœnlendinga Þáttir* of Flateyjarbók.

¹ A number of them have been studied by W. von Unwerth: *Untersuchungen über Totenkult und Osinn-verehrung bei Nordgermanen und Lappen*, Breslau 1911. The story of the ghosts at Fróðá has recently been explained on new principles by O. Höfler: *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* (Frankfurt, 1934), pp. 136 f.

Such questions as these are discussed at considerable length in the introduction. It is unfortunate, however, that Dr. Matthías Þórðarson, who is rightly respected as an archæologist, does not devote more space to the history of the Greenland settlements and the discovery of America.

G. TURVILLE-PETRE.

SIGURD THE DRAGON-SLAYER, a Faroëse Ballad-cycle, translated by E. M. Smith-Dampier. 207 pp. Oxford: Blackwell (1934). 10s. 6d. net.

Merely to point out errors in the introduction, or to look for inaccuracies in this translation would be unfair. The reviewer's first object must be to show the excellence of this work from a literary standpoint. For, as the translator expressly states, one of her chief purposes has been to arouse in the student "a Divine Discontent, which will lead him to acquire the Icelandic tongue, with its Faroëse offshoot, and read the ballads as they ought to be read."

It will readily be agreed that Miss Smith-Dampier's translation, preserving much of the metre of the original and its jingling rhyme, makes pleasant reading. Nevertheless, admirable as her choice of words often is, readers unacquainted with Norse, or with English philology, may sometimes find their meaning obscure. Indeed, such phrases as "Lithe ye now and listen" or "To seek her kempës all" will not easily be understood by all for whom this book is intended. Still less will the unspecialised reader be familiar with such words as "lowe" (flame), "dule," "tined."

Miss Smith-Dampier's brief introduction to the ballads contains an interesting sketch of the development of the Sigurd legends, and could profitably be read by students who intend to study any of their numerous branches. It must only be regretted that miss-prints or mis-spellings in this introduction should be so frequent. Why for instance, should we read *Volúspá* for *Völuspá*, and why should Knut Liestøl twice be referred to as *Siestøl*?

In spite of such minor faults, however, the present work deserves to be successful in its main object of making these neglected ballads popular.

G. T. P.

THE EARLIEST NORWEGIAN LAWS. Being the Gulathing Law and The Frostathing Law. Translated from the Old Norwegian by LAURENCE M. LARSEN, Professor of History, University of Illinois. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, Amen House, E.C.4. 1935. 9in. x 6in., pp. 451. Cloth, 25s. net.

The Columbia University Press is to be congratulated and thanked for the first publication of an English translation of these laws.

Professor Larsen's Introduction deals with the history of these two codes. Gulathing Law is of particular interest to English students because Orkney, Shetland and the Hebrides were under it.

Gulathing was a representative assembly of delegates (chosen by the king's barons and stewards) whose expenses were defrayed out of the public taxes. The first business of the session was the appointment of the *lögretta*, or law court, which had to examine the business which had to come before the assembly and to make recommendations thereon.

The oldest MS. of Gulathing Law dates from about 1150. Gulathing Law embraces laws dealing with the church, merchants, tenancy, inheritance, miscellaneous provisions (convention of things, oaths, insults, shipping, etc.), personal right, wergeld, theft, redemption of óðal, coast defence, and a later system of wergeld, which, the translator thinks, may not have been statutory.

A comparison of the *baugatal* of *Grágás*, in Iceland, with the *mann-bætr* of *Gulathing Law*, in Norway, shows that the former is apparently the older of the two, and was probably derived from a common prototype.

In the Icelandic scheme the first *baug* included the three agnates of the first degree of kin, who shared alike; while in the second to the fourth *baugs*, each included the agnates and cognates of the same degree, the latter receiving a third less than the agnates; and so on to the end.

In *Gulathing* the first four *baugs* were re-arranged so that the agnates of the first degree were divided into two *baugs*, with a third *baug* for the 1st agnatic cousin (in addition to his share of the 2nd *upnám*), and gifts to 4 women; the agnates of the second degree were omitted, because their partners, the cognates of the second degree were grouped with the agnates of the third degree, in the first *upnám*, each sharing alike; the cognates of the third degree were grouped with the agnates of the fourth degree, in the second *upnám*, each sharing alike; and the cognates of the fourth degree were grouped with the agnates of the fifth degree, in the third *upnám*, each sharing alike; while the cognates of the fifth degree, having no *vis-à-vis*, were omitted; thereafter the agnates and cognates of the sixth degree were grouped together, as in the Icelandic *baugatal*, the cognates receiving a third less than the agnates, and so on to the end.

A comparative diagram is given below, of the *Grágás* and *Gulathing* wergelds, excluding later additions, such as thrall-born kin, etc. All the kin were men, except 4 women in *Gulathing*.

Icelandic, *baugatal*, in *Grágás*.Norse *mann-bætr*, in *Gulathing*.

CLD	baug	Kin of slain.	CLD	baug	Kin of slain.	
1	1	father, son and	1	1	father and son	
1		brother	1	2	brother	
		<i>nil</i> (see baug 4)	4	3	1-ag. co. (& upn. 2)	
2	2	ag. gd.-f. & gd.-son	1	wom.	mo., dau., sist., wife	
2		cog. gd.-f. & gd.-son	2	upn.	cog. gd.-f. & gd.-son	
3	3	ag. uncle & nephew	3	1	ag. uncle & nephew	
3		cog. unole & nephew	3	2	cog. uncle & nephew	
4	4	1-ag. co.	4		1-ag. co.	man ¹
4		1-cog. co.	4	3	1-cog. co.	1
5	sak	1-ag. co. 1-rem.	5		1-ag. co. 1-rem.	2
5	1	1-cog. co. 1-rem.			<i>nil</i>	
6	2	2-ag. & cog. co.	6	man ² 1	2-ag. & cog. co.	3
7	3	2-d ^o 1-rem.	7	2	2-d ^o 1-rem.	4
8	4	3-ag. & cog. co.	8	3	3-ag. & cog. co.	5
9	5	3-d ^o 1-rem.	9	4	3-d ^o 1-rem.	6
10	6	4-ag. & cog. co.	10	5	4-ag. & cog. co.	7
			11	6	4-d ^o 1-rem.	8
			12	7	5-ag. & cog. co.	9
			13	8	5-d ^o 1-rem.	10
			14	9	6-ag. & cog. co.	11
			15	10	6-d ^o 1-rem.	12
			16	11	7-ag. & cog. co.	13
			17	12	7-d ^o 1-rem.	14
			18	13 ³	8-ag. & cog. co.	15 ⁴

ABBREVIATIONS :—CLD, Civil Law Degrees; ag., agnate; cog., cognate; co., cousin; 1-ag. co., 1st ag. cousin, etc.; f., father; d^o, ditto; upn., upnám; 1-rem., once removed.

¹ No. of men from and including 1st cousin.

² No. of men from and including 1st man after upnám 3.

³ The 13 men, 2-8 cousin incl., and 2-7 cousin once removed incl., = 13.

⁴ The 15 men, 1-8 cousin incl., and 1-7 cousin once removed incl., = 15. This has been erroneously described as the 15th canonical degree = 14th cousin, or a genealogy of 480 years! The 15 men included only those cousins outside the upnám; so that the 13th man of the smaller group was the 15th man of the whole group.

The 15 men included all cousins, hence the 13 men included only those cousins outside the upnám; so that the 13th man of the smaller group was the 15th man of the whole group.

The Icelandic scheme corresponds with the Norse óðal family of 6 generations (180 years).

The Gulathing scheme corresponds with the completely free family of 10 generations (300 years), from the original freed-man down to the 9th canonical, or 8th ON knee; i.e., the 8th cousin.

In Norway the prohibited degree of marriage with the kin extended to the 6th cousin inclusive, and with the affinity to the 4th cousin inclusive; curtailed in the 13th century. The Icelandic Leysingi, of 3 generations from and including the original freed-thrall, were compensated down to and including the 1st cousin.

P. 159, last 2 lines: the text "Nu er móðorfáðr móðor manns," is translated: "If the mother of the [slain] man and her mother's father [are living];" whereas the text states: "Then there is (*er*, not *eru*) the mother's-mother's-father of the [slain] man"; i.e., "the cognate great grand-father"; the mother was already provided for in c 221; and if two recipients had been intended, the other, necessarily, would have been the corresponding descendant: the cognate great grand-son. The text repeats the invariable hackneyed formula: "either of them takes," which possibly gave rise to the fallacy. Pp. 159-160, the text: "XII aura af viganda, X alna eyris." has been translated: "twelve oras from the slayer, or [the value of] ten ells of wadmál"; instead of: "twelve oras from the slayer, ten ells per ora," = 120, not 10 ells!

The ON *bræðrungr*, 'the father's paternal brother's son,' is translated loosely as 'cousin,' 'cousin on the father's side.' *Nón*, '3 p.m.,' is translated *noon* instead of *nones*. A reader does not expect to have to refer to the glossary for technical explanations of such ordinary terms as *cousin* and *noon*.

The translation will not be helpful to those students who have not got, or cannot read, the original text. What is wanted is the text and the translation facing each other, with an exact translation of the meticulous forensic terminology of the ON laws, considering that there are no less than some forty-two varieties of first cousins alone.

A. W. JOHNSTON.

THE CONCISE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF PLACE-NAMES. By EILERT EKWALL.
Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1936. Pp. xlviii + 520. 15s. net.

It is generally recognised that Professor Ekwall's *Studies of English place-names* are the most brilliant and original contributions in that department which have appeared latterly. Now, in this monumental work of 520 pages, he has roamed over the whole field of English place-names, doing single-handed what the English Place-name Society are doing slowly and laboriously.

A few suggestions of alternative derivations may be set down for consideration. Scampston, Scameliston seems to spring from Old

Danish *Skamil*, *Skammel* rather than from *Skammlauss*, shameless. Stakesby, Staxeby from *Stakkr*, an eminence like a stack of hay, in local names in Iceland. Helbeck from *hella*, f. flat stone rather than from *hellir*, gen. *hellis*, cave. Grundisburgh from *grund*, a farm name in W. and N. Iceland. Groby, Groebi, from *Gróa*, gen. *Gróu*, fem. n. pr. in place-names in Iceland. Scarborough from the characteristic indentations in the cliff, *skarð* rather than from *Skarði* (Þorgils), which seems a folk etymology. Ullock from *Úlfa-lækr*, wolves' brook, rather than *Úlfa-leikr*, wolves' play. Slingsby from *Slyngr*, *Slingr*, dexterous, clever, used as a pr. n.

When the English Place-Name Society has completed its work, new light will be thrown on derivations which, at present, are subject to doubts. No one has done more valuable pioneer work in this field than Professor Ekwall, and his new book will remain the chief work of reference as regards English place-names for years to come.

J. S.

THE SAGA OF HROLF KRAKI. By STELLA M. MILLS, B.A., with an Introduction by Professor E. V. GORDON. *Basil Blackwell, Oxford*, 1933. Pp. 110. 5s. net.

Miss Mills has made an excellent translation of this important saga and Professor Gordon's introduction is a very illuminating evaluation of the literary worth of the saga. He rightly insists that the dissimilarities between the saga version of the legends of the *Skjöldungs* and the Beowulf account of the Scyldings are much more striking than the points of agreement. The saga has its share of epic grandeur but it also has a share of brutality and buffoonery which are entirely absent from the Old English poem. The saga in fact gives the more complete and more faithful picture of Germanic court-life in the fifth and sixth centuries. Despite the efforts of some scholars to prove that *pyle* in Beowulf means 'jester' and that Unferth was a kind of court-jester, the Old English epic has nothing comparable to the humorous episode of Hott and his shield-wall of bones.

The translation itself is a grand work, and, we think, more than any other rendering from Old Scandinavian into English, it has captured all the essential qualities of the original in style and atmosphere. The speeches of Bothvar and Hjalti on the occasion of the struggle between Hjorvath and their lord, Hrolf, lose none of their heroism. At the same time the humorous incidents are rendered with the right degree of burlesque and do not become merely farcical. A slight northern touch as in 'Hott lad' for *Hottir felagi* is singularly appropriate. The saga is presumably in the colloquial language: the translation too is in the colloquial language, but modern colloquial idiom is introduced with taste and good sense. The only stylistic lapse we have noted (and some people

would not admit it as a blemish) is in the translation of *er hans farit at leita* as 'a search was instituted' (p. 40): it might have been more happily expressed. This only emphasises the general excellence of the translation, and Miss Mills is to be praised for it. Our great regret is that the chances of publishing works of this kind are too rare and that a great literature is therefore inaccessible to all but a few. The Viking Society and some of its members have done something towards resolving this problem and we are sure that the Society remains aware of its opportunities.

A. C. CAWLEY & A. H. SMITH.

LITERARY RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND SCANDINAVIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Ethel Seaton, M.A., F.R.S.L. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1935. 15/-.

Most 'Septentrionalists' are aware that Sir Thomas Browne had an Icelandic correspondent¹ and that Sir William Temple knew something of 'Runic' poetry. It has been Miss Seaton's achievement to show that a lively interest in Scandinavian literature and antiquities was shared by many other scholars and men of affairs. In proving her thesis she leaves no by-path of literary history unexplored, no relevant catalogue or register unread; even if the quarry sometimes proves disappointing we are given an excellent chase, whilst full documentation, fine plates, and a large bibliography tempt us to further hunting. Here is a mass of detail so skilfully arranged that it rarely weighs down writer or reader. Everything is careful and unhurried.

True, at first sight it may seem that in a fuller sense than Miss Seaton is willing to admit, the survey resembles 'the play without Hamlet,' that too much of it is devoted to relations which are not specifically literary or do not belong to the seventeenth century. But it would be unfair to interpret the title too narrowly, and it is at least doubtful whether 'th'attractive virtue of the North' would have been so attractive to Gray, Percy, and their contemporaries, but for the work of the earlier scholars and antiquarians who figure in this book. It remains true, however, that its proportions might have been improved by a little less attention to Elizabethan interests and to purely political connections and a little more to the knowledge and activity of Hickes, Nicolson and others at the close of the century, when Icelandic goes hand in hand with Anglo-Saxon studies,² and some systematization of knowledge becomes perceptible. But even when Miss Seaton strays from the strict limits of her subject she offers valuable material: the next historian of Oxford, for instance, will have to consult her full accounts of the

¹ Wrongly identified by Mr. Geoffrey Keynes in the latest edition of Browne with the Iclander "who comes yearly into England" mentioned in his *Account of Iceland*.

² e.g., in the closing chapters of the Anglo-Saxon section of Hickes's *Thesaurus*.

visits of Scandinavian scholars thither. It is strange, in these circumstances, that she should pay so little attention to one of the most interesting of them all—Christian Worm (the grandson of Ole Worm) whose lavish living at Oxford in 1696 evidently got him into such financial difficulties that the Danish envoy had to ask his father to send for him home. The story can be pieced together from the Ballard letters, which also reveal that the young Worm had promised Hickes a full Icelandic catalogue for the *Thesaurus*. The history of Worm's edition of Ari's *Íslendingabók*—a book of great bibliographical interest, which, though printed at Oxford in 1696, was not published for twenty years—is also oddly neglected. Hickes cites this edition frequently, and its references to the Stonehenge controversy discussed by Miss Seaton are worth noting.

The omission of any discussion of *Hjalmars Saga*, which Hickes reprinted but which Nordin as long ago as 1774 claimed on good grounds to be a forgery, is more serious, since it is still sometimes regarded as authentic: there is an unpublished letter in the Rawlinson Collection revealing the fact that Jonas Salanus once half-promised Thwaites that he would translate this saga. Other unpublished letters not noticed by Miss Seaton show that Thwaites was intimate with Palthenius and other Scandinavian scholars. Wanley's correspondence also deserves study in the light of the admirable account of the knowledge of Runes given on pp. 222 ff. of this book: and an unpublished letter from Benzelius urging Wanley to visit Sweden and explore its literary treasures shows also that they had been corresponding about *Beowulf*.

Another neglected reference which deserves a note is that in Bodleian MS. Marshall 134 (a series of letters throwing light on the difficulties of communication and book-transport which Miss Seaton mentions) to an Icelandic dictionary (Andréssen's? or Worm's Lexicon?) which Junius sent hoping it would help in the interpretation of a certain Runic inscription—possibly the Bridekirk font (v. p. 242—where we miss Thoresby's account of the font).

On other points, however, Miss Seaton makes full use of manuscript sources, especially the Letterbooks of the Royal Society, and only a few details can be added to her exhaustive survey. Thus, Milton's knowledge of the Anlaf story might have been mentioned on p. 204, and Temple's account of witches on p. 292; the description of Bod. MS. Jun. 36, which is really a glossary to Runolphus Jonas's Grammar—printed by Hickes as a *Dictionariolum*, but without acknowledgment—is a little misleading. To the evidence of contact between English and Scandinavian scholarship might be added Browne's frequent citation of Bartholinus on medical points: Resenius's reference to Browne in 1683: and Verelius's reference to Selden in the notes to Gautrekssaga. To the list of gifts to the Bodleian mentioned in Appendix II. should be added that of the

1697 edition of the *Heimskringla*, presented and inscribed by Peringskiöld himself.

The style of the book—apart from occasional oddities such as the allusion to the elegies on Gustavus Adolphus as signs that England admired him so ardently ‘that she would not willingly let him die’—is pleasantly plain and unpedantic. Linguists, literary critics, and historians alike will find interest and information in its pages.

J. A. W. BENNETT.

WIDSITH. Edited by Kemp Malone. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd. 1936. XIII. + 202 pp. 10s. 6d.

This work is No. 5 in Methuen’s Old English Library (Poetic Texts), but is on a far larger scale than its four predecessors. While it does not supersede Professor Chambers’ edition, it is a useful book, not unworthy to be offered to that great scholar, to whom it is dedicated.

In the presentation of the text a painstaking, and, on the whole, successful attempt has been made to represent the MS. as faithfully as print can do it, without invading domains best left to facsimilies. The list headed *Textual Variants* (p. 61) records, not textual variants in the proper sense of that phrase (for such there cannot be in the case of a poem for which there is only one source), but emendations admitted into the text. The editor wisely disregards the expansion of common contractions, and the narrow spacing which frequently occurs within words in the MS., but notes all other deviations from it. These are all concerned with minor points (chiefly word division), with the exception of a bold attack on the *locus desperatus* 85-87, and emendations in lines 2, 14, 21, 62, 101, 112. Except the ingenious *Hehcan* 112 (MS. *heðcan*), these are all due to earlier scholars. The capitalization and punctuation of the MS. are recorded in the footnotes to the text. In these footnotes the emendations proposed by earlier scholars are exhaustively recorded and discussed, but they are unfortunately overburdened with trifles: even Sievers’ use of *ð* for MS. *þ*, representing a voiced sound, is sometimes recorded (see notes on 118, 131), though on p. 60 it is mentioned in a list of ‘peculiarities of various texts’ to be ‘noted here once for all.’

In one or two points the text is to be criticised. The treatment of *onwocon* (5) as two words (*on wocon*) in order to avoid the slight emendation of *hine* (4) to *him* does not improve the construction (cp. *And.* 683) and metre does not demand that *on* be regarded as a ‘strest and alliterating word’. the scansion of the half-verse is $\cup \times \times \times | \text{—} \times$ (Type A). The comma after *giellende* (128) should be deleted. The compound relative *se þe* is printed as one word twice

(77, 140), elsewhere it is divided (*e.g.* 2, 133). The two former instances are noticed separately in the glossary under *sepe* (one word), though they are in no way different from the others. The MS. always joins the two words.

The *Glossary* is complete, and the senses of the words in the contexts in which they occur in the poem are generally satisfactorily indicated. The sense 'subject,' however, is given for *londbuend*, though, in its one occurrence in the poem (132), it seems to have its general sense of 'men,' 'mankind.' The curious practice of the series has compelled the editor to quote under nearly every word an etymologically related form from the *N.E.D.*, and to print it in capitals, as if it were more worthy of the attention of students than the meanings of the word which occur in the poem.

The consideration of Richter's views in the section of the *Introduction* on metre is an advance on that in Chambers' edition. The section on language is more detailed than that of Chambers. It is demonstrated how mixed is the dialect of our text of the poem, but in view of the mixture of forms in *e.g.* the Parker MS. version of the *Battle of Brunanburh*, one cannot agree that this proves the poem to be early. The syntactic tests are, perhaps, more conclusive, but here nothing is added to Chambers' remarks.

The bulk of the *Introduction* is taken up by an elaborate examination of the structure of the poem. That the poem falls into three fairly well marked sections has long been recognised (see Chambers, p. 127), but the present editor has rather over-pressed this point, and his view that the poet consciously adopted a tripartite form, writing each part round an ancient name-list, cannot be regarded as proved. The poet may well have written the name-lists himself, taking older ones as his models, and adopting formulae and metrical forms traditional in such name-lists. In discussing these matters the editor uses a quaint terminology of his own, employing *thula* and *yed* in senses completely unwarranted by the history of those words.

The legendary matter is dealt with in an extensive *Glossary of Proper Names*. A number of new suggestions are made, but some of these, such as the phonetic explanation of the *i* of *Incgenpeow*, and the proposal to avoid the alleged inconsistency of 9 and 88 ff. by construing *warlogan* (9) as Dat. P., cannot be endorsed. This part of the work is not sufficient to enable the student to dispense with Chambers' edition.

A very useful bibliography is included.

A. CAMPBELL.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE SAGAS OF ICELANDERS (ÍSLENDINGA SÖGUR). A supplement to Bibliography of the Icelandic Sagas and minor tales. By HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON. London: *Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press*, 1935. Pp. A. + 113, 6¼in. × 9½in. 10s. net.

This book forms *Islandica*, Vol. XXIV., issued by the Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York. It gives Texts, Translations into other languages, Individual Sagas and Tales, Works of the Literature, History, and Civilization of the Period, Appendix of novels, dramas, and poems with subjects drawn from the Sagas of Icelanders, and Index of Authors, Editors, etc.

OLAF AND HAKON. A Saga Play With an Introductory Essay on dramatic form. By CHARLES WHITBY, B.A., M.D. Cantab. London: *John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd.*, 83-91, Great Titchfield Street, W.1. 1935. Pp. 125. 4¾in. × 7¼in. 2s. 6d. net, postage 4d.

This book is an attempt to dramatise the struggle of Olaf Tryggvason to oust Earl Hakon from Norway.

NORGE CANADA. A magazine (in English) for Norsemen in Canada. General Secretary, O. H. WALBY, 18-222, Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, Canada. Issued monthly, \$1.50 per year.

The present issue, Vol. II., No. 3, May, 1936, is the "Leif Erikson Memorial Issue"

SVENSK TIDSKRIFT, 1936, containing "Viking Society—ett Engelskt, Sällskap för Studiet av Nordisk Kultur," by Professor BIRGER NEEMAN, Stockholm.

NORDMANNS FORBUNDET. Radhusgaten, 23B, Oslo, Norway. June, 1936. With: "The Viking Society," by ERLING MONSEN; and an advertisement of the Society.

Icelandic books published by *Snæbjörn Jónsson, Reykjavík*.

HJÁLMAR OG INGIBJÖRG. THE LAY OF HJÁLMAR. By SIGURÐR BJARNASON. 1934. 4th edition. (Cloth gilt) 3s. 9d., post free.

In an interesting introduction Snæbjörn Jónsson himself does full justice to the life and poetry of the gifted poet who was drowned at sea at the age of 24. He revived the mediæval epic poetry of Iceland.

UM LJÓDMÆLI GRÍMS THOMSENS. By SIRA. BENJAMIN KRISTJANSSON. 1935. 16 pp. 6d., post free.

ÆVI HALLGRÍMS PÉTURSSONAR OG SAURBAER Á HVALFJARÐARSTRÖND. Edited by VIGFÚS GUÐMUNDSSON. 1934. 68 pp. 4s., post free.

A useful collection of information about the life and times of the great hymn writer of the 17th century.

RAUÐSKINNA (Folklore from Suðurnes), collected by JON THORARENSEN. 1929-35. 3 vols., 96, 194, 197 pp. 13s. 3d., post free.

SAGNAKVER. Edited by DR. BJÖRN BJARNASON. 1935. A reprint. 188 pp. 6s., post free.

HULD. A collection of Icelandic Folklore. Vol. I. and II. 1935-36. A reprint of this excellent volume, gathered by five Scholars which came out in 1890-98. 16s., post free.

The great wealth of Icelandic folklore has been made accessible by the enterprise of the proprietor of the English bookshop, Snæbjörn Jónsson. Students of Icelandic may be recommended to read these well-told tales, in modern Icelandic.

The following books will be reviewed in the next SAGA-BOOK:—

IJSLANDS VOLKSGELOOF door P.C.M. Sluijter, Nederlandsche Bijdragen op het gebied van germaansche philologie en linguistik onder redactie van J. van Dam, A. G. van Hamel, J. M. N. Kapteyn, J. de Vries. Vol. VII. Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink and Zoon, 1936.

HÉRAÐSSAGA BORGARFJARÐAR. Vol. I. Reykjavík: Félagsprentsmiðjan, 1935.

GRETTIS SAGA ÁSMUNDARSONAR, BANDAMANNA SAGA, ODDS ÞÁTR ÓFEIGSSONAR, ÍSLENZK FORNREIT. Vol. VII. Edited by GUÐNI JÓNSSON. Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1936.

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